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June 12, 1958

Mr. Frank Altschul

New York 19, New York

Dear Frank:

Many thanks for your note of June 9, 1958, with the information about "Ariel." I had heard of it and plan to get hold of a copy as I was very much interested in the summary that you so kindly sent me.

Sincerely,

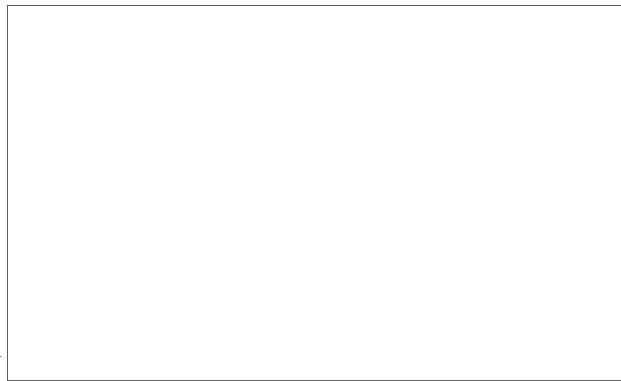
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FRANK ALTSCHUL

NEW YORK 19, N.Y.

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June 9, 1958

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Dear Allen,

Just in case the text of the book Ariel, from which you will find extensive quotations on pages 8-16, has not come to your attention, I think that the enclosed document might be of interest to you. It certainly interested me as I felt there was a good deal we could learn from this Latin American critique.

With friendliest messages, I am

Yours sincerely,



Mr. Allen W. Dulles

Washington 13, D.C.

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URUGUAY
KHS-6-'58


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UNIVERSITIES
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522 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK 36, N.Y.

DOCUMENT NO. 12
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 CLASS. CHANGED TO: TS S G
 NEXT REVIEW DATE: _____
 AUTH: MR TC-2
 DATE: 23 MAR 81 REVIEWER: CGG/wh

WELCOME TO THE FOLD, MR. NIXON

OR

ARIEL AND THE DILEMMA OF THE INTELLECTUALS

A Letter from K. H. Silvert

Buenos Aires, Argentina
May 1, 1958

The publication in these pages is one of a continuing series from AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES FIELD STAFF correspondents on current developments in world affairs.

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PHILLIPS TALBOT
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

When Vice President Nixon passed through Montevideo several days ago, the university students extended a warm welcome. Some of them called him "murderer," chanted "Death to Yankee Imperialism," and even invited him to visit the Law School so that a student leader could didactically explain how the United States is destroying Latin American economies and fomenting dictatorship in the hemisphere. Tchah, Mr. Nixon, don't be upset. It happens to all of us in Uruguay, self-appointed conscience of the Americas. Mr. José Mora, a Uruguayan who is also secretary general of the Organization of American States, wasn't even allowed to finish a scheduled speech on his last visit to his homeland. One of the milder epithets one of the students applied to me was "incompetent boob" when I got caught giving a short course in the Montevideo summer school last March. I don't mean to put myself in the same class as Messrs. Mora and Nixon, except for the purpose of saying that no man's competence, integrity, or motives are taken for granted if he is in Uruguay on an American passport.

But do not lose your patience, Mr. Nixon, for remember that under that wooly exterior beats a heart of meat. Sheep and cows are Uruguay's two major sources of foreign exchange, and a crisis in their production and sale has caused great strain in that country's relations

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with the United States. It is to be hoped that an economic alleviation will not blunt the indignation of Uruguay's intellectuals, causing the Americas to lose their throbbing superego, the country everybody loves, the kind of nation no continent should be without at least one of if not more.

"Uruguay is the Switzerland of America.' Sometimes it is made the Denmark, or the Belgium, or even the New Zealand of the New World. But those who are intent on comparisons all fall short of the mark...

"Uruguay is Uruguay. Most people probably mean it as a compliment to the South American country to call it the Switzerland -- or the Denmark or Belgium or New Zealand -- of the Western hemisphere, but those European and Pacific countries could consider themselves complimented by the comparison. Let us not forget that...

"Spend a little time in Uruguay -- it need not be a long while -- and you gradually get an impression of national well-being, a sense of maturity, a feeling of adjustment. It is fluid, invisible, and highly subtle. It is not something you can put your finger on; it is simply there in the air you breathe, in the social radiations and emanations from city and countryside. Spend a little time in thinking about the matter, after it gradually obtrudes itself from the subconscious into the conscious, and you almost inevitably come to the conclusion that it is to be explained on the ground that Uruguay is an integrated country."¹ [The underlining is not mine.]

British and American attitudes toward Uruguay are very generally this kind

¹ Russell H. Fitzgibbon, Uruguay: Portrait of a Democracy, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1956, pp. 264-5.

K. H. SILVERT has combined an interest in political science and in Latin America since early in his undergraduate days at the University of Pennsylvania, which awarded him the Ph.D. degree in 1948. Dr. Silvert was serving as an associate professor at Tulane University when he accepted an appointment to the AUFPS staff in June 1955. He began his field studies in Latin America in 1940, when he spent the summer in Mexico observing the presidential elections of that year. In 1947-48 he studied in Chile under a Penfield Traveling Scholarship. Since 1951 he has been a close student of Guatemalan affairs. He served as a staff member of the Tulane summer session in Guatemala in 1951, and as head of the session in 1953. He resided in Guatemala in 1952-53 under research grants which enabled him to make an intensive study of Guatemalan society with particular emphasis on its political structure. He revisited Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica in 1955 under AUFPS auspices and again returned to Latin America in 1956 for a stay of two years divided between Chile and Argentina. Among his publications is *A Study in Government*, a two-volume work. "Part I: National and Local Government Since 1944" was published in 1954 by the Middle American Research Institute. "Part II: The Constitution of the State and the Republic of Guatemala" was published in 1957.

of panegyric. And indeed, Uruguay is very refreshing in its free press, in its abundant civil liberties in general, in its political militancy when it comes to dictatorships at home and in the Western hemisphere. Latin American attitudes, however, are not so glowing toward Uruguay as Anglo-Saxon ones, even though the same justified belief in the abundant freedom of the country is not lacking. Argentines like to think of Uruguay, the "eastern coast" of the Plata, as a wayward province, rather economically retarded and localistic in sentiment. They are grateful for the aid extended to the democratic movement in Argentina if they happen to be anti-Peronists, but think that Uruguayans tend to be rather simplistic in their politics, inclined to glossy generalizations and a lack of realism. Argentines enjoy referring to Uruguayan democracy as an arranged affair, an elaborate game of make-believe in which the entire nation conspires. This judgment to my mind is unfair, even though the formal play of Uruguay's democracy can be so explained, for it neglects the real amount of daily freedom which Uruguayans have and fully exercise, even if the result is sometimes rudeness to guests of the nation or the university.

My own experience in Uruguay is particularly revealing of these attitudes of other Latin Americans concerning the country. The university ran an "international" summer session in which Argentine and Chilean professors joined. It was by accident that I was invited to fill a gap left by a Venezuelan who did not meet his engagement because the fall of Pérez Jiménez in Caracas allowed him to return from a New York exile to his native land. Briefly, a group of anti-imperialist students covering a wide range of political parties joined in making my life thoroughly miserable. Although this was not the first time in Latin America that I had been called an agent of imperialism and a State Department spy, it did mark the first time that the accusations transcended these levels to become entirely personal. But the Uruguayans were only saying out loud what a lot of Latin Americans think and keep to themselves. What is socially intriguing is why Uruguayans break the normal rules of hospitality to speak up so, and the reaction of other Latin Americans to such conduct.

Four Chileans were teaching in the summer school; naturally each one represented a different political party. The Conservative, when he heard of the manner in which I was being treated, said, "Barbarians," and then took revenge by publicly accusing a Uruguayan professor of being a bore. The Liberal squared his jaw and went off to the director of the summer session to protest such an outrageous lack of courtesy. The Popular Socialist blew off a supercharged head of steam before a small group of Uruguayans, arguing that, "Your country is a continental disgrace. In Chile we have always thought that if we just had enough for everybody to eat and wear, we could then worry about the amenities of life. Here you have one car for every seventeen persons, a life expectancy after the first year as high as that of the United States, summer houses for almost half the population of the country, and food to burn. And what have you managed to make of yourselves with all of this?" The Christian Democrat, obviously an anticlerical, was the most personally outraged.

He took me aside to console me, and asked whether I had not learned anything from the experience. In the heat of my anger, I was not about to admit that I could learn anything by such goings-on. But he ordered another round of coffee, and argued, "Well, I've learned a lot. Nobody will ever sell me a bill of goods about Uruguayan democracy again. What they have is formalistic and ritualistic; it is not fundamental. They refuse to accept scientific method or use objective appreciations in politics, and so they'll never get off their turn-of-the-century backs." He was referring to the fact that Uruguay is still juridically living off the social and legal reforms introduced by their great president, José Batlle y Ordóñez, in the early years of this century.

A very pleasing part of Latin American character was revealed in the defense offered me by my Chilean and Argentine colleagues. It is not that they all agreed with what I had to say; on the contrary. But the solidarity of the union had been threatened, the issue joined. Can any worthy man hesitate in such an extremity?

Perhaps all the non-Uruguayans overdramatized the incident because of the harshness of the words used. Every Latin American country is in greater or lesser degree different from every other one, and despite the fact that Montevideo is just across the river from Buenos Aires, there are notable characterological variations between the two cities. Uruguayans are famed for talking right up in direct and unmistakable fashion, and indeed pride themselves on doing so. Their respect must be earned by hard work; the accused is considered despicable unless proved worthy of dignity. I should like to spin a dubious hypothesis to explain this phenomenon. Uruguay is a small country, and one with a large middle group. According to recent estimates, there are only 2,200,000 Uruguayans, and to boot about 40 per cent of them live in the capital city. Uruguay is more a city-state than a nation-state. The institution of the Uruguayan plural presidency is not so politically strange in this context, for it can be almost directly compared to an American council form of city government with a weak mayor. The family is small, quarrelsome, and stubborn. The rector of the University of Montevideo told me a most revealing story about Uruguayan political stubbornness. He was born in a small town in the hinterland into a family of White political persuasion. (There are also Reds, the major opposition to the Whites, and reds who are Communists, and Socialists, or Trotskyists, and several major splits in the Reds and Whites themselves.) When the rector as a young man went to Montevideo to attend medical school, he went through a political transformation and became a Socialist. Now it seems that in Uruguay one simply does not change his party, but accepts his politics as a birthright. So, on a visit home, the rector was pointedly spurned by one of his favorite aunts, who said to him when she learned of his new Socialist affiliation, "Aha! So you sold out!" (This kind of thing is unnerving to a Chilean, who spends his political life sampling the wares of one party after another.)

Uruguay, then, struck me as one huge family fight, with all the openness and bitterness and freedom of expression that such quarrels normally have. Everybody knows the fate of the unwary stranger who stumbles into a family disagreement. But withal, it is a nice family in many respects and one well worth knowing, even though a psychiatrist in residence would do it no harm at all.

ANTI-IMPERIALISM AND ANTI-AMERICANISM

Opinions conflict as to whether Uruguay is generally for or against the United States. Because Uruguay early and decisively aided the Allied cause in World War II while Chile and Argentina dragged their heels until the closing days of the conflict, and even then entered grudgingly, Uruguay is thought to be the most pro-U.S. of the three. But it can also be held that the country has one of Latin America's richest anti-American literatures and a long history of practical and polemical anti-imperialism, both based on the early emergence of nationalist and separatist attitudes. Uruguay's participation in the war is solid evidence for that time at least that she was much more strongly prodemocratic than anti-U.S.

But this particular moment is an especially bad one for Americans in Uruguay because of an acrimonious debate over the closing down of the Swift and Armour packing plants in December of 1957. I have no intention of going into the unpleasant and long history of the controversy, but the matter is extremely intense, involving as it does basic clashes of interest and system. The crystallized truth of the matter from the viewpoint of the companies is that they had to close down because they can no longer make as much money in Uruguay as they can in other meat exporting countries. The land has about the same number of head of cattle now as fifty years ago, while the population has more than doubled.² Worse, the Uruguayans have a great and seemingly increasing appetite for meat, and lead the world in consumption per capita according to available figures, such as they are.

² According to Guillermo Bernhard, op. cit. in text above, the number of head of livestock is as follows:

Year	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
1860.....	3,630,000.....	1,990,000.....	5,851
1900.....	6,820,000.....	18,600,000.....	23,900
1908.....	8,190,000.....	26,280,000.....	180,100
1924.....	8,430,000.....	14,440,000.....	251,200
1946.....	6,820,000.....	19,560,000.....	274,400
1956.....	7,305,462.....	22,954,230.....	---

From p. 14.

CONSUMPTION OF MEAT PER CAPITA--SELECTED COUNTRIES

Country	Kilos per cap.	Year of data
Uruguay.....	122.....	1952
Argentina.....	114.....	1948
New Zealand.....	110.....	1951
Australia.....	105.....	1952
United States.....	76.....	1952
Canada.....	64.....	1952
France.....	56.....	1952
Denmark.....	54.....	1952
Sweden.....	50.....	1952
Switzerland.....	48.....	1952
Great Britain.....	47.....	1952
Brazil.....	39.....	1948
Chile.....	38.....	1948
Cuba.....	35.....	1949
Italy.....	16.....	1952
Greece.....	13.....	1952
Japan.....	2.....	1952
India.....	1.....	1952

Source: Figures from Economics and Statistics Section of the Ministry of Cattle and Agriculture, Government of Uruguay, as quoted in Guillermo Bernhard, Comercio de Carnes en el Uruguay, Montevideo: Aguilar e Irazabel, 1958, p. 28. Note: a Kilo is 2.2 lbs.

The shortage of cattle restricted the companies' operations, and so in their last years in Uruguay they squeezed as much work into two or three months as they could, and the plants lay idle during the remainder of the year. The Uruguayan side of the argument is that the past profitable operations of the companies produced a national vested interest in their continued existence, for not only are foreign exchange needs satisfied by the meat exports, but in addition thirty thousand persons live directly off the plants' operations. This figure is derived by taking the five thousand workers of the packing plants and adding in their families, plus the tradesmen (and their dependents) who live directly off the meat packers. The government argues that just because things are bad at the moment is no excuse not to hold out and help the country to recover. Simple expropriation of the private holdings is not an easy matter, not only because of a lack of money and expertise, but also because the withdrawal of the companies implies a related lack of the necessary refrigerator ships to transport to overseas markets whatever meat may be produced by a nationalized company or a co-operative.

Aside from this disagreement, at the very heart of matters commercially ideological, there is a constellation of second-level irritations. The companies and the union have been at loggerheads for years. Armour and Swift accuse the Uruguayan Government of partiality, and the Government charges the company officials with cunning, deceit, and worse. The problem has been

at crisis pitch for almost six months now, so it is small wonder that there is widespread anti-American feeling.

But anti-imperialism has long been an imperative in daily Uruguayan political expression, a symbolic necessity with the weight of history and the influence of powerfully prestigious hero figures behind it. Batlle himself was a violent antagonist of the imperialists and of the United States in particular well over half a century ago. Although the U.S. is the long-standing and favored object of Uruguayan nationalists, England too comes in for its share of opprobrium, for the British have been involved in the Plata region for much longer than the Americans, and even made two forceful attempts to colonize at the beginning of the 19th century. The United Kingdom is still the largest buyer from Argentina and Uruguay, although the U.S. has moved into the favored supplier position. Railroads, banks, commercial houses, generating plants, and packing houses have all demonstrated the long and vital British interest in the area, so extended as to give rise to the popular saying about Argentina that it is "a British colony in which a lot of Italians talk bad Spanish." And yet the British are not nearly so harshly attacked as the Americans. In a long citation quoted below from a famous Uruguayan tract, a cultural rationalization is advanced for this phenomenon. In truth, the matter is not so easily explained, and would be an excellent subject for a doctoral dissertation on "Objects of Anti-Imperialist Hatred Compared."

For all practical contemporary purposes, anti-imperialism in Uruguay is largely the generalization derived from anti-Americanism. Eudocio Ravines, author of the well-known The Yanan Way, in another work says the following on the subject:

"Notwithstanding the profound change which has been bettering the relations between the two Americas, it is a massive and tangible fact that Latin American political and social life as it develops is being shot through with an attitude which goes from resistance to non-collaboration and from antipathy to hostility with respect to the United States. The rich diversity of feelings derived from this sentiment goes under the general name of anti-imperialism. A Latin American anti-imperialist will always be antiyanqui, actively or potentially, and to distinguish one from the other would be to embark on a sea of subtleties through which it would be easy to anchor on all possible sophisms.

"One could argue a great deal about the existence, the inexistence, or the survivals of imperialism, but what does not allow for discussion is the operative and militant existence of Yankee anti-imperialism as a real sociological category, as a political current, with incessant and multiple activities in all the countries without exception.³

³ América Latina: Un continente en erupción, Buenos Aires: Editorial Claridad, 1956, p. 151.

The cries of "Asesino" directed against Mr. Nixon, then, had their basis in an immediate controversy concerning meat, and also in a general attitude expressed in popular song, in novel and poem, in wry joke, shrug of the shoulder, and wink of the eye. The particular lack of courtesy exhibited may be simply an Uruguayan family trait, as I have suggested. But there is yet another element, and that is the conscious, intellectual statement of anti-Americanism as anti-imperialism, the doctrine as expressed in the written word to serve as the platform for the thinking of the future university students and other carriers of the dogma.

ANTI-IMPERIALISM AS DOCTRINE

Latin America's most famous literary and quasi-philosophical attack against American utilitarianism was written by a Uruguayan, José Enrique Rodó, in 1900.⁴ Ariel, as this short book is called, takes the form of an address by Prospero to his students after the conclusion of the year's studies. In elevated language and sophisticated thought, Rodó urges his readers to the life of reason and spirit, the rejection of irrationality and materialism. He exhorts youth to develop the integrity of the being, to be "unmutilated examples of humanity, in which no noble faculty of the spirit is obliterated and no higher interest... should lost its...virtue." Rejecting an egalitarian notion of democracy, he argues that the truly democratic state must grant equality of opportunity in order to make possible the unequal development of each individual according to his capacity and will. The end of such selection must be a higher capacity for love.

"Fortunately, so long as there exists in the world the possibility of arranging two pieces of wood in the form of a cross -- that is to say, always -- humanity will go on believing that love is the foundation of any stable order and that hierarchical superiority in such an order cannot be other than a higher capacity for loving."

To the spirit of Ariel which he sees as compatible with the Latin appreciation of life's values, he opposes the Caliban of the utilitarian United States. With great acuity and much insight, he launches into a devastating attack on "The American Way of Life." The conclusion is an impassioned plea to Latin

⁴ Rodó was born in Montevideo on July 15, 1872. He became a professor of literature in the University of Montevideo and also a member of Congress, although a political career held little attraction for him. A very popular lecturer, he was the object of an impressive public demonstration of affection when he left Montevideo in 1916 for Europe as a foreign correspondent for a local review. The following year he died in Palermo, Italy. Ariel and his Motivos de Proteo (1909) are considered his most important literary works.

youth to reject facile imitation of North American manners and standards, to remain faithful to humanistic traditions, disinterested love for the things of the spirit, art, science, religious sincerity, and idealistic politics.

Fresh editions of Ariel appear regularly. The book, still widely viewed in Latin America as an accurate portrayal of American democracy, is also a required part of any discussion of Latin American political thought.⁵ I am going to quote extensively from the last third of Ariel, so that the reader may see some of Rodó's thinking in depth, and taste his style.⁶

"Their [American] culture, which is far from being refined or spiritual, has an admirable efficiency so long as it directs itself practically toward realizing an immediate end. They have not incorporated within the acquisitions of science a single general law, a single principle; but they have made science a wizard through the marvels of their applications, they have made it a giant in the realms of utility, and they have given to the world in the steam boiler and the electric generator billions of invisible slaves who multiply by hundreds the power of the magic lantern to serve the human Aladdin...Puritan liberty, which sent them its light from the past, joined to that light the heat of a piety which still lasts. Hard by the factory and the school their strong hands have also raised the temples from which spread the public prayers of many millions of free consciences. They have known how to preserve, amidst the shipwreck of all ideals, the highest ideal, keeping alive the tradition of a religious sentiment which, if it does not fly on the wings of a delicate and profound spiritualism, still partly holds to the firm kingdom of moral sense amidst the rough and tumble of utilitarian tumult.--In the midst of the refinements of civilized life, they have also known how to maintain the mark of a certain primitive robustness. They have the pagan cult of health, of skill, of strength; in their muscles they temper and sharpen the precious instrument of the will; and obliged by their insatiable urge for domination to cultivate the strength of all human activities, they model the torso of the athlete for the heart of the free man. And from the concert of their civilization, from the coordinated movement of their culture surges a dominant note of optimism, of confidence, of faith, which fills their hearts, pushing them into the future under the suggestion of a hard and arrogant promise...

⁵ See, for example, Rex Crawford, A Century of Latin American Thought, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1944.

⁶ The edition I have used here was published by Imprenta Balmes in Buenos Aires in 1947. This edition also includes other critical essays. The translation runs from p. 95 passim to the end on p. 124.

"...you see that although I do not love them, I admire them. I admire them, first of all, for their formidable capacity to want, and I bow before the 'school of will and work' which...they have instituted...

"...If anything saves them collectively from vulgarity, it is that extraordinary show of energy they carry everywhere and with which they impress a certain character of epic grandeur even on struggles for material interest...

"With the sincere recognition of how much is shining and grand in the spirit of that powerful nation, and so having earned the right to completing a just appreciation with respect to it, a question charged with interest asks to be put.--Is that society carrying out, or at least tending to carry out, the ideal of rational conduct which fulfills the legitimate demands of the spirit, of the intellectual and moral dignity of our civilization?--Is it there where we must go to point out the approach to our 'perfect city'?-- That feverish inquietude whose embrace seems to multiply the movement and the intensity of life, does it have an object which merits it and a stimulus sufficient to justify it?

"Herbert Spencer, extending his salute to American democracy with noble sincerity in a banquet in New York, pointed out the fundamental trait of American life as that same uncontained inquietude which manifests itself in an infinite passion for work and relentless material expansion in all its forms. And he then observed that in such an exclusive rule of activity subordinated to the material ends of utility there was revealed a conception of life, tolerable, without doubt, as a provisional character for a civilization, but one which now demanded rectification, since it tended to convert utilitarian labor into the end and the supreme object of life, when in no case can it rationally signify anything other than the mere accumulation of elements serving to make possible the total and harmonious development of our being...

"American life effectively describes that vicious circle pointed out by Pascal in the grasping pursuit of welfare when this pursuit does not have its end outside itself. Its prosperity is as great as its impossibility of satisfying a mediocre concept of human destiny. A titanic work because of the enormous demonstration of will it represents, and because of its unheard of triumphs in all spheres of material aggrandizement, it is undeniable that that civilization produces, in its totality, a singular impression of insufficiency and emptiness. And so it is that if, exercising the right conferred by thirty centuries of the history of evolution presided over by the dignity of the classical and the Christian spirits, one asks what is the guiding principle, what is the ideal substractum, what is the purpose

behind the immediate preoccupation for positive interests which shape that formidable mass, one finds only, as the formula for the definitive ideal, the same absolute preoccupation with material victory...that people have not known how to substitute idealism inspired by the past with a high and disinterested conception of the future. It lives for the immediate reality, the present, and for it subordinates all its activity to the egoism of personal and collective welfare.--Of the sum of the elements of its wealth and power, it may be said...that it is a pile of timber to which no one has found a way of setting fire. What is missing is the effective spark to make the flame of a vivifying and restless ideal arise from the abundant fuel. Not even national pride, failing higher impulses, not even exclusivism and pride in race, which are those which in antiquity transfigured and glorified the prosaic hardness of Roman life, can have glimmerings of idealism and beauty in a people where cosmopolitan confusion and the atomism of a badly understood democracy impede the formation of a true national consciousness.

"It might be said that the productive positivism of the Metropolis has suffered, on being transmitted to its emancipated sons in America, a distillation depriving it of all those elements of idealism which tempered it, reducing it in truth to the crudeness which in the exaggerations of passion or satire has been attributed to the positivism of England.--The English spirit, under the harsh coat of utilitarianism, under mercantile indifference, under Puritan severity hides--it cannot be doubted--a select poetic awareness, and a profound veneration for sensitivity which reveal...that the original basis, the Germanic basis of that race, later modified by the passion for conquest and the habit of commercial activity, was an extraordinary exaltation of the senses. The American spirit has not received in inheritance that ancestral poetic instinct...The English people have in the institution of their aristocracy--no matter how anachronistic and unjust it may be from the point of view of political rights--a high and impregnable bulwark to oppose to the mercantilism 'round about and to the invading dullness...In the situation of American democracy, the spirit of vulgarity does not find before itself heights inaccessible to its power to rise, and it extends and propagates itself as though over the flats of an infinite plain.

"Sensitivity, intelligence, customs--all are characterized in that enormous people by a radical ineptitude for selection which, alongside the mechanical order of their material activity and of their political life makes for a profound disorder in everything pertaining to the world of idealistic arts.--It is easy to follow the manifestations of that ineptitude, starting with the most superficial and apparent, then going on to others more essential and intimate.--Prodigal with his riches...the American has succeeded in

in acquiring fully with them the satisfaction for and the ostentation of sumptuary magnificence; but he has not succeeded in acquiring the select note of good taste. True art has been able to exist in such surroundings only as a result of individual rebellion. Emerson and Poe there are like examples of fauna expelled from their real medium by the force of a geologic catastrophe...

"The ideal of beauty does not move the descendant of the austere Puritans. Nor is he moved by the ideal of truth. He depreciates all exercise of thought lacking an immediate finality as being vain and unfruitful. He does not bring to science a disinterested desire for truth, nor has he ever manifested himself in any case as loving it for itself. Research is for him only the preparation for utilitarian application.--His glorious efforts to spread the benefits of public education are inspired in the noble purpose of communicating the fundamental elements of knowledge to the greatest number; but they do not reveal that...there is care taken to select and elevate such education to aid the effort of the superior ones who have the desire to rise above the general mediocrity. The result, thus, of their stubborn war on ignorance has been universal semiculture and a profound languishing of higher culture...Here is the reason for the history of their thinking activity being a decreasing progression of brilliance and originality. While in the period of the Revolution and their [national] organization there arose many illustrious names to represent the thinking as well as the will of that people, a half century later Tocqueville could observe... that the gods are going. When Tocqueville wrote his master work, there still irradiated, nevertheless, from Boston, the Puritan citadel, the city of the learned traditions, a glorious galaxy possessing...universality in the intellectual history of that century.--Who, later, has picked up the heritage of Channing, of Emerson, or Poe?--Mesocratic leveling, hurrying its desolating work, tends to dissipate the little character which still remained to that precarious intellectuality. It is a long time since their books have been borne to the heights where it would be universally possible to recognize them. And today, the most genuine representation of American taste, so far as letters go, is in the dirty linen of newspapering which does not remind us of what once The Federalist Papers gave us.

"With respect to moral sentiments, the mechanical push of utilitarianism has come up against the moderating force of a strong religious tradition. But one should not therefore believe that the guidance of conduct has been subordinated to a real principle of disinterest.--The religiosity of the Americans...is nothing more than an auxiliary aid to criminal law...The highest point of their morals is that of Franklin: a philosophy of conduct which finds its end in what is mediocre about honesty, in the utility of prudence; from whose womb never will arise saintliness or heroism...

"Public life is, of course, not exempt from the consequences of the growth of that germ of disorganization which that society carries in its entrails. Any ordinary observer of their political customs will tell you of how the obsession for utilitarian interest progressively tends to enervate and wither the sense of right in their hearts. Civic virtue, the old virtue of the Hamiltonians, is a steel sheet which is rusting, always more forgotten among the cobwebs of tradition. Venality, which begins with the public vote, is propagating itself to all institutional areas...Democracy... has always tended among them to the abominable brutality of numbers, minimizing the greatest moral benefits of liberty and annulling...respect for the dignity of others. Today, furthermore, a formidable force is raising itself to counteract the absolutism of numbers in the worst possible manner. The political influence of a plutocracy represented by the all-powerful allies of the trusts, monopolizers of production and masters of economic life, is, without doubt, one of the traits most worthy of interest in the present configuration of that great people. The formation of this plutocracy has forced one to think, and probably very correctly, of the rise of that enriched and haughty class which, in the last era of the Roman Republic, was one of the visible antecedents of the ruination of liberty and of the tyranny of the Caesars...

"...it is in that West, growing formidable before the old states of the Atlantic and demanding hegemony in the immediate future, where one finds the clearest representation of American life at the present moment of its evolution... Utilitarianism empty of any idealistic content, cosmopolitan vagueness, and the levelling of bastard democracy will there... arrive at their ultimate triumph.--Every noble element of that civilization, everything which links it with generous remembrances and buttresses its historic dignity--the legacy of the crewmen of the Mayflower, the memory of the Virginia patricians and the gentlemen of New England, the spirit of the citizenry and the legislators of emancipation--will stay within the old states where Boston and Philadelphia still maintain, as has been expressively said, 'the palladium of the Washingtonian tradition.' Chicago is preparing itself to reign...

"In the same measure as the utilitarian genius of that civilization thus is assuming more defined, franker, and narrower characteristics, there increases with the intoxication of material prosperity the impatience of its sons to propagate it and attribute to it the predestination of a Roman rule.--Today, they openly aspire to first rank in universal culture, to the leadership in ideas, and they consider themselves the forgers of a type of civilization which will prevail...Underneath their declared spirit of rivalry with Europe is an ingenuous disdain and also the profound conviction that they are soon destined to overshadow Europe's

spiritual superiority and its glory, thus complying once more, in the evolution of human civilization, with the hard law of the ancient mysteries in which the initiated killed the initiator...It would be useless to try to convince them that the works carried out by the persevering genius of the European Ariel for the last three thousand years...can not be equated with the formula Washington plus Edison. They aspire to revise Genesis so they can occupy the first page.-- But in addition to the relative insufficiency of the part which has been given them to carry out in the education of humanity, their very character denies them the possibility of hegemony.--Nature has not conceded them a genius for propaganda nor an apostolic vocation. They lack that superior gift of amiability--in the highest sense--of that extraordinary power of sympathy with which the races blessed with a providential trust of education have been able to make of their culture something similar to the beauty of classic Hellene, in which everyone imagines he can recognize traces of his own.

"And take note that when, in the name of the rights of the spirit, I deny to American utilitarianism that typical character with which it would like to impose itself on us as the sum and model of civilization, it is not my purpose to affirm that the work realized by it has been entirely lost with relation to what we might call the interests of the soul...The work of American positivism will serve the cause of Ariel, in the last analysis. What that people of cyclops have directly conquered for material well-being with their sense of the useful and their admirable aptitude for mechanical invention, other peoples will convert, or they themselves may do so in the future, into efficacious elements of selectivity...

"...Let us hope that the spirit of that titanic social organism, which up to now has been solely will and utility, may also some day be intelligence, sentiment, idealism...

"...A great civilization, a great people--in the meaning which has value for history--are those which, when they disappear materially in time, leave vibrant forever after the melancholy arising from their spirit and make persist into posterity their imperishable legacy--as Carlyle said of the souls of his 'heroes'--as a new and divine portion of the sum of things...

"A definitively organized society which limits its idea of civilization to accumulating abundant elements of prosperity, and its idea of justice to distributing them equitably among the partners, will not make of the cities it inhabits anything which can be distinguished, essentially, from the anthill or the beehive...thus the quantitative grandeur of the population as well as the material grandeur of its instruments, of its arms, of its houses are only means of the

civilizing spirit, and in no case results which one may content himself with.--Of the stones which composed Carthage, not a particle remained transfigured into spirit and light...

"Great...is the city when the suburbs of its spirit reach beyond the heights and the seas and when, its name evoked, there illuminates itself for posterity an entire period of human history, a whole horizon of time. The city is strong and beautiful when its days are something more than the invariable repetition of the same echo...when there is something in it which floats above the crowd; when among the lights which are lit during its nights is the lamp which accompanies the solitude of the vigil made restless by thought and in which is incubated the idea which is to bloom in the light of the next day converted into the cry which gathers the force to lead souls.

"Only then can the material extension and grandeur of a city give the measure to calculate the intensity of its civilization...

"There now exist in our Latin America cities whose material grandeur and whose sum of apparent civilization push them with accelerated pace to share in the first level of the world. It is necessary to fear that the serene thought which is about to break upon the fatuous externals, as on a sealed bronze vessel, will evoke the disheartening noise of emptiness. It is necessary to fear, for example, that the cities whose names were a glorious symbol in America, who had Moreno, Rivadavia, Sarmiento, who took the initiative in immortal Revolution; cities which made the glory of their heroes and the words of their tribunes lengthen throughout the extension of a continent, as in the harmonious unfolding of the concentric circles raised by the stroke of a stone on still water--can end in Sidon, in Tyre, in Carthage.

"It falls to your generation to prevent it; to the youth which is coming, blood and muscle and nerve of the future...

"...not like Hartmann, in the name of death, but rather in that of life and hope themselves, I ask you a part of your soul for the work of the future.--To ask it of you, I have wanted to take inspiration in the sweet and serene image of my Ariel...Ariel is reason and higher sentiment. Ariel is that sublime instinct for perfectibility, for whose virtue that human clay by the side of which his light lives, is magnified and converted into the center of things...Ariel triumphant signifies idealism and order in life, noble inspiration in thought, disinterest in morals, good taste in art, heroism in action, delicacy in customs...

"While the crowd passes, I observe that although it does not look to the sky, the sky looks down upon it. Upon its indifferent and obscure mass, as upon plowed land, something

descends from on high. The vibration of the stars is like the movements of the hands of a sower."

For its time Ariel was obviously very advanced. To use it as a model half a century later is of doubtful validity. A grateful pastiche of Comte, Carlyle, Nietzsche, humanism, Gallican Catholicism, and the Latin American cult of youth, Rodó's comments nevertheless have their appealing side. But he is typical of the Philosoph, of the pensador, the man who could be inflamed, who could meld the ideas of others and propagate them, but who could not pass into the truly creative stage of putting systematized questions to his materials and thus proposing their possible answers within a system of method and not of yearning. Time has long since passed by much of his political commentary, but "Rodónism" and arielismo remain important parts of the mystique of Latin youth, whether they have read this work or not. The point is that Rodó still touches chords of sympathy and desire in Latin America.

There is something sad in the construction of a stereotype which doesn't quite come off. The essence of a stereotype is that it is partly true; therefore, it is also partly false. His belief that the Germans would help to solve the cultural deficiencies of the Americans demonstrates the wellsprings of his kind of idealism, as well as the pitfalls of stereotypical views.

"An illustrious thinker who compared the slaves of ancient societies to particles undigested by the social organism might perhaps find a similar comparison to characterize the situation of that strong colony of German ancestry who, established in the states of the Mid- and the Far West conserve intact in their nature, their sociability, and in their customs the imprint of the Germanic spirit which, in many of its most profound and vigorous characteristic conditions must be considered a true antithesis of the American genius." (From page 111 of the edition cited.)

Rodó's half-truth is the Germany of Goethe, Hegel, Beethoven, and Schiller. How unfortunate it is that the half-falsity should have so well obscured for Rodó that Germany which gave rise to Hitler and Goebbels. But still his largely unrevised rendering of the United States remains the stock in trade of the Latin American idealistic and intellectual nationalist.

I do not deny the right of Latin American intellectuals to attack the United States or any other country as they will. But two things must be insisted on if their opinions are to be respected; accuracy of commentary and observation, and covert motives at the same level of generosity as their avowed ideals. My purpose is not to belabor Rodó for his generalizations or to point out the factual failings of other Latin Americans as they construct their views of the U.S. Nor is my purpose to accomplish the same attack through the back door, condemning Latin America's

thinkers by making selective and invidious comparisons with their counterparts in the United States.

The tragedy of the Latin American intellectual is his necessary constriction by the context within which he lives. He desperately wants to be what he cannot be--a universalist--in societies just learning to be national. He complains about the United States from the posture of the Greek Stoic, and not from that of the contemporary man trying to get at least some of his view of the present from forecast. The clamoring demands throughout Latin America for the useful and potentially liberating claptrap of modern civilization have made Rodó's Hellenic yearnings obsolete. The tragedy is that their contextual obsolescence is not even yet recognized by the Latin intellectuals who can support their yearning for the contemplative and spiritual life as they define it only at the cost of a Greek-like social organization, slaves and all. And yet they are dedicating their lives--and some do so with great abnegation--precisely in order to combat social inequities as they see them.

I am reminded here of a biting New Yorker cartoon showing an analyst jumping up and shouting at his patient, "Dammit, you are inferior!" My desire at this point is to jump up and say to the arielistas, "But dammit, señores, you are underdeveloped!" Americans overseas have been carefully taught that the term "underdeveloped area" refers only to economic matters, and not at all to cultural and intellectual attainments. But of course the term has something at least inferential to say about intellectual and artistic matters. An economically poor country cannot support symphony orchestras, cannot build and maintain an adequate library system, cannot provide competent university training to qualified persons, and cannot pay for the research necessary to the kind of contemplation this century demands.

Even more hampering to the Latin American intellectual is that to be economically underdeveloped is also almost invariably to be non-national in culture. As a result the thinkers of underdeveloped areas find it difficult to compete on the international market of ideas and art, for their expressions often lack the limited kind of universality understandable within the world of the citizen of the nation-state. The Latin American pensador, with his pull toward the great outer world, is an effective instrument for the absorption of European trends and their translation into the terms of his homeland. But when it comes time for him to return what he has borrowed with the interest of his country's special cultural point of view, he finds that nobody is listening because what he has to say is either not significant or not fresh in a different cultural context. It is not that "fault" lies wholly with one side or the other; it is basically that there is a break in the complete circuit of communications. This is caused in part by the representative of the economically industrialized area, who--with his different outlook--finds it hard to understand what the man from the

underdeveloped area is saying.

The major exceptions to my statements come out of Mexico and Brazil, where the nationalism which has seized on large parts of the population has been fed its distinctive flavor by a new ethnic amalgam expressed within intriguing (for the rest of the national world) physical surroundings. The other major area of exception is in the general field of literature, but again, the few Latin American novels, for example, which have had the widest circulation are of the genre of the novel of protest, an area of obvious universalistic appeal both in function and, usually, in description of the clash of cultures and of desires.

It hardly needs to be added that nation-state status will not automatically produce hordes of creative Ariels. The factors of the accident of the individual and then his training and his stimuli are still to be taken into account. There is little doubt that Uruguay has national attitudes in ample measure, but playing against it is its smallness, its overreadiness to ingest European ideas, and its physical isolation from the main-streams.

The frustration of the anti-imperialistic intellectual here is a sorry thing to behold, and his brusqueness must be understood in terms of this frustration.

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It is very often said that anti-imperialist movements must not be confused with democratic ones, as witness so many cases in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. In the short run, I suppose the argument is correct; in the longer run, the usual way of looking at the matter has been to say that democracy cannot flourish except in conditions of national independence. But is it possible that misdirected anti-imperialism may not also make the development of broadening democratic institutions more remote? It is convenient and easy to direct frustrations to the outside, but one inevitable result is to create a climate of fear and impotence with respect to local problems truly subject to solution from within. If anti-imperialism serves to paralyze the will and thus reduces the area of possible action, it is at the very least antisocial. My feeling is that what I have seen of the Uruguayan anti-imperialists puts them into the category of the self-destructive ones, at least for the time being. They would be shocked to hear it said, but if their rationale is still arielismo and their effect is to limit choice, then they are, of course, reactionary in the truest sense of the word.

But Uruguay remains fortunate in the depth of its traditions and in the complexity of its society. And if we isolate and describe a certain kind of intellectual, it does not by any means follow that we have described the entire society.

But even if it is true that a solid majority of Uruguayans objects to American policy and to American society, objection is not enough. Anti-imperialism which is not mere antiyanquismo, Third Positionism which also is not mere antiyanquismo, attitudes with an affirmative content, selected and expressed with respect for data--these are what Latin American politics sorely need. The politicalized Latin American intellectual has his task clearly presented to him. If he is to justify the goodly measure of leadership and respect he now has, he must begin to speak in terms of specific wants, specific programs, and specific capabilities. To do so he must learn techniques of research to find out what is possible to satisfy what he thinks is desirable. He must leave his ivory tower and dirty his intellectual hands, finding solutions within himself and within his society.

In answer to this argument about the necessity for techniques and data in order to solve pressing public problems, an Argentine told me, "No, no, social knowledge reveals itself." Speaking of Greeks, I wonder what Aristotle would have replied to such a comment.

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