

DESPAIR

Pain, oh pain, oh hideous pain,
Must you torment this poor wretch again;
Sorrow, sorrow, pervading sorrow,
My life is spent in fear of tomorrow.
For me there is to be no joy--
Despair converted me as a boy--
And later life is naught but gloom
As I anxiously await approaching doom.
My sunny afternoons were wasted,
And love's sweet bloom I never tasted;
The pleasure of sharing is unknown,
Nothing but misery have I sown.
Lonely, lonely pass the fading hours
Life is a room devoid of flowers;
No other heart is open to mine
No friends comfort me while I dine.
An empty zero is my life's sum--
Unmourned I'll pass when the time has come;
The hopes of my youth will never be,
So I curse the people better than me.

BY TED PAULS

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DISSENTING

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I suppose that, as a native Californian, I should take issue with the article in Kipple #95 that portrays the Golden State as a playground for political Neanderthals. Granted, conservatives make a lot of noise in California. But I suspect, on the basis of election returns, that they do not constitute there any greater fraction of the population than they do elsewhere.

I would estimate the conservative proportion of the population as being about one in seven. I make this estimate on the basis of primary or general elections in various parts of the country, in which a hard-right candidate has been entered: the 1962 gubernatorial primary in Texas (Walker), the Conservative Party vote in New York (Jaquith in 1962, Paolucci in 1964, Buckley in 1965), etc. One-seventh seems to be the maximum vote that such a candidate can bring out. I except cases where a conservative has annexed a major party nomination, because he gets a lot of party-line votes.

At first glance, the fact that one American in seven is committed to an ideology of anti-Communist warfare, white supremacy and limitations of First Amendment freedoms sounds horrendous. And indeed it is necessary to keep a sharp eye on their activities, and make sure that everyone is aware of them. To this end it is frequently necessary to do no more than let them speak often and loudly, so that everyone can be sure of the things they are planning.

Furthermore, this minority can make noise which sounds like the wave of the future. One-seventh of the adult population of the United States runs to over 15 million people. Such a large minority can support publications of large circulation, form large, outspoken and influential organizations, and write torrents of letters to editors. Since they by no means comprise the poorest one-seventh of the population, they can swing a lot of weight, and buy large spreads of space in publications. (Compare the technical quality of National Review to that of Nation or New Republic.) But when the chips are down, and a conservative candidate challenges a Republican and a Democrat before the electorate, they cannot break the one-seventh mark, and frequently fall below it. And if they manage to take over a major party and name its candidate, he usually is defeated decisively. (Compare the Goldwater candidacy in 1964, or Dumont in New Jersey in 1965.)

Moreover, the programs of conservatives do not even have the virtue of novelty. The whole conservative program has been tried, found wanting and rejected decades ago. Can anyone seriously imagine that racial segregation can ever again be restored as it was in 1900, or in 1950, or even in 1960? Is it seriously proposed that entrepreneurs and their corporations will ever again have the economic powers that they had in 1890, or 1930? What would be the mechanics of a political campaign to repeal social security, the Minimum Wage Act, the Securities and Exchange Act, the Norris-Laguardia Act or, as some conservatives have gone so far as to ask, the Sherman Anti-Trust Act? Indeed, whenever it has been pointed out that conservatives seek the repeal of these laws, conservatives themselves rush to protest that they have no such plans in mind! When Goldwater, early in the New Hampshire campaign, advocated abolition of compulsory social security, he stirred up such a hornet's nest of opposition that he spent the rest of the campaign vainly trying to deny that he had ever uttered such an opinion.

And the macrocosm is reflected in our own microcosm. There has

OPINIONS

been no more articulate defender of conservatism in the pages of Kipple than Derek Nelson. Yet when a conservative was nominated for the presidency of the United States, Derek bestirred himself for the first time to publish a magazine, opposing Goldwater and urging that his Yankee neighbors vote for President Johnson. When the chips were down, and there seemed some possibility that their program might be actually put into effect, conservatives voted against their champions in droves.

But this is getting us rather far away from California. Rich men, elderly men, men of southern ancestry, WASPs--all the traditional generators of conservatism--have never been rare in California. But neither have progressives. California has sent more true liberals to Congress than any other state. Check the votes, not on such routine liberal programs as welfare legislation, but also on anti-HUAC bills. In this century, only California has elected a governor who openly proclaimed himself an atheist--Culbert Olsen (Dem., 1938-1942). In 1962 a southern California district was given as clear a choice as any constituency has ever had in this country: the Republican candidate was a Bircher, while the Democrat was backed by anti-H-bomb groups and the UAW. The Democrat won decisively. Don Edwards, George Brown, Thomas Kuchel and George Kassem (the latter no longer in office) are all outstanding liberals, and such come from the southern as well as the northern parts of the state.

Conservatives in high public office are rarer, and often the result of flukes. George Murphy was able to capitalize on resentment of Salinger as an "outsider", and on the racist feeling stirred up against unsegregated housing. Jack Tenney, an anti-Semite who represented Los Angeles County in the State Senate in the 1940's, got in during the 1930's through isolationist sympathizers and, once in, was able to fortify his position through the cock-eyed cross-filing system that once prevailed there. (The anomalies of cross-filing can best be illustrated by the fact that in 1948 Nixon received the Democratic as well as the Republican nomination for Congress.) Needless to say, Tenney could get small change from the electorate in that county or any part of it today.

More characteristic of California than the principled conservative is the opportunistic maverick who will take any positions, no matter how contradictory, that might prove productive of votes. This breed produced Upton Sinclair in the 1930's, Artie Samish in the 1940's and Sam Yorty today. If the original plans for the Chavez Ravine housing project had gone through, producing instead of a stadium a western version of the Allerton Avenue Coops, Yorty would probably sound today more like Henry than like George Wallace.

The Republican feud in California has produced a situation in which no Republican who opposed Goldwater can be nominated, and no Republican who supported him can be elected. I predict that Brown will easily defeat Yorty in the Democratic primary, and get a somewhat narrower win over Reagan in the general election. The heavy Democratic majorities in the legislature will be cut somewhat, but still be workable. George Christopher will catch so much hell from conservative Republicans that he'll wish he were back in jail again. And left-wing independent candidates will do far better than their opposite numbers on the right.

The state regulation of the Baltimore Police Department reminds me of a great controversy that affected the New York police over a century ago. The Municipal Police, responsible to Mayor Fernando Wood, were so corrupt that the governor installed a new force, the Metropolitan Police. Wood, a man of such independence that he once proposed that New

York become a sovereign mercantile city-state on the Venetian pattern, bitterly opposed this interference, and pitched battles were fought in the streets between the Municipals and the Metropolitans.

Helgesen: Why shouldn't the peace movement make concessions to cowardice? Brave men are trying to blow up the world; we need more cowardice.

Seidman: To take up your discussion of the practicalities of democracy, let us hypothesize a change which needs to be made in a country's way of life, yet whose desirability has not yet been made apparent to the majority of the population. Under these circumstances, I can think of very few situations where a minority which supports this change, and is in possession of the powers of government, would be justified in forcing the change on the majority. Even if the change is desirable, it will be of no long endurance unless a majority of the population is convinced of that fact. For historical examples, compare the forcible attempts to re-Catholicize England in reigns of Mary I and James II, or the forcible attempts to de-Catholicize France under the Convention. Either one or the other of these policies--depending on how you view the Roman Church--was right. Yet the change was not prepared with any regard to public feeling, and hence it was a failure.

A government which does not rest its basis upon popular support is doomed. Indeed, if it fails to guarantee even the civil rights of minorities it is doomed. In either case, a large interest is created in that country which has the liveliest personal reasons for wanting to see the existing government replaced with one more friendly to itself. The doom may take a longer or shorter time to manifest itself, but if one class, race or religious community of sufficient numbers is shut out from the political process, the state is weakened to that extent.

Suppose, however, that an infinitesimal group is thus shut out--the Communists, Jehovah's Witnesses or Atheists in our society, let us say. Of themselves, these groups could never become dangers to the state. However, a state which makes outlaws of small, ineffectual groups will inevitably go on to offend larger ones. If Senator McCarthy, e.g., had limited his attacks to genuine, certified, undenying and undeniable members of the Communist Party, he never would have excited the antipathy that he did among liberals. But McCarthys are constitutionally unable to do any such thing. The laws which were adopted under his influence--particularly the 1954 amendments to the McCarran Internal Security Act--are aimed not at the minuscule Communist Party, but at the very democratic dialogue itself. For example--one provision of the 1954 set up restrictions on "Communist-infiltrated" organizations. If you look at Republican campaign speeches of that year, you will find that one of the organizations they considered to be "Communist-infiltrated" was nothing less than the Democratic Party itself.

The liberties guaranteed in the Constitution are not merely part of democratic doctrine--they are essential not only to America's freedom, but to America's stability and internal security.

Incidentally, George Lincoln Rockwell is under indictment now in New York on a charge having nothing to do with his constitutional rights. An individual Jew in New York has accused Rockwell of specifically threatening him with death. This, friends, is not part of the First Amendment.

Price: I agree about the dates, though not the cause, of the anti-Communist witch-hunts in this country. Anti-Communist bigotry was made intellectually respectable in the 1940's by liberals; they have only themselves to blame if conservatives took up the cry in the 1950's and directed it at them as well.

Joseph Mulligan, S.J., of the Fordham physics department, has told me that he decidedly does not believe that free will is embodied

in the Heisenberg principle. Nor does he bring in such considerations in his class. Therefore, by your argument, he is either a liar for saying his, or a hypocrite for not using his classroom for carrying out his undoubted obligation to propagate Catholicism. Find me an argument that bans Genovese and keeps Mulligan.

Warner: There was a plan to announce to Japan that the A-bomb would be dropped on some uninhabited area so the Japanese could see its effects. This was abandoned when someone realized that the Tojo government was perfectly capable of rushing thousands of American POW's to the region in question.

"Sarge, I would like to know how you tell the good Vietnamese from the bad Vietnamese."

"It's very simple. When you see a native, you yell, 'Nuts to Ho Chi Minh.' If he fires at you, you know he's with the Viet Cong."

"That could be dangerous, Sarge. For example, yesterday Condon got all banged up doing just that. He lost his helmet and his rifle and he wound up in the hospital."

"What happened?"

"Well, he saw this native and he yelled at him, 'Nuts to Ho Chi Minh', and the native started firing at him, so Condon fired back. Then the Viet Cong guy yelled, 'Nuts to LBJ', and as Condon and the Viet Cong were shaking hands, a big truck ran over them." --Art Buchwald.

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Kipple #94: You seem shocked by my comparison of lawless leftist demonstrations to the Nazi extermination of Jews. Certainly the Nazi mass murderers were enormously worse than the demonstrators, by any standard. Nevertheless, there remains that one point of similarity: the excuse offered for law-breaking (and the death-camps were illegal, even under Nazi law) is that legal means could not succeed. In a civilized society, law-breaking can be excused only when it is practically impossible to change the law peacefully, and obedience to the law will result in great harm. This is rarely the case. Certainly no such excuse can be supported for the Sproul Hall affair. The students had by no means exhausted the legal avenues of protest, and in any event their grievances were trivial. Yes, trivial! "Free speech" was a fake issue, since the University administration had not interfered with any of the students' rights, but had only withdrawn a privilege (the use of University property for political recruiting). The reaction was so far in excess of the ostensible provocation that it seems obvious that the real issue was not "free speech", but rather, simply, who is to run the University, the Administration or the Movement?

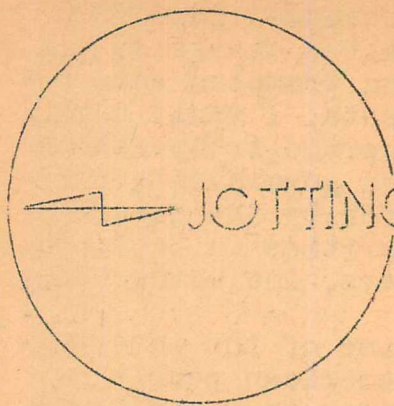
You "attempt to place the unlawful demonstrations of the New Left in a proper perspective by comparing them to...the activities of the right-wing opposition to the New Left," citing instances where right-wingers beat up leftists. I could match your recital with cases where leftist goons attacked rightists--such as the organized assault on YAF demonstrators at the Indianapolis airport, October 13, 1962. However, that is not the point. The incidents you described are vile and inexcusable, and had I been present I would have felt obliged to pitch in on the side of the peaceful demonstrators. To restore the proper perspective, I point out that no one is defending such goon action. It is taken for granted that all decent people are opposed to it. But the New Left indulges in lawlessness (non-violent, so far), not as the occasional acts of savages, but as a calculated tactic. To me, this is the crucial difference. This is what places the New Left in the same cate-

gory as the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan--by no means as far out, but still on the same side of the line that separates the law-abiding from the criminal. You might say that there is a very long and increasingly bloody road, called "law-breaking is permissible in a good cause". The road starts at Sproul Hall. It ends at Auschwitz. (I am pleased to see that you acknowledge the qualitative equivalence of present-day Klan violence and former Nazi activity in Europe. I cannot, however, accept the thesis that the difference between SNCC's civil disobedience and the Nazi atrocities is merely a quantitative one, that both are points along the same road. Between the "lawless" actions of the Nazis and the Klan and the "lawless" actions of the civil disobeyers there is a qualitative distinction (in addition, that is, to the obvious but not fundamental distinction that the Nazis and KKK kill people, whereas CORE, SNCC and SDS don't). The philosophy of civil disobedience asserts the primacy of individual conscience, i.e., that every person has the right to determine whether a given law is immoral and therefore requires disobedience. The philosophy of civil disobedience also asserts, however, that an individual, having chosen to break the law, must be prepared to pay the prescribed penalty. The Nazis, once they came to power, made the idea of a society of law meaningless; they changed or ignored laws as convenience dictated. The Klansmen, like the civil disobeyers, are a non-ruling minority, and they break laws clandestinely--under cover of night and hood--with full intention of avoiding punishment. This is the critical distinction. Perhaps an example will serve to illustrate: An adenoidal moron in a cowboy hat named Collie Leroy Wilkens engaged in a clandestine criminal act and, when apprehended, denied his guilt; David Miller, recently sentenced to five years in prison for burning his draft card, engaged in a criminal act openly, made no effort to escape and did not deny committing the act. There is a difference between those examples of law-breaking, even apart from the obvious fact that Miller's "crime" injured no one.)

Would we who advocate "vigorously prosecuting the war in Vietnam" be willing to risk our own skins? Yes, I think we would, if the occasion arose. I was in the Army during the Korean War, although in a non-combat position. And I was then a vocal advocate of pushing to the Yalu, even though an expansion of the war might well have resulted in my transfer to a combat outfit. You ask why "American college students who sign petitions to support continued escalation of the conflict" aren't enlisting, "if they favor the war so heartily". Well, probably for the same reason that I have yet to hear of any New Leftist making his way to Hanoi to enlist in the Viet Cong. (This is a dubious parallel, at best. It is a reasonably safe assumption that the students favoring escalation desire the military defeat of the insurgents, but few of the students opposed to our involvement in Vietnam desire the military defeat of the United States. (They may advocate unilateral withdrawal and be willing to accept the consequent Communist takeover of South Vietnam, but this is not quite the same thing as desiring the destruction or surrender of the US expeditionary force.) Then, too, the government makes enlisting in the armed forces very easy and travelling to Hanoi very difficult, and public opinion is inclined to consider the former an honorable act and the latter a treasonous act.)

Frances Bukowski claims that "Viet Cong" is "a racist term of American invention meaning roughly 'Viet gooks' or 'Viet n-----s'." Lord-amighty, wherever did you get such a marvelous nugget of misinformation? "Viet Cong" is a Vietnamese term, it means "Viet Communist (Party)", and it is not racist or otherwise derogatory. One of my co-workers, a Chinese, tells me that in Chinese and related languages "cong" means lit-

CONTINUED AFTER "JOTTINGS"



JOTTINGS FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK

REFLECTIONS ON THE DOMINICAN INTERVENTION: Bloody chapters continue to be added to the tragedy of the Dominican Republic, and my thoughts frequently return to the events of last April. This is a manifestly futile exercise. Nevertheless, I feel a strange compulsion to periodically reiterate my views concerning this sordid episode, as if by doing so the foul taste of it might be washed from my mouth. Unlike the Vietnam involvement, with its manifold moral and political complexities, the Dominican intervention offers a starkly simple situation. There are not two sides to this question; the defenders of the intervention have no "side", unless you consider the brutal murder of principle to represent a legitimate position. (Astounding, there are Kipple readers who hold precisely this view. But let us not dignify it by calling it a "position"; it is a spasm born of an aberration.) The United States possessed no moral or legal right to assault a courageous group of citizens struggling against a repressive junta. Had I been in Santo Domingo at the time of the uprising, I would have borrowed a weapon and joined Colonel Camaano's constitutionalist rebels. And when I witnessed students and shopkeepers and teachers and laborers being shot down in the streets, I would not have asked the uniformed men doing the shooting if they were from my country or my state or my city; I would have shot back at them, and hoped to kill as many as possible.

As I watched the events of last April unfold, feelings about the Dominican people and the actions of my own government developed which, even now, it is difficult for me to express without becoming choked with emotion. In the final analysis, the most powerful emotion inspired by this grim episode was sheer indignation. The intervention constituted a crude slap in the face at every principle for which this nation has traditionally claimed to stand. As my respect for my own government shrivelled, my respect and admiration for the Dominican people soared. I am automatically on the side of any people struggling against tyranny, be they in South Africa or Budapest, but these people were special somehow, and respect soon developed into something very much like love, though I knew none of them personally.

On several occasions after the occupation troops had sealed the constitutionalists into a small area of the city, US patrols wandered into the rebel sector and were captured. In every case, they were held for a time, then released and transported back to their own "lines". Consider this carefully. These people, characterized by Washington as "violent, Communist-led mobs of armed civilians", these proud and hot-tempered latinos, who, having had liberty within their grasp only to see it snatched away at the last moment by foreign invaders, had occasion to capture some of the offending troops--and released them unmo-

lested. I asked myself at the time and have done so periodically in the months since, would I, in their circumstances, have behaved in such a civilized manner? Truthfully, though I consider myself a civilized man, I must answer: had it been my freedom which was being trampled into the ground, my brothers and sisters murdered in the streets, I would have executed any prisoners on the spot. This was the supreme irony--these "Communists", so called by our tragically misinformed government, exercised a chivalry toward prisoners totally uncalled for by the nature of the conflict. (The American-supported military authorities in Santo Domingo acted quite differently; some of their prisoners, including women, were later discovered in a mass grave.)

Washington spokesmen compounded the moral crime of the intervention by deliberately and consistently lying to the American people about the actions and objectives of United States forces in Santo Domingo. The justification for intervening originally cited by the US government was "the protection of foreign nationals". The uprising began on April 24th, the first detachment of US troops landed on April 27th and all of the American and other foreign nationals were not declared under the protection of US forces until April 30th. For a period of six days, therefore, many foreign nationals were in the contested areas and in sectors of the city under rebel control. It is a fact that not a single one was killed; as a matter of fact, the only foreign civilian seriously injured, to my knowledge, was a newsman shot by US Marines. The Administration consistently asserted, furthermore, that the objective of US forces was to maintain peace, denying that these forces were supporting either of the factions involved in the civil war. Yet it was obvious from the outset to anyone capable of intelligently reading the news that the US military forces were in fact actively attempting to crush the rebellion and were giving every possible assistance to the regular Dominican armed forces. Assistance to the Imbert junta, which we created, was never honestly admitted in Washington; the government did, however, tire of denying it by the time reporters had collected enough newsreel film of American forces cooperating with junta troops to stretch from Santo Domingo to Washington.

The situation in the Dominican Republic today can only be described as confused. It is evident that the influence of the Communists has increased dramatically, and no observer who graduated from grammar school can be uncertain as to why this should be so. It is impossible to predict what the future holds, but this much at least is clear: if the Communists fail to eventually take over the Dominican Republic, despite the massive assistance unwittingly given them by the US government, it will be little short of a miracle.

THE SENSE OF WONDER: Devotees of that peculiar branch of fantastic literature known as science fiction frequently explain their unusual preference in reading matter by asserting that the ideas and concepts which abound in that variety of literature excite their "sense of wonder". Precisely to define or to describe this sense of wonder is a difficult undertaking. One might say that it was composed of equal portions appreciation, awe and astonishment, but this definition remains inadequate and superficial. Perhaps it is best defined by example: the sense of wonder is what one perceives reflected in the eyes of a very small child seeing the bright decorations of Christmas for the first time. It is the feeling which is popularly supposed to be experienced by an individual, blind from birth, who suddenly and miraculously acquires the power of vision. (I say "popularly supposed" because, actually, such an individual's initial reaction is more likely to be confusion and panic. To be expelled from a familiar world of darkness into an utterly alien world of visual images and impressions is something of

a traumatic experience.) But it is this approximate sensation which recommends science fiction to a diverse company of imaginative enthusiasts.

The sense of wonder is not, of course, confined to any particular area of experience or group of people. All children appear to be capable of experiencing it, as well as many adults, and the feeling can be generated not only by ideas encountered in literature but also by a wide variety of experiences and situations from every aspect of human existence. It is an intensely personal emotional response to external stimuli; different individuals may experience it to different degrees under different circumstances. There are probably also millions of individuals who are simply incapable of experiencing the feeling under any circumstances; their lives must be intolerably empty and superficial. Meaningful discussion of the sense of wonder in the context of specific examples is difficult because such emotional responses are entirely subjective. The conditions under which an individual's sense of wonder is stimulated are as logically indefensible as any matters of personal taste; what excites the sense of wonder of one person may impress another as boring and commonplace. Nevertheless, such discussion may result in some interesting insights; it has served me as the basis for some fascinating conversations, and perhaps some of the interest may be preserved even in this impersonal medium.

I recall, for example, the evening several years ago when, for the first time, I fully understood the modern concept of evolution. I had previously read thousands of pages on the subject, and carried in my mind sufficient facts and theories and principles to engage in a reasonably intelligent discussion of the topic with even a professional biologist. But the facts and theories and principles were merely separate ideas; what I knew about evolution consisted of a bunch of words, answers to questions that had been memorized, other peoples' ideas expressed in other peoples' words. On this particular evening, of which I possess the most vivid recollections, I was thinking rather casually about natural selection when suddenly--and there is no other way to describe it--something clicked and all of the facts and theories and principles seemed to fall into place like pieces of a jigsaw puzzle. Suddenly I understood the connection between those heretofore separate and distinct facts; I understood the whole, immense, far-reaching idea of evolution, dealt with it for the first time as an integrated, coherent concept.

The sense of wonder can also be stimulated by people--not only great men like Mahatma Gandhi or Dr. Schweitzer, but the extraordinary "ordinary" people one meets every day. For me, the sense of wonder is excited by a child named Talmira Lisa Hill, aged eighteen months, who possesses the sort of searching, grasping mind that one only finds in children of superior intelligence or in essentially child-like geniuses. Physically, Tammy is easily the equal of any three-year-old, both in size and in the complete confidence with which she walks up and down steps. Her vocabulary is already remarkable, and her diction, while still suffering from her understandable inexperience in public speaking, is certainly superior to that of any other very young child I have ever encountered. But it is the potential of her mind which excites the wonder. She is logical, observant, clear-thinking to an extent truly extraordinary for her age. (There is, however, one cloud hanging over this potential: because of the color of her skin, Tammy will be educated in second-rate schools equipped with second-rate facilities and staffed by second-rate teachers. By the time she reaches the third grade, her apparent intelligence level will probably be no higher than average for third-grade students nationwide; by the sixth grade, she will probably actually be behind the "average" sixth graders in those shiny new schools out in the lilly white suburbs. It is this criminal suffocation

of young minds, in the final analysis, which constitutes the most heinous aspect of racial injustice in our society, and it is this crime for which the supporters of the inequitable status quo must eventually be called to account.)

Occasionally, a passage in a book or essay will have the effect of activating one's sense of wonder. What is of principal importance in these instances is often not so much the quality of the prose as the idea or thought being expressed. One passage which comes immediately to mind in this context is from the eleventh chapter of N. J. Berrill's "Man's Emerging Mind". Professor Berrill is discussing the Swanscombe skull:

"Judging from the thickness of the bone, by careful measurements of critical dimensions, and from the shape of the brain cast made from the skull, the experts announced that the owner was a woman who died in her early twenties, that she had a well-convoluted brain with a total capacity of about 1350 cubic centimeters, and that the brain was lopsided on the right side. That is to say, the lady was left-handed, though her habits were probably crude, and she had all the brain she needed to have gone to college had she had the chance and the proper preparations. But she didn't. She kept house in her own way for a man who flaked flints and hunted a queer rhinoceros in an England that was not even an island, and in semitropical heat."

There is another, separate type of literary passage which inspires equivalent feelings, but here it is the scope and character of the writing itself rather than the particular ideas being explored which is responsible for exciting the sense of wonder. There are certain essayists whose prose is poetry without meter or rhyme; from their work one recalls passages the smoothness and beauty of which are unexcelled by even the finest lyric poem. One of my favorite books, Edith Hamilton's "The Greek Way to Western Civilization", contains many such passages. My favorite appears in the chapter devoted to Euripides. The author is discussing the people whom she terms "the modern-minded", and when I originally quoted this long paragraph in Kipple #80 I suggested that it might serve in whole or in part as a description of the activists of the New Left:

"Above all, they care for human life and human things and can never stand aloof from them. They suffer for mankind, and what preoccupies them is the problem of pain. They are peculiarly sensitized to 'the giant agony of the world'. What they see as needless misery around them and what they envisage as needless misery to come is intolerable to them. The world to them is made up of individuals, each with a terrible power to suffer, and the poignant pity of their own hearts precludes them from any philosophy in the face of this awful sum of pain and any capacity to detach themselves from it. They behold, first and foremost, that most sorrowful thing on earth, injustice, and they are driven by it to a passion of revolt. Convention, so often a mask for injustice, they will have none of; in their pursuit of justice at any cost they tear away veils that hide hateful things: they call into question all pleasant things and comfortable things. They are not

of those who take 'all life as their province'; what is good in the age they live in they do not regard; their eyes are fixed upon what is wrong. And yet they never despair. They are rebels, fighters. They will never accept defeat. It is this fact that gives them their profound influence, the fact that they who see so deep into wrong and misery and feel them so intolerable, never conclude the defeat of the mind of man."

There is not in modern literature a passage more beautiful than this.

Other examples could be cited and dwelt upon at length, but they would merely multiply what has already been said, in no sense contributing anything new. Instead, I shall end this essay with the words used in numerous conversations: And you, my friend, tell me what it is that arouses your sense of wonder?

DAVID AND GOLIATH: Even for an observer opposed in principle to the United States involvement in Vietnam, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the failure of President Johnson's somewhat ostentatious but nonetheless genuine "peace offensive" demonstrated that the government in Hanoi and the South Vietnam National Front of Liberation possess little interest at this juncture in engaging in mutually face-saving negotiations. While certain aspects of the US proposals were dubious and more than a little ambiguous, it was clear that the principal obstacle to removing the conflict from the battlefield to the conference table was the recalcitrance of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the NFL. It might be interesting to inquire: Why do the Communists, confronted by the awesome military might of the United States, continue to refuse a course of action which offers at least the possibility of resolving the conflict peacefully? Obviously, the only reasonable answer to this question is that the Communists believe that they can achieve a military victory. To the average American, there is something outrageously insolent about this attitude. Can this insignificant, backward little country actually believe itself capable of successfully carrying on a military struggle against the most imposing military power in the history of the world? It is tempting to attribute this foolhardy courage to the traditional Oriental disregard for human life, but while this is probably a factor there are other, more concrete factors to be taken account of--prime among them being the limitations of air- and sea-power in certain situations and the special political nature of guerilla warfare.

It should be understood, first of all, that the impressive military might of the US consists to a surprising extent of a nuclear air capability which, since it cannot be brought to bear in the context of the Vietnam conflict, in effect exists on paper only. Even the conventional military power of this country, constituting only a small portion of its total military might, is primarily an air and sea capability which, in Vietnam, is a severely limited instrument. (Its value should not, of course, be underestimated: it is our air power, combined with the absolute command of the seas, which makes it possible for the US to wage war in Vietnam.) Consider, for example, the bombing attacks on the territory of the DRV. The military justification for these raids has been that they "interdict" (i.e., restrict, impede or eliminate) the infiltration of personnel and military supplies into South Vietnam. One of the principal arguments advanced last year in favor of a bombing "lull" has been that the raids failed to significantly accomplish this goal. During the period of bombing in 1965, indeed, infiltration appears to have substantially increased. Accounts by foreign reporters visiting the DRV indicated that the bombing was considered little more

than an annoyance, militarily, and the propaganda value for the Communist regime in Hanoi easily offset this nuisance value.

Even if the intensive bombing policy of the "Hawks" should be initiated by President Johnson, it is doubtful if air strikes will constitute a decisive or even extremely serious hindrance to the DRV's support of the war effort in the South. North Vietnam's status as a backward country is, ironically, a great advantage in the current struggle. The "Hawk" proposal to destroy industrial targets unduly impresses the citizens of this highly industrialized republic. Actually, even the total elimination of the DRV's industrial establishment would not constitute a major catastrophe--for hardly more than five percent of the populace is directly dependent for its existence or livelihood upon the infant industrial capacity of the DRV. Vietnam is essentially an agricultural country, and the majority of the people live today exactly as they did centuries ago. Unless the United States should undertake the systematic destruction of agricultural dams, air activity over North Vietnam will continue to constitute little more than a nuisance.

In the South, air strikes, combined with the introduction of able, well-equipped and highly motivated US combat troops, have initially been considerably more effective. These favorable results, however, are likely to be temporary: the pressure of mounting losses will eventually compel the insurgents to alter their tactics. Indeed, there are definite indications that this is presently occurring--while initially Communist troops appeared eager to engage US units in large-scale battles, they are now avoiding such encounters whenever possible. In the future, an even more radical scaling down of insurgent activity should be anticipated. The NFL forces may cease altogether gathering in large concentrations (which are vulnerable to air attack) and revert to a more primitive stage of guerilla warfare. The insurgents would then function in small groups, avoiding US search-and-destroy operations by disposing of weapons and other incriminating material and blending with the local population. Since the primary purpose of United States military operations is to trap, fight and destroy enemy units (as opposed to, say, World War II, where the primary objective was to conquer territory and occupy places), such a change in tactics would automatically cause the military-political position of the US and the Saigon government to deteriorate sharply.

The only disadvantage for the insurgents in undertaking such a shift in tactics would be a political one: cessation of large operations would permit United States and South Vietnamese forces to provide at least partial security over a larger area of the countryside than is presently feasible. However, the NFL might find this a worthwhile gamble. Ultimately, after all, the political war--"winning the people"--must be conducted by the South Vietnamese (Americans begin with the massive disadvantage of being strange looking foreign invaders). Since the nature of the Saigon government apparently remains the same regardless of leadership changes, its chances of winning the allegiance of the populace against concerted Communist underground and propaganda efforts are decidedly unpromising.

One even more concrete and specific indication that the optimism currently being voiced in Hanoi is founded on something more substantial than foolhardy bravado is provided by a statement released December 31, 1965, by the headquarters of the United States Military Assistance Command in Saigon. Every American citizen who reads the newspapers or owns a radio is aware that during 1965 the US dropped hundreds of tons of bombs on "military targets" in North Vietnam, tremendously increased American ground strength in the South and killed more guerillas than ever before. The figures released by the Military Assistance Command, however, give pause for concern. While the insurgents lost 35,585 killed

by actual body count during 1965, intelligence estimates reveal that the number of NFL regular troops increased from 103,000 to 230,000 during the year. Stated bluntly, then, the net effect of Washington's tremendous escalation of the conflict during 1965 has been to cause the enemy to more than double his full-time armed forces. It may be argued, of course, that without the massive US effort, the guerillas would have increased their strength even more, but that is not really the point. The point is that, on balance and considering the generally accepted ratio of regular troops to guerillas required for military success, we are worse off after the "successful" year of 1965 than we were before.

MODERN CONSERVATISM & INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY: The contemporary conservative's claim to be a gallant protector of individual liberty has never especially impressed me, simply because when one begins to examine specific issues it becomes apparent that, under the guise of a concern for individual liberty, the conservative is actually dedicated to defending the entrenched privileges of certain groups. This statement is equally applicable to "respectable" conservatives such as Senator Everett Dirksen and political gargoyles of the William F. Buckley stripe. Individual liberty is a concept for which liberals and radicals possess considerable respect--a respect demonstrated throughout history by something more than flowery phrases--and I emphatically resent the tendency of rightists in the present era to deliberately misunderstand and distort the concept in order to serve their own hardly admirable purposes.

In a civilized community, it is necessary to perceive and comprehend the dynamic relationship between the liberty of the separate individuals and groups comprising the society. In striving for the maximization of individual freedom--in general, and without reference to particular individuals or groups--it is necessary to appreciate that a balance must be achieved between the frequently contradictory (i.e., mutually exclusive) demands of individuals and groups. Stated in its most primitive form, this principle constitutes a recognition of the axiom that the freedom of one individual to wave his hands through the air ends where the nose of another individual begins. It is precisely because conservative theorists, by and large, fail to recognize or completely comprehend this essential principle that their view of "individual liberty" tends to be limited and unrealistic. In its most extreme form, as represented by the vicious and inhumane philosophy of Ayn Rand, this so-called "libertarian" view postulates a society which functions essentially in the manner of the "society" of the jungle: a few "tigers" enjoy the exhilarating benefits of individual liberty at the expense of a vast population of less predatory creatures. Such a social order is not only morally abhorrent to civilized human beings, but it is in addition unworkable and inherently unstable: a society in which an elite minority dominates an oppressed and suffering majority is constantly in danger of revolution; whereas in a society which has achieved the "balance of liberties"--i.e., a society of political equality and social justice--revolution is virtually impossible.

Conservative prattle about "individual liberty", in essence, is a cloak under cover of which social injustice may be perpetuated and defended. I recognize this as a serious accusation against the public pretensions of "libertarian conservatives", and I suggest that rather than accepting my statement uncritically the reader undertake his own investigation of what modern conservatives do in fact stand for. It is not difficult to conduct such an investigation. What is required is merely to engage the conservatives with whom you are acquainted in a discussion of individual liberty and carefully note what specific incidents they cite, then carefully peruse articles, books, essays and

speeches by leading conservatives, noting the same information. A pattern will become clear in an extraordinarily short period of time. You will discover, for example, thousands of vehement words objecting to the public accommodations section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, but remarkably few references to state anti-miscegenation statutes, which abridge what is surely the most "individual" (i.e., personal) liberty in existence, the liberty to marry the person of one's choice. Search for objections to these laws in conservative writings; your eyes will be exhausted long before your amazement that devoted proponents of individual liberty could have overlooked something so fundamental.

The most recent chapters of the venerable "separation of church and state" controversy furnish another excellent example tending to substantiate my contention. Consider the vehement conservative opposition to the series of Supreme Court decisions (from Engel vs. Vitale to Murray vs. Curlett) on prayer and Bible reading in public schools, which eliminated the traditional WASP privilege of utilizing public institutions to enforce religious conformity. We are informed by conservative spokesmen that these decisions constituted instances of "government interference" and intolerable abuses of individual liberty. It may occur to the perceptive reader that it is a rather unusual definition of "individual liberty" which encompasses the liberty of a Protestant majority to compel Catholic, Jewish and non-believing children to parrot ritualistic precepts and maudlin moral parables. But let us overlook this dubious aspect in pursuit of a more important point. Can we not at least attribute to conservatism an abiding (albeit over-zealous) concern for religious liberty? Well, no, not actually; rather, an abiding concern for the privileges of the Protestant or, less frequently, Catholic Establishment. Conservative pronouncements on "religious liberty" are centered almost entirely upon the idea that the majority religion in a given community has the right to incorporate religious principles and precepts into the secular institutions of the community. Conservative advocacy of "freedom of religion" consists almost entirely, in this day, of condemnations of the American Civil Liberties Union, the "Warren Court" and the "atheist-Communist conspiracy". You will find little mention in conservative literature of state and Federal laws on marriage, divorce, non-marital sex and so forth which reflect sectarian religious viewpoints and thereby discriminate against individuals who do not happen to accept the teachings of the major religions. And no discussion of religious liberty would be complete without mention of the Mormons, a portion of whose religious practice is forbidden by law because, while harmless to others and involving only consenting adults, it offends other Christians; yet I peruse conservative essays in vain searching for an advocate of religious liberty for practitioners of polygamy.

Of course, there exists a minority of sincere libertarians, and it is difficult not to feel sympathy for these unfortunates; their path is not an easy one. They oppose the same things as their less conscientious brethren, and with equal vigor and vehemence, but they consciously strive to maintain a consistent philosophy of respect for individual liberty. This consistency exists only on paper, however. If you compile a comprehensive list of the infringements on individual liberty to which they are opposed, it may include numerous items--censorship, anti-miscegenation laws, sectarian religious ceremonies in public institutions, anti-fornication laws, anti-gambling laws--which other Goldwater conservatives tend to favor. However, when one becomes better acquainted with such an individual an interesting pattern of priorities emerges: he may never reveal his opposition to certain laws unless directly questioned about them, whereas he will expound at length on his unfavorable opinion of other laws at the drop of a hat. Perhaps an example from the opposite political wing will illustrate the point I am attempting to

make. I once knew an extreme leftist--and I do not employ that term loosely; he considered himself a lower-case communist--who could hold forth for hours on the evils of the decadent capitalist system and its inevitable replacement by socialism. In answer to a direct question concerning the Stalin purge trials or the kulak pogrom, he would admit his opposition in as few words as possible and then, having disposed of this annoying digression, immediately return to his major arguments, condemning "American class society" and terming anyone to the right of Norman Thomas a "Fascist". Libertarian conservatives tend to act in somewhat the same manner. They may hold forth on "individual liberty" for hours without mentioning, e.g., some of the absurd statutory rape laws to be found in our sovereign states, or the anti-miscegenation statutes which are a world-wide disgrace. A direct question is likely to be answered something like this: "Sure, I'm opposed to that. Now, as I was saying, the so-called 'fair housing' legislation is a basically communistic idea, and..." Another "cop-out phrase" which the reader is certain to encounter if he pays sufficient attention to conservative writings and speeches is: "Naturally, every right-thinking person is opposed to that, but as I was saying..." or some variation. Southern "moderates" are particularly fond of this sort of statement. "Every right-thinking person," they will tell you, "is opposed to violence"; but then, instead of dwelling on such a sordid topic, they will move on to a really important issue, such as "Federal intervention" or "outside agitators". You can tell more about a person's true beliefs by what he cares enough about to volunteer opinions and arguments rather than by what he claims to believe.

SHORT NOTES ON LONG SUBJECTS: The Republican Council of Maryland, a small group of GOP liberals, recently issued their "platform" for the 1966 political campaigns. The Council's support of candidates will apparently depend upon their position on certain key issues. The platform advocates repeal of the Ober Act (requiring loyalty oaths for teachers and other state employees), integration in housing, education and job training, equitable redistricting, elimination of civil defense programs, higher salaries for teachers and policemen, and free day nurseries for children of working mothers. I wonder if any of Kipple's conservative readers agree with these proposals or are at least willing to concede that they are reasonable suggestions worthy of serious consideration? +++ Dave Van Arnham (Apt. 353, 1730 Harrison Ave., Bronx, N.Y., 10453) desperately/eagerly/half-heartedly (choose one) wants to complete his collection of Kipple. Dave is missing #1, 33, 74, 77, 83, 84, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90 & 93, but he has duplicates of #2, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 25, 27, 28, 47 & 48 to trade. He is also willing to purchase the missing copies. If anyone reading these words can assist Dave in completing his file, he will be overjoyed/happy/fairly pleased (choose one). +++ A suggestion for Kipple's younger readers: ask your high-school history teacher about Queen Jane of England and watch his brow furrow. She is high on the list of Little Known Monarchs of Past Ages. +++ The next issue of this periodical will feature the first installment of a new, regular column by John Boardman, who really does look like Phil Interlandi, Dorothy. +++ Betcha didn't know that 10,006,721 was a prime number. +++ If the Robinson boys, Frank and Brooks, have just "average" years and about half of the young pitchers come through, the Baltimore Orioles, otherwise known as de Boids, should be a strong pennant contender this year. +++ Does anyone remember "Honorable Opponent", by Clifford Simak, in the August, 1956, issue of Galaxy?

--Ted Pauls

REFLECTIONS

Upon arising, the citizen shuffles into the bathroom
And stares for a moment into the mirror glass
Examining with cursory interest the image reflected there.
Here is a man, he thinks; good husband and provider,
Honest, upstanding, virtuous, religious and patriotic,
Faithful employee, loyal and devoted friend to many.
But somewhere beneath the smooth mask of self-satisfaction,
In his inner being, he hears the mirror reply mockingly,
And lingers before the disturbing glass, taken aback.
The harsh, penetrating, omniscient presence in the mirror
Scrutinizes, criticizes, questions, reveals and accuses,
Stripping away the facade of dignity and character.
Here, it contends, is a man who calls himself honest,
But objects vigorously when over-charged by an aging clerk
And stands in pious, unprotesting silence when under-charged.
Here, it shrewdly observes, is an ever-loyal friend--
To people whose social position makes it profitable to him--
Who wears friends to impress as some women wear jewelry.
Here, it asserts, is a loud, vehement and unflagging patriot
Who parrots the cliches of liberty without understanding
And condemns as a traitor anyone who disagrees with him.
Here, it points accusingly, stands a faithful husband,
Because the opportunity for infidelity has never arisen;
And he lusts in his heart after every woman under fifty.
Here, it insists, is a zealous defender of religious orthodoxy
Who attends church regularly and dozes through the services,
Observes taboos but ignores the positive commands of his creed.
Here, it fairly shrieks, I give you the loyal employee:
Who pads expense accounts, steals from the petty cash drawer
And searches for ways to undermine his office superiors.
Gaze, it sternly commands, upon this hypocrite; a vile man;
The practitioner of twenty-three varieties of bigotry;
A self-righteous fool to whom integrity is a stranger.
But only for a fleeting moment does the reflection accuse;
Then citizen erases the memory and goes about his tasks,
Preparing to spend another day demonstrating his virtue.
Secure in certain knowledge of his own untarnished goodness,
Impelled by the double horrors of greed and self-righteousness,
He marches through life in ignorance and self-satisfaction.
For here is a man, he thinks; good husband and provider,
Honest, upstanding, virtuous, religious and patriotic,
Faithful employee, loyal and devoted friend to many.

dissenting opinions.....CONTINUED

erally "community", and "Communist Party" is rendered as "Community Property Party"; hence, by usage, "Cong" is a short way of saying "Communist". Chun Cong = Chinese Communist Party; Viet Cong = Vietnamese Communist Party, and so on. The VC dislike the term, not because it is insulting, but because they wish to pose as liberators representing the whole people, not just one faction.

Mrs. Bukowski repeats that hoary old chestnut that our goals, like the Nazis', are "to maintain prosperity and the profits of industry by manufacturing a war to fight." This is not only exceedingly bad economics, it is highly inaccurate history. The Nazi war machine was not organized for the benefit of German industrialists--whom the Nazis pretty much disposed from control of their property--and those who claim that it was should be obliged to explain just why these greedy industrialists did not call off the war when their property started being bombed into rubble.

John Boardman wants to know what I, as a believer in overthrowing elected Communist governments, would do had Mitterand been elected President of France with Communist support. Well, supposing what seems highly improbable, that Mitterand would have made France a Soviet satellite, then I would have no compunction whatever about overthrowing him. (Whether this would be practical is of course quite another matter.) Presumably such interference would win us the enmity of most Frenchmen--but by the terms of our assumption they would already be our enemies, else Mitterand could not have made France a Soviet satellite.

Mr. Boardman cites as a further horrible example the belief of certain conservatives that if a government they believe to be pro-communist should arise in the US, it should be violently overthrown, as in "The John Franklin Letters". All such thinking that I have come across has been on the assumption that such a government would not be democratic, and could be ousted only by violence. Look, John, if somehow the Ku Klux Klan became the government of the United States, wouldn't you be at least a little tempted to take to the hills with your trusty rifle?

John refers disparagingly to "anti-communist prejudice". I am proud to say that I am filled with the same, right along with my anti-murderer prejudice, my anti-robber prejudice and my anti-rapist prejudice. In fact, I will say that anyone with pretensions of being a civilized man who is not anti-communist falls into the same category as those 38 law-abiding souls who did not help Kitty Genovese. They weren't pro-thug, certainly, but neither were they anti-thug. They were neutrals. (To those inclined to conceive of events primarily in terms of black-versus-white moral questions, "neutralist" is, of course, a dirty word; such thinking is a defect characteristic of both Goldwater reactionaries and New Left radicals. I shan't argue the validity of this viewpoint, however, because there is a more important point to be made. I am not a "neutralist" with respect to Communism. I oppose the Marxist-Leninist doctrine both because it is completely incompatible with my own political and social philosophy and because, furthermore, it is substantially erroneous and pragmatically discredited (i.e., its principles of organizing a society do not promote efficiency). However, this is not what John had in mind by the term "anti-communist prejudice". I believe that he would subscribe to the objections to Marxism-Leninism listed above, but neither of us share the prejudice of which you are so undeservedly proud. The word "Communist" triggers no emotional reaction in our heads, and we do not pre-judge people or ideas because they are la-

belled "Communist". My opposition to Communist doctrine does not mean that I automatically disapprove of or disagree with Bettina Aptheker or the city administration of Milan, Italy, just as my opposition to Catholic doctrine does not mean that I automatically disapprove or of disagree with Fr. William DuBay or Cardinal Bea.))

Bob Vardeman discusses the New York transport strike, saying that the authorities seemed helpless, and "about the only solution that seems feasible is to find some way to attach all union funds so the union leaders will be forced to negotiate." But there is another solution that the authorities apparently never considered: to break the strike. Why didn't they announce that applications would be accepted for subway motormen and guards (which are not highly skilled jobs)? With the aid of supervisory employees, the city could have made at least some effort to keep the most important subway lines running, even if only on a curtailed basis. That they did not even try seems to indicate that either they were terrified of union retaliation, or are so imbued with notions of the "rights of labor" (meaning the rights of labor leaders) that it simply does not occur to them that strikes can be settled on any basis other than agreement with the unions. Mr. Lindsay showed a fine profile, but no courage.

Your refutation of Campbell's "Elsa Mechanism" would be rather more effective if you had not seriously misconstrued him. You say, "According to Mr. Campbell, any sane individual who encountered a full-grown lioness on the African veldt would, on the basis of the reputation of the species, shoot it; and if the lioness happened to be Elsa, this would constitute a 'cruel injustice'." And then you express doubt as to whether lions deserve their bad reputation, "for the fact is that lions, unless they are wounded, protecting their young or hungry to the point of starvation, do not generally attack adult human beings..." This is true, but confound it, Campbell did not advocate just shooting any lion you see, on general principles. He said: "So the next time you're walking across the African veldt, and you see a full-grown lioness come bounding toward you--what will you do? Unless you're insane, you'll (shoot)." (My emphasis.) I would; wouldn't you? (Yes, probably, but the point I was making was not that we shouldn't shoot bounding lions, but that "group reputations" are frequently not founded on fact.))

Now as to the application of the "Elsa Mechanism" to American race relations, I cannot see how to avoid concluding that the reputation of American Negroes as a group is deservedly bad. Yes, I quite understand that this is due to their environment and past mistreatment, not their biology. However, this knowledge does not reduce my rather high chance of being mugged if I venture into a Negro slum neighborhood. And, yes, I also know that one should not judge the individual by the group. But when it comes to such things as being attacked on the street, you can't choose to meet only the fine and decent Negroes, and not the toughs; your only guide is the statistical behavior of the group, which tells you that you are safer by a considerable margin in white neighborhoods. (Clearly you do not understand my principal objection to Campbell's editorial. He was attempting to justify the mentality which thinks in terms of groups rather than individuals and thereby randomly reinforces preconceptions--as exemplified by the man who, when he reads in the newspaper about a Negro criminal, thinks "Yeah, n-----s are just like that" but has no comparable reaction when he reads about a white criminal. Statistics are irrelevant in this context, because this is a thoroughly irrational attitude which is not susceptible to alteration in the face of evidence. Reduction of the Negro crime rate, though desirable in itself, would not prevent bigotted whites from thinking in this manner, so obviously the principal difficulty lies elsewhere than in the behavior of Negroes.))

Campbell is dead right about one thing: the high rates of crime, illegitimacy, illiteracy, etc., among Negroes will be reduced only when the Negroes themselves do it. The most that whites can do--and this much it is essential that we do--is to refrain from putting obstacles in their way.

I showed that Campbell editorial to a Negro whom I have known well for many years (he's lower middle class, is a skilled worker and owns a nice home in a quiet and clean Negro neighborhood). He read it, shook his head, and said: "Terrible. And the worst is that it's all true."

If you think that most white people dislike the hoody-type Negroes, you should hear what middle class Negroes have to say about them. They hate them, both because they give the whole race a bad name, and also because they are even more troublesome and dangerous to decent Negroes than they are to whites. You might find it edifying to hear my friend's teenage daughters on the subject of how ill-behaved most of the colored boys in their high school are compared to the white boys. ({"...you should hear what middle class Negroes have to say..." "You might find it edifying to hear my Negro friend's teenage daughters on the subject of how ill-behaved most of the colored boys in their high school are..." Assuming that I needed lessons on what Negroes are thinking and saying, there are few people on Kipple's mailing list to whom I would be less inclined to apply.})

"Although a man of blood and violence, Richard [Cœur de Lion] was too impetuous to be either treacherous or habitually cruel. He was as ready to forgive as he was hasty to offend; he was open-handed and munificent to profusion; in war circumspect in design and skillful in execution; in politics a child, lacking in subtlety and experience. His political alliances were formed upon his likes and dislikes; his political schemes had neither unity nor clearness of purpose. The advantages gained for him by military genius were flung away through diplomatic ineptitude. When on a journey to the East Messina in Sicily was won by his arms he was easily persuaded to share with his polished, faithless ally, Philip Augustus, fruits of a victory which more wisely used might have foiled the French king's artful schemes. The rich and tenable acquisition of Cyprus was cast away even more easily than it was won. His life was one magnificent parade, which, when ended, left only an empty plain." --Winston Churchill, in "A History of the English-Speaking Peoples."

DAVE VAN ARNAM :: APT. 353, 1730 HARRISON AVE. :: BRONX, N. Y., 10453
John Boardman's letter in Kipple #95 brings up several points of his I've met before. Most particularly, it contains his argument that the Communist Conspiracy is quite likely a mythic concept, since there have been so many other Great Conspiracies of the past which (as I am quite willing to admit) are blatantly mythic.

Thus John seems to suppose there is no threat posed to us as human beings nor to us as the United States by the communists (or Communists--which orthographic usage is considered less demeaning?). Concomitantly, as I read him, John feels that the United States does represent a threat to the Communists, one that is unjustified and which upsets them considerably.

The concept that the US government is malevolently devoted to the single aim of utterly destroying communism in all its avatars foreign and domestic is a rather popular one among dissenters (foreign and domestic). What seems to be seldom pointed out is that if the US is con-

trolled by such a bunch of dedicated swine, they do a damned bad job of it. We eschew most of the truly effective techniques we could use. Take the Canadian sales of wheat to Red China. Were we intelligently dedicated to making things tough for the Other Side, we would buy all the West's surplus grain ourselves (which we could easily afford), and shunt it away from China to, say, India, thus painlessly Screwing the Communists and at the same time feeding the starving and neutral Indians. But we don't do this. The reason is simple: there is no one very high up in government really that interested in giving the Other Side a hard time. Our harassment is a chancy, not very enthusiastic thing.

Ideologically, we drop the ball every time. The plain fact is that (to consider ramifications of the above point) the collectivist system is now a proven failure on the most basic and crucial level--it never did, does not, and gives utterly no promise of ever being capable of feeding its own people. In conversation, John has questioned me as to whether the peasants ate any better under Czarist rule; I don't know whether they did or not, but I don't consider the point particularly relevant--the question is not how the food is distributed but whether the food is grown in the first place, and close to fifty years of collectivism in Russia has pretty conclusively demonstrated that the human animal just doesn't feel as impelled to work efficiently for the State as he does for himself. Only a very small percentage of farm acreage in Russia is under private cultivation, but so strong is the basic human urge for personal survival in the face of the cloudy Marxian idealistic visualization of Free Communist Man that something close to half the food that comes to market in Russia is privately produced.

John Boardman wants to know why Communists can't get driver's licenses in New York State. It's called harassment, John; its partial intent, I would suppose, is to suggest to our domestic Communists the myriad difficulties the rest of us would experience should this country fall under Communism. Consider the fate today (Feb. 15th) of Sinyavsky and Daniel ("Tertz" and "Arzhak"), sentenced respectively to seven and five years of hard labor because the Soviet Union does not recognize the existence of any mode of thought, artistic or otherwise, not totally and unswervingly dedicated to the advance and success of Communism. The closest we get to that is Lenny Bruce's myriad persecutions, and latest reports seem to indicate that he's beating all the phony raps, slowly but surely. A Lenny Bruce in Russia would merely be Giggling Champion at the State Laughing Academy.

Defined by their respective limits of tolerance, America and Russia (or any Communist country) are at quite opposite poles. It is true that parts of this country do not share the enlightenment of the rest, but James Baldwin and LeRoi Jones have ample forums for their views; where are the Baldwins and Joneses of Russia? In prison, in labor camps, on the funny farms--and quite unable to gain a hearing. And, for crissakes, what of the rather stupid affair down in Georgia recently--a Negro, Julian Bond, is elected to the state legislature (in Georgia, along with seven or eight others!), and is not only not lynched merely because he is a Negro, he is not lynched for professing to be in sympathy with the Viet Cong, but instead is simply barred from taking his seat. A special election is being held to fill the vacant position, and he is running again. All right, John, tell me anything remotely analogous to this could possibly happen in Russia. (You are not, I trust, laboring under the misapprehension that these observations constitute a sufficient reply to Boardman's query concerning New York's petty harassment of Communists? Pointing out that worse abuses have occurred elsewhere and in past eras in no sense justifies the abuses which are occurring here and now. (If, incidentally, mere improvement over past performance is to be your principal criterion, then you should, to be con-

sistent, applaud the Soviet Union because Sinyavsky and Daniel were only imprisoned instead of being executed...) I am not satisfied to live in a society which is 83% better than the Leading Competitive Product; I am not satisfied that Negroes are 49% freer than they were twenty-five years ago. A society must be judged, not against the performance of competing societies or its own past, but rather against the ideal of the Free Society--however unattainable, in practice, the ideal may be. No society is truly free when individuals adhering to a particular political outlook are prevented from driving automobiles; when somebody other than the voters of the district is entitled to decide who may represent a district in a legislative body; when a comedian cannot speak freely to a group of adults voluntarily assembled to hear him; when any sexual act involving only consenting adults can result in criminal prosecution; when schools presume to dictate standards of dress and appearance; when people can be arrested for shooting craps, playing poker or betting on horses; when an individual is legally or socially disadvantaged on account of his race, color, religion, ethnic origin, political viewpoint or economic status; and so on, ad infinitum.)

I should like to make a couple of things clear at this point. First, I am an integrationist; I even exceed John's zeal insofar as I believe in preferential hiring. I am also an atheist, which, baldly put, might not seem particularly relevant; it does mean, at least, that my attitudes are not based on the blind messianic afflatus that possesses far too many bigots and anti-communists.

On the other hand, I'm a Nixon Republican...

"It seems to me that more often than not virtue is the result of lack of interest in particular sins rather than a matter of heroic self-denial." --Steve Allen, in "Mark It and Strike It".

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I think you have been rather unfair to John W. Campbell in Kipple. His views on the race problem, for example, conform to what actually happens rather than to the currently popular liberal dogma. You ridicule his view that Negroes are inferior in self-discipline and other virtues, but a short stroll through Baltimore's Negro district ought to convince you of this fact. However, I advise you to take this stroll during the daytime. And you might find it useful if the region if the region is plentifully patrolled by those police whose "brutality" you condemn. The police in large cities, and particularly in Negro areas, are performing a difficult task in keeping order under conditions of chronic disorder. (What one would observe during a stroll through Baltimore's "Negro district" would depend, of course, upon the neighborhood selected for this peripatetic survey. In the vicinity of North Avenue and Washington Street, one would see grimy children playing in the streets, garbage littering the sidewalks, raucous groups of teenagers loitering outside of stores and an occasional drunk lying in an alleyway--which is precisely what would have been observed when I lived there some years ago. If, on the other hand, one chose to stroll along The Alameda from Woodbourne Avenue to the Kennedy North Apartments, one would observe children riding bicycles, men cutting lawns and hedges, teenagers walking to school and women returned from marketting and attempting to squeeze 1965 Pontiacs into parking spaces designed for Volvos. So tell us, Mr. Blake, what does our brief tour of Baltimore's "Negro district" indicate?)

This difficulty is caused in part by urban surroundings and in part by the race problem. In a small town, there are only a handful of

people likely to get riotously out of hand, and they can be watched and restrained by people who know them. But such intimate knowledge is impossible in a large city. Furthermore, a city is vulnerable, owing to its high population density, to a small group of willful or unwitting troublemakers.

Another problem for the urban policeman is that minority of the Negro race which has been fed with envy and hatred of whites. This attitude inflames the naturally lower intelligence and moral standards of that race (short pause for uncontrollable laughter), and makes control of them an extremely difficult task. Ideally, those law-abiding Negroes should be called in to assist in the task, as members of the police force, but there are so few of them who have at once the ability to serve as police and the willingness to put loyalty to public order above loyalty to the others of their race.

There is now a plan afoot to install a police review board in New York City, which will further hamper the police in their difficult and thankless work. This will work to the good of only criminals and communists, and can only encourage the appearance, among Negroes, of other revolutionaries such as the communist Bill Epton who was recently convicted here.

This goes also for such Negroes as Julian Bond. John Campbell's assertion that Negroes must earn acceptance is illustrated here. Certainly the presence in public life of a Negro who urges the defeat and surrender of United States soldiers cannot be calculated to make white Americans any more friendly toward the "civil rights" movement.

When you contemplate the strength and influence of communism, both here and abroad, it is hard to avoid thinking how easily it all could have been prevented. Communism was not always the powerful movement that it is now. It is not only the efforts of communists, but also the apathy of conservatives, that has permitted them to get as far as they have. In every country where communism has taken over, the government first made minor concessions to communists, and that simply whetted their appetites for more.

Consider the United States. Communists have no difficulty in finding audiences for their speakers or buyers for their books and magazines. If private persons and the government together froze them out, they would be unable to put their ideas before a gullible public. If their speakers could not rent halls, if their publications could not find printers or be distributed either on newsstands or through the mails, if their books were not in libraries, then what danger would they pose? (Someday you must explain to me how the Eric Blake who is disturbed by the spectre of "big government" and the "all-powerful state" manages to inhabit the same body as the Eric Blake who is willing--indeed, eager--to have the state suppress a particular political doctrine by imposing arbitrary restrictions on freedom of speech and press. Even if such police state methods would insure security against Communists, it may be argued that the cure is worse than the disease; after all, the Communists posed no danger in Nazi Germany, but I shouldn't think that many Americans would care to live in such a society. But I do not even concede the practical soundness of your proposal. I suggest, on the contrary, that the Communists would pose a much greater danger if any government of this country carried out such measures against them. Communists dearly love to identify their struggle with some broader principle such as civil liberties or democracy, and your government would have alienated a substantial proportion of the politically aware segment of the population. The Communists would therefore have the active support of other "leftists" and most of the liberals, at least the sympathy of the "moderates", and the principle if not the people would have the tacit support of some conservatives; only the extreme rightists

would support the government. Under these conditions, I should say that the Communists, now aligned with everybody to the left of Senator Dirksen, would pose a very considerable danger.))

For example, Lee Harvey Oswald said that he first became a Marxist through reading Marx's works in a library. How many future assassins are today following the same route? Certainly an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure.

This is why I have a serious answer to Mr. Boardman's facetious question about communists and driver's licenses. A man who goes into the Communist movement is prepared to be a martyr. He thinks that he has found the key to the future, and looks forward to being able to manipulate the lives of millions of human beings as his successful fellow-conspirators do in Russia and China today. He may be prepared for spectacular martyrdom, but he may be quite unprepared for dozens of little everyday annoyances. If he cannot get a driver's license, or a social security card, or a telephone, if he is beset by such petty hindrances as this in the business of everyday life, he may well think twice about Communism.

As for Mr. Boardman's question about France, I think that the people of France would be very grateful to us for helping to save them from Communism, just as twice we had to save them from the Germans. Our duty to protect the free nations of the world from communism is just as strong in France as it is in Vietnam.

I have been slightly critical of some of Mr. Price's views in the past, so in all justice I feel I ought to say how much I enjoyed his letter in #94. Now that Martin Luther King has declared war on public order in Chicago, to give an example of what the other northern cities will get if they don't capitulate to his demands, it will be extremely interesting to have regular reports, from a conservative viewpoint, on the forthcoming campaign. He has grasped the heart of the situation, that the cry for "civil rights" is merely the front for a social revolution. Some of the franker liberals also make this claim. (Though I don't expect you to accept this any more than you accepted the Communist statement, which I quoted in a previous letter, about their revolutionary plans.) (On the contrary, I have never been reticent about the social revolutionary character of the Movement. In Kipple #88, I referred to "a movement which is promoting a non-violent social revolution throughout the nation." In #90, I remarked that "I conceive it to be the task of the New Left...to spearhead a fundamental social revolution...". The civil rights movement is only one aspect of the total Movement, because the principal disadvantages confronting poor Negroes are a result of the first fact, not the second. (That is, while in our society a Negro is always worse off, other things being equal, than a white, the elimination of color as an important consideration would only slightly improve the lot of the slum Negro, most of whose problems derive from his poverty, ignorance and low position in the economic "pecking order".) Civil rights will probably continue to be of primary concern to the New Left until racial justice is achieved, but the central problem of our society--i.e., the one common to slum Negroes and slum whites, migrant workers, American Indians on squalid reservations, Mississippi rednecks, and so on--is economic deprivation, and it is to this problem that the new radicals must increasingly address themselves.))

These groups which are going into slums to organize the people living there are matters of serious concern. It is precisely by this method that communism came to power in Russia. Communist organizers formed councils called "soviets of workers and peasants", which purveyed revolutionary propaganda on the local level. The means by which the soviets urged people to end poverty was by plundering the rich.

The Russian Communist revolution carried out its "anti-poverty" program by plundering the rich directly, by robbing and murdering them, or driving them into exile. (And the "rich" included every peasant who owned a little more land than his neighbor and every small shopkeeper.) Sometimes it seems to me that matters are proceeding more subtly in America. Instead of being slaughtered in one bloody week, American capitalism is slowly being bled white by increasing taxation. The rich (as communism defines the rich) are being slowly robbed to support two tribes of parasites: the drug addicts and breeders of illegitimate children in the slums, and the bureaucrats who are fattening themselves off these programs.

The "anti-poverty" program in the slums has gone into its second stage. First, these people are being told that they have a right to be supported by the government. Then the people who organize the soviets tell them that the government isn't supporting them properly, and that therefore it ought to be replaced by one that will.

Of course, they could all go to work. But that would be too hard, and if they did then they wouldn't get welfare checks any more.

As for Vietnam--if any of the liberals who now oppose the war in Vietnam had spoken out with equal force against the war against the Axis powers, I could at least grant them the courage of their convictions. But there seems to be a mental block there. The United States should, in their eyes, be permitted to take every action possible against the nations they regard as "right-wing"--such as the Axis powers in the 1940's or Southern Rhodesia now--but not against the "left-wing" ones. This shows the loyalties of the Vietnicks lie not with their country but with their ideology. (Well, Jim Peck, who was recently arrested while demonstrating in New York against US policy in Southeast Asia, served a prison term as a conscientious objector during World War II, so I suppose you would credit him with having "the courage of his convictions". But you are probably correct that a majority of the opponents of our involvement in Vietnam were not equally opposed to US participation in World War II; there is no inconsistency involved here, since the situations are radically different. I'll tell you what--when the Vietnamese attack Pearl Harbor or commence the bombing of London, I will proudly march beside you in a demonstration calling for an immediate declaration of war....)

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