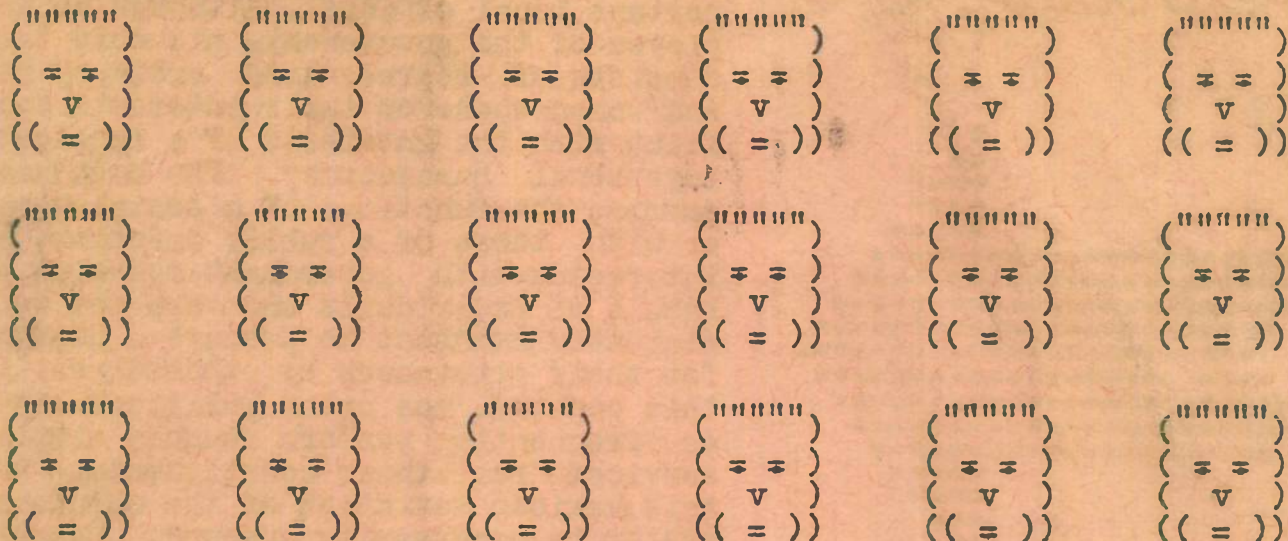
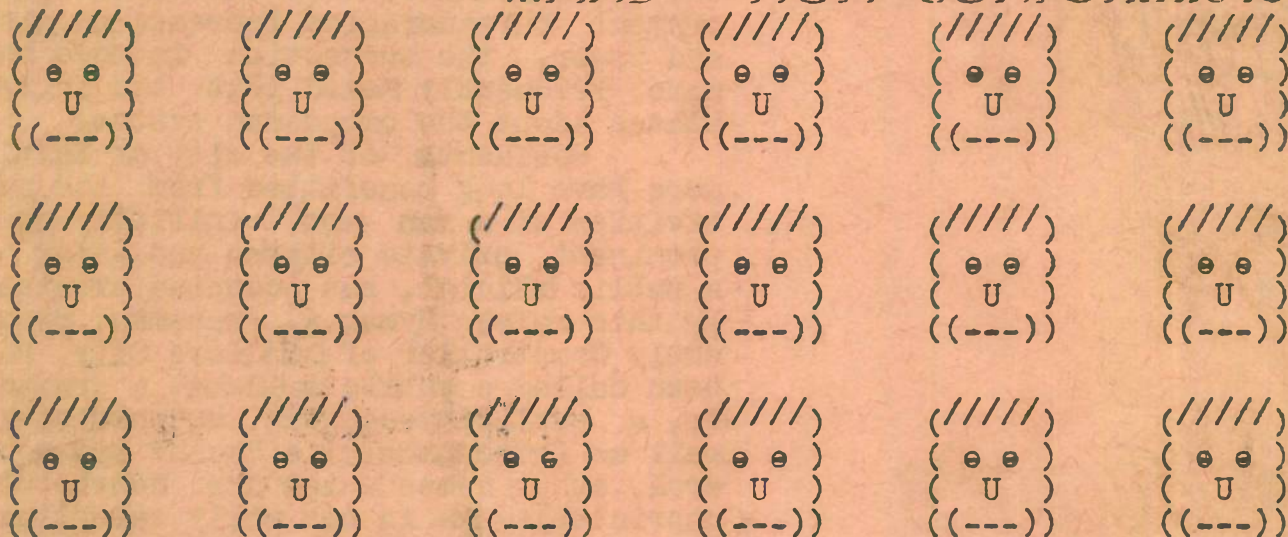


## CONFORMISTS...



## ...AND NON-CONFORMISTS



# KIPPLE 81

JUNE 7, 1965

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Remember--this is National Mortuary Month; please patronize yours.

from  
the  
editor's  
desk

BY TED PAULS

Residents of the city of Baltimore have long benefitted from the activities of a man who, initially as a prominent private citizen and later as a public official, has occupied precisely this role. Hyman A. Pressman, presently Comptroller of Baltimore City, has been called a public watchdog, a crusader, a publicity-seeking eccentric, as well as (more crudely) a "kook" and several other names which are completely unprintable. Now in his early seventies, Mr. Pressman initially became prominent as one of the most unorthodox and successful divorce lawyers in the area. For the past fifteen years, however, his reputation as an attorney has been overshadowed by his flamboyant activities as guardian of the public interest. An unyielding opponent of waste and corruption, Hyman Pressman has plagued a dreary succession of uninspired and disreputable politicians with his penchant for exposing their dirty linen to public view. He is always available to represent individual citizens or groups with limited influence of their own when they have legitimate complaints regarding the activity or (more probably) inactivity of a government agency. He is a consummate crusader, with an obvious

zest for that particularly demanding occupation.

Mr. Pressman has frequently been accused of being a "publicity-hound", because he usually dramatizes whatever happens to be his current crusade by saying or doing something which will inspire screaming headlines in the early editions of the newspapers. He accepts the label unhesitatingly and with some amusement; he possesses voluminous scrapbooks containing newspaper accounts of his various exploits, and displays them with unrestrained relish to visitors to his office. But the publicity, while satisfying, is not an end in itself. Hyman Pressman recognized, many years before the civil rights struggle conclusively demonstrated the point, that the champion of any viewpoint must, in order to be effective, capture the attention of the public (i.e., of the press). Occasionally, this requires some sort of theatrical gesture (the definitive instance of which was the Buddhist monks burning themselves to death as a protest against the oppressive regime of Ngo Dinh Diem). Once, on the day of an election, Mr. Pressman journeyed to the home precinct of a particularly notorious political boss whom he suspected might be inclined to disobey the ordinance prohibiting politicking within 100 feet of a polling place. Removing a tape-measure from his pocket, Pressman measured the appropriate distance from the door of the polling place in every direction and marked the boundary with a chalk line, then remained sitting on the curb for the remainder of the day to insure that no violations of the ordinance occurred. On another occasion, Mr. Pressman staged a one-man sit-in demonstration to publicize his accusation of shoddy workmanship on construction for which the city had paid premium rates.

In early 1963, this most remarkable "publicity-hound" decided to seek public office in order to be in a position to more effectively exercise his unique talents as a one-man reform movement. It was characteristic of Hyman Pressman that even his manner of achieving public office would be both controversial and spectacular. A registered Democrat since his twenty-first birthday, he entered the Democratic primary as part of an independent ticket which was compelled to do battle with no less than four separate political machines. Possibly the fact that none of the factions of the corruption-ridden "regular" Democrats trusted the others accounts for the surprisingly strong showing of the independent slate of candidates. The strongest of the machine candidates managed to lead his ticket to a slim victory, but Hyman Pressman came within a couple of hundred votes of being nominated as the Democratic candidate for comptroller. At this point, it would have been reasonable to conclude that Mr. Pressman's political ambitions were, at least temporarily, stymied; but fate was to decree otherwise. In the days following the primary, when the other Democratic candidates (after calling each other vile names for months) began the traditional ritual of unifying the party in order to face the onslaught of the Republicans, Hyman Pressman announced that, rather than engage in such conspicuous hypocrisy, he would endorse the Republican ticket. Several weeks later, the Republican candidate for comptroller announced that he was resigning from the ticket, because a business with which he had been associated had recently declared its bankruptcy and he wished to spare his fellow office-seekers from the ridicule and insinuation which would be inspired by his presence on the ticket. Within hours came the electrifying announcement that Hyman Pressman, having switched his registration from Democratic to Republican, would occupy the vacant spot on the ticket. Although this extraordinary move was challenged in court, the protests of the indignant Democrats were to no avail. On May 7, 1963, Hyman A. Pressman was elected City Comptroller by a sizable majority. (The Republican candidate for Mayor and the Democratic candidate for President

coalition administration.) Mr. Pressman holds the unique distinction of having gained, in a general election, an office for which he was defeated in the primary.

In some quarters, it was feared that Baltimore, having gained an incorruptible and diligent comptroller, might simultaneously have lost a colorful crusader, for it seemed likely that Pressman would be less inclined to mount his white charger and do battle with an administration of which he was an important member. These suspicions were immediately laid to rest, however. The only visible change since that election has been a quantitative one: Mr. Pressman is now considerably more powerful, and is therefore able to offend more imposing interests with some prospect of success. In addition, Comptroller Pressman no longer finds it necessary to engage in theatrical stunts in order to assure ample publicity for his campaigns; as an important official in the city administration, he merely picks up the telephone and announces to the newspapers and television outlets that he would like to make a statement. Yet he apparently misses the devices which formerly were required in order to publicize his crusades. He conducts the routine duties of comptroller in an efficient but subdued manner; it is in his capacity as ombudsman to an entire metropolis that he finds satisfaction, and the verve and obvious pleasure which he brings to his various crusades is wonderful to behold. Once, while working in his office in City Hall, he observed that a group of school teachers were picketing outside, carrying signs which read: "Balto. Unfair to Teachers". Mr. Pressman promptly made himself a sign reading "You're right!" and joined the picket line.

His physical durability is remarkable for a man of his age, and the pace he maintains while conducting the routine duties of his office and carrying on a half-dozen crusades simultaneously would send a younger man prematurely to his grave. There is virtually no controversy relevant to modern society in which he has not been involved at one time or another, from automation to birth control, and merely to catalogue the areas in which he has been active would consume several pages. When the Maryland legislature voted to increase the state income tax, Hyman Pressman led the fight against this unpopular decision, initiating a taxpayer's suit challenging the constitutionality of the increase. He has opposed with equal vigor suggested increases in the city property tax and the imposition of nuisance taxes, advocating instead that the state raise revenue by means of a lottery. When the politicians refused to seriously consider this proposal, the Comptroller stood on the corners of various busy streets in the city for several days and polled passers-by, concluding that the lottery proposal was overwhelmingly favored above any of the alternatives. Comptroller Pressman has opposed every attempt by Blue Cross, a non-profit medical insurance program, to increase its rates. He is a ubiquitous figure at hearings of the Public Utilities Commission, and invariably arrives equipped with figures proving that the current rates of the Baltimore Gas & Electric Company and the Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Company are quite sufficient. When the Maryland Petition Committee, a segregationist organization, collected petitions to force Maryland's civil rights act to public referendum, it was Hyman Pressman who minutely examined the petitions in search of discrepancies and succeeded in having them declared invalid. He has, on countless occasions, investigated at first hand city construction projects and has refused, on his own initiative, to permit payment to be made until the construction satisfies his own high standards of safety and workmanship.

Hyman Pressman has never, so far as I can recall, given any clear-cut statement of his political philosophy; he is a pragmatist, too busy

servative". He is, like Socrates, a magnificent gadfly, who glorifies in exposing the errors and misadventures of his fellow members of the city administration. He wields his saber with enthusiasm and authority, whether he is defending an unfortunate laborer about to be evicted from his home or the gigantic Pepsi Cola Bottling Company.

Unless the consequences of burning his candle at both ends for so many years finally catch up with the aging paladin, his prominence will increase still more in the coming months, for the failure of his lottery scheme under the present state administration has impelled him to assert that he will run for governor in 1966 on a lottery platform. Provided that he can avoid the pitfalls of a predominantly one-issue campaign and manage to align himself with the "young turk" Democrats led by Senator Joseph Tydings, it would be decidedly unwise to bet against Mr. Pressman. No individual in the state's history has offended more politicians and pressure groups, but his popularity with the general public is unquestionably immense. If he should succeed in capturing the gubernatorial prize, he would undoubtedly head the most extraordinary administration ever to govern Maryland.

**SANTO DOMINGO: AN AMERICAN TRAGEDY** During brief interludes between sessions devoted to devising scathing rhetoric and original phrases condemning the recent United States intervention in the Dominican Republic, Communist leaders in Peking, Moscow and Havana must be engaging in veritable orgies of rejoicing as a result of this latest and most convincing demonstration of simple-mindedness in Washington's foreign policy. Virtually since the beginning of the Cold War era, the appalling inadequacy of United States foreign policy has constituted a major contributing factor in the successful spread of Communist influence. Conservatives profess to be shocked and profoundly distressed when contemplating the increasing influence of Marxist ideas and political parties in the underdeveloped world, but to an observer who possesses something more than a superficial understanding of the forces at work in the world today, the wonder is not that Communists have been so successful, but rather that they have fared so poorly in relation to the infinite opportunities presented to them by the effective paralysis of United States policy. By pursuing an irrational, simplistic and utterly crude foreign policy, Washington has contributed massively at every juncture to such successes as the Communists have recorded. Where the organized forces of Marxism-Leninism have scored victories, they have been victorious by default--because the Western nations in general, and the United States in particular, have failed miserably to comprehend the nature of the conflict and consequently the requisites for victory.

For the past twenty years, the distinguishing characteristic of United States foreign policy vis-à-vis the underdeveloped countries has been a singular and incredible short-sightedness. Those who have formulated this policy--and they include both liberals and conservatives, Democrats and Republicans--have been guilty of an almost criminal ignorance. The United States has endeavored to "defeat Communism" on a month-to-month basis, without sufficiently taking into consideration the long-term consequences of this policy. This has been especially true in Latin America. Washington attempts to deal with the manifest results of Communist success--revolutions, riots, strikes, etc.--but consistently ignores the fact that these disruptions are merely symptoms of a grave organic defect in the society in which they occur.

Communism prospers in the underdeveloped nations to the extent that the Communists manage to identify themselves with the legitimate aspirations of the masses of the people. Marxists usually succeed in accomplishing this objective not because they, as the advocates of a to-

talitarian dogma, are particularly qualified to do so, but because the United States, their principal opponent, has nothing better to offer. The only effective means of combating an Idea is with a superior Idea, but this nation has so far conspicuously failed to develop and promote any superior ideas in the underdeveloped world. The Communists consistently win these "battles for human minds" because we vacate the field of combat before the battle even begins. There is only one conceivable method of defeating Communism in the underdeveloped world, and that is to alleviate the root causes of Communist influence: poverty, ignorance, oppression, disease and starvation. The combination of these factors constitutes what a Marxist intellectual would term the "objective conditions" for a socialist revolution. So long as these objective conditions exist, it is impossible to curtail the growth of Communist influence, no matter how many subversives are imprisoned or executed.

Of course, the United States cannot through its economic assistance programs transform essentially backward countries into affluent societies. Direct economic and technical assistance can be extremely useful in Latin America, as elsewhere, but what is more urgently required is a fundamental revision in Washington's evaluation of precisely what constitutes desirable indigenous governments in these countries. The tragedy of United States policy in the underdeveloped world is that this nation has never seriously recognized the necessity for radical change in the social, political and economic structure of the sort of society which is typical of Africa, Asia and Latin America. A great deal of lip-service has been paid to the need for social progress, political liberalization and economic reform, but the practical measures undertaken by Washington have almost invariably sought to support the status

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"Pardon me for interrupting, Comrade Brezhnev, but do you remember Comrade N. J. Karelian?"

"Why, of course, I remember Comrade Karelian. He's the author of 'The Decadent Western Culture', isn't he?"

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"Yes, Comrade. He also authored the pamphlet, 'The Economies of the Capitalist Nations Are In Imminent Danger of Collapsing'."

"And he contributed a series to Izvestia entitled 'The United States is Disintegrating'. What about him?"

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"He defected last night..."

quo. The United States is thus placed in the position of resisting change in countries where the fondest dream of a huge majority of the population is to achieve a level of existence equivalent to what in this country is considered "poverty". To support an inequitable status quo is to engage, by definition, in a losing purpose.

In their vehement public statements, Communist leaders invariably roundly condemn military juntas, oligarchies and dictators such as Luis Somoza, Rafael Trujillo, Fulgencio Batista, ad nauseum. Privately, however, the more intelligent and perceptive Marxists surely must recognize that they are greatly indebted to such regimes for the success of their cause, for without oppressive right-wing governments Communism could not attract followers. A country in which poverty and disease are endemic, and which is governed by a regime structurally incapable of solving or noticeably alleviating these problems (e.g., the Barrientos regime in Bolivia), represents a practically ideal situation for Communist agitators. By supporting precisely such regimes, the United States is engaging in an ultimately self-defeating course of action. It is ironic that an almost pathological fear of Communists coming to power in previously anti-Communist countries impels the United States to adopt a policy which, in the final analysis, contributes immeasurably to the success of Communist agitators and revolutionaries.

The only elements in an underdeveloped nation genuinely feared by the Communists are the Left Democrats. Although the necessities of the moment may impel opportunistic Communists to cooperate with the non-Communist Left in certain situations, the doctrinaire Marxists rarely forego an opportunity to discredit or (preferably) destroy the Left Democrats. There is an extremely important reason for this: Communists recognize what has so long been ignored by the United States, viz., that the non-Communist Left represents the only serious competition for the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism in the underdeveloped world. You cannot combat the promises of Communism with the realities of a military junta's rule. Yet, time and time again, the United States has participated or acquiesced in the destruction of the non-Communist Left, propelled by an exaggerated horror of anything which even resembles Communism. The depressing fact is that the United States, despite the present Administration's promotion of sweeping programs of social progress at home, is pitifully terrified by radicalism in other countries. This policy is tragic because the weakening of the non-Communist Left necessarily increases the influence of orthodox Marxist elements. United States policy appears presently to be based upon the absurd belief that if Washington gives its approval to the overthrow of radicals such as Bosch in the Dominican Republic and Goulart in Brazil, the people of those countries will enthusiastically welcome the stridently anti-Communist regimes which succeed them. Precisely the opposite, of course, is far more likely to occur, and it is the failure to recognize this fundamental truth which impels the United States to adhere to a policy which is actually directly opposed to the true interests of the nation.

In an essay which constituted his contribution to a symposium on war in the modern world, California's Bishop James A. Pike succinctly outlined the dilemma into which this country has been led by its consistent pursuit of a patently ridiculous policy:

"Equally hurtful has been our own support of tyranny elsewhere. Space will not permit listing all instances, but one reason Castro is in power today is because we supported the tyrant Batista. We have, with almost unerring accuracy, supported the wrong regimes and the forces that stand against social change. Meanwhile, the Russian government, cynically to be sure, but none the

less skillfully, has arrayed itself in the cause of the poor, the downtrodden, and of those who have no other spokesman. That it has done this dishonestly has not made the tactic any less effective, especially when it has done this in the face of a nation that ideologically claims to stand for the right things and actually, so often, has stood for the wrong."

What has recently transpired in the Dominican Republic is merely the latest in a series of self-inflicted catastrophes, but since it is an almost classic example of the continuing tragedy of United States foreign policy, a brief examination of the events which wracked that tortured island republic and their background is probably useful as an illustration. United States Marines first intervened in the affairs of the Dominican Republic in 1916, during a period when military intervention by the United States was a common occurrence in the hemisphere. The justification for the landing of troops in 1916 was the familiar "protection of American interests and restoration of internal order and stability" (in 1916 it evidently did not occur to the President to bolster his case by ominously referring to the presence of what in another context are commonly termed "outside agitators"). In those days, "American interests" usually meant the interests of the United States companies which exploited the native populations, and the specific reason given for the intervention in 1916 was the violation by the Dominicans of a 1907 economic convention. The Marines occupied the country for eight years (1916-1924), and during this considerable period United States authorities eagerly searched for elements within the Dominican Republic willing to cooperate in the "restoration of order". One of the most cooperative Dominicans was a young army officer named Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina, who assisted the Marines in hunting down what were referred to as "bandits" and became part of the U.S. intelligence service in that country. The Marines liked Trujillo. "He thinks just like a Marine," one of them reported.

By 1930, Senor Trujillo had assumed leadership of the Dominican Republic, and with the blessings of the United States this ruthless dictator remained in power for over thirty years--until, on May 30, 1961, the aging Generalissimo was assassinated. During the final few years of his rule, the United States had become disenchanted with the regime, though not to the extent of taking any effective action against Trujillo. Chaos reigned briefly after his assassination, and it was feared for a time that members of Trujillo's family would attempt to preserve their domination in the Dominican Republic. The United States dispatched several naval units to the area as a precaution in the event that the evacuation of American personnel became necessary, but Washington did not at this time actively intervene. Order was shortly re-established and a provisional government was installed which promised to hold free elections after a decent interval. When these elections--the first free elections in the Dominican Republic in 38 years--were held, Juan Bosch, candidate of the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD), was elected to the Presidency, and he proceeded to govern reasonably well and, what is more important, remained popular with the majority of the people. Dr. Bosch's administration was certainly not flawless, and several important members of his government had backgrounds tainted with Communist associations. What was even more disturbing to the Dominican oligarchy, however, was the fact that Bosch actually attempted to implement the reforms which he had promised in order to gain election, and in doing so his regime proceeded to systematically dismantle the institutionalized privileges of an elite minority of businessmen, land-owners and

army officers. To them, Juan Bosch became "that man in Santo Domingo", and the oligarchy began to plot a reversal of the democratic decision of the Dominican people.

In September, 1963, elements of the Dominican armed forces, led by Brig. Gen. Elias Wessin y Wessin, declared that the government of Dr. Bosch had been substantially infiltrated by Communists and staged a rapid and comparatively bloodless coup. President Bosch was forced to flee into exile, accompanied by a number of his cabinet ministers and members of the national legislature; others went underground and continued to meet clandestinely. It is still not clear whether the accusations of Communist infiltration were to any significant extent true, but lacking any reliable evidence to the contrary we may feel justified in concluding that this charge was largely a spurious pretext which the military used in order to justify their illegal seizure of power. Experience has demonstrated that the evidence upon which Latin American military officers base their conviction that the only salvation for the country lies in the army assuming control need not be particularly overwhelming.

The Dominican military, after securing their position and purging pro-Bosch elements from all levels of authority, ostensibly relinquished control to a civilian junta, headed by Donald Reid Cabral (known as "Donny Reid"). Actually, the military, having discovered a three-man junta possessing essentially the same interests as itself and its employers (Santo Domingo's country club set), remained substantially in control of events. Not even the most unabashed apologists for military takeovers claim that the Reid junta was a particularly good government. But it was, to be sure, an enthusiastically anti-Communist government, and this is generally enough to satisfy Washington.

On April 24, 1965, revolution erupted in the Dominican Republic, the goal of which was the ouster of the Reid junta and the reinstatement of Juan Bosch, whose constitutional term as President does not expire until 1967. There is no doubt--even among Administration spokesmen--that this uprising was "initially" a popular, democratic revolution, and it appeared to have succeeded with relatively little violence and minimum inconvenience to the citizens of Santo Domingo until General Wessin y Wessin rallied a portion of the armed forces to his banner and staged a counter-revolution. At the outset it appeared that the majority of the armed forces favored the pro-Bosch faction, but as events progressed desertions of various units continued until the armed forces were predominantly adhering to the anti-Bosch clique. This military counter-revolution succeeded in forcing the collapse of the provisional government which had been installed by the rebels, but thousands of civilians joined the revolt (at this point, we are informed, still democratic), and the armed forces commanded by General Wessin y Wessin probably could not have held out for much longer than a few days.

It was at this point that the United States made the fateful decision to physically intervene. At first, the protection of American lives was advanced as the sole justification for the landing of United States Marines on the territory of this sovereign nation. But as more and more United States troops were ordered into the Santo Domingo area and it became apparent that they were participating in the conflict on the side of the military government (which later transformed itself into a military-civilian "Government of National Reconstruction"), President Johnson went on network television to explain that Communists were attempting to seize control of the rebellion and that this must at all costs be prevented. As evidence to support this assertion, the President cited the names of two or three well-known Communist agents and claimed to have been provided with a list of fifty-five Communists who were active in the ranks of the pro-Bosch revolutionaries. The New York Times

later published an exhaustive summary of the information upon which the United States government based the conclusion that the rebellion was in imminent danger of falling into the hands of Communists. This marvelous document should be required reading for every student of gabbledegook; it could easily have been authored by the House Un-American Activities Committee. We are informed, for example, that "mobs described as subversive-directed sacked the offices of anti-Communist political parties," but it is not mentioned precisely who so described them (perhaps it was General Wessin y Wessin; perhaps William F. Buckley). Actually, it doesn't make a great deal of difference, because the mobs were undeniably "subversive"; they were attempting to subvert the junta and restore the legitimate government of the Dominican Republic. Another fascinating piece of information concerns an official of the first provisional government, Alfredo Condo Pausas, who has, we are assured, "close family connections with the 14th of June Movement"--reputedly a Castroist organization. Deducing an individual's political beliefs from his "family connections" has never impressed me as an especially reliable method, and I suspect that many of us could be discredited if this criterion became fashionable again. But on the basis of this sort of evidence, the United States decided that the rebellion must be defeated, and actively pursued that goal even while retaining the hypocrisy of announced "neutrality" between the warring factions.

I do not dispute President Johnson's assertion that fifty-five Communists were active in the rebellion; I am quite confident, as a matter of fact, that a considerably greater number of Communists have joined the pro-Bosch rebels. As opportunists, Communists will frequently cooperate with non-Communist elements in any venture which offers them some prospect of improving their position or identifying themselves with a popular cause. I do not even dispute the assertion that Communists were probably at one time in control of some of the bands of irregulars which comprised a portion of the rebel "army". But I do claim that the action of the United States in ordering troops into the Dominican Republic to suppress the rebellion provided the Communists with a vastly greater advantage than any they would have gained by virtue of being on the winning side of a revolution. The majority of the rebels were (and are) non-Communist supporters of Juan Bosch, who remains the constitutional President of the Dominican Republic. The presence of some Communists among the rebels may, indeed, have constituted a potentially dangerous situation from Washington's point of view, but the results of the United States intervention are certain to be, ultimately, far more dangerous to this country's position in Latin America. By adhering to its inflexible and singularly short-sighted policy of taking some action to fight Communism today without considering the consequences for tomorrow, the United States has virtually insured the future prominence of Communists in the movement to re-establish the constitutional government of the Dominican Republic. Moreover, this action reinforces anti-American feeling throughout the underdeveloped world and tends to force progressive elements in other Latin American countries into alliance with the Communists.

This depressing analysis of the ultimate consequences of President Johnson's decision to forcefully intervene in the affairs of one of our "sister republics" is supported by commentators far more knowledgeable than your obedient servant. The New York Post (May 3, 1965) commented that

"Perhaps the most melancholy aspect of the Dominican events is that U.S. intervention on the side of the military junta appears to create exactly the situation we profess to fear.

"That unhappy land is being polarized between rightists and Castroites. The democratic, responsible forces represented by Dr. Bosch either lapse despairingly into inaction or are driven into the arms of the extremists.

"The destruction of the democratic center is always a key Communist objective. Once the Communists can persuade a long-suffering people that there is no real alternative between dictatorship of the left and of the right, a large part of their battle has been won. Why should the U.S. contribute to such a result?"

On the same morning, the usually perceptive New York Times remarked editorially:

"The fear of a Castroite takeover stems from the presence among the insurgents of a handful of disciplined Communists, with ties to Havana, Moscow and perhaps even Peking. No one pretends that these elements are currently dominant in the drive to restore Juan Bosch to the Presidency, but the Cuban experience has engendered a sense of insecurity in Washington about leftist influence in Latin American uprisings.

"This is an understandable concern, but not one that should prompt a panicky display of power whenever any hint of Communist infiltration is reported. It would be one thing for the United States to act on the basis of compelling evidence of substantial outside manipulation in arming or directing the Dominican rebels. But, in the absence of anything more menacing than the names of a few Communist activists, it would be disastrous to let fear of 'another Cuba' become the excuse for employing our military might to prop up a right-wing dictatorship in a country still scarred by three decades of brutal repression under Generalissimo Trujillo. Such a course would be as self-defeating as it would be morally unjustifiable."

But it was Baltimore's own Morning Herald, the interim venture of a few college students, which most clearly delineated the dilemma of American policy in the Dominican Republic. In its second issue, dated May 1st, the Herald observed:

"Even though the legality of American intervention in the little country is seriously doubted /the Bogota Charter, to which the U.S. is a signatory, forbids any military intervention whatsoever/, it seems likely that the United States will not withdraw until the three-man military junta is firmly established and the

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"Misery is being a female singer who has to appear on the same show with Barbra Streisand..."

rebels calling for the return of ex-President Bosch are defeated. If one is to use the rest of Latin America as a guide, there would be very little likelihood of this military government ever becoming a truly democratic one. At the same time, as the United States continues to give support to General Wessin against the democratically elected Bosch, liberal elements in the Dominican Republic will be forced to align themselves with Communists in their opposition to a military dictatorship."

The Administration apparently began having serious second thoughts after the Imbert junta was established and commenced the systematic extermination of the Constitutionalist forces in the northern part of Santo Domingo. All of a sudden, State Department and White House spokesmen were soft-pedaling the idea of massive Communist involvement in the rebellion and speaking with increasing favor of the rebel leader, Col. Francisco Caamano Deno. But our half-hearted efforts to repair the damage caused by the invasion of the Dominican Republic merely worsened the situation; a morally indefensible position was rendered even more ludicrous by vacillation. It now appears that United States (or comparable inter-American) forces will continue to occupy Santo Domingo for a good many months, and the political consequences of Washington's precipitous action will continue to multiply throughout the hemisphere. If a democratic, socially progressive regime should eventually emerge in the Dominican Republic, the unhappy events of the past few weeks may be relegated to a secondary position, but I doubt if the prestige of the United States will ever entirely recover from this self-inflicted blow.

SHORT NOTES ON LONG SUBJECTS: Beginning with issue #85, this periodical will inaugurate a new feature: full color, fold-out centerpieces depicting Kipple's Playmates of the Month. If all goes as planned, the first of these suitable-for-framing pin-ups will feature Baltimore's own Chay Borsella, provocatively posed and clad in a scanty bikini. Reserve your copy now; be the first kid on your block to have one. +++ Although the Washington Newspaper Guild continues its strike against the Baltimore Sun, typographers and similarly indispensable personnel are no longer honoring Guild picket lines, so the paper has resumed publication. The News-American has also returned to its regular schedule, and the interim strike newspapers have quietly folded their tents and stolen away. After five rather hectic weeks, the city has returned to what passes for normalcy around here. +++ Chuck & Jane Wells announce that they are expecting, among other things, a baby. One of the other things they are also expecting is to move to Ohio, where Chuck, beginning in the fall, will be teaching Long Division or something of the sort. After August 1st, their address will be: Dept. of Mathematics, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, 44106. +++ Did you know that "It's crackers to slip a rozzer the dropsy in snide" means that it is unwise to attempt to bribe a constable using counterfeit currency?

--Ted Pauls

"One always hears of the 'bloc vote' in reference to Chicago or Detroit or Cleveland, whereas the 80 percent majorities for the other party turned in by rural counties are the products of individual reflection and judgment." --Andrew Hacker, in The New York Times Magazine.

"My first wife was the sort of woman who would have served poisoned Ovaltine to a kindergarten class." --Lawrence T. Connelly.

the welfare state. It is certainly not a good one. In the Commonwealth, parliaments no longer legislate, but rather accept or reject the laws of a Prime Minister and his advisers--a startling transformation of the democratic process. In the United States, of course, where party lines are much looser and the division of powers a hinderance, this process has not been carried as far (though it is great enough for Presidential threats to force a lowering of the price of steel).

The second objection a conservative has to the centralization of power in the Federal Government is his belief that a division and balance of powers is a necessity within any democratic federal state. The continued reduction of state and community powers is a long-established fact in the USA. This is not the libertarian opposition to governmental power, per se, as you can obviously see. For example, the Canadian conservative is in the process of forming a stance against de-centralization, in the belief that further dissemination of powers to the provinces would seriously affect both the unity of the nation and the legitimate powers of the Federal authority. (It is one of the ironies of history that the American Constitution provided for a weak Federal Government and ended up with precisely the opposite, with the authors of our Constitution, with your Civil War fresh in mind, provided for a strong Federal Government, and the result today is a weak one.)

It is not an argument but an assumption that the Federal Government may best handle the power complexes that exist in a welfare state democracy. To quote yourself, "Only the blind can fail to perceive" the alternative that lies a thousand miles to the north in Canada. Or do you believe that only Americans are capable of making a political system work? (No comment that I could make about Canada's present federal system would be as damning as your admission that Canadian conservatives are in the process of evolving a position against further de-centralization.)

John Boardman's specious comments are worth some rebuttal. To take one example, his touching belief that Adam Smith favors "the authority of the rich over the poor" deserves comment. Actually, the whole spirit of the book "Wealth of Nations" is directed against "the mean rapacity, the monopolizing spirit of merchants and manufacturers, who neither are nor ought to be the rulers of Mankind...an order of men whose interest is never exactly the same as that of the public, who have generally an interest to deceive and even oppress the public, and who accordingly have, upon many occasions, both deceived and oppressed it." Yeah, Smith favors the rule of the poor by the rich... Actually, this serves as a good example of Boardman's inability to comprehend political theory on any level but his own narrow left-radical viewpoint. His other interpretations should be judged in the same light.

And this might be a good place to deal with something else that has bothered me for a long time--the lack of comprehension the liberal shows in his analysis of conservative thought and philosophy. Conservatism does not derive "its concepts and principles from practical experience" as you maintain, but rather uses practical experience, among other things, in its interpretations of the events of "daily" life.

What, then, exactly, is conservatism? It's a good question, and one that I, as a conservative, have trouble answering. It is most defi-

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"Happiness is learning that the Kipple reader who most enthusiastically advocates full-scale war against North Vietnam and Communist China has just been drafted."

nately, and perhaps most importantly, a frame of mind from which life is approached. In basic English, it is a temperament, whether Pareto's "persistence of aggregates" or, better, Viereck's "inarticulate state of mind". And this is why a conservative can be a political New Dealer at one end or a Goldwater supporter at another.

Conservatism was a philosophy, and perhaps still is (see Publicola), but I have my doubts as to its relevance to the age of liberalism and the mass man. (Congratulations.) I prefer the definition, even if somewhat narrow, of Lord Cecil, that conservatism is "a force called into activity by the French Revolution and operating against the tendencies that that Revolution set up." Using this definition, you should be able to see my point that political conservatism did not exist as a force prior to the 1700's, and possibly, in this sphere, has meant little since World War One. However, the temperament of conservatism ranges the ages from Aristotle to Lord Hume, and is perhaps more vital to the West than it has ever been.

But one additional point must be made clear. Conservatism is not an ideology, whether its evolutionary (Burkean) or absolutist (Latin-East European) wing is considered. And this is perhaps the prime argument against American conservatism, if it is defined as those loose groupings which idealized Barry Goldwater. They believe in a New America, a Conservative America--which is a direct contradiction in terms. The Canadian conservative Hogan summed their attitude up nicely by quoting Buckley himself: "We have dreams to dream!"

True American conservatism would seem to have died with the disintegration of the Federalist Party, and was most certainly gone by the time of Andrew Jackson, the most successful of the populists. There have been and still are a large number of conservatives on the American scene, but they are not organized as a party, or even as a pressure group. Everett Dirksen in his later years, and Margaret Chase Smith, and Henry Cabot Lodge are all conservatives in a way that Goldwater and Tower, to name but two, can never be. Most men are blends of liberalism and conservatism (particularly in the United States), but Presidents such as Lincoln and Teddy Roosevelt seem to have excelled in the conservative manner, as evidenced by their policies and polemics.

Contrary to your other statement, my major objection to liberalism is not that its basis is shifting and hazy, but rather that its intuitive deductions are false, and that its tendency to a priori reasoning produces methods of reform dangerous to the culture. There are other important differences, but you can find all this if you just read Burke, Adams, Hamilton, Metternich and numerous others, including your favorite, De Tocqueville.

I reject your childish value judgment that conservatives are on the "wrong side of nearly every controversy". Your examples are vague generalizations, worthless in fact. The first child-labor laws in Canada were brought in by a Conservative government. John Adams, the great American conservative, in 1819 on slavery: "...the turpitude, the inhumanity, the cruelty and the infamy.../I look forward to/...the total extirpation of slavery from the United States." Segregation: Dirksen and Smith, to name two, on the Civil Rights Bill. You don't really mean to suggest that they've all been on the "wrong" side, do you? (I do not claim that all conservatives tend to align themselves on the wrong side of nearly every controversy; merely the majority of them. If this were actually such a "childish value judgment", it seems to me that you ought to have been able to demolish it without difficulty. Surely you can't believe that my accusation is sufficiently refuted by a quotation from John Adams (admittedly a great man) and the information that two (count 'em: two) conservatives supported the Civil Rights Act. Of course, you may claim that Senators Dirksen and Smith are "true" conservatives,

seem so much worse than even American political writings because they have been translated by dull little people who didn't try to do more than convey the exact meaning. Remember, Russian is more unlike English than French, German, or the Romance tongues in general: it lacks the article, the verb "to be" is almost non-existent, and other peculiarities make it impossible to make a near-literal translation a good translation.

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"The one realm of childhood experience almost completely excluded from the sentimental world bounded by the Good Good Girl and the Good Bad Boy is sex. Yet surely boys and girls even before the Civil War giggled at the sight of each other's underpants, crept off into private corners for intimate examinations, even played 'doctor'; nor was all of this unknown to their elders. Indeed, Freud once complained that, despite all the protests raised over his theories of infantile sexuality, it was his dull duty merely to make public facts known to every nursemaid. If childhood is innocent to the Anglo-Saxon world of the nineteenth century; it is innocent by definition, pure by virtue of its symbolic function, sexless because the novelist in flight from sex demanded it to be so." --Leslie Fiedler, in "No! in Thunder".  
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The workings of the liberal mind are a fascination to behold. To call, as you have done, the desire to dismantle the U.S. Federal Government a "traditionalist" concept, is an assinine statement. A Burkean conservative must be a believer in the organic society, and hence accept that any radical change is for the worst. The dismantling of Federal power is certainly a prime example of just such a change. (Your example of what fascinates you about the workings of the liberal mind is rendered somewhat irrelevant by virtue of the fact that I did not make the "assinine statement" attributed to me. My contention was that the belief that liberty is best preserved when power is vested predominantly in state governments and private groups rather than the central government is a "traditionalist" concept. The dismantling of the Federal Government is something altogether different: it is the program to which contemporary American "conservatives" have been reduced in order to restore the Golden Age of individual responsibility and private enterprise. The passage of time, you see, has turned conservatives into reactionaries who insist on continuing to call themselves "conservatives". Incidentally, I am gratified that you so concisely stated the dominant belief of the Burkean conservative (that any radical change is necessarily objectionable); it is a point that I have been trying for some time to compel conservative Kipple readers to accept. I trust that you will not engage in quibbling in order to deny that those individuals in Mississippi who are so valiantly resisting radical change may be properly identified as conservatives.)

If I were an American, however, I would most certainly oppose the continued expansion of rule by bureaucracy, at any level of government, because of its (as you state) "conspicuous abuses of authority". In particular, the Federal Government, as the largest and most influential example of rule by "board and bureau" rather than by the people, would come under assault. It has taken decisions by the Supreme Court to over-rule some of the idiotic acts of the NLRB and FAA, to name but two agencies.

The taking of the power of regulation from Congress and putting it into the hands of faceless bureaucrats and immensely powerful Cabinets (and perhaps even and only Presidents), is an obvious outcome of

know, manslaughter by automobile is not a crime involving capital punishment anywhere in the nation. Washington County has just short of 100,000 residents, and I'll be blessed if we have six deaths here in an average year that could be interpreted as murder statistics unless murder were taken to include everything except driving into a tree with an auto in which the driver is the only occupant. (Well, of course, a statistical average of six murders per 100,000 population each year in a particular state would not mean that any county with a population of approximately 100,000 would necessarily record the proper number of homicides each year. The statistics are compiled for the state as a whole, but it is quite conceivable that Washington County experiences fewer homicides than other areas comparable in population (e.g., the Highlandtown area of Baltimore). Considering the number of murders committed in this city which are not even exciting enough to warrant coverage on page one of the local news section, I am perfectly willing to believe that Baltimore compensates for your apparent deficit.))

President Johnson's personal characteristics are something that I haven't bothered about in particular. But I spent ten minutes recently only a few feet away from him, and I can testify that in real life his personal appearance is totally different from the impression that he gives on television or in photographs. He radiates magnetism and is one of the most completely healthy-looking individuals I've ever seen, the farthest possible cry from the grayish and unimpressive figure that he cuts on the screen or in halftones.

John Boardman's article in Kipple #78 is an exception to the kind of material on which I base a complaint about Kipple. This little essay is mostly a rehashing of things that everyone knows already. But it condenses a lot of stuff into a couple of pages very well, and reading it, I had the strangest sense that I was reading an explanatory passage in a science fiction novel. The succession of events is considerably less believable than the narrative that a novelist often uses to summarize the history of coming decades so his readers will understand the story that he is about to tell.

Aren't you comparing unlike things when you line up the New England town meeting against today's federal government? My concept of the former has always been that of a bull-session in which the whole town came out to talk over the current problems with the town officials, so the officials would know which way the majority wanted them to act, after which the officials went ahead and acted. I'm curious to know if there really were New England cities in which all matters were decided by polling the population on given nights without putting responsibility into the hands of duly elected officials.

I don't want to be caught in the vulnerable position of claiming that any writer on politics, governments and ideologies ever created interesting reading matter. But you must remember that the Russian celebrities did not write English like all other sensible celebrities, and the things that you read are the translations made by, mainly, writers without the ability to do original work, and impoverished refugees who had no ability at all with the pen but did possess the determination not to starve while there was a demand for English versions of stuff written in a strange tongue. I can read Russian fairly well, and I believe it is a language that is quite apt to be translated dully. It is much like German in this respect. I am a tremendous admirer of Wagner's music, and I always wondered how such a genius could have written prose so badly. Then I began to plow through some of Wagner's essays in the original German and I found them brilliant in ways that are completely lost in the usual translations. Basically, I imagine that Lenin and the rest wrote with about the same lack of imagination and with equal style-deafness to a Wilson or a Hoover, and the Russians' writings

get, the further you are from the people who look to you for their share of whatever you can give out.

You learn at one place, and there you find the interest in your subject for you. But you teach where your students are; and the only interest for you there is your interest in their gains, the future well-being of this, your tribe ex officio. The subject matter of your lesson is so well known to you that it would be dull, dull, dull, except that you are working and watching for that dawnlight of comprehension as you help them to realize that 2 comes after 1 and before 3--or whatever other early step you work together upon.

It's a trade secret that all mentors hate paper work. But unless you keep it before the eyes of the students that they have learned, comparatively with the other students, thus and so much, practically every human soul in the class would relax in false security. And there just isn't a subject that can afford false security about its facts; either you get them right and can use them, or you have misunderstood and will trip up the first time you try to use what you suppose is your knowledge.

I think of Jean Rose addressing Iowans with a Cambridge accent, one of the hardest for Americans to understand and in many ways grating to the American ear, and instead of appreciating the tolerance and courtesy she's getting, she hates the blank faces. They want your wisdom, senior citizen; maybe they even like you despite your oddities. You have learned to tolerate Cantabridgians from various parts of the world; should it be so hard to tolerate Iowans and try to see into the subtleties and toughnesses that form their ethnos? Not you; intolerance is your orthodoxy, whatever you call it in words, if you meant all you had to say. Your mentors have the facts for you; you'll get your Ph.D., if you can stand the strain of the xenophobia in your heart, and you'll add one more learned idiot to the field. Or--you might give thanks for a great puzzle to think about and do some looking into the situation, its reasons for being as it is. Maybe some people don't deserve respect, at that; but they are rarer than any surface-observer could suppose, because all surfaces have the limitation of being surfaces, whereas people are deep, deep.

This is all old stuff to me, but I didn't know it to begin with. Most of it you know yourselves. And as for your attitudes of challenge-the-orthodox, bravo; I've always felt the same way. That's why I'm raising these questions about this, your orthodoxy. That's what it is, isn't it? Aren't you still looking at things with the viewpoint of one generation, your classmates? As Honorary Elders, you are asked to share the fate of all generations. All the Grandfathers are colleagues more than they are mentors to you, now. If one says, "Wear high heels, they are pretty," or another says, "Wear flats, they are practical," or I say, "Wear pastels, dark colors on a woman depress a class, though they may be advisable for a man," all are speaking in your interest, about matters they've tried out and found workable for themselves, whether trifles or important. Nobody is foisting a system on you--if you can find improvements, good luck to you; it's rather expected that you will try some things, and that one or two will pan out well.

It is a fact of nature that education tends towards orthodoxy, because unorthodoxy is for those who have the most information, not the least.

This brings us to a point that you may find hard to see, and that I'm not at all points sure of myself, but worth thinking about anyway: Are we sure that we benefit students by a method of teaching that leaves too much to the individual? I am thinking about the usual atmosphere around the usual high school in this region. Secondary school students think for themselves a great deal. I used to scare the daylights out of

the girls, though, by insisting that they think for themselves before setting pen to composition paper. That's not the way they think at that age. They get together with a flock of girl friends, you know that. Since this is what they do, perhaps it is what they ought to do? These flocks of girls form wherever there are enough girls to flock. The boys form gangs, too. But they do turn to mentors at times. The girls want backing for clothes, parties, this and that--the boys hang around the garage mechanic who understands kids and cars. I've heard it said that a really tough gang always has a faculty-advisor, prison graduate or equivalent, in the background giving pointers and assignments. This is a fact of nature, so it must be as it should be, essentially. The mentor had better know how to let the fads mushroom, be able to speak up when called upon, and maybe decide whether to rat to the cops or let the boys beat up their latest foe.

Educators today operate in a culture based upon luxury and violence and disorder. Through this sewer, there keeps pouring a clean stream of plain data, and--to continue the analogy--somehow nature converts it all back to fertility or desert--partly depending on how mankind affects the balance of nature, being ourselves a primary feature of our planet's ecology.

Okay, somebody else may now have the cracker barrel. I do have one very homely piece of advice: instead of hating the paperwork, hire a student secretary. Some of those kids will work for a dollar an hour and be glad to get it. One hour is all they can stand per day, but by teaming up that way, right after hours, you can usually leave the halls of academe with most of your records filled in, papers to hand back, and throw away some of the rest, get in some tennis or beer hoisting or just plain hard-earned relaxation.

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"In assessing the relative strength of democracy and communism in their contest for the minds and hearts of the non-Western peoples, who are also for the most part the 'uncommitted' peoples, the West must not confuse the influence and power of Russia or China as national states, or even as foci of communism, with the influence and power of Communist ideas. Whatever may be our justifiable objections to and our legitimate measures of defense against Russia or China, we shall make, to use Gandhi's phrase about one of his own decisions, a 'Himalayan miscalculation' if we assume that the maladjustments, turmoil, and clashes we see in Asia or the Middle East or Africa are due, first and foremost, to intervention by Moscow or Peiping. The Communists of Russia and China capitalize on these conditions, turn them to their own advantage, and use them mercilessly to castigate the West. But they did not create them; nor will the democracies cure them merely by denouncing communism or even destroying the Russian and Chinese states." --Vera Micheles Dean, in "The Nature of the Non-Western World".  
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I might feel more confidence in the relationship between a low murder rate and lack of capital punishment in states, if I knew what is used as a basis for calculating the murder rate. The rates are so high that I hardly believe they can represent only instances in which a murder conviction was obtained. The only reference source that is handy, a tottering old Information Please almanac, leads me to suspect that the FBI includes in its rates all the deaths that the FBI thinks might be murder, as well as all automobile fatalities in which there is any possible basis for a manslaughter by automobile charge. If this is so, the figures would be fouled up by the motor vehicle deaths. As far as I

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Chay Borsella and Jean Rose: Nowadays, the one way to be orthodox is to set one's lance against that windmill-wizard, Orthodoxy; and the best way to exercise one's impulses towards intolerance seems to be to get intolerant with Intolerance. Martin Luther King has tumbled into this trap. Around Boston, the "de facto segregation" amounts to the perfectly voluntary tendency of people to congregate in neighborhoods with similar cultural backgrounds; this may not be 100% true for all, but it is more than 90% the fact of the matter. So here we have a group that is asking for more tolerance but insisting that parents send their young people across town so that a statistical average may be met in every school, so many Negroes in proportion to so many Caucasians. At first, it was a laughingstock, but it begins to look as if it may even be done. Next, of course, we must secure an even sprinkling of Chinese and Amerinds; and then there are all the first-, second- and third-generation French Canadians, Italians, Syrians, Armenians, and so forth. Of course, we can't expect to mismatch the Chinese and Japanese without good arithmetic done first, and of course the Irish are never wholly anything else no matter how many generations go by. One good thing--all the old families are mixed around so much that there are, strictly speaking, no more Colonial Yankees to worry about. The legal rights of all are protected sixty-six ways because there are so many law schools around here that anyone who can't afford a lawyer can get the services of a bright senior with his faculty advisor looking over his shoulder. And there goes the funniest sight I ever did see, a straggle of students who didn't even take the time to make their placards neat marching across Boston Common toward the State House for the sake of better law and order and decency.

Yet, I couldn't laugh. In my heart, I sympathize with these feelings, if not with these conclusions. I am myself more Yankee than anything else--a streak of Indian, a lot of French, but mostly Yankee--and I know just what it feels like to be in an unpopular minority. But these matters aren't settled by accusations-battledore. Part of the time you just mind your own business, but if invited you really look and try to understand.

With this preamble, I'd hope that you two young educators will understand and find patience in your heart to consider a pointer from one who feels complete sympathy with your attitudes, but comes to another conclusion that might be worth your attention.

Most young professionals would ride the bumps more easily if we

all saw that we were in the position of Elders to the Tribe, regardless of ages. Instinctively, students promote the Mentor to the situation of Honorary Grandparent. If this Honorary Elder has actually the vigor and beauty of youth, so much the better--just so he can display the wisdom of age. Not even wisdom is required, actually; just enough patience to deliver the facts. This is great tolerance, I think, on the part of students. It is something to appreciate and meet. They don't care how Chay does her hair, just so it looks nice; but she needs a clear view, I can tell you now, for they don't feel obliged to stay out of mischief unless she can keep them busy enough in better ways. High heels are good because they look pretty, but I always wore flats myself, because you need to stay on your feet and keep moving around most classrooms; otherwise the missiles might get your range. The best of youngsters will sometimes tack the chair of the best-loved of grandmas, just to see whether she really does have armor underneath. (You sit right down on the tack, but sidewise to brush it off, then look for the one student who is looking most innocent and perhaps a bit puzzled.)

Borsella and Rose and a good number of Kipple's other contributors also feel perfectly within their rights to be mischievous towards anything that doesn't meet their instant understanding and sympathy. So it is, so it should be; the scholar never should be satisfied to stay within a narrow range of understandings. Every civilization needs a few gadflies to keep the laggards stung where they need it. You people won't become more orthodox as you grow older; you'll become more unorthodox, because the more you find out, the more you'll get ahead of the rank and file of opinions. You'll gather information because that is human nature and your nature--and your profession, as well. But the more you

( " " " " " )      "My name is Sam Goodfellow. Recently, when I was in Latin  
(   ⓪   ⓪   )      America, strolling through a park in one of the larger  
(   V   )      cities, I happened to encounter two natives with whom I  
( ( = ) )      was acquainted engaging in a knife-fight."

"Obviously, it was my Christian duty to break up the      ( " " " " " )  
fight in order to protect the lives of innocent bystand-      (   ⓪   ⓪   )  
ers, but of course I realized that it was not my place      (   V   )  
to take sides in the struggle."      ( ( = ) )

( " " " " " )      "Miguel, one of the men involved, had Jose, the other,  
(   ⓪   ⓪   )      pinned to the ground, and was bringing his knife toward  
(   V   )      the other's throat. I realized that something had to be  
( ( = ) )      done quickly."

"I didn't like Miguel's political opinions, so I grabbed      ( " " " " " )  
him from behind and disarmed him. As I held him, Jose be-      (   ⓪   ⓪   )  
gan stabbing him. I said, 'Golly, you shouldn't do that,'      (   V   )  
but he just winked at me and kept stabbing Miguel."      ( ( = ) )

( " " " " " )      "Some of the other people in the park became angry at  
(   ⓪   ⓪   )      me. They said I had taken sides while pretending to be  
(   V   )      neutral. Isn't that ridiculous. I just can't understand  
( ( = ) )      these goddamn foreigners."

## REVIEWED BY STEPHEN BARR

Faguet said of Voltaire's works that they were a "chaos of clear ideas". Those of Mr. Colin Wilson in his book, "Beyond the Outsider" (Houghton Mifflin, 236 pages, \$4.95), can be characterized as a chaos of definite assertions. That is, each assertion seems definite enough until you come to the next, which is likely to contradict, inflate, or put the previous one out of existence. It is not so much that he is vague--but that he is arbitrary. He will set out premises lucidly enough, and then draw conclusions from other, unmentioned premises, or perhaps arrive at them via parthogenesis. His examples do not exemplify. His demonstrations are less than conclusive. He abounds in private formulas and talismans: "the old woman in the vinegar bottle" or "The St. Neot margin". For the norms of discursive thought and the rules of argument, he substitutes a princely sit pro ratione voluntas. These peculiarities make Mr. Wilson hard to follow, and easy to praise or blame.

His doctrine goes something like this: In the Western world the cultural tradition encourages a near-sighted preoccupation with physical phenomena, to the virtual exclusion of those psychological and spiritual concerns that are the peculiarly human province. In Mr. Wilson's terms, the West is good at "immediacy-perception", less good at "meaning-perception". Its myopic concentration on the physical world has made possible the intellectual triumphs of science; the prestige of scientific modes of thought in turn ensures the neglect or the outright denial of phenomena that are not easily amenable to investigation along traditional scientific lines. With the rise of a scientific culture, faith, hope and charity become problematic as never before, and men begin to ponder "the place of values in a world of fact". It makes no difference who you are. Corporation presidents, con-men, poets, priests--all are in the same fix. Science substitutes its petty certainties for faith, its skeptical habit of mind for insight and inspiration, and its meticulous bookkeeping for generosity, exuberance and passion. Under this regimen, Mr. Wilson says, ninety-five percent of the population is numb but incurious; five percent feel spiritually starved or spiritually strangled. These are the Outsiders, the people to whom discomfort suggests that there must be a better way.

Since Mr. Wilson defines the problem as essentially religious, he finds it natural that his Outsiders are chiefly religious reformers or artists, while political figures, industrialists, captains of commerce, and professional specialists of all kinds belong almost by definition to the untroubled majority. For Mr. Wilson, the process of evolution is the expression of a force that engenders transcendence and novelty. He takes courage from the spectacle, and therefore he differs from the Existentialists, who cling for honor's sake to values they recognize as contingent, illusory and absurd. And there is no doubt that in the face of Existentialist stoicism there is something tonic in Mr. Wilson's brand of voluntarism. He says that the voluntarism of the Existentialists is indeed absurd, since they hold the will to be contin-

# THE BEYOND OUTSIDER

gent, or else free by a definition that makes freedom indistinguishable from automatism. In its main lines, parts of this are new, but much of it is unobjectionable. The essential question is whether we need some assurance of cosmic benevolence, of the kind that Mr. Wilson's version of evolution tries to supply. His system provides no field for the exercise of that will he comes to announce. He criticizes Existentialism and Marxism for their concern with political activity, forgetting that both are voluntarist, agapastic theories that do not forget to posit a dimension where the loving will have some play. And, of course, the theory of bourgeois democracy can incur Mr. Wilson's strictures on the same ground. Here is the perniciousness of his assumption that five percent of the inhabitants of the earth are men and the remainder rational cattle: in theory he has sawed off the human plank on which we now stand. Marxism and Existentialism have exhibited gross enough defects in practice, but they seem still likelier projects in the attempt to humanize mankind than trying to catalogue all the possible smells of fact. In the final analysis, Mr. Wilson's theories are part of a tradition of desperation that turns to elitism before turning to privatism.

Mr. Wilson writes an engaging book about the considerations of values in a world of fact, and for those interested in the philosophy of politics to literature here is a fine example of the work.

--Stephen Barr

"The frogs are indeed heralds and symbols of spring--more than songbirds, flowers, or green shoots. In them the primeval force of the surging year comes alive, the triumph of burgeoning life over white-cold death. Every year they experience death and rebirth. Their hibernation beneath the icy covering of the ponds is a death-in-life, an enigmatic stupor. Frogs have been found sealed tight in ice, frozen stiff through and through, so that their bodies could have been broken into chips. Yet in warmth, with careful handling, they thawed out and went on living as before, as though Death had never lodged in their cells and blood vessels. Their will to live is uncanny, their rebirth every spring a terrific elemental occurrence." --Herbert Wendt, in "The Road to Man".

"But we, they say, live a safe life at home,  
While they, the men, go forth in arms to war.  
Fools! Three times would I rather take my stand  
With sword and shield than bring to birth one child."  
--Euripides, in "Medea"

"Scientific judgment has a good many of the properties of ordinary human judgment, judgment as we talk about it in everyday speech. It is a kind of informed and experienced guessing. It is not a 'logical' process, or at least only in part. It is not necessarily connected with the highest creative talent in science, or with the most sparkling scientific or intellectual brilliance. It can be, but it need not be. It is not a romantic gift. It consists very largely in having a feel for limits, of sensing what brute nature will or will not do, of having a nose for what is 'on'." --C. P. Snow, in "Science and Government".

"Times have changed. Forty years ago people worked twelve hours a day, and it was called economic slavery. Now they work fourteen hours a day, and it's called moonlighting." --Robert Orben.

"History is the sum total of the things that could have been avoided." --Konrad Adenauer.

while those who, like Senators Goldwater, Tower and Thurmond, opposed the bill, are something other than "conservatives". This is an interesting but thoroughly transparent tactic. If you are to define "conservative" so as to include in that category only those individuals of whom you are proud while excluding those who embarrass you, I must claim the same right in debating the matter with you. Henceforth, when I use the term "liberal", consider it to exclude by definition any individual who has ever done or advocated anything which I consider unwise...))

In the same manner, your statement that "it is central to the idea of conservatism to defend all existing institutions, be they honorable or vile" is the most outlandish of them all. It is so totally false that it deserves no comment. ((Considering that you have placed yourself on record earlier in this letter as believing that a "Burkean conservative must...(believe) that any radical change is for the worst," I fail to see how you can characterize my phrasing of this attitude as "outlandish" and "totally false".))

The word "prejudice", to a liberal, is a devil-term bringing up all sorts of horrible emotional connotations. Not so to the conservative. Prejudice is an integral part of our culture, and at times it gives an insight more profound than reason can give. It is the "little platoons" that bind our life and give it meaning on a day-to-day basis. In the political sense, to give one example, it permeates our culture to demand that politicians be honest and reasonably efficient; it is prejudiced against Bobby Baker as the symbol of corruption. And you must realize that I am not defending all prejudices, as many can be and are detrimental to a society. ((My Webster's Dictionary very unemotionally defines prejudice as "Judgment or opinion formed beforehand; unreasonable inclination for or against anything; esp., an opinion or leaning unfavorable to anything without sufficient reason." To speak of "good" or "worthwhile" prejudices is a contradiction in terms. To deal with your example, it is perfectly reasonable to oppose dishonest politicians in general and Bobby Baker in particular; this aversion has nothing to do with prejudice. Prejudice, in this context, is the assumption, without evidence, that a politician (usually of the other party) is dishonest. It is utter nonsense to assert that prejudice can provide a profound insight into anything. An individual may, for example, be prejudiced against Jews, and the law of probability assures that at least a few of the Jewish persons with whom he comes into contact will be criminals or similarly disreputable types. Thus, his prejudgment will occasionally prove accurate. But it is ridiculous to claim that this ignorant bigot has therefore been shown to possess "profound insight".))

And, lastly, I might draw your attention to a comment of yours on a policy advocated by George Price and myself in October of last year; namely, that the United States prevent by any means, including force, the establishment of another Communist nation in this hemisphere. At the time, we were talking about Allende in Chile, but no matter--your comment was that our beliefs were "completely outside the mainstream of American thought". Yeah, and so is the President of the United States and 69% (according to the Gallup Poll) of the American people. ((The view expressed by George Price and yourself which I considered "completely outside the mainstream of American thought" was your general evaluation of democracy. The Allende case was used as an illustration because of its currency, but my objection was to the underlying attitude which would permit you to espouse the view that any elected government which displeased Washington should be promptly overthrown. Conservatives have frequently tended, in determining the acceptability of a government, to relegate to a secondary position the question of whether or not it was democratically elected, and I certainly feel that this belief is outside the mainstream of American thought. One of the fundamental concepts

