

# Kipple

# III

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## jottings from the editor's desk

THE BALTIMORE POLITICAL SCENE: No doubt Kipple readers who find my articles on political affairs uninteresting were confident that, with the passing into history of the mid-term elections, such articles would cease appearing for a year or so. But it is one of the marvels of the American political system that there is always another election to look forward to. At the moment, local attention is focused on the upcoming municipal elections; the primaries will be held in April, the general election in May, and they promise to be most interesting contests. There are three elective offices of importance in Baltimore: mayor, comptroller and president of the city council (with the latter potentially the most powerful). Actual power is exercised by the city council, which has been controlled seemingly since the dawn of recorded history by either a single Democratic political machine or a coalition of such machines (the latter arrangement prevailing at the moment). Although the city council must pass upon all matters of real significance (which it customarily does with almost glacial swiftness), the triumvirate of city wide office-holders is empowered to administer the affairs of the city on a day-to-day basis, and thus these offices possess just enough real power to make them attractive to political seekers and opportunists. The office of mayor actually does incorporate considerable power when the individual occupying it happens to belong to the same faction of the Democratic Party as the controlling bloc of the city council, but this occurrence is as rare as the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in Capricorn. At present, with a Republican occupying it, the office of mayor is largely ceremonial. Nevertheless, the mayoral throne must have something to recommend it; there are plenty of eager candidates lining up for an opportunity to sit on it.

The probable candidates for mayor include all three members of the present ruling troika, incumbent Mayor Theodore R. McKeldin, City Council President Thomas D'Alesandro III and Comptroller Hyman Pressman. The Mayor is a tremendously impressive politician, whose accomplishments include being the only Republican in history elected to that office twice (1943-1947, 1963-?) and the only Republican ever elected to two terms as Governor of Maryland (1950-1958). He proposes magnificent, progressive programs, which the city council refuses to pass and which, in any event, the city probably couldn't finance. But he tries, and at least he has kept the city from disintegrating since 1963, a not inconsiderable accomplishment in itself. Mr. Pressman's ambitions have been an open secret for some time, as have the mayoral visions of Mr. D'Ale-



sandro. So much has been written in these pages about Uncle Hymie that I feel it no longer necessary to describe his fascinating career or list his accomplishments; suffice it to say that your obedient servant will be laboring for Mr. Pressman's election against any conceivable opponent. There is little doubt that he is going to run, but it apparently has not been decided whether he should enter the Democratic primary or run as an independent in the general election. I personally favor the former course, since the vote in the primary will be split five or six ways, but it is never wise to predict that Comptroller Pressman will choose the politically expedient course. City Council President D'Alesandro is also an interesting figure, and one not so well known to readers of this journal. He is a young, handsome, intelligent politician who claims to be a "liberal" and whose father, Thomas D'Alesandro Jr., is one of the city's principal political bosses and a former mayor. The younger D'Alesandro will probably be Hymie's most formidable opponent, whether in the Democratic primary or in the general election.

Then there are the less prominent candidates, including attorney Leonard J. Kerpelman, whose principal claim to fame thus far is that he successfully argued Madalyn Murray's school prayer case before the Supreme Court. He cannot be considered a serious candidate, but could be a factor in the Democratic primary. Kerpelman recently gained notoriety by dissociating himself from the civil rights movement as a result of the "Black Power" controversy. His most noteworthy campaign statement to date is a pledge to keep Baltimore free of "topless" waitresses--which should give you some idea why Mr. Kerpelman is not to be considered a serious candidate. Another announced participant in the race is Peter G. Angelos, a former city councilman who may wind up as the candidate of the liberal-reformists in the Democratic primary. His qualifications for this support include having endorsed the Republican gubernatorial candidate last year. (I'm completely serious; the liberalism of Democrats in Maryland is measured according to how vocally they deserted the Democratic candidate for governor in 1966.) Angelos' particular target is City Council President D'Alesandro, who, having been reared to consider party loyalty second only to God, held his nose and endorsed George P. Mahoney last November. Then there is Phillip Goodman, another former mayor, who unsuccessfully ran for Congress in 1966 as a sort of "respectable" Dove. Another possible candidate is Clarence Mitchell III, who was so pleased by the massive Negro vote against George Mahoney that he announced two days after the 1966 election that he was seriously considering running for mayor. (Kerpelman promptly accused him of "racism".) Mitchell, a 26-year-old Negro, is presently the youngest member of the State Senate, and is in many respects an attractive candidate (he was sort of a civil rights insurgent candidate against the black political machine in the Fourth District--where the NAACP, fer-gawdsake, is a militant force--and won impressively). However, despite the fact that the voters of Baltimore acquitted themselves nicely last November, it is to be wondered if they are yet sufficiently liberal to elect a Negro mayor.

In a larger sense, Mr. Mitchell's announcement heralded the beginning of a new era in Baltimore, in which "Black Power" of a sort is being put into practice. The importance of the Negro vote in Baltimore was dramatically illustrated by the 1966 gubernatorial election, and it is extremely likely that all of the major tickets will be integrated--with the result that one of the members of the triumvirate which takes over in May will be a Negro. At the moment, the most likely Negro candidates for city wide office are Judge Robert B. Watts, City Councilman Henry Parks and State Senator Verda Welcome. Mr. Parks, who has been mentioned (unfavorably) in these pages previously, would probably wind up on the boss-supported ticket. He's sort of a Jimmy Walker with a dark



complexion. He would be "acceptable" to white voters because he has never been militant for civil rights--or much of anything else. Mrs. Welcome is one of the black political bosses against whom Clarence Mitchell ran last November. Notwithstanding this, she is an intelligent and rather likeable legislator who has apparently served her constituents honestly and well; and she certainly cannot justly be accused of ignoring civil rights problems. However, Judge Watts seems the most likely prospect to achieve city wide office, since he is already a recognized vote-getter (the sitting judges are elected every four years) and is greatly respected by whites--a respect he has gained without in any sense becoming an Uncle Tom.

THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION continues to roll merrily along in China (or, as State Department spokesmen prefer to call it, "mainland China"), and what is actually transpiring is now becoming, if not exactly clear, at least a few degrees less opaque. (What this clumsy phraseology means is that, while we do not actually know with any certainty what is going on, we can at least make a few semi-educated guesses.) Apparently, Chairman Mao Tse-tung found himself about to be ousted or at least reduced to a figurehead by the party bureaucrats, as happened to Nikita Khrushchev in 1964. Specifically, he was outvoted (or was about to be outvoted) on the party Central Committee. Unlike Khrushchev, however, Mao did not accept the inevitable and gracefully retire. Instead, he used his immense prestige as the Father of the Revolution and a veritable deity of the Chinese people to form a power center outside of the established party institutions. The difference between the party in China and a party in the United States is so vast that it is all but impossible to draw useful analogies, but there is nevertheless one inviting if not precise parallel: Mao's reliance on the zealots, the fanatical amateurs, against the party professionals reminds one of the Goldwater campaign to capture the Republican Party. The Red Guards are Mao Tse-tung's little old ladies in tennis shoes.

Mao and his chief ally, Lin Piao, seem determined to eradicate all "counter-revolutionary" tendencies within the party, but after many months of turmoil this objective seems no nearer than at the beginning. Of course, the "regular" party organization which he now appears intent upon destroying was largely created by Mao Tse-tung; perhaps it may be said that he builded better than he knew. The tenacity of an entrenched bureaucracy is an impressive thing to behold. Individuals like Peng Chen or Lui Shao-chi or Chen Yi may be purged, but the institutions of the party--the local and district committees, the factory and student organizations, the political cadres in the army, the labor federations, the women's and youth leagues--continue to survive, and may prove able to successfully resist the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Presumably the "revisionists" in the People's Republic of China are counting on precisely this tenacity. Despite their obvious strength, they appear to be taking no positive, direct action against the purge (the clashes between workers and Red Guards widely reported in the Western press appear to be spontaneous outbreaks, not part of a planned resistance); their strategy, which is the strategy of bureaucrats and functionaries everywhere, is simply to ride out the storm.

Over-simplified but essentially accurate, the struggle is between ideologues and realists, between revolutionary zealots and pragmatists. The pragmatists (or "modernists") would probably favor a "practical", non-doctrinaire approach to economic development and, in foreign policy, reconciliation with the Soviet Union. The old revolutionaries naturally look upon these ideas as a betrayal of their religion. It is a temptation for an American to root for the modernists, but it is not at all



certain that their victory would constitute an improvement over the current PRC government. The same outlook which would make them less dogmatic and bellicose on paper would make them more dangerous in fact. The only previous instance of a power struggle between pragmatists and revolutionaries in an important Marxist-Leninist country does not provide a very encouraging indication. Such a struggle began in the Soviet Union upon the death of Lenin, and the pragmatists, dominated by Josef Stalin, eventually defeated the revolutionaries, led by Leon Trotsky. It is an entirely moot point whether either the Soviet people or the rest of the world had much to cheer about on account of this victory of realism over ideology.

**FURTHER COMMENTS ON THE WARREN REPORT:** The Anglo-American system of jurisprudence is the finest instrument ever devised for inquiring into the commission of a crime or alleged crime. While not infallible, the adversary system has through methods and practices developed over the years become a remarkably effective instrument for the establishment of truth. The adversaries, the prosecutor and the defense attorney, contend before an impartial judge and jury. Each possesses the maximum opportunity to introduce and substantiate evidence. The prosecutor is the beneficiary of the awesome investigative machinery of the state; additionally, as the representative of the public, he benefits from a natural predisposition on the part of the jury to accept his statements and evidence. The defense advocate, on the other hand, has the right--indeed, the duty--to attempt to discredit every piece of physical evidence and every detail of testimony presented by the public prosecutor. He is present at every session of the trial or hearing to represent the interests of his client. And he benefits from the doctrine of "reasonable doubt", according to which the prosecutor must prove beyond a reasonable doubt every aspect and contention of his case. This system can be corrupted and misused, but it is extremely difficult and therefore rare except in certain peculiar circumstances (e.g., civil rights cases in the Deep South). Had Lee Harvey Oswald, the accused assassin of President Kennedy, lived to stand trial, even before a probably prejudiced jury, the efficacy of this system would have virtually precluded his conviction on the basis of the evidence and testimony available.

Obviously, an investigative commission appointed to inquire into an alleged crime no longer within the purview of normal judicial procedure (because, in this instance, the accused was murdered before he could be brought to trial) cannot function in exactly the same way. The defendant is no longer available to challenge the contentions of the prosecutor. There is no good reason, however, why an independent attorney should not be present to represent the interests of the accused by challenging the validity of physical evidence and cross-examining witnesses. Indeed, something of this sort is standard procedure in canonization hearings of the Catholic Church, where an advocatus diaboli, or Devil's advocate, is present throughout and fulfills the single function of challenging every favorable statement made about the proposed saint. The theory behind this practice is that the case established by those promoting the positive contention (in this context, that a certain person deserves sainthood) ought to be strong enough to withstand the assaults of a dedicated spokesman for the opposite contention. Apparently, no such necessity to establish a strong, critically tempered case was felt by those consigning Lee Oswald to ignominy, so at no time during the lengthy hearings was any evidence or testimony subjected to the penetrating gaze of an advocatus diaboli.

Since there no where exists any legal obligation for an investigation into an alleged crime, even "the crime of the century", to in-



corporate this juridicial device, the Commission probably should not be criticized unduly for the omission. However, failing to submit the evidence at every point to the criticisms of a spokesman for the accused, it was at least the obligation of the Commission to conduct a reasonably impartial investigation. At a minimum, this would have entailed examining and weighing all evidence with a critical eye, accepting or rejecting it on the basis of self-consistency, consistency with already established facts, and inherent sensibility or reasonableness; and then, having assembled as much concrete evidence as possible, utilizing it to devise a consistent hypothesis to explain the known facts. This the Commission conspicuously failed to do. All of the criticism of its interpretations, its methods of investigation, its presentation of evidence, its oversights--all of the criticism of the Commission Report and the conclusions it incorporates basically returns to this fact: that the Commission began with its hypothesis, and selected or interpreted evidence and testimony to fit it. I do not see how anyone who has bothered to pursue the twenty-six impressive volumes of evidence and testimony (available at most public libraries) can avoid this indictment of the Commission's methods. Some of the physical evidence it rejects out of hand is more clearly indicative than other pieces of physical evidence it accepts without question; some of the testimony it rejects as unreliable is, on its face, more consistent and reliable than some of the testimony it eagerly accepts. The sole criterion was whether or not the evidence or testimony supported the conclusions with which the Commission began. Anything which tended to corroborate the Authorized Version of the events of the assassination (or which could in any way be interpreted so as to appear to corroborate it--for the Commission frequently asserted in its summary that evidence or testimony proved much more than it actually did) was accepted; everything else was discarded.

In trimming edges to make everything fit a certain pattern, the Commission not only consistently trampled on the truth that was supposed to be the object of its investigation, it also thoroughly discredited itself. For it did an incredibly sloppy job. One author, Harold Weisberg, has written a very long and well-researched book which, ignoring the great mass of independent evidence, concentrates exclusively on contradictions within the Warren Report itself. There are hundreds of them, both major and minor. Of course, as Marvin Garson pointed out in the Berkeley Barb (November 18, 1966), it may be unfair to accuse the Commission of doing a sloppy job:

"Liberal theologians are wont to say that the Commission's central findings remain true but that it did a sloppy job. This is unfair; the Warren Commission did the best job that anyone possibly could do to prove that Oswald, acting alone, killed Kennedy. It reduced the number of major improbabilities from hundreds to a few dozen, and the number of outright miracles from dozens to a bare two."

There is obviously not enough space available here to examine the many inconsistencies of the Commission's evidence and between that evidence and the conclusions which the Commission draws from it, and in any event Weisberg's exhaustively annotated book is available in paperback from your neighborhood newsstand ("Whitewash: The Report on the Warren Report", Dell Books, #9521). Perhaps one example may be taken as representative. Admittedly, this is one of the most important questionable aspects of the Report, dealing as it does with the central question of how many bullets were fired, but it is typical in the sense that it illustrates how testimony was ignored or reinterpreted to bolster the al-



ready formed conclusion. The Warren Commission's contention concerning the number of bullets fired was discussed at some length in Kipple #114. The Commission asserts that there were three bullets fired, and since one missed its target and hit the pavement, and a second inflicted the President's fatal wound and was shattered, all of the remaining wounds in the President and in the Governor must be accounted for by the third (but not chronologically third) bullet. This is necessary because if there were more than three shots, then a second assassin must have been involved. (Expert marksmen from the National Rifle Association, shooting at a stationary target, were able to duplicate Oswald's presumed rapid-fire feat only with great difficulty; to assume four bullets necessarily assumes a second assassin, since it is totally impossible for a Mannlicher-Carcano to be fired four times in the elapsed seconds.) In its efforts to prove the three bullet thesis, the Commission went to extreme lengths to present speculation as concrete fact, and it is in this area that one of the two miracles referred to by Mr. Garson is left unexplained. The "miracle" is this: that a recovered bullet and its fragments have a combined weight greater than the weight of the bullet at the time it was fired. Even without this anomaly, which is in direct contradiction to the basic laws of physical science, that bullet is a pretty remarkable one, which, according to the Commission, passed through the President's neck, entered Governor Connally's side, broke his rib, exited, struck and shattered his wrist, exited, and penetrated his thigh, then later fell uphill and worked its way beneath the mattress on a stretcher in Parkland Hospital. This may appear strange, but it is another proof of the old proverb that necessity is the mother of invention; if the official, stamped, authorized version can only be supported by having one bullet do all of these things, why then, by God, one bullet shall do them. But in the summary of the Warren Report, the reader is left with the impression that this hypothesis is supported by ballistics experts, rather than having sprung of necessity and from the fertile imagination of a staff member. Well, the Commission did call ballistics experts, but the testimony of its experts tended to deny the Commission's bullet hypothesis. Commander James J. Humes of the National Naval Medical Center thought the reconstruction of the bullet's path made by the Commission "very unlikely". Holding the recovered bullet in his hand, the Commander was asked if that was the bullet which had wounded the Governor and lodged in his thigh. "I think that extremely unlikely," was his reply. "I can't conceive of where they /fragments in the Governor's wrist and thigh/ came from this missile." Commander Humes' testimony was supported by Lieutenant-Colonel Pierre J. Finck of the Army Medical Center. These are probably two of the foremost ballistics experts in the country. Naturally, the Warren Report fails to mention in its summary that its own ballistics experts do not accept its hypothesis concerning the recovered bullet.

The Commission had to ruthlessly ignore any challenge to its account of the bullets, even from its own expert witnesses, because its entire case that Oswald was the lone assassin depends upon the idea that only three bullets were fired. If three bullets cannot be made to account for all of the damage and all of the fragments, then there must have been a fourth or even a fifth bullet, and therefore a second assassin. Once the idea is accepted that Oswald had an accomplice--or, in any case, that whoever fired from the sixth floor of the School Book Depository had an accomplice--the assassination of President Kennedy assumes an entirely new dimension. It is not only that, if more than one person was involved, then a murderer (or murderers) are still roaming free; it is, more importantly, that if there were two assassins, then the murder becomes automatically a political crime. So long as the assumption exists that the assassination was the work of one deranged in-



dividual, no question of rational motive arises; a lunatic does not require a motive for his actions that is comprehensible to the rest of us. But a conspiracy involving two or more individuals to assassinate the President of the United States does require a rational motive, perforce a political motive. This was certainly the case with regard to the two previously known instances, one successful and one not, where more than one individual was involved in the plot (the assassination of Abraham Lincoln and the attempted assassination, on November 1, 1950, of Harry S. Truman). In view of Oswald's political leanings and his presumed association with the conspiracy, the theory which immediately suggests itself is that Communists, either foreign or domestic, engineered the assassination. But this does not hold up under closer inspection. Neither the Soviet government (or, for that matter, the Cuban government), nor the Communist Party of the United States, nor any militant communist splinter group, would conceivably have deliberately undertaken to replace John F. Kennedy with Lyndon Johnson. It would seem far more likely that, if a political conspiracy were involved, it was of the right rather than the left; I believe it is fair to state that, in November of 1963, every right-wing group from the John Birch Society to the Ku Klux Klan vehemently hated John F. Kennedy. (These are not the only alternatives, of course. Just because an assassination plot is necessarily a political matter does not mean that it is necessarily an ideological one. Politics involves power in this country even more than it involves ideology.)

**VENEZUELA: THE DEADLY DUEL** A slight resurgence of activity on the part of Venezuela's Castroist terrorists has impelled President Raul Leoni to temporarily suspend constitutional guarantees and university autonomy in an effort to crush the small but troublesome underground once and for all. In (over-) reacting in this manner to a few bombings and the machinegunning of a retired air force officer, the government of Venezuela may be unwittingly reviving the Communist movement from its death bed. For according to the teachings of Che Guevara, it is precisely the objective of a terrorist movement in a democratic country to sting the government into acting rashly and discarding normal democratic processes. Of course, it may be that the Venezuelan military, given a free reign, will succeed in eliminating the terrorist threat, and that the country will return to political normalcy very soon; but this is a gamble, and one which no government should take except as a last resort. One should not, I suppose, blame President Leoni too much. His principal problem is that he is a good man attempting to fill the shoes of a great man, Romulo Betancourt. Besides, he is under constant pressure from right-wing military elements, which are always a threat to use the government's inability to control the terrorists as justification for a coup. But it would be a pity indeed if one of the most democratic and stable countries in the hemisphere were to go down the drain because of, essentially, its leaders' impatience.

In any case, Venezuela's current troubles provide another excuse for me to examine the fundamental principles of guerilla or, more properly, revolutionary warfare, and I rarely pass up such opportunities. (I would write an article about Cassivellaunus' operations against the Roman legions if I thought it would help Messrs. Nelson, Price and Van Arnam understand the dominantly "political" nature of insurgency.) The situation in Venezuela is somewhat unlike that in Vietnam or the other countries which have been discussed in this context, such as Malaya, the Philippines, Thailand, the Congo, Yemen, etc. For one thing, there is no peasant uprising to speak of; most of the terrorists operate in urban centers, and the movement has not progressed to the point of rais-



ing a guerilla army to fight in the hills. Another distinction is that Venezuela, unlike Vietnam and Thailand, has a democratic, socially progressive government--a fact which largely accounts for the relative impotence of the Castroist movement. Nevertheless, these distinctions do not change the basic complexion of the struggle, and indeed Venezuela, because there are comparatively few complicating factors, may furnish a classic picture of a confrontation between a government and an insurgency.

In order to understand why I believe the crackdown by the Venezuelan government to have constituted an over-reaction to the danger, it is necessary once again to stress the fundamental goal of both contenders in such a conflict: popular support. The basic equation of insurgency/counter-insurgency is therefore: which side annoys, inconveniences or otherwise alienates the fewest people? There may be significant ideological/philosophical differences between the government and the subversives, but it is generally assumed that both will endeavor to cloak their cause with the noblest ideals; and, in any event, the insurgents automatically have the advantage in the battle of ideas. (Michael Aflaq, founder of the Ba'ath socialist movement, defines revolution as "the opposition of truth to the prevailing situation". Aflaq, being a revolutionist himself, was of course biased, but his assessment does illuminate, somewhat obliquely, the tactical advantage enjoyed by the revolutionaries in this area. The ideological conflict always pits the promises of the insurgents against "the prevailing situation", and the advantage for the insurgents in that is self-evident.) There may also be special circumstances which provide the insurgents with additional psychological advantage--as, e.g., when the government is visibly dependent upon a foreign power for its survival, and the rebels therefore benefit for whatever nationalistic feelings are stirred up. However, where the government can justly claim to be independent, honest and responsive to its people (as is the case in Venezuela), everything else is subordinated to the question of which side's tactics are least offensive. The government of Venezuela was, until recently, winning this battle, but its actions of last month may have damaged its standing.

Unable to overthrow or even to initiate a substantial guerilla movement against a popular government (a fact which Guevara, in one of his more candid moments, admitted), the Communists are reduced to creating a small, tightly disciplined terrorist organization, the primary function of which is to become so much of a nuisance that the government employs repressive measures to stamp it out. The government, on the other hand, must effectively control the terrorists, but without imposing restrictions likely to alienate large segments of the population. This is the deadly duel in which the two forces engage, and the terrorists have certain intrinsic advantages which make the task of the government remarkably difficult. The terrorists do not have to make any progress; they have only to recruit enough people to maintain their numbers and to continue to exist as a unit, for every week that they exist increases the pressure on the government to take "firmer" action. It is not that governments which succumb to these pressures are necessarily evil; it is just that the temptation, after months and years of stalemate, to "pull out the stops" and crush the terrorists is so great as to require superhuman effort to resist. And yet the government must resist. It must tolerate, year after year, assassinations, sabotage, the bombing of friendly embassies and so forth, and continue to act against the terrorists only through the channels provided by constitutional law. Eventually, in this way, the subversives may be destroyed; they may simply fade away, or find themselves unable to recruit new members, or engage in acts of desperation which isolate them further from the citizenry. But if the government succumbs to the temptation to "crush the



bastards", it risks stepping into what might be considered a "vicious spiral", in which repressive measures beget opposition which in turn begets more repressive measures and so on, until the government is covering inside fortresses bristling with guns to protect it from its own people.

This is not to say, of course, that the situation in Venezuela will deteriorate in this fashion. The Leoni government is still, as far as I know, popular, and the Castroist terrorists highly unpopular. If the crackdown goes smoothly, the army may succeed in destroying the terrorists quickly enough that few people are really inconvenienced by the emergency measures. The danger, of course, is that the "abnormal" restrictions will not be effective, and that the "temporary" suspension of democratic processes will drag on and on, eventually alienating large numbers of people. If this were to happen, Venezuela's Communists might yet snatch victory from the jaws of defeat.

**MASS ACTION AND THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT:** In the December 9, 1966, issue of New Left Notes, the newsletter published by the national headquarters of Students for a Democratic Society, John Spritzler offers a modest proposal which, in its audacity and tenuous connection with reality, rivals Swift's more famous one: viz., that on "some specified day early in the month of May, after four months of organizing by SDS, the NCC, VDC, SNCC, CNVA, WSP, SANE (?); DuBois Clubs, and all other willing New Left and peace organizations, a total of 10,000 men all over the nation gather in small local groups at symbolic locations such as the flag poles of federal buildings or Army recruiting centers, and, amidst supporting speeches by women (Women's Strike for Peace, etc.) and other sympathizers, burn their draft cards and refuse to be inducted." Mr. Spritzler believes that this action would "severely disrupt the LBJ consensus (and) shock the nation", certainly a reasonable expectation under the circumstances, but he also believes that it is feasible--or at least possible--and it is with this belief that I must disagree.

Publicly incinerating one's Selective Service card involves passing a threshold of moral conviction the intensity of which makes one oblivious to the rather spectacular consequences of this action. Next to self-immolation, draft-card burning is the ultimate act of protest against the vicious war in which the United States is engaged, and it requires extraordinary courage and dedication to moral principle. This, of course, accounts for the fact that only a handful of opponents of the war have undertaken to commit this extreme act of civil disobedience. It is inconceivable to me that such a personal, irrevocable act of protest could ever become a tactic of mass civil disobedience. One might as well propose that "on some specified day early in the month of May" 10,000 men volunteer to cut off their thumbs as an act of protest against the war in Vietnam. It would require a heroic degree of organization to marshal as many as 100 pledged draft card burners on a single day, and the campaign would have to be considered successful if as many as half of them actually went through with it. It is not that opponents of the war are lacking in courage or dedication to their goal; it is just that you cannot expect any but the most courageous of the courageous and most dedicated of the dedicated to make such an exemplary sacrifice. (Only a small minority of the early Christians faced the lions without wincing, and even Gandhi found that unless he concentrated on issues--like the Salt Tax--which touched everybody's immediate lives, he could only depend upon a few thousand activists--in a country of 350 million.)

However, I believe that John Spritzler's proposal contains a basically sound concept, and one which the anti-war groups appear to have been overlooking. That sound concept, in brief, in this: civil disobedi-



ence techniques become more effective (i.e., more annoying to the Establishment) as larger and larger numbers of people are involved. This is a principle which ought to have been pretty firmly established since Gandhi's campaign in South Africa. The government can arrest a dozen civil disobeyers without making a ripple; even a hundred or two hundred can be handled without much difficulty; but when it becomes necessary to arrest thousands at once, the situation assumes a special nature and the whole of society is literally rocked as if by some earth tremor. The protestors and their cause instantly and automatically become the number one subject of conversation throughout the country.

Heretofore, the anti-war movement has not attempted to organize any sort of mass civil disobedience. There have been some limited sit-ins at Selective Service centers and the remarkable vigil at Port Chicago, California, but most of the serious organizing appears to have been directed toward planning marches. Yet I think the circumstances are practically ideal for mass civil disobedience, for this is certainly a pre-eminently moral issue in which the minority is attempting to act as the conscience of a nation and a people. It is impractical to attempt to find 10,000 volunteers to burn their draft cards, but might it not be feasible to organize large numbers of people to engage in lesser forms of civil disobedience? Suppose several thousand people quietly marched into Times Square one day, sat down, and forced the authorities to cart them off? Or suppose there were simultaneous sit-ins at armed forces recruitment centers in dozens of cities, altogether involving five, ten or fifteen thousand people? This ought certainly to "shock the nation", and possibly even "disrupt the LBJ consensus"; and, unlike mass draft card burning, it seems more easily attainable. After all, being arrested for blocking the sidewalk or disturbing the peace or some other nuisance charge, and paying a fine or spending a couple of weeks in jail, entails a good deal less sacrifice than is involved in draft card burning. And properly planned, it would not be that much less dramatic or effective. The mere numbers involved tremendously increases the significance of the protest. (Imagine how electrifying the Port Chicago vigil would have been if, instead of a few dozen stalwarts, several thousand people had been continuously involved.) Of course, it might be difficult to organize all of the diverse anti-war elements even for such mild acts of civil disobedience, but I should think that it would at least be worth trying.

SHORT NOTES ON LONG SUBJECTS: A few years ago, there raged a controversy over the opposing slogans "Better Red Than Dead" and "Better Dead Than Red". As the danger of nuclear war with the Soviet Union has receded over the past couple of years, the controversy has faded. But the "Better Dead Than Red" advocates are still with us. Only now, instead of presuming to make that decision for America's children, they are making it for Vietnamese children. For that is what our war amounts to: The United States has decided, unilaterally, that the majority of the Vietnamese people would be better off dead than under a Communist government. +++ Looking beyond the Chicago municipal elections, I say: Dick Gregory for President! +++ Looking over my extensive replies to Derek Nelson's letter, I am not entirely satisfied with my remarks concerning US support of status quo regimes. I hesitate to attempt to express my feelings (as opposed to ideas) for fear of being criticized for "emotionalism", but nevertheless it may be necessary if I am to make Derek understand what I'm saying. This is, for me, something more than merely an abstract argument; it bothers me--makes me angry, if you will--that most of the victories for liberty during the past twenty years have been achieved in spite of rather than because of

CONTINUED AFTER "MATTER IN MOTION"



*matter in*

*motion*

In the European context, the word "conservative" presents a generally coherent picture of solid respectability. In most European nations, "conservatism" brings forth the image of a structured society with nobility, bourgeoisie and ignorant but loyal peasantry all in their places, support of the nation's traditional church, and the cooperation of such capitalized institutions as The Landed Gentry, The Army, The Church, The Bar, The University, The Professions and The Bourse in the maintenance of the country and each other. Such conservatism distrusts the "mob" and, when it can, sets up weighted voting and procedural "safeguards" to keep low income groups from having too much weight in the state. If its status as the effective ruling class is sufficiently threatened, such a conservatism often attempts to temporize with the trends of the times--either by absorbing parts of the movement for social reforms, as Great Britain's Conservatives and France's Gaullists have done, or by subsidizing nationalistic and "lumpen-conservative" feelings, as happened in the 1920's and 1930's in the fascist countries.

America's history has given a radically different context to its own conservative movement. European conservatism is anti-revolutionary; even in the 20th Century many of its spokesmen act as if the French Revolution were breathing down the backs of their necks. But American conservatives, no matter how strongly they feel about revolution in the abstract, are forced by their history to regard at least one revolution with approval. (American conservatives have also, in most cases, taken the Rebellion of 1861-1865 to their hearts.)

This consideration tends to give a more violent aspect to American conservatism. A European conservative will hire thugs to break up a socialist or communist meeting, but he will not regard as heroes the men he sends to do the dirty work. For example, in the 1920's the German Nationalist Party, composed of solidly respectable professional and military men who harked back to the Hohenzollern empire, looked with some disdain on the hoodlums, anti-Semites and converted leftists who made up the Nazi Party. But they did cooperate with them in the overthrow of the Weimar Republic and the establishment of the Third Reich, and Hitler expressed his appreciation by suppressing the "Brown Bolsheviks" within his own party's ranks.

America, with its revolutionary tradition, does not have this separation between "respectable" and "unrespectable" conservatives. Recent events have pointed this out dramatically. National Review, purportedly the voice of "respectable" conservatism, has advocated violence



against the civil rights movement (August 24, 1957), the hanging of Chief Justice Warren (September 9, 1961), and fighting at the side of General Walker (October 18, 1961). Klansmen and other strong-arm men of American conservatism regard themselves as the true heirs of the revolutionary traditions of 1776 and 1861.

It is for this reason that American conservatism has very little in common with the conservative tradition of, say, Churchill in England, Adenauer in Germany or Di Gasperi in Italy. In practice, the chief difference goes right to the core of the movement. In other countries, conservatives defend or try to restore a status quo which is social, political or economic. The issue which lies at the heart of American conservatism is race.

This is nothing new. The word "conservative" was first introduced into American political dialog by the pro-slavery apologist George Fitzhugh, who used it to describe his favorite system as opposed to the liberalism of northern capitalism and the socialism of Marx. In a book published in 1857, he established the line of defense of white supremacy which American conservatives have used ever since:

"We warn the North that every one of the leading abolitionists is agitating the negro slavery question merely as a means to attain their ulterior ends...a surrender to Socialism and Communism--to no private property, no church, no law; to free love, free lands, free women and free children."

Following the suppression of the Rebellion, the Ku Klux Klan took to itself the title "conservative", in opposition to the "radicals" who supported full citizenship and voting rights for Negroes, and free public education for everyone. The Klan therefore has the American franchise on the designation "conservative"; it is certainly the oldest and probably the largest conservative group in America, and has without question exerted a greater influence on the life of this country than any other conservative organization.

The other policy positions of American conservatism follow from this one. Since the federal government is the only level of government to which Negroes can realistically appeal for effective civil equality, conservatives oppose the powers of the federal government and continually try to restrict them. Since socialists of all varieties oppose racism, and since Fitzhugh first set the tone of identifying integration with communism, American conservatism is anti-communist and anti-socialist. (This contrasts with European fascism, which adopts as much of the socialist program as it feels it can get away with.) Since southern leaders of agriculture and industry can make segregation work to their own advantage by dividing a working class which might otherwise unite, conservatives support the interests of higher income as against those of lower income groups. Since the advent of war postpones the adjustment of domestic inequities, conservatives promote a more militant foreign policy, and kill two birds with one stone by directing this militancy against Communist nations.

An examination of the current character of American conservatism supports this analysis of its development. The largest conservative publication in America today is The Councilor, with a circulation of about a quarter million; in fact, The Councilor is the largest overtly ideological publication of any variety in this country. It is published in Shreveport, Louisiana, by the White Citizens' Councils. Its editor, Ned Touchstone, has made the racial basis of American conservatism indisputably clear in these words:



"Remember: A true conservative is even more interested in preserving white civilization and racial purity than he is in preserving just tax dollars."

That American conservatism is first and foremost an anti-Negro movement can also be seen from the results it has obtained at the polls. In 1964, the conservatives of the Republican Party nominated a forthrightly conservative candidate who ran on a conservative platform, his own conservative voting record, and the most conservative books that a major American political figure has written within living memory. He was, of course, soundly defeated. But the character of his support, and the distribution of his votes, are the indications of what sort of movement American conservatism is.

In New England, supposedly the heartland of American economic conservatism, Barry Goldwater carried only one county. He lost the well-to-do suburbs of the northern cities by unprecedented margins. In California, which seems to be the principal conservative center outside the South, he carried only Orange and San Diego counties and a few small mountain counties. The Midwest, allegedly enamored of the status quo, deserted him to the last state. But he won in the South, and particularly in the more segregated states of the South, and most overwhelmingly in the most backward rural regions of those states. While losing the country by 3-2, he carried Mississippi by 7-1!

Subsequent developments only provide further confirmation of the fundamentally racist character of conservatism in this country. The John Birch Society has taken upon itself, through its front organization TACT ("Truth About Civil Turmoil"), the task of exposing the Communist influences behind the civil rights movement. Robert Welch is of the opinion that civil rights in America and anti-colonialism in Asia and Africa are all part of an international Communist plot set in motion about 1920 with the design of stirring up non-whites against whites wherever the latter dominate the former.

Since, in intellectual circles, white supremacy has become unfashionable, the conservative who hopes to appeal to the intelligentsia must necessarily mute his attack. In National Review, for example, the Supreme Court is attacked not for letting Negroes into white schools but for invading "states' rights", giving Communists "immunity" from various pieces of anti-subversive legislation, or sometimes simply for splitting 5-4 on important issues. (Recently, conservatives have even attacked the "Warren Court", as they call it, for the Ginzburg decision, Justice Douglas' marriages, or the inadequacies in the Warren Commission report.)

People who oppose racism but support an economic, political or social philosophy which they call "conservatism" are acting in contradiction to the traditions of American conservatism. They frequently try to account for their views by saying that white supremacists are not "true conservatives". The history of American conservatism belies this apologia. For more than a century, white supremacists have had a lock on the term "conservative", and at present the biggest vote getting potential that conservatives have is still an appeal to anti-Negro bigotry. (This appeal is usually open in the South, while in the North it is cloaked as opposition to police review boards, open housing, "racial demonstrations", or "violence in the streets". However, in this day and age of easy nation-wide communication, southern conservative publications are considerate enough to translate into overtly racial terms these northern circumlocutions.)

What people should call themselves if they support effective integration and at the same time oppose anti-war and anti-poverty programs is something of a problem--but it's their problem, not that of



their opponents. If they call themselves "conservatives", they will inevitably associate themselves in that act with the racists who have used that self-designation for over a century, and they will find this racism of their colleagues a severe embarrassment. But then, those who ride the tiger have always experienced difficulty in dismounting the beast, or even slowing him down.

--John Boardman

## JOTTINGS

## CONTINUED

the efforts of the United States. But this is not because of some mystical pattern of action into which Great Powers are forced by circumstance. Rather, it is because, to be completely blunt, the foreign policy of this nation has been guided by imbeciles who underrate or ignore altogether leaders like Betancourt, Frei, Mossadegh, Belaunde Terry and Sihanouk, while eagerly embracing bastards like Ky and Kittikachorn and Batista and Rhee and Trujillo. If I were a Bircher, I would assume a massive conspiracy; as it is, I must conclude that people like Dulles, Rusk, Mann, etc., are simply stupid. It should be my country, if any, which stomps on scum like Batista and Ian Smith and Duvalier and Chiang; instead, we allow totalitarians like the Communists to lead the opposition to these tyrants. It disgusts me. +++ Albums I'd Like To Add To My Record Collection Dept: "Sonny & Cher With the Mormon Tabernacle Choir", "Songs of the Civil Rights Movement, by Strom Thurmond", "'Over There' and Ten Other War Songs by Joan Baez, Accompanied by the United States Marine Band", "Lawrence Welk Conducts the Modern Jazz Quartet", "Sammy Davis Jr. & Lurleen Wallace: Songs That Lovers Sing", "Bishop Fulton J. Sheen Sings Twelve All-Time Favorite Bawdy Ballads"; and "Stokely Carmichael Recalls the Old Minstrel Days". +++ Tell us, Uncle Cornpone, if our bombing of North Vietnam is restricted to military targets and efforts made to avoid injuring civilians, howcome anti-personnel weapons like the "Lazy Dog" (fragmentation) bomb are dropped? +++ We are approaching an anniversary of some symbolic importance. When you consider that organized labor in this country has, with a few exceptions, become so respectable that it's downright reactionary, and so much a part of the Establishment that it's about as militant as a castrated rabbit, it is hard to believe that only thirty years ago--on May 10, 1937--this country experienced the equivalent in its labor history of the Sharpeville massacre. On that day, strikers against Republic Steel in South Chicago were peacefully marching (some with their families) when, without warning, the police fell upon them with clubs and, as the marchers fled, fired into their ranks. Many were wounded, mostly in the back, and ten died of bullet wounds. Thirty years isn't too long. Why, any cop who was just a rookie when he participated in this slaughter may still be walking a beat in South Chicago, keeping the "n-----s" in line. It gives you something to think about. +++ Speaking of anniversaries, would you believe that Lena Horne was born June 30, 1917? (Whaddaya mean, Anne, "I should look so good when I'm fifty"? You should look so good now...) +++ It has become increasingly clear over the past few months that the NFL forces in South Vietnam are avoiding large-scale engagements with American units. This was not unexpected, of course, but the newspapers are characterizing it as a victory: "The Communists are unable to stand up to US forces in large battles," they are saying, "so they have reverted to a more primitive stage of guerilla warfare." This is true enough, as far as it goes, but the newspapers tend to report this jubilantly, as if it promised an improvement of the situation. The opposite is true. The US forces are at their best in combat against forces of battalion strength or larger, and at their worst attempting



to maneuver, with all their heavy equipment and complex logistical support, against the "invisible enemy", the guerilla. At least some of the general officers on the spot recognize this, and were openly pessimistic last year when it was first suspected that the NFL was abandoning large operations. A complete reversion by the guerillas to Mao's stage two of insurgent operations would, among other things, render practically useless the tanks and heavy artillery on which the US forces, especially those in the Saigon area, depend. +++ Billy H. Pettit (c/o Control Data, 1455 Tully Rd., NE, Atlanta, Ga., 30329) lacks only two issues of Kipple to complete his set, which he is in the process of binding by year. The missing issues are #43 and #101, and he is willing to pay \$2.00 (!) for the earlier one. Now, I know there must be somebody reading this column who has copies of those issues collecting dust in a closet--why not send them to Billy? +++ Whoops!, Wrong Country Dept: A column heading on page two of a recent issue of the Morning Sun proclaims "ONGANIA FILLS FINAL BRAZIL CABINET POST". I wonder how many people caught the error, and paused to ask what the chief of state or Argentina was doing filling cabinet posts in Brazil? +++ Perhaps Steve Mooser and I can become involved in another argument over our taste in music. The Mamas & The Papas have another record out, "Words of Love", which strikes me exactly as did "I Call Your Name": the tune is uninspired, the lyric banal and repetitive, but for some reason I digit tremendously. Maybe it's because Cass belts a song like they did in them Good Old Days we're always hearing about. +++ In arguing against the concept of "confrontation politics" which looked forward with unabashed glee to Ronald Reagan's victory in California, the Barb's roving rat fink, Ray Ramsey, answered the argument that Reagan wouldn't be able to do anything if he were elected by noting, "I imagine he'd think of something." He has. He was only in office two weeks when he began closing state poverty centers. Reagan's economy kick has other unpleasant aspects, such as a cutback in state funds to higher education, but the abandoning of the poverty centers, chiefly in the ghettos, is the most important. And he's only been in office a couple of weeks. Give him two or three years, fellas, and we'll really see something. +++ One of the things we'll see, hopefully, is the demonstration of the benefits of "confrontation politics" for which I am patiently waiting. Nobody was happier over Reagan's election than some of the Berkeley radicals. I assume that now that their wish has come true they are laying plans for some sort of splendid action, and that we interested observers shall see the fruits of these plans in the foreseeable future. +++ The World League to Preserve and Defend Plasmodium is seeking contributions, and I have been requested to publicize the League's lofty purpose. Plasmodium is (are? am?) the protozoan which causes malaria. Forty-two separate countries have declared war on Plasmodium, and the WLPDP was formed to present the other side of the story. The League believes that this is just another example of man's inhumanity to his fellow creatures. As WLPDP Chairman Renwood Bongflap says, "After all, these creatures have to live, too. We stand foresquare for Plasmodium's God-given right to life, liberty and the pursuit of red corpuscles." Bongflap adds: "Besides, the little blighters are cute--sort of fuzzy and cuddly." Contributions should be sent to the WLPDP, c/o the Montana State Lunatic Asylum, Butte, Montana. +++ Attention Dr. Boardman: Perhaps you can accomplish what no man before you has been able to do--viz., explain to me satisfactorily and in words of few syllables how and why liquid helium flows up the side of beakers, in apparent disregard for the limitations imposed by the law of gravity. +++ Would you believe that there wasn't enough space in this column for all of the short notes I had on hand?

--Ted Pauls



# DISSENTING

DEREK NELSON :: 18 GRANARD BLVD. :: SCARBOROUGH, ONTARIO :: CANADA

The article entitled "US Foreign Policy & World Revolution" in #113 is difficult to deal with, partly because it appears to be based upon a number of false premises, and partly because the outlook is only slightly distorted.

Let me start from the beginning, by putting forth an (admittedly) extremely elementary view of political relationships, with particular regard to the international field. The Realist (as field of thought) view of foreign affairs is that a state, through its decision makers, operates upon two basic principles: interest and power. The former describes what one is after, the latter the means of attaining it. Accepting this, it becomes obvious that the prime interest of a state is security in all its forms, whether economic, military or political. The present situation in Yemen presents an interesting example of this doctrine. The US, lacking vital interests in the area, recognized the Egyptian-controlled Republicans, while the British and Saudis, to whom Egyptian expansion is a life-and-death issue, continue to recognize the Royalist forces.

The way to attain security is to utilize power. Now power can be blatant or it can be subtle. It runs the gamut from military and economic pressures through the ability to manipulate foreign opinion; it can be as obvious as an aircraft carrier or as intangible as prestige and willingness to carry out one's commitments.

What is the place of ideology/system of values in this mosaic? I quote Max Weber: "Interests...not ideas dominate directly the actions of men. Yet the 'images of the world' created by these ideas have very often served as switches determining the tracks on which the dynamism of interests kept the action moving." The American Civil War provides an illustration. The primary interest of the Idealist was to abolish slavery; to the Realist (I quote Lincoln), "my primary interest is to save the Union".

To bring things back to the present, it is necessary to describe what the basic thought behind US foreign policy is, and also how this policy is to be implemented.

The US desires, above all, "peace". As the strongest power upon the planet, exercising varying degrees of control over half the earth, fat and prosperous at home, it relishes the present. All it wishes is that the strife would stop so that it could continue with its commercial activities. In other words, Ted, the "principal objective" of US foreign policy is not to "frustrate the expansion of Communist power", but to bring order to the world. One of the means of bringing order is to "frustrate the expansion of Communist power", but it is only one.

It should be obvious by now why the US cannot support revolutionary movements, for these forces are committed to opposing the status quo, which is obviously the United States. They are not interested in "peace" or order, but in carrying the revolution throughout the world. (Please note I am talking of social revolutionary forces, not political revolutionaries; i.e., the difference between the US in 1776 and France in 1793.)



## OPINIONS

To preserve the international order, which is the same as maintaining the security of the US, America acts like all Great Powers. To quote Walter Lippmann: "For my own part I know of no serious and educated student of international politics who attempts to deny that great powers will insist on spheres of influence which no other rival may enter with its military forces." Or, for that matter, with its ideological forces. This is what Hungary (1956) and Guatemala (1954) and the Indo-Pakistan War (1965) were all about. Respectively, I support Russia, the US and India in each of those circumstances. Eastern Europe belongs to Russia, and if any state in that region ever tries to pass out of the Russian/Communist orbit, I'll support the Red Army preventing such an action. Similarly, Latin America, Western Europe and the Pacific are American spheres of influence, or empires if you wish to call them that. (It is convenient, is it not, to begin by defining your viewpoint as the realistic (pardon me, I mean "Realistic") one? Well, I happen to believe that my viewpoint is eminently realistic. I reject the notion that the US must stand foursquare for the status quo, merely because Great Powers have usually done so (except when under the influence of a missionary philosophy). Your description of the US outlook toward the world ("relishes the present", "wishes...the strife would stop so that it could continue with its commercial activities") is completely accurate. But don't you understand why this outlook must change? The vast majority of the people in the underdeveloped countries hate the status quo. They are going to change it. This is a fact of life. Status quo defenders have always and will always wind up losers. I hope and believe that you are wrong in asserting that this is the only course open to the US, for as long as the status quo is anathema to many or most of the world's people, it is doomed--and the country which tries to support it is committing suicide. The choice is: join the march of revolutionary change, or stand in front of it and be trampled underfoot. We have stood in front of it for the past twenty years, but it isn't too late to change this (largely because the ideals we proclaim have created a huge reservoir of good will which our policies have not managed in twenty years to destroy; and also because our main opponents are the Soviets and the Chinese, both of whom, in addition to being totalitarians, are pretty incompetent). But time is running out. We are having great difficulty at present with one revolution in one insignificant country; what are we going to do in ten or fifteen years, when all hell breaks loose in eight or nine countries at once? Even we do not have enough troops to hold down the whole world. Of course, we can simply let the Communists win, but that is what we are trying to avoid. The alternative is to channel those revolutions--which are going to occur no matter what we do--into non-Communist, pro-American (or at least not violently anti-American) paths. It will be damnably difficult, because "statesmen" (I choke on the word) like Rusk and Dulles and Bundy have spent nearly a quarter of a century fouling up things. But it is possible.)

Since all problems, for the present, come back to Vietnam, let us take that issue right now. Almost every argument against the American presence is either a moralist one or an outright lie. An example of



the former is the "self-determination of nations" idiocy, and an example of the latter is that South Vietnam is "not a sovereign state". (A state is defined in geopolitical terms as having territory, population and a decision-making government owing only voluntary allegiance to other states.)

In the Realist camp the conflict is extremely simple. Is retaining a foothold upon the continent of Asia of vital interest to the United States? Lippmann and Morgenthau say it is not; De Borchgrave and Rusk say it is. All agree that Vietnam will either come under Chinese influence or under American; the former say this is China's legitimate right, the latter that there is much more at stake. Basically the Rusk arguments are that Vietnam is a testing ground for insurgent operations (to quote General Giap: "If the special warfare that US imperialists are testing in South Vietnam is overcome, then it can be defeated everywhere in the world"); that it will upset the balance of power in Asia, and that the US cannot see such a strategic (in all ways) position (Southeast Asia) pass into the hands of alien forces committed to the destruction of the USA's world position.

I agree with them. There is far more at stake here than the future of South Vietnam (alone it is as important as the South Shetlands). It is interesting to note that the US never deviated in its support of Sukarno of Indonesia, and the result was a revolutionary force which hated the US the longer the support continued. But after the States decided to cut its ties (actually, Indonesia did the cutting) with that country, and after it showed a willingness to fight the so-called "wave of the future", Indonesia veered back to tacit support of the US position.

To switch back to the essay proper, the following line gave cause for amusement: "Confronted by Communist tyranny, liberals object primarily to the fact that it is a tyranny, while conservatives are primarily concerned by the fact that it is Communist." Realists object not to the fact that it is Communist or a tyranny, but that it is a client-state of Russia or China and committed to opposing the interests of the US. As I pointed out earlier, the same position holds for Republican Yemen, for this Egyptian client-state threatens Anglo-Saudi interests.

Incidentally, if Ted Pauls opposes tyrannies of any political hue, why is it that Ted Pauls advocates the violent overthrow of governments friendly to the Western powers but makes no mention of overthrowing governments hostile to the Western powers? Will Ted Pauls support the violent overthrow of the governments of Guinea, Mali, Egypt, Syria, Cambodia, Hungary and North Vietnam? All of these are tyrannies, and all are hostile to the West. In 1956, did Ted Pauls suggest that the West send arms to Hungary? I rest my case. (In 1956, I favored extending recognition to the Nagy government, and providing military and economic assistance. I support democratic revolutions against any tyrannical regime. Of the countries you listed, I know very little about the government of Mali and question whether Cambodia is a tyranny in any meaningful sense; but I would be happy to see democratic revolutions against all the rest--not to mention a few countries you neglected to list, such as the Soviet Union, the PRC, Bulgaria, Romania, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Albania (to confine the list to regimes hostile to the West). Satisfied?)

To digress, I note (looking through past Kipples) that the only times the Communist powers have been criticized has been over Danyel and Sinyavsky in the Soviet Union and the Guards of Red Defense in China. You spent more space attacking Thailand in one article than all of the criticisms of the Communists combined. How does this fit in with your idea of "you know them by what they oppose"? (Actually, I've done a bit better than that. Most of my articles on Marxist philosophy mention the



current practitioners of its various perversions in an unfavorable manner, and there have been articles in the past couple of years on Soviet propaganda and Lysenko's purge of Soviet biology which were hardly complimentary. Still, you have raised a good point which deserves a forthright reply: The reason I spend more time criticizing governments like Thailand's and South Vietnam's than I spend criticizing equally repugnant leftist regimes is because practically everybody in this country already knows that the leftist governments are unpleasant, while the rightist regimes are not only admired by a good many Americans but also, unfortunately, by government officials who believe we ought to be willing to die to keep them in power. Believe me, Derek, if an when a respected segment of the press or an influential clique within the government begins to assert that we should get into a nasty little war on the side of Albania or Syria, I'll have plenty to say about those oppressive regimes, too.)

Actually, what is irritating is that you attack the wrong things about the Communists. Danyel and Sinyavsky were guilty, so why shouldn't they go to jail? No one has yet explained that to me. (Unless, of course, we should have one law for intellectuals and one for peasants.) (Your attitude toward laws positively fascinates me. The point is not whether Sinyavsky and Danyel--and Ralph Ginzburg and Lenny Bruce--were guilty as charged, but whether the laws under which they were convicted should exist. Something that is immoral or inhuman or just plain absurd is not rendered any more respectable by being incorporated into a statute. You may shrug off the imprisonment of Sinyavsky and Danyel for engaging in political criticism, but surely you must draw the line somewhere. Would you have approved of the sentences imposed upon Jews and mischlinge under the notorious Nuremburg Laws? Do you approve of all of the convictions under South Africa's apartheid laws?)

As to the so-called Red Guards, five speakers (out of twelve) at the international teach-in on China at the University of Toronto said they were closer to the Boy Scouts than the Hitler Youth. According to the organizers, this was a representative meeting of thought on China--one American was invited. You can believe those five or not; I don't really care. It is obvious China was a totalitarian society, so why pick on just one example of their totalitarianism and berate it with all sorts of emotional adjectives? What the Guards do is not going to hurt the West as long as they stay in China, is it? ("What the Schwarzkorps does is not going to hurt the West as long as they stay in Germany, is it?" The only political violence that seems to really bother you is that which occurred in France during the Reign of Terror. I'm practically speechless; I am not accustomed to criticizing a Communist country and then having my criticism objected to by a conservative. But then, you're a mighty peculiar sort of conservative...)

What would you think of a motion picture that was mainly composed of color film of acts of genocide, full-scale massacres, race riots, the butchery of wild beasts, tribal and other wars, drunken independence day celebrations, executions and mutilations, etc.--all from black Africa. In the same film are pictures of a prosperous South Africa. It is going to be interesting to see just how much liberty of expression means to Leftists now that a film has come out that should be suppressed. It is named "Africa Addio", and is by the same guys as made "Mondo Cane". I can see Alabama sponsoring it. (It goes without saying (or should, if you've really been reading Kipple for the past five years) that I would be unequivocally opposed to any attempt to suppress the film.)

I've just noticed that for a guy who feels military strategy is one of his hobbies, you show an appalling lack of knowledge of modern military thought. "Any base in Vietnam, north or south, is completely vulnerable to B'52's from Guam" completely threw me. (And so did Price



when he talks about the bases we get from preventing the Communist occupancy of South Vietnam.) Neither of you could be serious. This is so unreal; this has nothing to do with the Vietnamese conflict. (Well, I don't mind your criticizing my "appalling lack of knowledge of modern military thought", but at least make sure that it's my lack of knowledge you're assaulting. Of course the comments about the usefulness of (air or naval) bases in Vietnam are nonsense and have nothing to do with the present conflict; but the point was raised by George Price and his authority, Raymond Moley, who are apparently still living in the days of the Battle of Jutland. Confronted by the remarkable assertion that we must win in Vietnam because Communist control of that country would "outflank the Philippines" and "threaten the sea lane to India", what was I to do? Instead of spending three pages explaining why this was ridiculous, I simply pointed out that the Communists already had bases closer to those hypothetical objectives; and that, in any case, should the conventional war situation envisioned by Price arise, we could always knock out enemy bases in Vietnam by air. Stick around, Derek; now that the discussion is revived, I may have to disinter the ghost of Billy Mitchell to prove to George that our "sea lanes" are not in danger.)

In Kipple #108 you stated: "The objective of conventional war is to destroy the enemy's armed might and/or conquer territory which they occupy; the objective of non-conventional war is to gain the support of the population." Generations of English statesmen would turn in their graves, Napoleon would barf, and Stalin would laugh at that. The objective of any war is to force the opposing side to agree to your political terms. In strictly military terms it is to convince the enemy decision makers that they cannot attain their objectives by force, but that you can. (Yes, the "objective of any war is to force the opposing side to agree to your political terms." In my comment in #108, I was attempting to point up the distinctive characteristic of guerilla warfare, and I phrased it badly. In conventional warfare, the political objective ("victory" as you have defined it above) is generally pursued by battering the opposing armies and conquering territory. If enough territory is occupied and enough battles won, the enemy can be forced to come to terms. But when the enemy is a guerilla army, it doesn't work quite like that. The regular army can win all of the battles without actually winning anything (the British won most of them during the American War of Independence); it can occupy all the territory it wants, but since the enemy is a substantial segment of the population, holding territory doesn't mean much either. Perhaps the distinction is best realized this way: If in 1945 some aide had come to General Eisenhower and reported, "Sir, we can defeat any army the Germans can put into the field and occupy any piece of German soil for as long as we want," Eisenhower would have said (and rightly so), "That means the war's over, son." Today, in Vietnam, the US forces can defeat any army the Communists can put into the field and occupy for as long as they want any place in South (or, for that matter, North) Vietnam; but it doesn't mean anything.)

You undoubtedly believe the usual military myths common to America that war must bring victory, or, in a different sphere, that the atomic bomb prevented Soviet expansion to the Channel in the late 1940's. Oh well. (You're confusing me with George Price again, Derek...)

You even seem to believe that Germany and Japan were out to conquer the world (as the saying goes) during the Hitler War, which is little more than malicious slander. (Japanese ambitions, I know, were limited, but I think there's a good case for the view that Hitler was out to conquer, if not the world, at least a helluva big chunk of it.)

And then there was your opposition to the UN actions in the Congo, with the usual emotional sidelight about them killing Belgian women.



Tough for the Belgian women. I rather doubt there were many protests against 'mistakes' in the US Civil War when the Union put down the Confederacy. People who live in secessionist areas should expect what is coming.

Oh yeah, another point about a military action, namely your article on Lee at Gettysburg. Neither that action, nor Vicksburg, were the decisive battles of the war. Antietam in 1862 decided who would win and who would lose in the long run. Beyond that bloody tactical stalemate (but strategic victory for the North), there was never a hope of European intervention. And the latter was the only hope the South ever had. (It is always easier to pinpoint decisive events in retrospect, and Antietam's claim to that title depends of course upon Gettysburg and Vicksburg having ended as they did. Had Grant retreated in failure from Mississippi and had Lee defeated Meade at Gettysburg, thereby necessitating the flight of the US government from Washington to (probably) New York, England and France would certainly have reopened the question of intervention. The South never really had any hope of "winning" in the sense that that term is presently employed by Vietnam Hawks, even with European assistance; but a political victory, entailing the recognition of the South's right to maintain slavery and the extension of slavery into part of the West--or even the recognition of the CSA as an independent country--would have been achievable had the southern armies been aggressive and victorious on the battlefield into 1864 (election years being the same in those days as now, repeated defeats for the North could have defeated Lincoln and replaced him with a Copperhead).)

In five years, five thousand Americans have died for political purposes in Vietnam. In the same five years, 200,000 Americans have died in senseless slaughter on the highways of the nation. Wouldn't that suggest something to you? (Why yes, as a matter of fact, it does suggest something to me. It suggests that we could save a good many lives if we (1) enforced a strict code of automobile safety standards, (2) compelled all drivers to pass tough annual or biannual tests, and (3) got the hell out of Vietnam.)

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"When men's minds were much occupied with ice ages, attempts were made to explain bird migration as a historical memory of these: as repetition, now meaningless, of once meaningful escape flights. But in order to escape the ice, the birds would only have had to travel a few hundred miles south. When vitamins were discovered, vitamin deficiencies were said to be the cause. Today cosmic rays are the fashion and we read that the life of birds is accommodated to days of a certain length and that it is the increase and decrease in infra-red and ultra-violet rays that gets the little creatures underway. Let us patiently wait for the next theory." --Fritz Kahn, in "Book of Nature".  
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Kipple #114 seems to illustrate a point I made a while back: the totally insufficient character of law to cope with what is really wrong. Re open occupancy, I must agree to a small degree with Mr. Price when he comments that the mere occupancy is not what is truly wrong--it is the violence that accompanies such occupancy. Witness the depressing and downright disgusting conditions in the Kensington section of Philadelphia.

However, another point must still be made. I do not know what is the full extent of implications that can be drawn from open occupancy, but the law implies that the only interest a person selling his property has is in the monetary return. False, false, false. I may be sell-



ing my home, therefore transferring legal interest in it; but I still might want to uphold the quality of the home through the person to whom I sell it. Irregardless of race, religion, etc., there is a time when you see that attitudes of prospective buyers are anything but encouraging. I do not say this out of pure imagination, either, since this is exactly what happened to our old home (which was sold through a realtor). The people who moved in proceeded to ruin the grounds through lack of consideration, as well as the interior. Was this fair to the neighbors who, and without exception, took care of their homes and grounds? Yet could we, under such a law, refuse to sell the home to such people? Now, you may ask, how can we have pre-judged them; but it is not impossible in such an extreme case. Again, I'm not certain about all the ramifications of the law, but this is not an impossibility. And the same can be said for renting apartments or homes in the city.

It is a tricky question, and I'm afraid that the answer does not lie in merely open occupancy. What family would even want to live in an area where they would be terrorized, other than merely to assert their rights and make an example for civil rights? This is the only real gripe I have with the "movements": often the problems arise from, not a desire to have what the law allows, but just to test the law. This is silly because, as I've said, the laws don't cover the most important elements in these questions? I must admit, however, that I'd hate to think what would happen if we didn't have them. It is only my desire to get to the roots of the problems which has me criticizing the laws and the "movements".

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"So the end of this book is the writing of this book. The decision to face my past and the self which existed in and was formed by it could not have been made before this time. I had many times rejected the idea of writing an autobiography. Before this time, I could not bear the idea of exposing myself again, even in memory, to the forces that shaped me and to the person that I have been. The guilts I bore for the things I had left undone, for the empty symbol I then thought I was, were too heavy for me to contemplate.

"But now I am free. The Negroes no longer need a handful of successful people to symbolize their hopes. They no longer need to live vicariously through us, for they are reaching out to take, en masse, what we were 'given', in order to keep them still. History has passed us by-- the generation of the celebrity symbols. We are free merely to be human, free to speak, frankly as individuals, not as examples, not as 'credits' to our race. And so I do not have to measure myself against an impossible ideal of Negro womanhood and feel shame over my failure to meet the standards. I can, at last, try to be myself." --Lena Horne, in "Lena".  
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I note in news from the land of the Egyptians that government authorities there, ever looking out for the welfare and happiness of the people, have agreed to allow belly dancers a bit more freedom in their performances. The girls no longer need be covered from head to heel and some "dignified" gyrations of the hips and belly will be permitted. This should, of course, put the lie to those who have decried a certain lack of freedom in the land of the Egyptians.

Your notes on the Maryland political scene (#114) were duly noted. I really don't feel qualified to comment on the New Mexico political scene, but it is of interest to observe that the grand jury in Santa Fe has indicted assorted members of the state highway commission, including the chairman, for gross misuse of public funds. Mr. Boston Witt,



our newly re-elected attorney general, says that he would resign if some respectable law firm would offer him a worthy job. My own personal opinion is that no respectable law firm would have anything to do with him. Precinct conventions are being held this month, and if my stomach feels up to it I will attend the Democratic gathering in my precinct and give you a report.

You might be interested in a couple of the local races. Not all of the precincts came up with candidates for justice of the peace. In one precinct there were two write-in votes for justice of the peace, each vote for a different man. This resulted in a tie, of course, so the outcome was settled by a toss of a coin. In another precinct there was one write-in vote for Dave Gordon, a reporter for the Albuquerque Journal, and since that was the only vote cast for justice of the peace he was declared the winner and duly elected. Which illustrates some point or other, I suppose. (In Gainesville, Georgia, two candidates for the city commission tied with 674 votes apiece, necessitating a new general election on February 7th. There were actually 1349 votes cast, but the odd vote was a write-in for Batman. I have no information concerning whether Batman will be allowed to run in the special election.)

A Republican was elected as state auditor, an office which pays \$7000 per year. The state auditor has no duties, however, as the last legislature created a new office called the legislative auditor which now carries on all the functions of the office of state auditor. So we are paying this guy seven grand a year to do nothing.

Another interesting post that always has a lot of candidates is superintendent of Bernalillo County schools. There are no Bernalillo County schools. This one doesn't pay anything, but it does seem sort of useless to have it taking up space on the ballot.

I should think that the report of the Warren Commission is substantially correct. There may, of course, be minor errors, but it seems unlikely that they would make any major difference in the conclusions reached. To suppose otherwise is to suppose the existence of an absolutely unbelievable conspiracy. It is doubtful that such a conspiracy could long be hidden from the talented snoopers that infest the country today.

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"In that other sunny clime, California, Governor Reagan also has some ideas about helping the taxpayer. Taking a page from Florida Governor Kirk's book, he plans to set up a privately financed organization to provide jobs for members of minority groups. This is not really a new idea. They once had such organizations in Florida and other Southern states. They were called plantations." --The Baltimore Sun.  
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I hope to get Richard talking about your comments (Kipple #114) on the Kennedy assassination. Meanwhile, I have two comments. First, under several circumstances entry vs. exit hole is marked by bits of threads from the clothing--bits which the bullet caused and carried into the entry wound. This is not necessarily apparent to "highly expert observers", but rather to the guy with the magnifying glass who's looking for the threads. Second, Kennedy didn't have to be waving at that moment. Any shift or twist of the body away from the cloth could have confused the actual trajectory of the bullet. Otherwise, you're implying that Mrs. Kennedy shot her husband surreptitiously (with a rifle lying on the seat?) in full view of the standees along the parade route. (I am implying no such thing. The President could easily have been shot in the back "several inches" below the neck from the window of the School



Book Depository (or, for that matter, another building in the area). I expected to be challenged concerning the placement of the bullets and Dr. J. Thornton Boswell's explanation, since I presumed to accuse this eminent expert of making an "obvious" error. Consider: Both garments have the bullet hole several inches below where the Warren Commission claims it was, and Boswell explains that the President was waving. He wasn't, but let's pretend he was and see if Boswell's competence in forensic medicine can be called into question. It is, first of all, highly debatable whether waving or any "shift or twist of the body" would have altered the position of the bullet hole in the coat by several inches. If somebody took a coat off the rack in a Hadassah store and walked around with his arms waving in the air like Cassius Clay proclaiming victory, the coat might "ride up" that much; but would the movements of a seated man wearing a custom-tailored suit have caused such displacement? More important, any conceivable physical action would operate on the shirt less than on the jacket; forensic medicine specialists often determine how a gunshot victim was holding his arms by noting when the bullet holes line up. But in this case, both holes were in the same area of the back, from which the only conclusion to be drawn is that the bullet did in fact strike this area, and while the victim was sitting normally. Since this is the view supported by the pictures, I feel justified in asserting, Warren Commission or no Warren Commission, that this is in fact what happened.)

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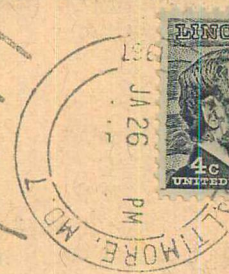
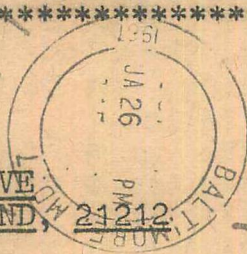
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