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Otterbein College Humanities Journal

Aegis: The Otterbein College Humanities Journal

Statement of Editorial Policy

A journal designed to catalyze a deeper critical appreciation of the humanities at Otterbein College, *Aegis* seeks scholarly essays and book reviews that advance the presence and values of the humanities on campus and beyond.

In accord with the National Endowment for the Humanities' (NEH) definition of the humanities, *Aegis* will consider scholarly essays and book reviews in the following disciplines: history; philosophy; languages; linguistics; literature; archeology; jurisprudence; the history, theory, and criticism of the arts; ethics; and comparative religion.

Essays and reviews of books in the social sciences that are historical or philosophical in approach—or that involve questions of interpretation or criticism traditionally in the humanities—will also be eligible for publication in *Aegis*. *Aegis* will also consider essays and reviews of books that use the disciplines of the humanities to interpret, analyze, or assess science and technology.

Essays should be between 10-20 pages—in twelve point type, double-spaced, and in Times New Roman font with standard one-inch margins. This includes pages devoted to notes and/or works cited pages. Book reviews should be between 4-8 pages—in twelve point type, double-spaced, in Times New Roman font with standard one-inch margins.

Aegis is committed to nonsexist language and to wording free of hostile overtones.

Aegis will appear annually during the first week of May of each calendar year. Essays and book reviews will be received on a rolling basis. The deadline for the coming year's edition shall be the second Friday of Winter Quarter. Essays and book reviews received after this date will be considered for the following year's edition—even if the writer is in the final year of his/her study at Otterbein.

Submissions, prepared according either to the *MLA Style Manual* or *The Chicago Manual of Style*, should be sent in duplicate and addressed to Paul Eisenstein, Faculty Advisor, *Aegis*, 227 Towers Hall, Otterbein College, Westerville, Ohio, 43081. If you are submitting through the U.S. Mail and wish for one copy of your submission to be returned, please include a self-addressed envelope with sufficient postage. Authors' names should not appear on submitted essays; instead, submissions should be accompanied by a cover sheet, on which appear the author's name, address, and the title of the essay. All essays accepted for publication will need eventually to be submitted on hard diskette in Microsoft Word.

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Editors' Introduction

● ● ● Michelle Yost and J.T. Craig

It is a pleasure to bring you the third edition of *Aegis*, Otterbein's Humanities journal. We have enjoyed providing a forum that embraces a wide spectrum of ideas in which our peers can share. Academic work cannot exist within a vacuum; we need to share our theories and research, and in turn draw on others, so that our work is well-rounded and relevant to this increasingly interdisciplinary world.

One of the underlying themes in every scholarly field, is the intellectual honesty of one's work. The scholarship involved in the humanities is especially dependent on academic honesty, because of the volume and breadth of sources that one can find, and usurp, as one's own. An individual might be tempted to say there is a problem with students and faculty plagiarizing the work of others, but that far from being pervasive, this is just a problem confined to academia and to scholarship; it is not one indicative or carried over into other aspects of life. But this claim would be wrong. Intellectual dishonesty is not only a major problem in academia, but is rampant in politics, in governmental and private bureaucracies, in corporations, and in just about every other aspect of life. The theft and use of others ideas, along with adamant denials about the falsity of one's ideas and work is indicative of a disease, like cancer, that starts at one point (scholarship, perhaps, though we would find this point of origin debatable) and then races through the cultural bloodstream, permeating all major parts until it has become the norm, and not the exception, to be dishonest.

Like many societal problems, the beginnings of intellectual dishonesty seem innocuous, almost innocent. In academia, both as a student and as a professor, there is pressure to produce (or, perhaps on the part of many students, there is a view of the college experience as a means to an end – the degree in this case being merely a credential). It is this drive to be unique and to get ahead (careerism) that leads to small slips in academic integrity. It might begin with cutting and pasting sentences from journals, or online sources without a citation – after all, it is only one sentence. From there, it is easy to fabricate a source of information – after all, the professor wants too many sources, and there are other classes that need attention. It is these seemingly small things in conjunction with the pressure and exploitation of our entrepreneurial culture that leads to essay sites on the web, the buying and selling of academic work, or going so far as to hiring someone to write a specific paper for you (at ten dollars per page). In fact, there have been moves made by professors and universities to curb this trend, by creating web sites that are, essentially, large student databases that can check a particular paper against thousands of other documents, papers, journals, etc. And this movement has led to student bodies using their Senate to invalidate that practice. As Chantal Brushett, president of the students union at Nova Scotia University, states: "Students go to university for a higher education. They don't go to be involved in a culture of mistrust, a culture of guilt."¹ While this problem addresses student intellectual dishonesty, it does not address the issue of how professors are being monitored. We can see that the problem has jumped from being widely perceived as a "student-only" problem, to infecting professional academics (as evidenced by plagiarism in works by Doris Kearns Goodwin, Lawrence Tribe, and Stephen Ambrose) and our society as a whole (see Jayson Blair's work for the *New York Times*, or James Frye's

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“fictionalized” non-fiction book) .

Even in institutions such as Columbia and Harvard – which is where elite intellectual work supposedly takes place – it is apparent that a culture of dishonesty has infiltrated the system. For example, this is a quote from Mark Slouka, a former professor at Columbia and current chair of the creative writing program at Chicago University, about the pervasiveness of intellectual dishonesty at Columbia, whose problems include:

Master’s theses that are routinely passed despite the fact that the level of writing exhibited in them is remedial at best and virtually illiterate at worst, tenure-track hires of close personal friends of the chair who have, quite literally, not a single publication credit to their names and who are hired over candidates with two and three books – resulting in a situation in which students often have more experience and publications than their instructors, and an institutional culture in which those who have done nothing for 10 or 15 years hire others like themselves in order to make their own lack of accomplishment less visible and, for the same reason, discriminate against those who are active in their fields.²

While the above passage is not about plagiarism in the purest sense, it points out the lengths to which others within academia go to preserve or advance their careers – in this instance cronyism appears to be the manifestation of the disease of intellectual dishonesty. And it is this cronyism and careerism that have lead to a culture of ineptitude at Columbia. The problem extends to students as well. At Harvard, revelations about one student’s plagiarized fiction have recently been made. Nineteen year old Harvard student Kaavya Viswanathan lifted direct passages for her *New York Times* best seller, *How Opal Mehta Got Kissed, Got Wild and Got a Life*, from other popular young adult fiction. Ms. Viswanathan received 500,000 dollars for a two book publishing deal. Viswanathan swears that “any phrasing similarities between her [Megan McCafferty’s] works and mine were completely unintentional and unconscious.” Just as this issue of *Aegis* was going to press, Random House –Viswanathan’s publisher – announced the cancellation of the book – and Viswanathan’s contract – if this is the state of intellectual honesty at elite institutions, then what of other “less elite” institutions? And, if the academy is the staging ground for preparing and sending out the future generation into the “real world,” then what is the state of intellectual honesty in the “real world?”

In the past few years alone, there have been scandals involving false claims about medical and scientific research – as evidenced by Hwang Woo Suk, who claimed to have cloned human embryonic stem cells, and Merck Pharmaceuticals who knew for many years about the very negative (potentially fatal) side-effects of their marquee drugs. Just recently, several engineering masters’ theses from Ohio University have been discovered to be plagiarized. Some papers were copied outright, while others were merely badly cited, hence, plagiarized. One begins to see the problem of intellectual dishonesty spreading through all of society. Our academic system, demanding rigorous proof and testability, does eventually uncover the frauds; at least, we hope that it does. That system fails us, though, when we stop being outraged by the lies. And merely stripping credentials away from students or professors is not enough to stop the problem. Finding a few falsified papers does not mean that the battle

against the disease of dishonesty should be stopped.

Revelations about professional and amateur athletes using steroids and human growth hormone to get an edge on the competition have also been in the limelight. These men and women are supposed to be the paragon of athleticism and integrity and sportsmanship. Now, many athletic heroes have become casualties of their own careerism, their own personal and societal pressure to be “number one.” The intellectual dishonesty and cheating in these areas have seriously damaged the credibility of people and institutions. It seems as though we can no longer trust students to work hard, to engage in the struggle to test and expand their mental capacities, to truly reach their academic potential. No longer can we trust that the athletes of professional sports are playing by the rules, or that drug companies will provide honest products to advance the life and vitality of humankind. While this, we believe, is evidence of some fundamental flaw in our cultural and personal ethos, perhaps the most frightening arena that has been infected by intellectual dishonesty is in politics.

In the years since the Bush administration decided to take a unilateral approach to the “war on terror,” their main assertions and justifications for going to war have been proved false. Not just false in the sense that they were wrong; rather they were manufactured falsities, the epitome of intellectual dishonesty. What about Clinton’s public assertions that he did *not* have inappropriate contact with a White House intern? What about the lobbyist Jack Abramoff, who has already pleaded guilty and been sentenced to jail for bribing members of Congress? The public has mustered its usual self-righteous indignity at the news of a political lie, but not to the point where anything in our government has *changed*. We have opened the hood of the car, acknowledged the leak in the radiator, berated the crack, and lowered the hood again. The path to war in Iraq was paved with questionable intention, and while we know it was a false trail planted by the highest levels of government, we have made no attempt to rectify the situation and find a better path.

Is this problem one that can be solved? Even if in the short-term, the answer is “no,” we must work towards a long-term goal of rectifying the cultural and personal ethos that have led us to this barrenness of intellectual honesty. A good place to start stopping this trend is in the university and college system. These institutions, along with preparing young adults to be ready for the “real world,” need to instill an atmosphere of collegiality, of good, and honest, hard work. This is not just something that will be instilled by building public databases and failing students who are caught – those methods only win small battles in the overall war – rather, the institution itself, and the faculty and students who comprise its body, need to assess for themselves what the cause of this problem is, and work from the bottom up, and the top down to rectify it. It is a hard goal, but one that is necessary if our society is going to ever again be able to have faith and trust in other people. If the educated members of this society are no better off ethically than uneducated members, there is a serious problem with the system. Truth is the basis for the good life, and consequently, the good society. At no other time in our generation has our nation’s intentions and trustworthiness been so derided, and it is the least we can do, in the wake of our own homegrown intellectually dishonest revelations, to attempt to ameliorate the situation, and hopefully, be leaders in the fight to win back a culture of intellectual honesty, veracity, and ingenuity that has been assassinated by our culture’s love for the easy way out, and for being “number one.” The papers that follow are representative of some of the best Otterbein has to offer, an example of the brilliant, original work this student body can produce. The Humanities emphasize the examination of self, of what it is to be hu-

man, and knowing our tempestuous relationship with honesty, perhaps together we can now find a better way to move forward and solve this problem.

¹ “Anti-cheating database banned at N.S. university.” *CBCNews*, 8 March 2006. <<http://www.cbc.ca/story/canada/national/2006/03/08/plagerism-software060308.html>> 3/16/2006.

² Slouka, Mark. “University Integrity at Stake.” *Columbia Spectator Online Edition*. 24 April 2006. <<http://www.columbiaspectator.com/vnews/display.v/ART/2006/04/24/444c65f6e911d>> 30 April 2006.



An Interview with Dr. Alan Lightman: At the Intersection of the Sciences and Humanities

● ● ● Michelle Yost and J.T. Craig

Aegis was presented with the great opportunity to sit down and talk with Dr. Alan Lightman, who came to Otterbein College as part of the 2005 “Big Bang Boom” lecture series celebrating the centennial of Albert Einstein’s publication of the Special Theory of Relativity. We asked Dr. Lightman about the connection between the sciences and humanities.

AEGIS: Western civilization has drawn a line between the sciences and the humanities, in part, perhaps, because of the evidence that mathematical processes occur in the left-brain and creative ones in the right-brain. Being both a physicist and a creative writer, do you lament the disconnection between these two subjects?

LIGHTMAN: I think that the two subjects and the whole worldview they represent have a lot to say to each other, and so I believe that the humanities can learn from the sciences, and the sciences can learn from the humanities. And, we should have more dialogue between them, but I don’t think that we should try to homogenize these worldviews, and say that there really is only one worldview, and we really have to try and distill and compress the scientific and humanistic worldview into a single worldview. I think that the scientific way of looking at the world, and the humanistic way of looking at the world are complementary. There are important differences which should be preserved, and in trying to do away with those differences we would lose something the same way as if we tried to make all religions one religion or all races one race. There is a cultural diversity that’s very valuable, and it’s valuable to have different ways of looking at the world.

AEGIS: A theme that seems to be recurrent in your writings is a sense of alienation from modern life, that the abundance of technology and information has overwhelmed the human spirit. How did you come to this perspective? What writers, scientists, and philosophers influenced you the most?

LIGHTMAN: I think my entire life has molded that perspective. Writers who echoed this theme at earlier times, the most prominent influence on me is Henry David Thoreau, and Henry David Thoreau, one of his famous mottos was “simplify, simplify.” He felt that the world was moving too fast, and getting too complex. In his day, the greatest technological advance was the railroad, and he made the comment that “we do not ride the railroad, the railroad rides us.” I have no opposition at all to technology. I think technology is a wonderful thing that has to be used thoughtfully, and we can’t just assume that every bit of new technology improves the quality of life; it’s really in how the technology is used. What I am very disturbed about is this trend of everything happening faster and faster and faster and there being more and

more general noise in the world, and less and less time for quiet reflection on who we are, and where we're going.

AEGIS: *Regarding your essay, "In God's Place," you closed by stating, "All of it, all the centuries of liberation and imprisonment, creation and dread, live together in one house. And each new door opened will disturb us. Yet we will keep opening the doors; we cannot be stopped." Are you trying to say that science has no limits and will one day destroy us? Do you believe that a greater humanistic influence needs to be placed on science? If so, how can science remain objective?*

LIGHTMAN: I don't think that science will necessarily destroy us one day. What I meant by that is that science is an intellectual journey, and to me, it's not the destination, it's the journey to get there. It's a way of thinking and it's an intellectual curiosity, a desire to know how the world works, and to know what the fundamental principles of the world are, and to know our place in it. I think once we stop asking questions like "what is the age of the universe," or "how are the instructions of DNA carried out on a microscopic level," once we stop asking questions like that, we're dead. There is always a need for the humanities as well as science; it's almost a tautology. The humanities are important in their own right. That's where our art comes from, which is another way of exploring truth and expressing ourselves, but the humanities also help tell us how to live in the world and you can't have science without humanities. We live in a society, and we have to function as human beings in a society and not just intellectual automatons trying to discover the laws of nature.

AEGIS: *In your investigation with Jon Miller, "Contemporary Cosmological Beliefs," you found that there is a fundamental lack of cosmological understanding among Americans (such as only 37% recognizing that the sun will burn out). Your attempt was to find out why people held these beliefs about science, with regard to age, gender, religious beliefs and education. Why does there appear to be such a lack of scientific knowledge? Do you feel there is not enough being done in schools to educate the next generation about how our universe works? Does a future history teacher or phlebotomist need to know that the universe is not static?*

LIGHTMAN: I think certainly that science education needs to be improved. I don't know exactly what the system is of teacher certification right now, but I know that in the past that you could go to many high schools — which is where people start forming most of their beliefs, sometimes for life — and you could find teachers teaching biology that had not majored in biology in college. And so, more care needs to be exercised in determining which teachers can teach what subjects. But I think, in addition to that, we just need to continue having more and more popular (good popular) expositions of science, there's a lot now, but you can never have too much. Programs on PBS, like *Nova*, the science sections of various newspapers and magazines, like *Discover*; you just need a large variety of that in many different forms, because some of those magazines and programs will reach some people and some won't, so you need a large variety to reach a large variety of people.

AEGIS: *In the interviews you and Roberta Shaw conducted for Origins: The Lives and Worlds of Modern Cosmologists, you were again looking for the humanistic reasons behind scientists'*

beliefs and investigations. Robert Dicke was asked if “the universe has a purpose?” Do you think that the universe has a purpose? Or does humanity need to find its own purpose? Does your creative writing allow you to lend a humanistic purpose to the science you study?

LIGHTMAN: The question of whether the universe has a purpose is not a scientific question, and so I cannot answer that as a scientist because it’s not a scientific question. There is no scientific experiment you could do that would answer that question — although it’s an extremely interesting question. So, are you asking me as an individual whether I think the universe has a purpose?

AEGIS: *Yes.*

LIGHTMAN: I would have to say that I do not believe that the universe as a whole has a purpose, but I believe that individual people have a purpose. It’s the same questions as “what is the meaning of life?” You ask somebody what is the meaning of life, and I think that each person has to answer that question in their own way. I do think that it’s important that people ask themselves this question, “What is the meaning of life? And what is the meaning of my life?” That’s the kind of self-reflection that I’m talking about, an example of it that we need to have more time for. What the meaning of life is for me, may not be what it is for you, but, I ask myself that question all the time, and I ask myself, what should I be doing with my life to make it a satisfying life? When I am on my deathbed, I want to feel that I have lived life, and so, sometimes what I do is I play this imaginary experiment, and I imagine that I’m on my deathbed. I think to myself, how should I live my life now, so that when I on my deathbed I will feel like I’ve lived a good life. It’s really only a small number of things that I feel like I need to have done in my life, but to me, that’s closely related to what’s the meaning of life, and since I don’t feel that the universe as a whole has a purpose, this is the next thing that does have a purpose. Each of us has a purpose, and the purpose could even change in time, but each of us could ask him or herself that question, “how should I live my life so that at the end of my life I will feel that it was a worthwhile life.”

AEGIS: *How do your writings play into this?*

LIGHTMAN: My writings are an exploration, and I think a lot of writers would tell you this, but in writing, you’re not simply putting down things that are already known to you. You’re actually discovering in the writing process, you’re actually creating knowledge. And so, my writing is one of the ways that I try to answer this question, “what is the meaning of my life?” I think about ideas, and even in my novels, there are ideas, and I try to explore those ideas and turn them around in my mind, while I’m writing, and that helps me decide how I should be living my life.

AEGIS: *For those who believe in the strong Anthropic Principle, that only in a “special” kind of universe could life arise at any point, a dichotomy seems to be presented. Some see this as evidence for a random universe, while others see it as a case for “intelligent design.” At what point does science become philosophy, and does it have any place in an investigative science classroom? Should scientists keep looking for answers, or at some point will they simply have*



to throw their hands up and admit the universe is beyond human comprehension?

LIGHTMAN: The question of whether this universe that we live in is the only possible universe in which we could exist.

AEGIS: *Something philosophers are very obsessed with.*

LIGHTMAN: Right. It was Leibniz who said that “this is the best of all possible worlds.” Or, whether there could be lots of other universes is something that I think...it may not be a scientific question. We may not be able to do any experiments that could answer that question.

AEGIS: *So that principle (the strong Anthropic principle) is not a testable principle?*

LIGHTMAN: I think you can't test it. I think that what is testable, I think that you could by scientific, and mostly theoretical work, show whether or not life could evolve in other kinds of universes. Like if the universe expanded and collapsed before you had time to form the stars then it would be hard to imagine any life forming that would have any bearing to what we understand to be life. Because, everything we know about life requires a central source of energy which a star provides. On the other hand, if the universe expanded too rapidly, things would get cold too quickly. Or if the speed of light was very different, maybe atoms would collapse immediately, before you could start forming organized systems with lots of atoms and organic molecules and so on. I think that that question is answerable. But the question of whether there could be lots of different kinds of universes independent of the question of life is something that is very difficult to answer. We should keep looking for answers. I mentioned that string theory is an example of something very far out on the edge of science in the sense that we can't test it now and may not be able to test it for a long time, but I think that there will always be new frontiers of science, and all the sciences, where we will be trying to find answers. I just don't think that the human spirit would allow us to sit on our hands and not ask questions.

Dr. Alan Lightman is both a writer and a physicist and is currently an Adjunct Professor of Humanities at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. His book, *Einstein's Dreams* was an international bestseller, and *The Diagnosis* was a finalist for the 2000 National Book Award in fiction. In physics, Dr. Lightman focuses his studies on gravitational theory, accretion disks, stellar dynamics and relativistic plasmas.

An Examination of Richard Kraut's Liberalization of Socrates' Political Philosophy

● ● ● J.T. Craig

In his book *Socrates and the State*, Richard Kraut interprets Plato's *Crito* in a way that he thinks will allow it to fit better with its counterpart, the *Apology*. Traditionally, most commentators and early translators (such as Grote¹) have interpreted the *Crito* to be a piece of writing that leaves little (or no) room for disobedience on the part of the citizen who feels the laws have treated him unjustly. This presents a problem, as it seems to be in stark contrast with the *Apology*; Plato's version of Socrates' defense argument at his trial.² There are some parts of the *Apology* in which Socrates seems to be advocating higher moral principles which surpass the orders of law, e.g., not going to capture Leon the Salaminian at the behest of the Thirty Tyrants (*Apology*, 32c-e). Socrates uses the Leon story as a way to show that (a) he has an extra-legal code, (b) the extra-legal code does not allow him to commit acts of injustice, and (c) he is willing to disobey an unjust law or command. These acts of defiance towards the law, and his reasons for showcasing them, would lead one to assume that Socrates was not advocating total submission to the laws of the state. The *Crito*, set after the trial and guilty verdict (the punishment is death), is Socrates' argument that it would be unjust for him to accept the offer from his friends to escape from jail. Parts of this argument seem, by their very nature, to conclude that one owes more obedience to the state than is set out in the *Apology*, especially in the speech given by the personified Laws of Athens. Kraut believes, however, that the "conservative" commentators (like Grote and Woolzley) who leave little or no room for any disobedience to laws or orders are wrong in their interpretation of the *Crito*. Kraut attempts to interpret the *Crito* in a liberal way that justifies Socrates' arguments against escape, while still allowing for citizens to disobey an unjust order or law. This liberalization is one that I believe fails, and does not fit with the political philosophy set out by Socrates in the *Crito*.

In light of my view that Kraut's liberalization of Socrates' political philosophy is wrong, I want in this essay to do two things: First, I intend to show that while Kraut's interpretations of many of the key issues in the *Crito* – namely, the persuade-or-obey doctrine, the principle of just agreements, and his interpretation of the parent/city analogy – are interesting attempts to make the *Crito* fit with the *Apology*, there are simply too many problems with the interpretations to make them stand up. In short, I disagree with Kraut's liberal interpretation of the *Crito*. I intend to show that Socrates placed a strong emphasis on obeying the laws of the state, even if they caused one to suffer injustice. Second, I will also discuss some other interpretations of why Socrates drank the hemlock, and how these interpretations are dependent upon how one interprets the political philosophy of the *Crito* and *Apology*. In the final analysis, I hope to show that while there is some room for disobedience in the *Crito*, in reality there is a stronger argument for "just" obedience rather than for Kraut's conception of Socratic jurisprudence. Kraut's interpretation allows for much more disobedience than I think is present in the political philosophy of the *Crito*.

1. Arguments against Kraut

A) The Private Club and the Chess Game

Early on in his argument Kraut lays out his conception of *the principle of just agreements* which is agreed upon by Socrates and Crito: *one must do the things one agrees upon with another, if they are just*. Kraut attempts to show that Socrates would be violating this principle by escaping, and that by his tacit acceptance of the Athenian legal system, he is making a just agreement to accept the court's verdict of death, regardless of whether the men convicting him are doing so out of just motivations, or whether or not he (Socrates) is suffering an injustice. Kraut states:

...when someone freely makes an agreement, realizing that it calls upon him to suffer an injustice, then he has no right to go back on his word at a later point, when it comes time to honor his commitment. (35)

It is Kraut's goal here to show how this principle of just agreements is not one that lends itself to an authoritarian reading.³ That, however, is not necessary for our purposes. What I would like to focus on are two examples Kraut lays out in his footnotes.⁴ Here is Kraut's first example:

Suppose a club I belong to is deciding where to hold its meetings next year. Site X is the leading candidate, but I think this is an unfair choice, since it makes me travel far more than anyone else. Nonetheless, I voluntarily agree to go along with this, and voice no objections. Having made this agreement, I cannot justifiably break it on the grounds that the rule I agreed to is unfair to me...If I change my mind after the meeting is over, that still does not give me a reason to break the rule. (35-36)

This is Kraut's example of how it is wrong for someone to back out of an agreement that has been justly made, e.g., not coerced, rushed, etc. Kraut argues that one cannot justifiably break the agreement if one had actively and knowingly participated in the process leading up to the agreement. Kraut does, however, believe that one may justifiably break one's agreement if and when new information comes to light. To make this point, Kraut invokes a hypothetical chess game:

Of course, agreements can be broken justifiably when new information comes to light: if I agree to play three games of chess with Jones, and he keeps trying to cheat during the first game, I can legitimately break off the match, rather than continue to be the victim of unjust treatment. For I didn't consent to play under those conditions. (36)

It is apparent that Kraut views Socrates' plight as analogous to the club example, and not the chess case. For instance, if one discovers that one's chess partner is cheating somehow, then one can break off the playing arrangement. This seems to present a problem when used to understand Socrates' plight. If one looks at the club analogy, it would seem that, indeed, Socrates has always tacitly agreed to the rules and regulations of Athenian law.⁵ It is my contention, however, that Socrates' plight is more analogous to the chess example. If the conditions for

breaking one's agreement include "new information" coming to light, then perhaps an argument could be made that Socrates was indeed wronged.

It would seem that if Socrates was agreeing to the rules of the game (in this case a non-biased trial, a reasonable verdict based on the crime accused of, etc.) then perhaps the motivations of those who originally brought him to trial should have played much more of a factor in his decision to drink the hemlock. The Laws state: "As it is, you depart, if you depart, wronged not by us, the Laws, but by men" (*Crito*, 54c). This idea of motivations matters because of the examples Kraut sets out. If Socrates' situation is like the club, then the motivations don't matter, because everything was decided fairly. If, on the other hand, it is like the chess example and Socrates thought that the trial itself was going to be fair, but in reality it wasn't, it changes everything. The motivations of those involved in bringing him to trial then matter greatly, because their motivations imply some kind of cheating. I would have argued to Socrates that he played by the rules of the state; he went to trial, offered a defense, and attempted to persuade the jury of his innocence, thereby not violating his extra-legal moral standards, or the principle of just agreements. And so, if there were already biases and malevolent intentions, then there is no real destruction in escaping, for his part. It would seem that a fair trial relies upon the accuser's motivations, especially in the Athenian court system, where one's accuser or accusers are on the jury, and setting out the case to others whom they may have already influenced. The game was rigged, and so, it would seem to follow that he would be justified in making his escape. Socrates or the Laws don't state this view; this seems to be a consequence of applying Kraut's reading of the principle of just agreements to Socrates' particular case.⁶ My concern is that, aside from the larger political theory, there is a possibility that Socrates was truly wronged or cheated into drinking the hemlock. This question of whether or not Socrates was "right" to drink the hemlock is something I will return to later.

B) Kraut's argument that all one needs to do is *try* to persuade the legal body of one's innocence for one to have fulfilled the persuade-or-obey obligation

The persuade-or-obey doctrine is central to Kraut's liberal conception of Socratic jurisprudence. The persuade-or-obey doctrine is set out to explain the citizen's obligation to the state when a law has been broken. Kraut takes the persuade-or-obey doctrine as laid out in the *Crito* to mean "one may disobey, as long as one persuades" (Kraut, 60). The conservative reading of this doctrine would give little or no leeway for one to disobey in advance, or to disobey if one is convicted or punished unjustly. One example of a conservative reading comes from Grote, who argues that the attempt to persuade must come through appeal to the assembly of Athens, not the courts. If this is the case, then attempting to persuade at a trial has no meaning, as it is already too late, and one's ability to persuade has passed.⁷ Kraut believes that both of these readings are wrong. He sees the persuade-or-obey doctrine as a doctrine that creates the ability for a citizen to disobey, and not be acting unjustly.⁸ He even states that, as far as the personified Laws are concerned, one need only be "right," and attempt to persuade a jury of one's innocence, to disobey an unjust verdict (69):

A citizen will be justified in violating an order issued to him by his parent city only if that order is in fact unjust. If the order does him an injustice he agreed to accept or risk, then he cannot rightly disobey it... but if he was right yet fails in his efforts to show this to the jury, he has done no wrong. (68)

There are a few things with his argumentation that I think are suspect. First, Kraut has earlier asserted that the Laws are ideal Socratic laws, and therefore, a mixture of real laws and moral ideals of justice and philosophy that Socrates embodies:

So it would be an error to think that the Laws must always have the same opinions as the city and its citizens. Rather, they are ideal observers of the Athenian legal scene, equipped with a philosophy of law which no Athenian, other than Socrates, need ever have held. They may therefore appportion praise and blame by means of standards and perceptions that depart from those of their flesh-and-blood contemporaries. (66)

Kraut believes that while this distinction exists (between real and ideal laws), it does not hurt his interpretation of the Laws because democratic Athens did have institutions where one could persuade a jury of one's innocence, thus fulfilling the persuade-or-obey doctrine. I disagree. I think that Kraut is tactfully avoiding the real-life implications of his interpretation and application of the Law's legal philosophy. If Kraut were just arguing about Socrates, then I believe his interpretation is fair and correct. As it is though, Kraut is not just focusing on the hypothetical Laws; he is attempting to show that there were opportunities in Athens to apply the persuade-or-obey doctrine, and he argues from the stance of other people's hypothetical situations under it. The whole chapter is filled with "what ifs" regarding people's obligations under the "Law" when following persuade-or-obey. It seems unclear to me how much of this theory would actually apply. I highly doubt that if a law were passed that violated some person's moral code that after their attempt to persuade they would not be forced to submit. This is shown when Kraut asserts:

They [the Laws] must mean that if a citizen has violated an unjust order and if he has failed to persuade the jury only because it is unpersuadable, then he has already done enough; he need not turn to the other alternative, and obey the law. (74)

It would seem as though to Kraut "persuade-or-obey" becomes only: persuade if you disobey, if that persuasion fails, and one *was truly in the right*,⁹ then one may justifiably continue to disobey.

As seen in the passage above, Kraut's conception of the persuade-or-obey doctrine allows that people who do not attempt to persuade must obey, but that those who do attempt, and are "right," can then justifiably defy the state. The problem with this is in distinguishing the "right." I imagine that there were many clean cut cases in Athens—cases where people had obviously committed a wrong, attempted to persuade a jury to their innocence, and were convicted. This is fine because these people were *actually* guilty. However, what of those who are innocent but convicted? How is the state or jury to know that the person is truly innocent? This is when Kraut's interpretation would come into play. This seems to allow for misuse of the system. There would have to be a percentage of people who, if Kraut's version is correct, continue to state their innocence, and "rightness," in the face of the verdict that are *actually* guilty. These people then could say that they are disobeying the orders of the state because they attempted to persuade and failed, but were "right." In essence, this could justify people

becoming fugitives. Kraut assumes too much here, and this reading that he applies to the text must leave more emphasis on “obedience” if it is to be construed as a realistic situation.

I suppose it could be shown that Kraut is arguing for one of two possible forms of obedience in his interpretation, willing and non-willing obedience. Suppose Smith commits a crime in the eyes of the state, is accused, and given a trial. Smith in this case happens to be truly innocent of the charges, and so attempts to persuade the jury of this innocence. Smith fails, and is condemned to death. According to Kraut’s argument, Smith, having fulfilled his obligation of the persuade-or-obey doctrine, can justifiably disobey this ruling; however, in all likelihood, Smith will be forced to submit to the court’s decision unless Smith has the means to disobey it. So, the question becomes one of whether or not there is a difference (in the larger political theory context of the *Crito*) between willing obedience and forced obedience (submission). Perhaps Smith fights the hemlock, struggling to live while all of it is forced down Smith’s throat. I suppose this could mean that Smith did, even though forced to accept the punishment, live up to his/her ideal of not submitting to an injustice, but, Smith has theoretically been tacitly and explicitly consenting to the legal system and its ramifications his/her entire life. And, regardless of the “victory” of Smith’s will that may be shown by fighting to the last breath, the victor, in the end, was the state. To my conception, it is the end result that matters in the persuade-or-obey doctrine. The reality is forced submission to the state when it comes to legal rulings, and this is the same thing (it has the same consequence) as Smith willingly abiding by the death sentence. Smith might be personally disobedient, but Smith still dies.

Kraut believes that this would not be the case. In my view, a hypothetical Athenian might believe that he/she is in the “right,” and then attempt to arrange escape, or defy the sentence to the end. In this sense, perhaps one is fulfilling a personal moral belief, and defying the state. This would be a kind of disobedience. However, what is the state’s view of this? In modern times a person can appeal their case, and if these attempts at persuasion fail, that person, regardless of being “right” is then forced to submit. Perhaps it is of some comfort to a person to know that he/she has lived up their moral standards, but the situation is that in the eyes of the state they are guilty, and will be submitting to the state. It would seem a cold comfort (to me, at least) that I made a jailor force the hemlock down my throat, while I lay dying.

My worry is that Kraut’s conception, while perhaps perfectly fine in applying to Socrates, whose conceptions and practice of justice were of some kind of higher standard than common Athenians,¹⁰ is not truly applicable to a large percentage of the rest of the population. Someone might make a case, fail, and be forced to submit: to suffer death or imprisonment. That would appear to me to be the reality of the situation when one is in a courtroom. There are too many variables involved for one to commence in disobeying an unjust verdict. How would one escape the court? What if one didn’t have friends like Crito and Plato willing to spend some serious money to bribe officials? In the end, the Laws that are the high philosophical ideal look only to truly apply to the case of Socrates; there may have been opportunities to persuade-or-obey built into the Athenian legal system, but it appears as though the application of Kraut’s liberal interpretation would be tough to pull off if one did not have the right connections and finances. If this is the case, then Kraut’s argument that the liberal interpretation of persuade-or-obey applies to Athenian law in general is wrong, and we must accept a more literal reading of the doctrine. Jane has the ability to persuade a jury, or to argue for repeal of some law that they consider to be unjust, but, if that persuasion fails, regardless

of Jane's beliefs of the "rightness" of her actions, Jane will be forced to submit to the ruling of the state, or, she will willingly obey the ruling of the state. Either way, the consequence is the same.

C. The problems with the parent/city analogy

One of the most important parts of the *Crito* that Kraut must interpret to support his liberalization of Socrates' political philosophy is the part of the Laws' speech that further defines the persuade-or-obey doctrine as analogous to the obligations one has to one's parents, and the obligations one has to one's parent city. There are many references to the parent/city analogy within the *Crito*; here is Kraut's cleanest summary of the doctrine:

[If] state X has given person Y, during his childhood, at least as many benefits as a good parent should give Y, and if Y has, as an adult, no serious and legitimate complaint against X, then when X asks Y to contribute to its well-being, Y must comply or explain to X why he will not. (145)

Kraut disagrees with some of the Laws' statements about the extent of a child's obligation to its parents. He promotes a modern view of debt and obligation between parents and children. Kraut believes that children, in particular adult children, have obligations to their parents depending upon the benefits conferred on them, and the way in which they were treated during their upbringing. A parent couldn't leave a child in a dumpster at birth, and then reappear eighteen years later demanding to be obeyed. To the extent that benefits (above and beyond mere biological existence) are bestowed upon children, there is a correlation in the amount of explanation one owes one's parents when one chooses to disobey. If a set of parents have done everything right, and give their child benefits even into adulthood, then one may owe a certain amount of obedience even into adulthood. And this obedience, to Kraut, consists in respecting the persuade-or-obey doctrine. This conception of parent-child obligations is one that is in line with our modern conception of obligation between adult children and their parents. Kraut is attempting to liberalize the parent/city analogy by stressing a less conservative reading of the Laws. To better understand Kraut's conception of modern obligations and how they might apply to the parent/city analogy let's look at a brief sampling of some of the modern legal obligations that a parent has to a child (as ruled in a court of law):

"Best interests of the child" means the sum total of the following factors to be considered, evaluated, and determined by the court:

- (a) The love, affection, and other emotional ties existing between the competing parties and the child.
- (b) The capacity and disposition of competing parties to give the child love, affection, and guidance and continuation of the educating and raising of the child in its religion or creed, if any...
- (c) The length of time the child has lived in a stable, satisfactory environment and the desirability of maintaining continuity...(Robbins, 87)

The passage quoted above lays out a conception of parental obligation that focuses on well-being. Education, love, and a satisfactory environment are all key components to a parent do-

ing a good job of raising a child. Kraut is arguing something similar in the parent/city analogy. Namely, if parents have provided these things to their child, and raised him/her properly, then that child must, upon adulthood, give his/her parents the respect of persuading them when they are wrong, or explaining to them why they have been disobeyed. We must also see if the Laws condone anything like this in their speech, or if the Laws instead have a more conservative view of the obligations that a parent owes to its child, and consequently, a more conservative view of the relationship between citizen and state.

There are problems with Kraut's conception of the parent/city analogy. First, while Kraut's arguments are reasonable in modern America (and in most modern industrialized nations) there is no reason to accept that the relationship between parents and children in ancient Greece was anywhere near this liberal. How liberal the Greek attitude towards raising children actually was is important because it is a barometer by which to gauge one's interpretation of the speech of the Laws. If Kraut is correct, then the relationship between a citizen and the state is analogous to the relationship between an adult and his/her parents. I do not believe that there is any textual evidence for this interpretation.¹¹ I intend to show that most realistically the relationship between citizen and state is like that of a young adult, not a child, to its parents. This reading will allow for a person to have the right to attempt to persuade a court as to justice, and save the parent/city analogy from being interpreted as the relationship between an adult and a young child, which is too authoritarian, and leaves no room for the persuade-or-obey doctrine.

One of the ways in which Kraut has a more liberal interpretation of the parent/city analogy is that he believes regardless of the benefits conferred upon a child that the child has a right to self-defense if its parents are attempting violence: "If parents do a good job of bringing up their child, it does not follow that the child must never intentionally use violence against them. If they attack him, he still has a right to self-defense" (Kraut, 144). It seems clear to me that this was not the case in Socrates' time. Harm towards one's parents at any time in life was construed as one of the worst acts of impiety, as seen at *Crito* 51c: "It is impious to bring violence to bear against your mother or father." It was, in fact, *illegal* for a child to bear violence against his/her parents no matter what the situation. Kraut cannot admit anything like this because it is the beginning of an argument for a very conservative view of persuade-or-obey, yet, it exists in the text. Even further than this, the Laws give an argument that equates the relationship of a child to his/her parents as one to slave and master:

...could you, in the first place, deny that you are our offspring and servant, both you and your forefathers? If that is so, do you think that we are on an equal footing as regards the right, and that whatever we do to you it is right for you to do to us? You were not on an equal footing with your father as regards the right... (*Crito*, 50d-51)

This passage seems to explicitly state that the relationship of state to citizen is like slave and master. Kraut needs to have a solid answer to this passage's claim that the relationship between a citizen and the state is similar to that of the one between slave and master. If the slave/master model is indeed representative of how the Laws view one's obligation to the par-

ent city, then Kraut's interpretation fails. Kraut's response is to read the passage so that the list of subordinate relationships given by the Laws is merely proving an asymmetry in the balance of power between the state and its citizens:

...violence can justifiably be undertaken by the superior party against the inferior, though it can never be justified when done by the inferior against the superior... in particular, they (the Laws) never assert or suggest that the authority of masters over slaves is a fitting model for the authority cities ought to have over citizens. (Kraut,107)

This liberal reading allows Kraut to save the parent/city analogy from an authoritarian reading; however, I believe that the text explicitly states otherwise, and that in this case, Kraut has been too charitable with his interpretation.

While the Laws may not be explicitly stating that the slave/master relationship is the ideal governmental style, it appears clear that the relationship between citizen and state can be seen as modeled after the slave/master dynamic in many ways. In the passage quoted directly above, it seems explicit that the Laws believe that not only does a citizen have an obligation to the city like a slave to his/her master, but that those citizens' forefathers were also in this position. It is not necessary to conclude that if the relationship between citizen and state is modeled somewhat after the slave/master relationship then a totally tyrannical government would ensue. Indeed, the Laws seem merely to be pointing out the fact that in most ways all citizens are dependent upon the state. They are, in effect, wards of the state, not only in infancy, but throughout adulthood.

Viewing the Laws' speech like this, one can begin to see more weak points in Kraut's interpretation. If the citizen/state relationship is like that of an adult child to his/her parents, then at some point, as with a parental relationship, the benefits (the major ones: food, clothing, shelter, etc.) must cease. This is not the case between a citizen and the state. In that particular relationship, the state will always provide vital services to the citizen, and the citizen will therefore be obliged to obey the laws of the state. It is the moment that this relationship changes, and the state no longer provides the vital services necessary to life, that revolutions occur. Indeed, there would be no state if there were no vital services provided. This fact *alone* obliges the citizen to always view the state as the superior entity. This is where my interpretation of the analogy is very different both from Kraut, and from those who would assume that the relationship between citizen and state is like that of a young child and its parents. Kraut wants to show that as an adult, one has to pay respect to one's parents, just as one must persuade-or-obey the city. This would allow for much more freedom to disobey within the context of the citizen/state relationship. The ultra-conservative reading would take the slave/master example, and the lack of authority that a child has with his/her parents, and argue that one can never disobey the state. My claim is that the relationship between the citizen and the state is like that of a near-adult to his/her parents. There is more opportunity to persuade one's parents at this age, because one has reached an age of reason. As far as the state is concerned, the citizen remains in this state perpetually. It is not the same as the relationship between an adult and his/her parents. It is because the state will and must perpetually provide the vital things in life that the citizen now owes more allegiance to the state than to his/her parents.¹² However, this does not mean that the ability to persuade the state has disappeared. It is obvious that the

Laws allow for a citizen to have his day in court no matter what, and so, the option for persuasion is there, avoiding the totalitarian state that a true master/slave government style would be.

In further support of this position, I would point out this following passage:

...One must obey the commands of one's city and country, or persuade it as to the nature of justice. It is impious to bring violence to bear against your mother or father; *it is much more so to use it against your country.* (*Apology*, 51c)

For Kraut, this passage is not a problem. He would argue that the duty one has to the city is the duty that an adult child has to persuade-or-obey one's parents. However, he gives no mention of the part that I have emphasized.¹³ I believe that this part is vital in realizing the obedience the Laws expect from all citizens towards the state. What needs explaining is what is meant by "still more."¹⁴ If one has obligations to persuade-or-obey parents, even into adulthood, then there must be even more obligations to the state. If the state is still allowing a citizen to live, to eat, and to invest money, then the citizen owes more to the state. If this is correct, then it appears that there is much less room for persuasion than Kraut wants. Indeed, it would seem likely that while the attempt to persuade the state exists, that in reality, there is much more emphasis on obedience.

This reading supports my views, as stated above in section B, that the doctrine of "attempt to persuade" is too liberal. It looks as though the citizens of Athens would be forced, if their attempt at persuasion fails, to submit to punishment. Not to obey, regardless of the feeling that one is being wronged, would be a violation of the duty and obligations one has to obey the state. And the state would fulfill its right to force submission on the citizen, as it is the citizen's obligation to obey. Let me make it clear that a citizen would still have the right to persuade a court, but that the persuasion must succeed. If the persuasion fails, then one could continue to disobey, fulfilling some kind of extra legal stand, but that, without the connections or money, one would most likely be forced to submit to the penalty. Along with this kind of example would be those who would willingly submit to the ruling. In my conception, forced submission and willing obedience have the same consequence, and so, in the eyes of the Laws amount to the same thing. The ability to attempt to persuade still exists. By "attempt to persuade," I mean that a citizen has the right to a trial and that the state would not just arbitrarily and summarily punish and convict people without an opportunity to argue their case. The state allows for understanding of involuntary or ignorant disobedience, and so, is nothing at all akin to a tyranny that a true master/slave relationship would imply. I believe that merely having the opportunity to persuade the state is more than enough (especially in ancient times) to protect individuals from most false or incorrect allegations. The more conservative commentary, like that of Grote, suggests that no disobedience is allowed:

By his birth, and long residence in Athens, he [Socrates] has entered into a covenant to obey exactly and faithfully what the laws prescribe. Though the laws should deal unjustly with him, he has no right of redress against them—neither by open disobedience, nor force, nor evasion...the Laws allow to every citizen full liberty of trying to persuade the assembled public: but the citizen who fails in persuading, must obey the public when they

enact a law adverse to his views. (428)

One can see where Grote and I differ; I do not think that Grote allows for the possibility of persuading in courts so much as persuading the assembly of Athens. My conception of persuade-or-obey allows one to disobey, but then, one must successfully persuade in court. Kraut believes that one only need be “right” and attempt to persuade in order to disobey an order or law. Grote and I do have a somewhat similar view on the parent/city analogy: “Their (the state’s) rights over him are even more uncontrolled and indefeasible than those of his father and mother” (Grote, 428). This falls in line with my view that the relationship between the state and citizen is perpetually subordinate because of the benefits the state bestows upon the citizen. And so, my reading of the text is not authoritarian along the lines of Grote, but falls somewhere in between Grote and Kraut.

2. Connections, Conclusions, and Hemlock

If my reading of the *Crito* is correct, then Socrates was advocating a political philosophy that allowed for the ability to attempt to persuade the courts of Athens of one’s innocence. If that persuasion failed, however, it was the person’s obligation to obey the order. This obligation could either be willing, as in the case of Socrates himself, or forced, as in many imagined hypothetical situations, both with the same outcome of action: submission. In my view, this theory of political obligation has no problems reconciling itself with the *Apology*. In the *Apology* there are two famous instances in which Socrates speaks of disobedience. One is in his defiance of the orders of the Thirty Tyrants, and the other in which he tells the jury that if their punishment were to be letting Socrates go free, but forbidding him to philosophize, that he would not follow that order (29d, 31c-d). In the first case, Socrates took a moral stand against what he perceived to be an unjust order, but he recognized the fact that at any time he may have been imprisoned for this disobedience. He accepted that possibility and acted anyway. I think that if Socrates had been arrested for this, and charged, he would have attempted to persuade the jury of his higher moral standards, but that if convicted, he would have obeyed their order. This is because of Socrates’ views of his obligation to the state. He would not merely have tried to persuade the Thirty and then escaped.¹⁵

The second case is a hypothetical one proposed by Socrates, but it sheds light on his views of obligation to the state, and to one’s moral convictions. It could be argued that Socrates simply denies this possibility because of the way the Athenian legal system was set up. There were no punishment proposals offered by juries after a guilty verdict; rather, the prosecutor proposed a punishment, and then the defendant counter-proposed. So, in light of this, perhaps Socrates said he would disobey the order to cease philosophizing because it would be proposed by the jury, and hence, itself be illegal. However, it could be proposed that if the prosecutor had put forth this scenario as a punishment that Socrates still would not obey it. This is for two reasons: 1) It is against his lifelong pursuit of knowledge, and his “appointed” position as the gadfly of Athens, and 2) it would still be questionable whether such a verdict is “legal” in the sense that there was no law against philosophy specifically passed by the Assembly of Athens, so the verdict would have no legal weight. Let us suppose that the prosecutor had offered this as his proposal, and Socrates had been set free under the conditions it demands. Socrates would have disobeyed the order; he explicitly states so. This lines up with my conception of persuade-or-obey, because Socrates would be arrested again, having

violated, knowingly, the court's decree. He would attempt once again to persuade the jury of his innocence, and would once again fail. Assuming the punishment for this supposed second offence would have been death, then by Socrates' own views of persuade-or-obey, he would be either willing to accept the punishment, or forced to submit. Most likely he would have agreed to it. He would thereby fulfill his belief in obligation to the state after failed persuasion, and uphold his moral standards by the act of his disobedience.

Now I will turn to the justifications for Socrates drinking the hemlock, which is a separate question in some ways, but also tied to my above arguments. I will focus on what I believe are the two strongest arguments for Socrates motivations. These are:

(a) Socrates wanted to be a martyr

(b) Socrates wanted to die—but not to be a martyr—because of his advanced age and out of some kind of higher religious principle.

It is my assertion that while (b) is an interesting attempt to solve the hemlock question, that Socrates drinking the hemlock is best understood if we see him as an intellectual martyr—as one who died in defense of his principles as set out in the *Crito*.

Let us first examine the possibility that Socrates wished to die because of a religious principle or because it was “his time” to die. The evidence that I can offer in possible support of this would be the very different conception of Socrates' defense that we have in Xenophon's account. Xenophon's assertion is that Socrates' defense and eloquence was rather pointless, because he had already decided to die (Xenophon, *Apology of Socrates* [1]). Here is another interesting argument Socrates gives for his death:

Do you think it surprising that even God holds it better for me to die now?...For I have realized that my whole life has been spent in righteousness toward God and man...perhaps, he added, God in his kindness is taking my part and securing me the opportunity of ending my life not only in season but also in the way that is easiest. (Xenophon, [5]-[8])

Now, there are several ways that Socrates' arguments could be construed in this passage and in Xenophon's version of events in general. The fact that he wants to die could be interpreted as being a wish for some kind of lasting legacy, which would support (possibly) the idea that he wanted to be a martyr. Although I believe the fact that he was willing to die does not necessarily imply martyrdom, and that he need not be seeking martyrdom to achieve some political/moral point,¹⁶ it is also possible that Socrates was sick of the constant pressure and hassle of leading the philosophical life. This might be supported by the mention of ending his life “in season.” This view does not seem to line up with the other texts involving Socrates, so it's safe to say that this is probably not his main reason for seeking death. And this possibility, while perhaps factoring in a human element, does not fit together as well with the political obligation arguments in the *Crito*.

Albert Anderson argues in “Was Socrates Unwise to Take the Hemlock?” that it was possible Socrates was accepting of the hemlock because of a higher religious conviction. Namely, and Anderson is borrowing some from Seneca's essay “On Providence,” perhaps no harm can come to the “good man.” Anderson states:

And to argue that, really, no harm can come to the good man is like saying that in some odd sense the justification for Socrates' death, this alleged

tragedy to an indisputably good man, is not so nearly difficult to come by if one's life is supported by convictions, beliefs about *true* happiness. (Anderson, 451)

The argument in short is that Socrates was either wrong (he somehow did commit a wrong against Athens), and so the punishment is justified, or, he committed no wrong and so, even though he is put to death it does not matter, because he was a truly good man. This seems odd, but as I understand it, this is an argument that has some kind of metaphysical/religious implications. Anderson does not go into full detail, but he argues that Seneca can supply an argument along the following lines: “[the] nature of reality is perfect rationality, and perfect morality is the expression of a rational will in harmony with the real but otherworldly order” (451).

So this would be an argument that Socrates was seeking to free himself from the bonds of this existence and in doing so attain some kind of higher wisdom/rationality that is unattainable in human life. Anderson also has a passage from the *Theatetus* in which Socrates argues that it is impossible to eliminate evil things, because the nature of good requires an opposite, and so “...the evils do not have a place amongst the Gods... therefore we ought try to escape from here as quickly as we can; and to escape is to become like a God, so far as that is possible; and to become like a god is to become just and pious through wisdom of the highest order” (*Theatetus*, 173a-176b). This makes an interesting case for Socrates' motivations to drink the hemlock. Perhaps Socrates himself recognizes, as might be inferred from this passage, that the possibility of gaining any true knowledge of virtues is not possible on Earth (maybe this is an admission that his method does not have the desired effect?). If one couples this with all the talk of Socrates' ‘personal’ God, then perhaps this argument for Socrates' recognition of the providence of his death gets stronger. I believe that this option poses the strongest alternative to the martyrdom argument. However, the question of religious obligation, while interesting, is not really at issue in the *Crito*. I also have trouble accepting this as the main reason for taking the hemlock because within the true Socratic dialogues I do not think there is textual evidence that Socrates had given up on the elenchus, or on the value of his role on Earth (it's not even all that clear that he believed in an afterlife). In light of this I still see Socrates acceptance of his death as one of a higher goal. Namely, to die in defense of his beliefs, and to leave a lasting impression on those who followed after him.¹⁷

Now I will examine the possibility that Socrates died as a martyr, which is the explanation that connects best with my arguments about Socrates' political philosophy. In essence, I have been advocating a view of Socrates' thought that promotes intellectual rigor, and disobedience, but at the same time, respect of the relationship a citizen and state have. I have labeled this *just obedience*. To my thinking, Socrates lived a life that promoted unique and insightful thought. The elenchus was a method uniquely his own; created and used to sting those who stumble through life to some state of awareness. It was this method—the foundation of his life—that was the catalyst for revolutions in philosophy, politics, and almost every aspect of day-to-day life in Athens (hence, we still feel those reverberations today). This alone qualifies his death as one of a martyr. He willingly died defending his method. If one couples this with his political philosophy, it becomes apparent that while Socrates life exemplifies one of constant examination, it is tempered by respect and understanding for the unique relationship between individuals and states. By questioning the man made laws and practices of Athens he

was, in essence, advocating a deep rooted democratic principle that we take for granted. He might not have been thinking that his questioning should achieve a democratic state, but his showing the fallibility of humans and their laws serves as motivation to modify, fix, and question our laws. After all, he was not an advocate of anarchy, as I am sure some in Athens might have asserted. I believe that the political philosophy of Socrates and the life he led are the best evidence of why he chose to die, rather than to flee.

In summary, I believe that Socrates' political philosophy was such that there was room for disobedience. One could challenge laws both through the legislature, and—if one violated a law—in the courts. It is my assertion that, while the possibility for persuasion existed, a citizen—because of the debt and obligation owed to the state—if ruled against, either must willingly be obedient or be forced to submit to the state's judgment. In the final analysis I believe that Socrates took the hemlock because of his political philosophy; because of his belief, as I interpret the *Crito*, in *just obedience*. Socrates lived a life of intellectual disobedience. He constantly questioned entrenched beliefs in pursuit of pure knowledge. He gained followers, followers with political clout, and they took his teachings onto the political stage. By questioning social norms, and by causing dissent, Socrates engaged in public and private disobedience. He was charged with corruption of the youth, and worshipping false Gods, and rather than escape—which he could have easily accomplished with the connections and money of his companions—he chose to stay and accept the state's judgment. I believe that he was an intellectual martyr. He died to defend the political and social assertions he had made. It is because of him that men like Martin Luther King Jr. and Mahatma Gandhi could see the intellectual questioning and rigor involved in changing society. Regardless of whether or not Socrates was pro democracy, it was his method of never ceasing questions that gives us the framework to examine our lives. People often wonder why philosophy is important, and consequently, it might be asked why the issue of Socrates' political motivations is relevant after so many millennia. It is relevant because of the enormity of Socrates' intellectual impact, and that the way in which he influenced those after him have shaped our world. The ideas and struggles of Socrates and his students are still playing out today; hence, a modern understanding of Socrates is vital to our ethics, our politics, etc. The question of disobedience and obligation to the state are just as important today as they were in classical Athens. As I write this revelations about state wiretapping practices, and state sponsored torture are all over the news—where does our obligation as citizens' rest? We as a people, as a race, cannot afford to lapse into apathy. Socrates' life is an example of a man who never ceased to question the logic, motivations, ethics, etc. of the world at large and of individuals. With so much turbulence and unrest in the modern world, we must not forget the maxim that Socrates died for; we *must* live an examined life, regardless of the discomfort that such a life might bring.

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Endnotes

1. Some of the authors and texts that assert a more authoritarian interpretation of Socrates' political philosophy: George Grote's *Plato and the Other Companions of Sokrates* Volume 1, and A.D. Woozley's *Law and Obedience: The Arguments of Plato's Crito*.
2. All references to Socrates are meant to discuss the Platonic Socrates, not the historical man.
3. Specifically, that there is no obligation to abide by an agreement that is unjust, or coerced, etc. Which I suppose someone looking for evidence of less personal freedom from legal obligations to agreements with the state would have to try and argue. Perhaps something like (i) If X contracts to abide by doing something for Y (Y being the state), then (ii) regardless of X's feelings about the agreement, X must do as Y commands. This would seem to be a very unjust principle of agreements, and I agree with Kraut that Socrates is not advocating anything at all along these lines.
4. The footnote number is 16, on pages 35 and 36.
5. I don't believe it is necessary (nor do I think does Kraut) that Socrates must have actively participated in Athenian public life for a 'true' agreement (tacit or otherwise) to have been reached. Socrates at many points argues against having a public involvement in politics, specifically *Apology* 32.
6. Of course, if this view is correct, and the chess game analogy applies to Socrates, then it seems to leave much mystery as to why Socrates himself did not argue this. A possible reason is that Socrates wanted to die, or that he was so anti-democracy that he took the hemlock out of defiance to the state. Some of these possibilities are examined in the last section of this essay.
7. Grote states: "Though the laws should deal unjustly with him, he has no right of redress against them-neither by open disobedience, nor force, nor evasion...the laws allow to every citizen full liberty of trying to persuade the assembled public: but the citizen who fails in per-

suading, must obey the public when they enact a law adverse to his views” (428).

8. Although Kraut is not advocating that the principle of just agreements, the persuade-or-obey doctrine, and the parent/city analogy are one argument, but rather that they were three separate arguments via the Laws to prove that Socrates must drink the hemlock.

9. There seems to be something off about having to be “truly” in the right. Perhaps my qualifications for true justice are different than the states. Perhaps while I have continued to live in the state, I do not in actuality agree with abiding by its laws. However, this will not save me from being forced to obey, even if in my conception I was in the right in committing some disobedient act. It seems that by saying that one must be in the right, that there is some universal conception of rightness that would make this doctrine fair to all. I don’t think that it is so easy to get at a universal ‘rightness.’ Even if this problem is correct, I suppose that there is at least still some way of a truly innocent person being able to attempt to persuade, which is good. It just seems as though this system could be taken advantage of by people very easily (after all, the world is not filled with characters of Socrates’ moral fiber).

10. After all, he was the wisest man, as he himself states many times in the *Apology* when speaking about his divine mission.

11. As Bostock also interprets in his article, “The Interpretation of Plato’s *Crito*”: “Kraut argues that the analogy between parents and cities must be taken as drawing a parallel between on the one hand cities and their citizens and on the other hand parents and their *adult* offspring...the text nowhere *says* that the relationship it is concerned with is specifically that between parents and *adult* offspring...” (221).

12. Another passage that seems vital to my interpretation of the parent/city analogy that Kraut does not pay as much attention to comes at 51b of the *Crito*: “Is your wisdom such as not to realize that your country is to be honored more than your mother, your father and all your ancestors, that it is more to be revered and more sacred, and that it counts for more among the gods and sensible men, that you must worship it, yield to it and placate its anger more than your father’s?”

13. Kraut does examine the meaning of the term *violence*, used within the passage, and how it is related back to the city. That is not something I am concerned with as it doesn’t have bearing on my argument. I am reading this passage as stating that a citizen owes even more obligation to the state than a child (young or old) owes to its parents. As such, it supports, and makes sense of, all of the statements about slave/master, and owing and honoring the city more than one’s parents as seen in *Crito* 51a-d.

14. Once again, compare Bostock: “...it is much more probable that the relationship between the citizen and the city is being compared ...to the relationship between a young child and its parents, which is in fact similar to the relationship between a slave and his master. In their case, obedience is expected, and disobedience is set down as *wrong*, unless it is justified by a *successful* attempt at persuasion” (222).

15. Of course, it would be possible to argue that perhaps the Thirty, being a ‘tyrannical’ group had no legal standing to issue such decrees. But this seems insufficient in the light of the fact that most tyrant groups will force decrees by the sword if necessary to enforce their will. This will result in forced obedience regardless of legality. And of course, it is possible to argue as the Laws do that by staying in Athens when he could have fled, he agreed to obey their commands, just or not.

16. Grote interprets Socrates’ drinking of the hemlock as reconciliation between his life long

dissent and democracy: “yet as reconciling himself with the laws by voluntarily accepting the sentence; and as persuaded to do so, moreover, by a piece of rhetoric imbued with the most genuine spirit of constitutional democracy. It is the compromise of his long standing dissent with the reigning orthodoxy, just before his death (431).” Popper also believes that drinking the hemlock was tied to Socrates’ support of democracy, and his uncompromising principles: “That he wanted to die, or enjoyed the role of martyrdom, I do not believe. He simply fought for what he believed to be right, and for his life’s work. He had never intended to undermine democracy. In fact, he tried to give it the faith it needed...he may even have welcomed the trial as an opportunity to prove that his loyalty to his city was unbounded (Popper, 194).

Whereas Stone takes an entirely different approach: “The historical, like the Platonic, Socrates would have found it repugnant to plead a principle in which he did not believe; free speech for him was the privilege of the enlightened few, not of the benighted many. He would not have wanted the democracy he rejected to win a moral victory by setting him free. His martyrdom, and the genius of Plato, made him a secular saint...this was Socrates’ triumph...Socrates needed the hemlock, as Jesus needed the crucifixion, to fulfill a mission (Stone, 230).” I do not believe that the hemlock was taken as some kind of reconciliation on Socrates’ part to harmonize his views with the many as Grote asserts—he disdained the many. Nor do I buy Popper’s version that Socrates was fighting to support democratic principles. It seems as though Popper wants desperately to save Socrates from the authoritarianism of Plato. If we are to believe that any of the Platonic dialogues are truly Socrates’ views, then Popper is refuted by the fact that Socrates disdained the many, and advocated that only those who “know” should rule. It was not enough that Socrates argued that he disobeyed the Thirty. If he had truly been an advocate of democracy he would have joined the rebels. Stone’s view is closer to the truth, but it is tainted by Stone’s belief that Socrates was totally egotistical and was essentially a man who used his intellect to punish others, and who sympathized with the enemy. This is a highly controversial assertion. I do believe that Socrates died for some higher standard or principle, but it remains unclear to me what principle, and I am unwilling to assert any kind of definitive opinion as to his motivations.

17. Most of the arguments that ‘Socrates’ gives for the existence of an afterlife come after Plato had shifted from being a transcriber of Socrates’ thought to using ‘Socrates’ as a mouth-piece for his philosophy—this is most evident in the *Republic*.

Would King Drink the Hemlock?

● ● ● *Larsa Ramsini*

Socrates, according to the interpretation of Richard Kraut as expressed in *Socrates and the State*, maintained many complex views about the relationship between the individual and the state. He believed that there were certain times when laws could be disobeyed and other times when they could not, and he also held opinions about the steps one must take if disobedience is justified. When Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. wrote his “Letter from Birmingham Jail,” he ascribed some of his views to the teachings of Socrates. Plato presents many of Socrates’ views about a citizen’s obligations to the state in the *Crito*, which is where Socrates explains his political philosophy, and why he must drink the hemlock the state administers to him as punishment for his disobedience. Through an examination of King’s letter and Kraut’s interpretation of Socrates’ views as presented in the *Crito*, we can discover that these men agree on their philosophy of committing an injustice and a citizen’s responsibilities toward the state, but disagree on the motives behind some of their actions, and their distinctions between harm and injustice.

Socrates believed that one should never commit an injustice, and this includes never returning an injustice for one committed against him (Plato 136). He believed that since people must never, under any circumstances, commit an injustice, if they are given a chance, they must always choose to suffer an injustice rather than commit an injustice themselves. This is because “doing what is unjust harms one’s soul, but the soul is not corrupted if one is the victim of injustice” (Kraut 37-38). King displays his agreement with Socrates when he states that “it is wrong to use immoral means to attain moral ends” (King 243). He discusses the differences between just and unjust laws, and explains that his end goal is for everyone to be treated justly (King 235). He wanted blacks to be able to live in a society where they would have the same rights as white citizens, and he broke the laws of the state because the state was acting unjustly by withholding basic human rights from black citizens. King also vehemently disagreed with people who appeared to be just instead of actually doing the right thing. He says that “it is just as wrong, or perhaps even more so, to use moral means to preserve immoral ends” (King 243). People thought that they were behaving justly by sticking to their “morals” during a time when others were suffering injustice at the hands of the close-minded, but they were really the ones behaving unjustly by keeping immoral laws and institutions in place. King completely agrees with Socrates that one should never do injustice, and goes even further to say that when people believe they are behaving justly by maintaining a neutral position on discriminatory laws, their inaction is simply masked injustice because they are helping to keep these unjust laws on the books and in practice.

Socrates believed that there is sometimes an agreement made between the state and the citizen; and in the case of the *Crito*, the contract was called the principle of just agreements. This agreement states that the citizen must obey the laws of the state unless a specific law requires him to commit an act of injustice. If the state does ask him to commit an injustice, since he/she has made an agreement to obey, the citizen must persuade the state as to why he/she cannot, or in some cases, *could* not obey the law (Kraut 86). The way by which a person comes to have an agreement with the state is not by explicitly stating that he/she agrees

to obey the laws or persuade the state as to the nature of justice (what the just action would be). The process is much more drawn out and involves the citizen being given enough time to thoroughly examine the laws of the state until he/she understands all of them, and then he/she must remain in the state for a sufficient period of time in order to demonstrate his/her satisfaction with these laws (Kraut 156, 168). George Grote, another critic of Socrates, believes that “the Crito requires ‘absolute submission’ to the city’s commands,” leaving absolutely no room for disobedience, despite any prevailing circumstances (Kraut 55).

Kraut disagrees with this stance and contends that Socrates believes that “continued residence in [the state] does not signal agreement to obey its laws, since it does not reflect satisfaction with these laws” (180). In order for a citizen to complete his agreement he must show his approval through actions that are in compliance with the laws (Kraut 174-175). Kraut also explains that one way a citizen can show his satisfaction is by making positive statements in public about the state and its laws. This means, however, that his statements “can also be used to show that he is dissatisfied with some of its laws” (Kraut 182). King and his followers made no such agreement with the United States during the 1960s because they were not satisfied with the laws of the state, and they vehemently showed their dissatisfaction through their various protests, marches, boycotts, sit-ins, and other demonstrations. They did live in the United States for quite some time, but as Kraut interprets Socrates, residence is not sufficient evidence to support the existence of an agreement. King displayed his dissatisfaction to the legislature, the courts, and the people; therefore, he was in no way bound to an agreement with the state, according to Socrates’ conception of justified disobedience.¹

Kraut’s Socrates asserts that if no agreement is made with the state, the citizen may still be required to persuade the state that he/she is justified in disobeying the law. In some cases the state provides the citizen with certain benefits, such as education and moral upbringing, and because of these benefits, the citizen is indebted to the state and owes it much respect if he/she does not obey a specific law. Kraut notes that according to Socrates, since the state has treated the citizen well throughout his life, he must “honor it, and he must never treat it with violence,” and “citizens honor their city either by obeying it or by persuading it as to the nature of justice” (Kraut 104). But he also mentions that “those who have not received these benefits have been given no reason to obey or persuade,” even if they continue to reside in the state (Kraut 159). Kraut believes that Socrates would give this response to someone who asked him when exactly gratitude is owed to the state:

If my country seriously abridges my rights as an adult, or in some other way treats me with disdain, then it loses or at least compromises any claim it might otherwise have had to my loyalty. But if a country has given me great benefits when I was a child—benefits comparable to those I received from my parents—and if it respects my rights when I am an adult, then it has a moral standing that entitles it to an explanation if I turn down the appeals it makes in the pursuit of its legitimate concerns (146).

King had received no such benefits from the United States. As a result of all the prejudiced laws against African Americans during King’s time, the United States in no way acted as a parent to King so he was not indebted to it for “his life and upbringing” (Kraut 93).

As just explained, Kraut’s Socrates contends that if a citizen has made a just agree-

ment with the state, or has received certain benefits from the state like those he would receive from a parent, then he must follow Socrates' persuade-or-obey doctrine. Since King was not party to any just agreement, nor did he receive any benefits from the state and owed nothing to the government, he did not need to follow the persuade-or-obey doctrine. However, a more authoritarian reading of the Crito would say that continued residence is the only element driving the citizen's duty to persuade or obey (Kraut 161-166). So, if one does not accept the previous statements claiming that no agreement exists between King and the state, we may now look deeper into both Socrates' and King's views of disobedience to the state to determine what Socrates would say if King *did* in fact owe allegiance to the state.

If a citizen is satisfied with a law, then he/she will obey it, and there are no problems. But, Kraut's Socrates says that if he believes a law to be unjust and wishes to break the law, he must, before or after breaking it, attempt to persuade the state that he is right.² Kraut mentions that "persuasion is required of the disobedient citizen because he owes the parent-city with which he has made an agreement some explanation for his behavior" (60). He also makes quite a point about how Socrates does not view "successful persuasion [as] a necessary condition of justified disobedience" (72). He is in much disagreement with other critics, including George Grote, Glenn Morrow, and Gerasimos Santas, who all affirm that one is permitted to try and persuade the state, but when that fails, there is no allowance for breaking the law (Kraut 57). Kraut asserts a much less authoritarian view that holds that the only act required of the citizen breaking the law is that he make a legitimate attempt to persuade the state that the law is unjust. If this fails, then the Laws³ "must be willing to excuse [him] who breaks an unjust law but fails, through no fault of his own, to show the jury that he was in the right" (Kraut 68). If Socrates is interpreted in this way, then he would approve of King continually breaking the law even though the state convicted him of the charges, instead of it doing the right thing by changing the law. King consistently argued against the unjust laws, but he failed to convince the segregationists in the government that he was right. This was not his fault though, and he would be justified, according to Kraut's Socrates, in continuing to break the law since he was in the right.

Kraut also mentions that in Socrates' time, "no Greek ever thought that illegal behavior might itself be a form of speech or persuasion" because "the Greeks had no tradition or notion of protesting against a law by violating it" (75). Since Americans in the 1960s had a conception of civil disobedience and knew that when King broke a law it was because he believed it to be unjust, King actually went above and beyond the call for persuasion since his disobedience itself involved a form of persuasion. He was attempting to convince the state that it was wrong before, during, and after his lawbreaking, because he believed that to be "the very purpose of direct action" (King 233). King wanted to "create a situation so crisis-packed that it [would] inevitably open the door to negotiation" (233). He was not trying to get out of speaking to people and explaining why he believed a law to be unjust; he wanted the laws changed and believed that breaking the law was the only way to do it, since the whites had consistently refused to negotiate. So even though Socrates would have approved of King not persuading the state as to the nature of justice, King still would have persuaded since his motive for breaking the laws in the first place was to convince the state of what was just and what was unjust.

Kraut's Socrates believed that when a citizen breaks a law, the just thing to do is to break that law openly and not attempt to hide the act from anyone, because "the persuade-

or-obey doctrine has teeth only when it is combined with a prohibition against concealed disobedience” (122). The reason Socrates is against secretly breaking the law is not the secrecy in and of itself, but the fact that keeping the lawbreaking hidden from the state will most likely lead the lawbreaker, who is either in a just agreement with the state or indebted to it by benefits received, to not persuade the state as to the nature of justice (Kraut 123). King agrees with this when he says that “one who breaks an unjust law must do so openly” (236). His reason for breaking a law out in the open is different from Socrates’ though, since King was not obliged to persuade anyone. Since his main focus in breaking the laws was to get those laws changed, he wanted as many people as possible to know about his actions so that they would see how unjust the laws actually were. King was open in his lawbreaking because he wanted the attention it would give to the issues against which he was fighting, and not necessarily because of the fact that it was the just thing to do, as Socrates believed.

Even though Socrates and King both believed that one should never commit an injustice, they both put harm in a different category and claim that not all harm is unjust. It is very difficult to say in which circumstances Socrates would have approved of using harm against another. He was certainly not a pacifist, as shown by the fact that he “was proud of his military service,” and believed that violence and harm are sometimes justified; but the line between harm and injustice is fairly difficult to distinguish (Kraut 44). Kraut believes that Socrates wouldn’t expect people to determine what they should do based on what will cause the least amount of harm to others, but this only applies when the person has no way of knowing that any harm will occur as a result of his action and has no way of preventing the harm from happening (Kraut 140). Kraut’s Socrates would not “accuse people of recklessness or wrongdoing merely because an alternative that imposed fewer risks was open to them,” but they must be truly ignorant of any harm that would occur as a result of their actions. Socrates also believed, according to Kraut’s interpretation, that a person can take steps to avoid being treated unjustly, because in none of the dialogues does Socrates give a “reason to accept a philosophy of passive submission to injustice” (Kraut 38). Kraut gives the *Crito* a more liberal interpretation than others, mainly by saying that a citizen should examine the content of each law individually to make sure that it is just before he obeys it; no law, according to Kraut’s Socrates, “is to be obeyed blindly and unconditionally” (Kraut 86).

King took the same approach as Socrates and did not rush into any lawbreaking before he collected all the facts to determine whether those specific laws were unjust and needed to be broken (King 231). However, unlike Socrates, King was a pacifist and believed that “nonviolence demands that the means we use be as pure as the ends we seek” (King 243). But even though he was a pacifist, he did believe that some *nonviolent* harm could be committed against certain people when negotiation fails to eradicate the injustice. Since King thought that letting an injustice occur when you can do something about it is worse than committing an injustice to gain justice in the end, he absolutely believed that some harm is at times necessary in order to stop injustice from continuing any longer. He states that “it is wrong to urge an individual to cease his efforts to gain his basic constitutional rights because the quest may precipitate violence” (King 237). This sounds almost like Socrates, but is quite different because according to King, a person can *know* that his action will result in violence not initiated by him and still commit the act; because he knows that this certain act will help rid the community of an injustice. As King was planning a boycott on certain companies, he decided that since “a strong economic-withdrawal program would be the by-product of direct

action, [he] felt that [Easter] would be the best time to bring pressure to bear on the merchants for the needed change” (King 232). This type of action causes financial harm to a group of people, which King believed to be justified, since it would help rid the community of an unjust law. In this case, he did not break a law, but simply organized a mass boycott of certain products. Socrates did not discuss the justification of committing certain actions that cause harm but aren’t actual acts of lawbreaking, so it’s hard to tell what he would say to King in this situation. Socrates did not place much value on money and thought that a person’s need for it can overtake him and cause him to act unjustly, but this doesn’t necessarily mean that he would condone preventing someone from obtaining more money (Plato 130). What can be said is that both Socrates and King approve of using harm in some cases, but not others. Where to specifically draw the line with all of the varying circumstances that could arise is not easy though, since neither Socrates nor King discusses what they believe to be just and unjust harm.

Both Socrates and King do discuss, however, their views on what acts are justified in accepting or rejecting the punishment of the state when a citizen breaks an unjust law. When a citizen who has an agreement with the state disobeys the state for just reasons, Kraut’s Socrates believed that if he fails in his persuasion of the courts that he was justified in breaking the law, then “he may refuse to accept the court’s punishment if and only if that punishment requires the doing of injustice or the leading of an unjust life” (Kraut 86-87). He made the just agreement knowing that the state could at one point be unjust to him, but he never promised to commit an injustice himself since one can never do an injustice. Kraut also notes that “by making oneself available for trial and punishment, one shows that destroying the legal system was not the motive behind one’s act,” and this would be another reason for accepting the judgment of the courts (139). Whether or not one says he made an agreement with the United States to accept unjust convictions, King affirms that “one who breaks an unjust law must do so... with a willingness to accept the penalty” (236). He maintained this stance partly because he desired the effect it would have on the community who would see people willingly spending time in jail for a cause in which they truly believe.

He hoped this would spur more people to actively participate in the Civil Rights Movement so that the unjust laws could be changed sooner. But King also made sure that all of his men who broke a law were willing to “endure the ordeal of jail” because he wanted to show the state, as well as the public, that they loved democracy and respected the court system; what they were fighting against were the unjust laws that the people working in these systems had implemented (King 232). He states that “an individual who breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust, and who willingly accepts the penalty of imprisonment in order to arouse the conscience of the community over its injustice, is in reality expressing the highest respect for law” (236). This coincides with Kraut’s interpretation of Socrates in that by obeying the judgment of the courts, one is showing the public the real motive behind breaking the law. When one examines King’s lawbreaking strategies, one must look at the two different types of laws discussed in King’s letter. He disobeyed many unjust laws, while at the same time obeying the law of accepting the punishment that the court hands out; he had much respect for the court system, but not the unjust laws.

After all this, we now know that both Socrates and King believed that one should never commit an injustice, and that there is a certain degree of responsibility that the individual has to make sure unjust laws are not kept in practice, while all the while making sure

one adheres to the rules of obedience and respect owed to the government, which includes following the orders of the court. Both also agree, albeit for different reasons, that one should be open and not keep secret any lawbreaking that is committed against the state, but they also differ on what constitutes just and unjust harm. One of the many things we are still not sure of, however, is whether or not King would have accepted the punishment of death, as Socrates did in drinking the hemlock. If he followed his political philosophy precisely, which was to accept whatever punishment the courts handed out so as to show that it was not the court system he was attacking but the laws of the state, then it seems that he would have been willing to die from the hands of the government for his cause. It is obvious that he was willing to die for his beliefs, since he continued in his fight for civil rights for African Americans, knowing that his death could be a result, as revealed to him by the numerous death threats to him and his family. But it is still questionable whether he would have approved of letting the government take that into its own hands, when he knew the reason for why they were killing him was definitely unjust.

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Notes

1. An extremely liberal view of Socrates could say that King does not even have a responsibility to *obey* the laws of the state. Socrates says that if there is an agreement, a citizen must either obey the laws or persuade the state as to the nature of justice. But if there is no agreement, as in King's case, since Socrates does not mention anything about situations without agreements, one could say that King is entitled to disobey any law of the state with which he is dissatisfied without explanation.
2. He must truly be right about the unjust nature of the law if any of this is to follow through. This means that the Laws, which represent Socrates' legal philosophy, must be on his side (Kraut 66, 81).
3. Kraut makes a distinction that the text of the *Crito* does not actually make, but one which he believes to be important in discussing Socrates' views. He says that there are two different types of laws present in the *Crito*. The *laws*, with a lowercase "l," are the "statutes that were actually in force at the time of Socrates," and the *Laws*, with the capital "L," represent the "legal philosophy" present throughout, making these two "an artful mixture of the real and the ideal" (Kraut 81).

The Not-So “Invisible Hand:” America’s Role in Haiti’s Endemic Poverty

● ● ● Christina Amato

“We have for once learnt to see the great events of world history from below, from the perspective of the outcast, the suspects, the maltreated, the powerless, the oppressed, the reviled—in short, from the perspective of those who suffer.”

—Dietrich Bonhoeffer

As Otterbein’s “Common Book,” *Mountains Beyond Mountains* has inspired an animated dialogue on the conditions and quality of life in Haiti; Tracy Kidder illuminates the tiny island nation and its incredible poverty, suffering and domestic strife. While Kidder mentioned that actually seeing Haiti was like seeing “the end of the earth,” many who read the book keenly felt his vision simply through the experience of *reading* about Haiti (20). Images of treacherous mud-swelled roads, emaciated children dying of largely eradicated diseases, and decaying rubbish and trash heaps left their indelible imprints on readers, too.

What is sprinkled less obtrusively through the book, though, are references to the accountability of Americans for the tragic state of suffering in Haiti. Kidder subtly recounts events like the construction of a dam, influenced by American agri-businesses, which wreaked so much misery and destruction among the families living in the villages of Haiti.¹ He discusses the awkwardly hatched plan to substitute Iowa farm pigs for Creole pigs, an ill-fated venture devised by the American pork industry. There are multiple references to the intermittent Marine occupations of Haiti throughout their unstable history. These seem hardly damning in isolation, but the shadowy presence of America, both industrial and governmental, in Haiti inevitably leads to the question: how involved *has* the United States been in Haiti’s affairs? Why should Americans care?

The answer is in the details, the historical facts, to be precise. Today, Haiti barely registers on the radar of the American national conscience except for the occasional news morsel showcasing “humanitarian” efforts to restore stability to a backward, uncivilized nation. The truth is that America’s history is very much intertwined with Haiti’s, with the United States playing a much more significant role in all of Haiti’s affairs than the sporadic news coverage might suggest. In fact, the United States, through aggressive business venturing and incessant government intrusion, stands to blame for a good deal of Haiti’s suffering. While the nature of American interest has evolved through our two-centuries old relationship with the first black republic, a freed *slave* republic no less, one truth always resonates: America remains firmly entrenched in Haiti’s sovereign affairs, shaping and impacting all sectors of Haitian life. To understand this complex, entangled history and how we, as Americans, must acknowledge and respond with this knowledge, we must first venture to Haiti’s nascent beginnings and subsequent decline.

Hopeful Origins: Haiti's Slave Revolution

Ayiti, as Haiti was known when Columbus first reached its shores in 1492, seemed fated for misfortune from its earliest brushes with the Western world. Within thirty years of Columbus's "discovery" of the island, the native Arawak Indians were virtually extinct from "imported infectious disease, slavery, and outright murder" (Farmer 60). The burgeoning African slave trade provided a ready substitute for the thousands, if not millions, of indigenous Indians that had died by 1540, leaving the Spanish bereft of their free labor to cultivate soil, mine gold and build settlements.² The French began to settle the island around this time, interested in the prospect of slave labor for agricultural settlements. A French-Spanish treaty ceding the island to the French in 1697, and the import of 30,000 African slaves, packed "spoon-fashion" into squalid slave ships would be the humble beginning of Saint Domingue (Logan 2). This notoriously brutal slave colony would eventually generate massive profits for France and build the "all-important European port-cities" with the vitality and lives of thousand of African slaves (Farmer 62). According to Paul Farmer, by "the eve of the American Revolution, Saint-Domingue... generated more revenue than all thirteen North American colonies combined" (63).

The tempestuous revolutionary atmosphere of the late eighteenth century stretched to all corners of the world, with the American and French Revolutions disseminating new worldviews about "values, sensibilities and ideology" (Matthewson 7). These new attitudes extended to slave societies which had resulted in "the image of [slave societies as] social and cultural wastelands blighted by an obsessive pursuit of private profit" (Davis qtd. in Matthewson 7). This didn't prevent plantation owners and slave holders from desperate attempts to hold on to their exceedingly profitable venture. Abolition movements stormed the United States as well as Britain, with "their liberty and autonomy serv[ing] as dangerous doctrines in Saint Domingue and the other Caribbean islands" (Matthewson 8). When the French became embroiled in troubles of their own during the French Revolution, they were ultimately distracted from their most profitable slave colony. Seizing the opportunity, the slave insurrection of Saint Domingue in 1791 "placed as many as 100,000 Africans in confrontation with about 40,000 whites" (Matthewson 19).

The slave rebellion of 1791 would ultimately invite Haiti's fledgling democratic neighbor, the United States, directly into the middle of the conflict. While the United States was knee-deep in its own ambivalence about slavery, French colonial agents pressured the southern U.S. states for help, preying on fears of "similar commotions" in the U.S. and elsewhere (Matthewson 22). Abolitionists of the north sympathized with the slaves, claiming "it would be inconsistent on the part of a free nation to take measures against a people who had availed themselves of the only means they have to throw off the yoke of atrocious slavery" (qtd. in Matthewson 23). Yet, the ultimate U.S. stance on the slave rebellion came from America's own president, George Washington, who eventually authorized the sale of arms to France to quell, in his own words, "the alarming insurrection of Negroes" (qtd. in Matthewson 25). Washington also authorized "\$750,000 in military aid, as well as troops, to defend the white colonists" (Farmer 68). France continued to heavily pressure Washington for signs of good faith, due to fears that the United States would exploit the rebellion for trade purposes (with the United States in turn claiming *they* feared Britain would do the same).³ In short, Haiti's status as a pawn to be parceled up between the major industrial powers of the world had begun. This first of squabbles over Haiti's fate would establish a precedent that carries into present day: the bid for control of all Haiti's resources, both material and human.

Victory for the slaves of Saint Domingue seemed imminent as French coffers and military resources were drained in post-Revolution France, and in fact, after Napoleon's troops were pulverized (by both the slave forces and yellow fever) in late 1803, the slaves of Saint Domingue declared independence. Haiti became the second independent nation of the Western hemisphere, next to the United States.

Post-Liberation Haiti: The Scramble for Power

According to Tim Matthewson, the idea of an independent nation of liberated slaves "had profound repercussions throughout the Americas, encouraging belief that the world had been turned upside down and the slaves had become masters and masters slaves" (113). No wonder, then, that the U.S. scrambled to impose an embargo on the new nation of Haiti, sending a "symbolic gesture" that the black republic would not serve as inspiration for slaves in the United States (Matthewson 119). Haiti found its efforts to establish legitimacy thwarted at every turn by its jittery northern neighbor, who aided in a "diplomatic quarantine" to deny Haiti's autonomy (Farmer 75). The United States, enmeshed in its own slavery controversy, refused to recognize Haiti as a nation, going so far as to block their presence at the Western Hemisphere Panama Conference of 1852, almost fifty years after independence.⁴ R.W. Logan aptly observes that "Haiti remained a constant reminder that slaves *might* revolt" in the U.S. (210). Racism was at the heart of America's rejection of Haiti, as evidenced by the remarks of a Missouri senator during the debate about the Panama Conference:

the peace of eleven states in this Union will not permit black Consuls and Ambassadors to establish themselves in our cities, and to parade through the country, and give their fellow blacks in the United States, proof in hand of the honors which await them, for a successful revolt on their part. (Benton qtd. in Logan 226)

Ironically, while the U.S. didn't recognize Haitian sovereignty until 1862, American merchants grew exceedingly wealthy from exporting their products to Haiti. According to Farmer, by 1821 "45 percent of imports to Haiti came from the United States" (78). This did not by any means indicate reciprocity; indeed, Haiti was forced into an economy in which they were entirely dependent upon foreign goods, but due to the embargo, were unable to export anything and make a profit. Apparently, while most Americans found repugnant the idea of an emancipated black nation, nobody raised any moral qualms about profiting from that country through the farcical embargo. Such inconsistencies would characterize the relationship between Haiti and the United States well into modern times.

By the turn of the twentieth century, military intervention in Haiti had become a staple of a U.S. foreign policy no longer *overtly* driven by racism. Future relations with Haiti would be much more publicly polished to diminish the appearance of racism, with the same damaging result for Haiti: total domination and control by foreign powers. With the close of the Civil War, and a long and shameful chapter in America's history of slavery, the United States embraced the emerging imperial worldview (essentially, racism with a nationalist twist). In the scramble between the emerging imperialist powers of Europe and North America, the United States intended to dominate Haiti, whether by market share or military intervention. Farmer observes that "it was clear even to charitable observers that the destiny

of the Haitian people was under the jurisdiction of foreign powers” (85). The countries of France, Britain, Germany and the United States saddled the vulnerable, struggling Haitian government with crushing debt, amounting to “80 percent of national revenue” for “protecting” Haiti’s citizens (Farmer 88). According to Farmer, U.S. military historians claim:

The United States Navy had been compelled to send warships into Haitian waters to protect the lives and property of American citizens in 1849, 1851, 1857, 1858, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1876, 1888, 1891, 1892, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1911, 1912, 1913, and during 1914, 1915 had maintained ships there almost without interruption. (89)

There seems hardly any doubt as to just how much control Haiti had over its own affairs well into the early twentieth century. Haiti was a sovereign nation, and yet the United States perpetually interfered in their domestic affairs, all while maintaining the pretext of a “diplomatic quarantine” to the rest of the world.

It could hardly come as a shock, then, that in 1915 the United States began an armed occupation of Haiti that would last nineteen years. Although U.S. intervention was justified under the guise of “instability,” Farmer accurately points out that Haiti’s instability was in reality the result of the “penetration of foreign capital, coupled with almost continuous invasion by U.S. warships” (90). In essence, the United States, along with its European partners in the throes of imperialist zeal, had shaped the very conditions in Haiti they later used as an excuse for invasion. Haiti’s 1918 constitution granted the United States full control of Haiti’s financial affairs, with a provision that “Haiti could not undertake any foreign debt” without United States permission⁵ (Farmer 93). When Haitians protested, the U.S. Marine occupiers responded by dissolution of the Haitian parliament and a requisite public vote, in which participants were handed a ballot marked “*OUI*,” signifying approval of the Constitution (Farmer 93). As James Gaffney points out, “that an alternative slip, marked *Non*, could be obtained by special request was not greatly emphasized” (2).

One of the most significant amendments to this new constitution was the abolition of Haiti’s laws prohibiting foreign ownership of land, as this would fuel Haiti’s economic and humanitarian crises even into modern times. This more “accommodating” constitution opened the floodgates for U.S. corporations, eager for cheap land and more importantly, cheap labor (Gaffney 2). North American companies scrambled to lease over 266,000 acres of Haitian land for “plantations of rubber, bananas, sugar, sisal, mahogany and other tropical produce” (Farmer 94). An article from the November 28, 1926 edition of *Financial America* reveals much about the blasé American attitude toward Haitian exploitation: “Haiti offers a marvelous opportunity for American investment...the run-of-the-mill Haitian is handy, easily directed, and gives a hard day’s labor for 20 cents, while in Panama the same day’s work cost \$3” (qtd. in Farmer 95). It was apparent that Americans still had little regard for the only freed slave nation in the world.

Post-Imperialist Era: The Reign of Corporate America

The Marine occupation of Haiti from 1915-1934 perhaps seems like the last holdover from an era marked by “Big Stick” and “Dollar Diplomacy” tactics. In any event, the United States would never again make such obvious, public interventions in Haiti’s sovereign affairs. Heintz and Heintz, the U.S. Marine Corps historians, claimed the occupation a success, saying

“in 1934, the country was modernized, solvent and thriving,” although they didn’t include Haiti’s \$40,000,000 debt to the United States in their solvency calculation, or the fact that the national treasury and national bank were owned by United States corporations (Farmer 101-102). Essentially, the actions of the United States and the imperialist powers of Europe for the first 150 years of Haitian independence left the country in shambles, crippled by debt—with no ability to sustain their economy, and no autonomy to sort through their finances. The seeds for an unparalleled humanitarian crisis had been sown.

The reign of the Duvalier family took the country on the verge of catastrophe in the post-American occupation years, and sent it careening over the edge. Francois Duvalier was “elected” in 1957, by an “army-organized” campaign, which was characterized by irregularities, such as 7,500 votes for Duvalier from the tiny region of La Tortue, which had only 900 voters⁶ (Farmer 107). As Gilbert Loescher and John Scanlan observe, “every effort (including disqualifying candidates and strict censoring of the media prior to the election) was made to ensure his victory” (315).

The horrifyingly corrupt thirty year reign of “Papa Doc” and subsequently his son “Baby Doc” destroyed any shred of hope Haiti may have had for improvement. It seemed impossible that things could get worse in Haiti, but by the 1980s, in the decline of the father-son Duvalier reign, Haiti’s poverty and oppression reached endemic proportions. The army was regularly used for the intimidation and torture of Haitian citizens, and though no exact numbers are known, it is believed that Duvalier senior killed “tens of thousands” of Haitians (Farmer 108). Nonconformists were “denied the right to organize, [and] union activity and political expression [were] closely monitored; prison, torture and exile [were] used to suppress dissent” (Loescher and Scanlan 314). Francois Duvalier implemented “the first widespread use of ‘disappearances’ in the western Hemisphere, [in which] Duvalier’s paramilitary forces wielded wide discretionary power to arrest, imprison, torture or put to death any Haitian citizen without even an order in writing” (Loescher and Scanlon 317-18).

By the 1980s, already paltry Haitian wages declined by 56%, relegating Haiti to the title the “Taiwan of the Caribbean” (Chomsky 20). Even Haiti’s soil was exhausted, by “deforestation and concomitant erosion,” with thousands of acres spoiled by alkalinity (Farmer 120). Haitian soil “could only produce .90 units of rice per hectare whereas the Dominican Republic produced 2.67...the U.S. 5.04” with corn units in Haiti produced at .67 units compared with “the Dominican Republic’s 2.10, Canada’s 5.38, the U.S.’s 6.35” (Abbot qtd in Farmer 120). It seems almost unfathomable that Haitians were unable to produce even meager crops to support their starving country, while their shamefully inadequate wages supported some of the wealthiest countries in the world.

With no visible U.S. government presence during the Duvalier reign of terror, it may be tempting to assume the United States had recovered from its racist, imperialist fervor of centuries past. The truth is that behind the appalling suffering of the Haitian peasantry stood U.S. policies, both advertent and inadvertent, that contributed to and instigated Haiti’s troubles. Behind the tremendous decline in wages stood U.S. tax dollars bankrolling assembly plants in Haiti for U.S. manufacturers, “who were able to benefit from such advantages as enormous unemployment...no unions, ample terror, [and] workers at wages of fourteen cents an hour” (Chomsky 20). Behind “Papa Doc” Duvalier stood President Kennedy, offering aid in exchange for “the Haitian vote to expel Cuba from the OAS” (Chomsky 19). Most appalling, Papa Doc received over \$40 million in U.S. aid in his first four years in power, during the height of his

tyranny (Farmer 108). According to Loescher and Scanlan, between 1946 and 1972, the U.S. sent a staggering \$120 million in aid to the Duvalier government (321). When Baby Doc seized power in 1971, the transition was seamless, thanks in part to a very public visit by the vice-president of the United States. Robert Lawless claims Baby Doc's cost for this visit was

support [of] a new economic program guided by the United States, a program featuring private investments from the United States that would be drawn to Haiti by such incentives as no customs taxes, a minimum wage kept very low, the suppression of labor unions, and the right of American corporations to repatriate their profits. (Lawless qtd. in Farmer 114)

The U.S. no longer appeared to be *physically* present in Haiti's affairs, but they were very much financially entangled in Papa and Baby Doc's business of murder, oppression and tyranny. Aid money continued to channel into Baby Doc's government, even as the U.S. State Department noted in 1979 that "corruption is traditional at all levels of society, and significant amounts of domestic revenues usable for development continue to be diverted to personal enrichment" (qtd. in Loescher and Scanlon 317). When Haitian oppression reached endemic proportions in the mid-1980s, the international community began to take notice and raise protest, pressuring the U.S. to respond. Baby Doc ultimately fled Haiti in 1986, compliments of a U.S.-chartered plane (Farmer 124).

From Tyranny to Populism...And Back Again

The democratic election of Jean-Bertrand Aristide in 1991, while shocking to the international community, ushered in an era (albeit short) of hopeful anticipation in the eyes of the poorest Haitians. Aristide proposed a Haiti in which every person could "sit at the table" of prosperity, and even commenced his presidency with a breakfast for the hungry at the presidential palace.⁷ Aristide also "declined his \$10,000 monthly salary, terming it 'scandalous in a country where most people go to bed hungry'" (Farmer 165).

While Aristide must have appeared as a savior to the broken and oppressed segments of Haitian society, his populist philosophies gave Haitian elites and foreign investors cause for apprehension. The kind of redistribution of wealth Aristide seemed to be advocating threatened the "establishment," both domestic and international, who had profited from Haiti's oppression for almost two centuries. According to Jane Regan, during Aristide's first seven months of office, "the Haitian economy was beginning to turn around. Literacy programs were starting up. The radio was alive with news, denunciations [and] popular opinion" ("Haiti on the Brink" par. 7). For the first time in Haiti's history, it looked as though forward progress might be on the horizon, but not the kind of progress foreigners and wealthy Haitians desired.

What Aristide could have accomplished as Haiti's president will never be known now. On September 30, 1991 Aristide's government was overthrown in a coup by a three-man military junta, led by one General Raoul Cedras. Angry Haitians filled the streets in the hours after the coup, only to find soldiers of the new military regime waiting with loaded rifles. Any attempts at gathering by the citizens resulted in indiscriminate firing. In the months following the coup, Cedras and the army would effectively eliminate pro-Aristide sentiment in the country by torturing, killing or driving out anyone associated with Aristide or his political tendencies: peasants' groups, student groups and the press were among the early victims. According

to Farmer, “over 100,000 Haitians were believed to have crossed the Dominican border...tens of thousands left the country by sea” (190).

Indeed, in the fifteen years since Aristide’s original coup Haiti has strayed into a state of poverty and corruption the international community thought impossible. Life expectancy and wages are at an all-time low, worse even than the years of the Duvalier reign.⁸ It took a full three years after the 1991 coup to reinstate Aristide as Haiti’s president again, and this occurred only with the help of 20,000 U.S. troops.⁹ Aristide was elected again in 2000, only to be forcibly removed from office by yet another coup shortly after.

While the most visible role the U.S. has played in Haiti’s recent woes is deployment of U.S. troops in 1994, there is, predictably, more to the story. U.S. involvement in Aristide’s 1991 coup has now been revealed in the financial paper trail: according to both Regan and Farmer, ample evidence has surfaced that coup leaders were “CIA assets,” or recipients of federal money from the United States (Regan, “In Bondage” 4). According to Regan,

In 1991, AID allotted \$26 million to elite business groups that worked openly against Aristide’s economic reforms. The CIA set up and funded a secret-police unit, the Service d’Intelligence National, which oversaw brutal repression from 1986 until at least 1991. For years, the CIA has had many high-ranking Haitian army officers, including the coup leader, Lieutenant General Raoul Cedras, on its pay-roll. (“Haiti on the Brink” par. 14)

There seemed to be little doubt that the U.S. took a more active role in Aristide’s opposition than it publicly acknowledged. Additionally, the “awkward silence” of President George Bush senior in the months surrounding the coup gave a sort of silent “green light” to the rebel regime to repress any opposition (Farmer 190; Regan, “Haiti on the Brink,” par. 11). After all, when Haiti’s biggest and most influential neighbor fails to weigh in on an illegal government, silence can be construed as a passive approval of sorts. If the rebel regime had any doubts about the U.S. stance, another leaky embargo reminiscent of the nineteenth century removed all doubt. While publicly denouncing the illegal regime in Haiti with an embargo, American president George Bush proceeded to exempt “some 800 of its firms and *increased its trade with Haiti by about 50 per cent*” (emphasis added, “The Truth About Haiti” 1). The result was that essentials became unbearably expensive for the poorest of Haitians, while American corporate profits soared.

The situation in Haiti today, it seems clichéd to say, has surpassed almost anyone’s worst projections. Regan outlines a picture of a desperate country: there is perpetual gunfire that forces Haitians to cower in their homes, and there are fires and decapitations in broad daylight (“In Bondage” 4). According to *The New Statesman*,

Life expectancy for men is 48; one child in ten dies before its fifth birthday; 85 per cent of the people live on less than a dollar a day; unemployment is at 70 per cent. Nearly all the raw materials are controlled by US corporations, and companies such as Disney use it as a source of cheap manufacturing. (“The Truth About Haiti” 1)

According to Regan, statistics like these wholly qualify Haiti as a “failed state” (“In Bondage,” 5). Human rights-advocate Jean-Claude Bajeux notes, “What is going on is literally insane... It is what we call in philosophy a ‘death march.’ If we can’t stop this, we are looking at the destruction of the Haitian nation” (qtd. in Regan, “In Bondage” 5). In short, Haiti seems closer to total collapse than it ever has been in its precarious history of independence, with the world largely unaware and unconcerned.

Meanwhile, the interim government has the enjoyed backing and favor of “the private sector [Haitian elite], as well as the United States, France and Canada” while the popularly elected Aristide waits for word in South Africa on his possible return (Regan, “In Bondage” 4). U.S. aid dollars continue to pour into Haiti’s borders by the millions, as long as Haiti remains open to “foreign imports and investment,” or in other words, the accepted exploitation of American business (“The Truth About Haiti” 1). American trade and profit is booming, amid the backdrop of murder, oppression and misery.

Why It Matters

It may be tempting to watch the evening news and ponder why exactly Americans should care about the tiny island nation of Haiti. It may be even more tempting to take the news reports at face value, where they “treat [Haiti’s] problems as a series of random events, with voodoo somewhere in the background and the US cavalry riding to the rescue” (“The Truth About Haiti” 1). While Americans may be aware of some of the ambiguities of our government’s involvement in Haiti, it is simply easier to shuffle off feelings of obligation or accountability because they could lead to a sense of guilt—which isn’t a popular emotion in the American repertoire. Indeed, as Noam Chomsky points out, Americans pride themselves on certain “plain truths,” which include the idea of the U.S. as a beacon of freedom and values (Chomsky 20). America has come to identify itself as *the* face of democracy, the promulgator of liberty and democratic ideals. The invasion of the sovereign nation of Iraq, after all, was bolstered on precisely such ideals. Presidential speeches and news conferences daily reinforce the notion that America has an obligation to bring democracy and freedom to those who are unable to help themselves. So what happened to Haiti?

American identity (both perceived and actual) is precisely the reason that Haiti matters so much. When we confront the “uncomfortable” truths, as Chomsky deems them, we find that American motives may need to be examined a little more closely, which means a greater level of introspection into our own lives and motives, and those of our government (13). The ramifications of such introspection ripple into all sectors of American life, and cast shadows over American financial and military presence in various areas of the world. If we aren’t the humanitarian savior of countries like Haiti (and by extension, Iraq), what are we? The factual record tells us that there is something much more sinister, but predictable, behind our continual interference in countries like Haiti. The historical record paints a constellation of racism, greed and an all-consuming bid for power in countries that are incapable of defending themselves. How else can the ventures of the Disney Corporation (an American icon of family values) be explained, in a country where the minimum wage is *less than a dollar a day*? How do we justify American policies that result in the starving of the world’s poorest populations of medicines and basic necessities, while the country of Haiti continues to be the playground of some of the richest international corporations? How do we explain that America stands for freedom and democracy when we give millions of dollars in aid to tyrann-

nical despots bent on repressing those very values? The sum of these facts is that America stands not for humanity in tiny, invisible countries like Haiti, but for exploitation and greed.

The point of acknowledging America's true motives and responsibility in Haiti's suffering is not simply to be ashamed, but to let that shame be a catalyst for action. When we recognize that our lavish and comfortable lifestyle is *still* supported with the lives and vitality of humans reduced to near slavery, it is impossible to turn away. It would be reprehensible to acknowledge such suffering, and our place in that suffering, and do nothing. As James Gaffney observes, the "human voices wake us," calling us to action (3).

Tracy Kidder reveals in Paul Farmer what the empathy and work of one human being can accomplish in righting a centuries-old wrong. While it may be impossible to aspire to such lofty and self-sacrificial heights of public service, we can still make an impact as individuals, and collectively as Americans. We can begin with vigilance in our government's affairs, and take that knowledge to the voting booth. We can caution ourselves against blindly following publicized agendas involving humanitarianism and the "spread of democracy" by simply asking: what are the real motives? What do the historical facts reveal? We can pressure our elected officials to stop the flow of U.S. tax dollars to undemocratically installed governments. We can educate ourselves on U.S. corporations that exploit Haiti's deplorable working conditions, destabilized economy and tax loopholes (American Airlines, Citibank, Disney, and Texaco are a few¹⁰) and make our views known, through letter-writing or boycott. We can contribute through volunteering or financial donation to organizations like Partners-in-Health, who bring health care to the poorest population segments in Haiti, sick and dying from malnutrition, tuberculosis, AIDS, and even measles. The options for involvement are many, and while the impact may seem small, it does matter. It means we have internalized Tracy Kidder's Haiti, and acknowledged the inextricable threads that bind us to the suffering of fellow humans. The point is: do *something*.

Notes

1. For Kidder's discussion of the dam construction and pig swapping, see pp. 36-39 of *Mountains Beyond Mountains*.
2. R.W. Logan notes that the Indian population has been estimated at over a million at the turn of the sixteenth century, with the entire population wiped out by 1540.
3. See Matthewson's discussion of French fears about American trade motives and American response, pp. 24-28.
4. For Farmer's discussion of America's intolerance toward the Haitian nation, see *The Uses of Haiti*, p. 75.
5. Farmer also points out that Franklin Roosevelt claimed to have actually written Haiti's constitution while serving as Secretary of the Navy.
6. See Farmer's explanation of Duvalier's sham election, pp. 106-107.
7. For a fascinating discussion of Aristide's activities in his first days in office, see Farmer, pp. 164-65.
8. See "The Truth About Haiti" for staggering statistics on the quality of life for the poorest Haitians.
9. See both Regan, "Is Haiti in Bondage to History," and Farmer for their enlightening discussions on eventual U.S. intervention after Aristide's deposition.

10. See the U.S. state department's website, <http://www.state.gov/e/eb/ifd/2005/42043.htm> for more information

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Philosophizing Disgrace: Anatomy & Analysis of Dylan's *Hard Rain*

● ● ● Adam Cottrel

[Dylan] has consistently improved whatever he stole, and his lies have been more revealing than the truth. Dylan came to the public as a vortex of selfishness with a carefully hidden self. He freed the characters of archaic America—Sweet Marie, the Jack of Hearts, Mrs. Henry, Napoleon in rags—into the screech of rock and roll, deepening both in the process.

—John Leland

The poetic quality of Bob Dylan's lyrics has been described as everything from "the perfect role model to present aspiring artists" (Paglia 262)¹ to "silly without the music" (Christgau 63).² While they may very well stand as the former, they most assuredly cannot be construed as the latter, if only because the proposition has never actually been tested. Up to now, Dylan enthusiasts and detractors alike have tended to elaborate—and recently with great detail—on the question "How do his lyrics rank amongst the great poetry of the past?" and have assumed they are either the best of his generation or simply irrelevant. To the extent that anyone has seriously bothered to tackle the question in recent years, the answer usually resembles the one put forward by Christopher Ricks, who declares quite confidently, "Dylan has always had a way with words. He does not simply have his way with them, since a true comprehender of words is no more their master than he or she is their servant" (11). To this one might well ask: but how does one decipher quality in poetry, and how must we read and eventually come to an understanding of his lyrics? It is my contention that there is a knowable, unequivocal, and essentially irrefutable answer to the question, and that this answer is found when one is inclined to juxtapose his lyrics with those of Northrop Frye's *Anatomy of Criticism*.

To begin it is surely acceptable to believe that literature can be studied, criticized, and placed into a ranking order of quality. The difference with Frye and the critics who preceded him are that while the past has been infatuated with the *fashionable*, Frye tries to clear a path in critical response to the *experience*. He regards this process as one that must separate the primary source, from its critical commentary. Frye states, "Art, like nature, has to be distinguished from the systematic study of it, which is criticism. It is therefore impossible to 'learn literature': one learns about it in a certain way, but what one learns, transitively, is the criticism of literature" (11). This leaves the critical response—or secondary literature—to be "studied" and the poem—or primary source—to be experienced. Frye admits, "literature is not itself an organized structure of knowledge, the critic has to turn to the conceptual framework of the historian for events, and to the philosopher for ideas" (12). This does not diminish literature vis-a-vis its peers though; it merely leaves it open to be experienced in a way solely unique to other varied disciplines. In doing so, Frye has built a literary map of critical interpretation. His efforts spawned the second essay of four contained within *Anatomy* that speaks directly to this investigation. Frye's concern lies in the fact that literature is without set of technical vocabulary. Which poses two problems: 1) there is no word for a work of literary art that supersedes a trivial preference in definitions, and 2) the use of word "symbol," which Frye uses as meaning "any literary structure that can be isolated for critical attention" (71).

Frye proceeds when he distinguishes critical analysis and art by saying “value-judgments are founded on the study of literature; the study of literature can never be founded on value-judgments” (20). What is determined here is the separation between the excellent poem and the less excellent poem as a futile search of a non-existent system. To ensure the critical study of literature, the reader must come to the conclusion “that just as there is an order of nature behind the natural sciences, so literature is not a piled aggregate of ‘works,’ but an order of words” (Frye 17). The criticism of literature, then, is one that must be multi-tiered and what Frye proposes amounts to a complex, systematic approach that places literature in one of five distinguishing groups. Frye’s five distinguishing sections are divided as the Literal, Descriptive, Formal, Archetypal, and Anagogic phases.

As my study of Dylan proceeds, so too will Frye’s system be unveiled as one that literature must correlate between inductive experience and deductive principles (Frye 22). It is necessary to consider then that literary criticism is not a rudimentary progression of meanings, but rather a progression of contexts or relationships in which the summative end of the work can be placed, categorized, and understood. This final destination sets critical assessment apart from the mere application of a social attitude and places literature’s study as a methodical, almost scientific innovation.³

On the contrary the most impeditive quality of Dylan’s lyrics has been their strong connection to social attitude. Dylan was hailed as the “voice of his generation” early in his career playing largely acoustic numbers with lyrics that appeared to be topical on the situations of the time. But in 1965 Bob Dylan left his kingdom of folk groupies for an electric guitar and backing band. This changed everything concerning Dylan and his fandom; and the old guard of folk musicians that saw all their dreams come true two years before - the proliferation of a politically active youth - now saw it fade away in a crown of self-indulgence. “As far as they were concerned, [Dylan’s manager] was the money changer at the gates of the temple” (Goodman 42).⁴ In turn many of his lyrics that were previously hailed, were immediately cast aside as “empty” or “nonsensical.” And subsequent lyrics to songs were met with an equal vigor of spite regardless of their poetic quality. Thus, in choosing a precedent source one must bear in mind that the systematic and individualized response outlined by Frye is essential in not being caught up in the debate of social attitude.

One of Dylan’s most endearing songs—and subsequently praised set of lyrics—is “A Hard Rain’s A-Gonna Fall” (from henceforth I will refer to this song in abbreviated form as “Hard Rain”). This song is one of Dylan’s most particularly challenging, but I think equally rewarding set of lyrics. One reason—which is supported by Ricks—is that it refuses to be a poem studied under allegorical contexts. The lyrics conjure time, setting, and the individual but its reader (or listener) is never quite sure on what grounds. The song begins with the opening stanza:

Oh, where have you been, my blue-eyed son?
And where have you been, my darling young one?
I’ve stumbled on the side of twelve misty mountains,
I’ve walked and I’ve crawled on six crooked highways,
I’ve stepped in the middle of seven sad forests,
I’ve been out in front of a dozen dead oceans,
I’ve been ten thousand miles in the mouth of a graveyard,

And it's a hard, and it's a hard, it's a hard, and it's a hard,
And it's a hard rain's a-gonna fall.

If someone were to ask, “What does it mean to have *been ten thousand miles in the mouth of a graveyard*?” one might easily reply—with what Frye calls the “literal” sense—that it means what it says. It has been noted that T.S. Eliot was once asked what a line of “Ashe-Wednesday” meant, “Lady, three white leopards sat under a juniper-tree” (Ricks 329). Eliot answered: “Lady, three white leopards sat under a juniper-tree”.⁵ This could be seen now as the “literal” response in the tradition of Frye. Frye though is careful to note that when we read our attention moves in two opposite, yet intrinsic directions. One direction is what Frye calls the centrifugal, or outside the individual words on the page to the things our memory associates with them. The second simultaneous response is centripetal, or inward, in which we try to distinguish the words in the larger verbal pattern they accumulate in (Frye 73). This explains to some extent why there has been so much misinterpretation of Dylan’s lyrics. The answer lies within the artist writing for one purpose—the centripetal—and the reader interpreting with another—the centrifugal. As the reader reads these lines, he inherently consumes them and reaches an understanding that is largely external. This external reading usually devolves into a guessing game of allegorical devices that have never been accepted by Dylan. Dylan, like Eliot, is not writing for anyone let alone an image easily conjured in this centrifugal reading. The artist is often misunderstood and Dylan is no exception. Frye states this idea simply in saying, “in all literary verbal structures the final direction of meaning is inward” (74).

Hence, the “literal meaning as simple descriptive meaning will not do at all for literary criticism” (Frye 76). This first step in understanding a poem is not sufficient on its own. While reading a poem literally is a necessity of natural inquiry, it cannot satisfy our search for why such lines—as noted above—are of a quality of writing that few have surpassed. The words of “Hard Rain” don’t apply clearly and simply to people, places, and time of when they were written. Those allegories won’t suffice and Dylan won’t let them be pigeonholed so easily. Dylan was concerned instead with a timeless quality, one that defies external definition. Dylan responded best when he said, “I always admired true artists who were dedicated so I learned from them. Popular culture usually comes to an end very quickly. It gets thrown into the grave. I wanted to do something that stood alongside Rembrandt’s paintings” (Hilburn 72).

From the literal we fall into the descriptive on the basis of Frye’s system. The descriptive purpose is to paraphrase a poem into a collective summation. Frye makes the point directly that “literature in its descriptive context is a body of hypothetical verbal structures. The latter stand between the verbal structures that describe or arrange actual ideas or represent physical objects, like the verbal structures of philosophy and science” (79). By this he means, I take it, that descriptive writing found in poetry and the didactic writing in poetry are necessarily distinct forms. Frye makes a point to say that our vocabulary is limited concerning the study of poetry and thus certain words like “plot” or “story” are necessary evils when trying to make summative points in the descriptive stage (79). So the plot then of the poem is the finite paraphrase. The “paraphrases abstract a secondary or outward meaning. Understanding a poem literally means understanding the whole of it, as a poem, and as it stands” (Frye 77). But one must not take these words to mean that the literal is therefore the descriptive, and finally the meaning. One would be hard pressed to say that the line “I saw ten thousand talk-

ers whose tongues were all broken” is literally about ten thousand people with broken tongues and thus deduce from here that broken tongues is a necessary part in reaching a point of clarity in “Hard Rain.” As Frye says, “a poem is literally a poem” but suggests that is where the literal meaning ends (78). For if a poem is “a flow of sounds approximating music on one side, and an integrated pattern of imagery approximating the pictorial on the other” then the unity of the poem as the literal descriptive is the mood of a poem, or its movement of words, not the meaning of the words in themselves (Frye 78).

Dylan echoes this sentiment very clearly when he recalls, “I had read a lot poetry by the time I wrote a lot of those early songs. I was into the hard-core poets. I read them the way some people read Stephen King. Poe’s stuff knocked me out in more ways than I could name. Byron and Keats and all those guys. John Donne” (Hilburn 74). And more revealing yet, “Byron’s stuff goes on and on and on and you don’t know half the things he’s talking about or half the people he’s addressing. But you could appreciate the language” (Hilburn 74).

Returning to the line “I saw ten thousand talkers whose tongues were all broken,” one can relate the meaning to the rhythm of delivery and the effect it carries as we listen, or experience it. Frye even makes the point explicit (and echoes Dylan’s thoughts on poetry as language) when he claims a poet’s intention “is directed towards putting words together not towards aligning words with meaning” (86). No other line in *Anatomy of Criticism* is more accurate concerning Dylan. Placing a literal meaning to lines in order to find a descriptive meaning has been the bane of Dylan’s career as a writer. In one such case Dylan found himself in this exchange when he was told:

Your songs are supposed to have a subtle message
 Subtle message?
Well, they’re supposed to.
 Where did you hear that?
In a movie magazine
 Oh my God! Well, we don’t discuss those things here⁶

This type of exchange was not uncommon for the young Dylan. Time has proven that such misinterpretation can be partly the result of an overly exuberant media, and partly due to Dylan’s youthful petulance.

Which is largely why the mystery of “Hard Rain” must then be given its first serious analysis in what Frye calls the “formal” phase. The formal phase implies “form” and as such a combination of what Frye has called the literal meaning, or unity of structure. On the subsequent side it implies such terms as content and matter, which expresses those qualities it shares with external nature (Frye 82). This dichotomy of components can be recombined—the literal with the expression of external nature—into a single poetic component—aesthetic. The aesthetic, or what may qualify as the beauty, of “Hard Rain” is this combination that Frye calls on. While that component can leave its listener with satisfaction, it cannot answer our more probing question of coming to an understanding of the song. Frye states quite forwardly that the “subtleties are really there, and as the audience can hear everything that is being played, it gets them all as part of a linear experience, the awareness is less conscious, but not less real” (86). I take this as meaning our subconscious is invaded and creates an experience that we cannot always perceive consciously and on the verbal level. Listening to “Hard

Rain,” one may be very much inclined to say that yes, they enjoyed the song but altogether incapable of explaining why. This is most essentially Frye’s formal phase.

In using the formal phase though—if used to interpret correctly—one must recognize that all commentary is allegorical interpretation. In that one is in constant need to place ideas to the poems imagery. Frye states quite bluntly, “The instant that any critic permits himself to make a genuine comment about a poem he has begun to allegorize” (89). One stanza from “Hard Rain” that may help illuminate just this idea reads:

And what did you hear, my blue-eyed son?
And what did you hear, my darling young one?
I heard the sound of a thunder, it roared out a warnin’,
Heard the roar of a wave that could drown the whole world,
Heard one hundred drummers whose hands were a-blazin’,
Heard ten thousand whisperin’ and nobody listenin’,
Heard one person starve, I heard many people laughin’,
Heard the song of a poet who died in the gutter,
Heard the sound of a clown who cried in the alley,
And it’s a hard, and it’s a hard, it’s a hard, it’s a hard,
And it’s a hard rain’s a-gonna fall.

Looking over some of these lines, we can start to find a path of direction that leads to understanding of why the centrifugal has been dominant and the centripetal largely ignored. For instance, the line “Heard ten thousand whisperin’ and nobody listenin’” is a line that has been largely read as the populace’s lack of initiative in working towards an answer for social injustice. Surely this is a logical inference but Frye reminds us—and Dylan would surely second—that while this reading has merit it is secondary to the artist’s centripetal focus (Frye 74). Again we read the next line “Heard one person starve, I heard many people laughin’” as a rallying cry against the disparity between the rich and poor of the world. The poor being ignored and the rich indulging in unnecessary pleasures is a problem, but is that Dylan’s meaning? The answer may lie somewhere between yes and no. A reading of the line cannot be wrong in the same sense that a mathematical sum is either right or wrong depending on its exponents. It can be wrong on the basis of assumption. The final direction of the poem is always centripetal, always a movement inward that is contemplative and that is universally suggestive. Dylan has argued much like Eliot’s response to “Ashe-Wednesday” and he, as the artist, is right in doing so. Reading “Hard Rain” as this or that is never wrong in its terminal sense, but it is limiting, and once we have limited a work—“Hard Rain” to America, in the 1960s—we have misinterpreted, or rather missed, the meaning.

The problem with leaving “Hard Rain” as merely an exercise in the aesthetic, and such is the case with the formal phase, is that the song is too lyrical and too powerful for its listener to accept such simplicity as a plausible answer. Dylan himself becomes the labyrinth in question, perhaps more so than the song. Accepting “Hard Rain” as beautiful or aesthetically pleasing is certainly a justifiable reason to enjoy the work, but it does not answer why this song and Dylan’s work transcends his contemporaries. It is important to note that while Dylan has never given any answers to the question “What does it mean?” he has hinted that they are not meaningless. In one 1964 performance of “Hard Rain” he prefaced his perfor-

mance by declaring, “Hard Rain’s A-Gonna Fall, it means something’s going to happen.”⁷ What that something is, is certainly not for Dylan to say and Frye would agree. Frye makes it clear that the writer who produces art is not the best equipped to talk, or even capable of talking about, the art in question. Frye even suggests, “that poetry is the product, not only of a deliberate and voluntary act of consciousness, like discursive writing, but of processes which are subconscious or preconscious or half-conscious as well” (88). Dylan has declared over and over again that he isn’t sure how he produced such work, that it transcends this world and “like a ghost was present. Once the song’s over, so too the ghost leaves” (Haliburn 74).

Historically, what preceded “Hard Rain” was the Cuban missile crisis. Surely its reading as a song of social protest is not unwarranted. But the song being a work of art, I think, will always be larger than what preceded it historically. One of the later lines reads, “I met one man who was wounded in love.” The next, “I met another man who was wounded in hatred.” Certainly one can be in love and be wounded by it and certainly one can be wounded by or with hatred, but the question remains “who was wounded in hatred?” That question may be answered by its writer who sings in that same stanza late in the song “But I’ll know my song well before I start singin’.” Which I think suggests that the mystery to “Hard Rain” resides in Dylan. Frye would agree with such a suggestion explaining that “poetry is a vehicle of morality, truth, and beauty, but the poet does not aim at these things, but only at inner verbal strength” (113). While the song has been given to the public, the meaning remains private with its conceiver. When Dylan proclaims, “something’s going to happen” that may be taken by anyone for whatever reason they feel necessary, but Dylan is merely reassuring himself and his own affirmation in what he is singing and leaving the public to transform the meaning into what ultimately will suit him or her. Frye shadows this by proposing, “the conception of art as having a relation to reality which is neither direct nor negative, but potential, finally resolves the dichotomy between delight and instruction, the style and the message” (93).

To finally surmount meaning to “Hard Rain” we must acknowledge “the poet’s control over his own poem stops with the poem” (Frye 100). “Hard Rain” then must be examined not as the literal (which lends itself to a topical song about nuclear fall-out), or the descriptive (which would hardly answer anything more than a series of subtle observations), and not even as the formal (which places the song’s meaning as a number of linked verses that resonate beauty). The meaning then is very much what the reader wholly experiences with its presentation, or what Frye calls the anagogic. T.S. Eliot said, “I would suggest that none of the plays of Shakespeare has a ‘meaning,’ though it would be equally false to say that a play of Shakespeare is meaningless” (“Shakespeare” 107). This is a fitting observation to place on Dylan and “Hard Rain.” No message is being hammered over the reader’s head, but that does not exclude the words from meaning altogether. In taking Frye anagogic meaning as a means to an end for “Hard Rain,” we must be willing to place these words in a “conception of literature as existing in its own universe, no longer a commentary on life or reality, but containing life and reality in a system of verbal relationships” (Frye 122).

This final phase demands not only that the poet leave the poem, but that the critic surrender the work as well. This point of view demands that the critic no longer conceive of poetry as a part of life; rather literature has become its own self-contained life (Frye 122). The world of “twelve misty mountains” and “seven sad forests” may very well be derived from our own, but the summation of “Hard Rain” read in its entirety places it in its own world, the vision of the author, a place only Dylan can ultimately access.

The question then is answered with a higher, more suggestive—rather than instructive—tone. We live, as Frye suggests, in a world of a threefold external compulsion: a compulsion of action, a compulsion of thinking, and a compulsion of feeling. The words of Bob Dylan, though, live in an altogether different world, one of imagination and perhaps—as Frye suggests—a fourth power where morality, beauty, and truth “presents us with a vision, not of the personal greatness of the poet, but of something impersonal and far greater: the vision of a decisive act of spiritual freedom, the vision of the recreation of man” (Frye 94)—a place that is unequivocally, essentially, and irrefutably the poet’s.

Notes

1. Camille Paglia highlights the social and musical trends that surrounded Dylan’s 1990s comeback in her essay that was anthologized in *Studio A: The Bob Dylan Reader*.
2. Robert Christgau presents a sensible understanding to the hyperbole common during the height of Dylan’s popularity in the mid-1960s in his piece “Rock Lyrics Are Poetry (Maybe).”
3. For a further reading of Dylan’s progression from acoustic to electric music, see Fred Goodman’s essay “The Mansion on the Hill” which chronicles Dylan’s 1965 Newport Folk Festival performance.
4. For a more in-depth reading of Eliot in 1929, recalled by B.C. Southam, see *A Guide to the Selected Poems of T.S. Eliot* (sixth edition 1996), pp. 225-6.
5. Taken from a KQED press conference, December 3, 1965.
6. As heard on “No Direction Home: The Soundtrack. The Bootleg Series vol. 7.”
7. *Shakespeare and the Stoicism of Seneca* (1927); *Selected Essays*, p. 107.

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A Priest of the Portrait as a Young Man: The Path to Stephen Dedalus's Artistic Baptism

● ● ● Adam Cottrel

It is a fine thing to establish one's own religion in one's heart, not to be dependent on tradition and second-hand ideals. Life will seem to you, later, not a lesser, but a greater thing.

—D.H. Lawrence

Between the bookends of “Once upon a time” and “Old father, old artificer, stand me now and ever in good stead” the reader of James Joyce’s *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* has witnessed the transformation of Stephen Dedalus from boy to man, oppression to liberation. Stephen, modeled after Joyce himself, is a sensitive, thoughtful person who is raised in an Irish Catholic family during the early part of the 20th century. Stephen’s story starts at childhood and weaves through adolescence, and into early adulthood. Joyce creates this story on the basis of four distinct transformations. These transformations create stepping-stones from naïve child, to bright student, to rebellious teenager, to ardent Catholic, and eventually to an independent individual that holds art as his mantra for life. This eventual climax is caused by two extreme, yet equally unhealthy, stages of Catholic rejection and Catholic acceptance. Stephen’s journey to find happiness and purpose lead him to a variety of places, people, and mindsets that only create despair and hardship. Only when Stephen stands on his own two feet, independent of outside doctrine, is he able to find happiness. Stephen finds strength in his own personal beliefs in art and this is what gives him the strength to seek that which he most desires. After an arduous self-struggle, art turns into Stephen’s new religion and in art he becomes a priest-like figure, spreading the gospel of artistic expression with the aim of finding life purposeful.

The reader first encounters Stephen in the playful opening lines that capture the innocent perceptions of a young boy. Joyce writes, “Once upon a time and a very good time it was there was a moocow coming down along the road and this moocow that was coming down along the road met a nicens little boy named tuckoo” (3).¹ Joyce masterfully arranges these first lines to coincide with the thought process of a child. One can plainly see the simplicity of the language, which is reinforced by the child-like vocabulary of “moocows,” “nicens,” and Joyce’s own childhood nickname “baby tuckoo” (Gifford 131). Joyce has taken great effort to fashion the novel in this manner, with the style imitating the level of awareness Stephen has gained.

Joyce’s stylistic approach helps to determine the first major transformation of the novel. Stephen, enrolled at Clongowes Wood College, is a promising young student who is struggling to study. Instead, Stephen meditates, “God was God’s name just as his name was Stephen. *Dieu* was the French for God and that was God’s name too; and when anyone prayed to God and said *Dieu* then God knew at once that it was a French person that was praying” (Joyce 12). The language and motif of such lines are ones best described as childish. These are lines that leave the reader curiously questioning the paradigm of childhood logic,

but ones that land firmly at the center of Stephen's lifelong quest of spiritual development. Later in that same meditation, Stephen comes to the realization that "God remained always the same God and God's real name was God" (Joyce 12). This passage shows a stark contrast in both vocabulary and syntax. Stephen is maturing as both a human being and a thinker; one can conclude that Joyce's prose is mimicking this transformation as well.

This early development is important for two substantial reasons. The first rests on Stephen's extreme sensitivity and intelligence at such an early age. These traits are inseparable from the artist. The second point of substance comes in the way of Stephen's pre-occupation with God. His relationship with God is the driving force for much of the novel. The transformations, as you will note, are judged predominantly with a Christian eye. This is done because Stephen himself, religion or no religion, is unable to escape the notions rooted in his upbringing. Joyce makes this point prevalent early to showcase its importance, and it's one the reader must identify with on her own personal level. Joyce is not merely commenting on a character's journey, but on a fundamental question of humanity—how is one judged based on the actions of their life?

The first transformation is the most minor, yet it lays the groundwork for Stephen's subsequent transformations that drive him ultimately to his independence through art. With Stephen's newfound academic potential, he soon becomes aware of the world around him in an alarmingly new way. Stephen's awareness coincides with a dominating sense of decline that is caused by financial and family related struggles. The first major change is that the Dedalus family is forced to move to Dublin because they have fallen into financial disrepair: "Two great yellow caravans had halted one morning before the door and men had come tramping into the house to dismantle it" (Joyce 68). Watching the moving crew dismantle his house, Stephen is devastated. In a like manner, this symbolically signals the dismantling of Stephen's naïve childhood world. Moving to Dublin brings more change that echoes a declining world surrounding Stephen. Joyce writes:

Dublin was a new and complex sensation. Uncle Charles had grown so witless that he could no longer be sent out on errands and the disorder in settling the new house left Stephen freer than he had been in Blackrock. In the beginning he contented himself with circling timidly round the neighboring square or, at most, going half way down one of the side streets: but when he had made a skeleton map of the city in his mind he followed boldly one of its central lines until he reached the custom house. (69)

The first line mentions Dublin as a "new and complex" place that Stephen is trying to understand. This passage is important for how perfectly it encapsulates Stephen leaving the comfort zone of his childhood and exploring the world residing in Dublin. Uncle Charles, who earlier in this section, was a man Stephen admired for his religious devotion and heady political statements, now is seen as physically and mentally debilitated. Stephen is again reminded of a sense of decline. Uncle Charles is another reinforcement to the impressionable view of young Stephen's world.

These struggles permeate Stephen's vision of the world and eventually create a sensitive mode of self-awareness that is hinged upon moral guilt. The second transformation finds Stephen's family falling on hard times. Dublin has not made life easier for the Dedalus'. The

urban center of Ireland has, if anything, opened up Stephen and family to a host of new situations never encountered in the rural hills of Clongowes. Stephen, though, soon finds himself in an opportunistic situation. Receiving thirty-three pounds in prize money for his submission in a literary contest, Stephen is at a threshold of choice. His newfound income is a precious gift, one that could potentially alleviate the compromises his family has been forced to make. But the inexperienced Stephen squanders his money in an epic example of how his life is losing order. Stephen is quick to spend his winnings in an attempt to buy back his naïve childhood world with gifts. Trying to buy inner happiness with money puts Stephen in a position where he is embracing the errant pleasures of the world. This is a sin in the Catholic eyes under which Stephen was raised. Stephen's then unchallenged Catholic view is starting to waver significantly: "For a swift season of merrymaking the money of his prizes ran through Stephen's fingers. Great parcels of groceries and delicacies and dried fruits arrived from the city. Every day he grew up a bill of fare for the family and every night led a party of three or four to the theatre" (Joyce 104). Joyce writes of exploration into a world of sinful excess with these words, but a few pages later we find him embracing this lifestyle as his new unifying force. Stephen "burned to appease the fierce longings of his heart before which everything else was idle and alien. He cared little that he was in mortal sin, that his life had grown to be a tissue of subterfuge and falsehood. Beside the savage desire within him to realize the enormities which he brooded on nothing was sacred" (Joyce 105).

These stark words transition into Stephen's first sexual encounter, which comes by way of a prostitute. The scene solidifies the second transformation Joyce creates. Joyce performs this task flawlessly. Stephen finds himself immersed in a world far from the one of his childhood: "With a sudden movement she bowed his head and joined her lips to his and he read the meaning of her movements in her frank uplifted eyes. It was too much for him. He closed his eyes, surrendering himself to her, body and mind, conscious of nothing in the world but the dark pressure of her softly parting lips" (Joyce 108). Mimicking the ritual of prayer,² this encounter thrusts Stephen out of childhood forever and into a life no longer curious about, but rather embracing, the failing indulgence of the world.

It is imperative to realize that even though Stephen has embraced a new direction for his life he has not completely left his Catholic beliefs behind him. Stephen was reared in a religious household, around religious doctrine. That kind of experience has left an indelible imprint and it is one that lingers always in the back of Stephen's mind. The internal battle rages and Joyce writes:

A cold lucid indifference reigned in his soul. At his first violent sin he had felt a wave of vitality pass out of him and had feared to find his body or his soul maimed by the excess. Instead the vital wave had carried him on its bosom out of himself and back again when it receded; and no part of the body or soul had been maimed but a dark peace had been established between them. (10)

Stephen is undoubtedly embracing his new lifestyle; yet it is inaccurate to say he is happy. Later Stephen thinks to himself that "he had sinned mortally not once but many times he knew that, while he stood in danger of eternal damnation for the first sin alone, by every succeeding sin he multiplied his guilt and his punishment" (Joyce 110). So, while Stephen is trying to

flee the constraints of Catholicism he is not able to completely breakaway from it either.

In the third section of the novel Joyce poignantly portrays the doubt that is creeping into Stephen's mind, his return to Catholicism, and the search for that still unattained happiness. After his teacher speaks of the great saint Francis Xavier, Stephen is overwhelmed by Xavier's monumental work in the name of God. Guilt overwhelms him and his heart "withered up like a flower of the desert that feels the simoom coming from afar." This leads Stephen back to the ideals he thought he had left behind. Father Arnell, a guest speaker who comes to preach at Stephen's school, ensures his transformation back to Catholicism. In a passionate sermon on the realities of hell, Stephen is paralyzed by his own guilt. He is mesmerized by Father Arnell's words and ultimately with "his tongue cleaving to his palate, bowed his head, praying with his heart" (Joyce 146).

One finds that this change is not one spawned from the heart; rather, it is rooted in fear. The constraints of Catholic Church forced Stephen to change. The change for Stephen, though, was one based in inexperience, youthful folly, and clouded judgment. Like a scale tipping between left and right, Stephen had pushed both ends to the extreme without the thought of breaking from the construct of traditional thought and partaking in a self-exploration into the depths of what life has to offer. Foregoing this insight, Stephen marches on back to the life he had left as a child. This transformation includes a daily schedule based upon daily prayers before a holy image. Each day of the week is additionally devoted to a specific aspect of his faith, and intense reading of religious texts. Stephen, though, is unsure, and his sense of religious vigor is lessened by the fact that his newfound devotion will competently combat his past sins. Joyce suggests that "the spiritual triumph which he felt in achieving with ease so many fabulous ages of canonical penances did not wholly reward his zeal of prayer since he could never know how much temporal punishment he had remitted by way of suffrage" (Joyce 159). In this passage we find Joyce playing with two powerful emotions simultaneously. Joyce writes of Stephen trying to redeem himself from the sins of his recent past. Yet, Stephen is never quite sure if his actions of devotion and repentance are worthy. This uncomfortable reality sets Stephen in the awkward realm between salvation and happiness, where neither sensation is being exercised. Stephen is still tempted by sin despite his efforts to re-embrace Catholicism and find happiness. Stephen, confused, starts to question whether he has turned his life around: "Where was his boyhood now? Where was the soul that had hung back from her destiny, to brood alone upon the shame of her wounds and in her house of squalor and subterfuge to queen in it faded cerements and in wreaths that withered at the touch? Or where was he? He was alone" (Joyce 185). This transformation ends in limbo. Joyce touches on the now, while contemplating the before and after. Catholicism has unveiled a variety of virtues that Stephen holds dear to his heart. Yet, Joyce is able to communicate how it doesn't wholly cure what ails Stephen.

In limbo Stephen leaves his home after being called a "lazy bitch" and decides to take a walk around Dublin (Joyce 189). This marks the beginning of Stephen's final transformation. Walking through a rainy Dublin, Stephen quotes line of poetry to himself and ponders the aesthetic theories of Aristotle and Aquinas. At this stage Stephen's negative worldview has spilled over to his thoughts on academia. While walking through Dublin he imagines "the heads of his classmates meekly bent as they wrote in their notebooks the points they were bidden to note" (Joyce 192). Stephen scoffs at the ineffectual classes he takes and the disappointment he finds in his peers. This general disappointment bleeds over to his pro-

fessors as well. Making his way to French class, Stephen runs into the dean of studies. Their conversation proves to yet another disappointing venture in a world he thought to be unyielding. Stephen is searching for honesty, integrity, and advice from a figure he has been taught to respect. The dean evades much of what Stephen is trying to discuss. The conversation leaves Stephen “disheartened suddenly by the firm dry tone” of his superior’s lack of aesthetic knowledge (Joyce 205). Finding no intellectual connection in his family, peers, or school superiors, Stephen is driven closer to the edge, rejecting wholly the institutions in his life to which he has devoted so much.

Through this trinity of rejection, Stephen finally abandons the idea of organized unity in the traditional sense. Stephen is guided to art by an epiphany, which leads him to becoming an artist and spreading the word of art as a unifying force. Joyce exemplifies this with the words:

The personality of the artist, first a cry or a cadence or a mood and then a fluid and lambent narrative, finally refines itself out of existence, impersonalizes itself, so to speak. The esthetic image in the dramatic form in life is purified in and reprojected from the human imagination. The mystery of aesthetic like that of material creation is accomplished. The artist, like God of the creation, remains within or behind or beyond or above his handiwork, invisible, refined out of existence, indifferent, paring his fingernails. (232)

The epiphany of Joyce is one rarely matched in all of literature in terms of power, conviction, and severity. Through this transformation of mind and spirit, Stephen’s perception of a spiritual component to life lies in the aesthetic of art. In his reading of this formal move, Joseph A. Buttgieg articulates, “the inseparability of religion and aesthetics is not peculiar to Stephen Dedalus’ theorizing. One is not faced here with a case of synthesis whereby one set of beliefs is made to accommodate or is grafted upon another” (107).³ For Stephen, God has left the realm of men; God is “indifferent, paring his fingernails.” In these lines Joyce’s words resemble those of a man ministering a congregation. Stephen is preaching his newly found religion in a manner that is very close to the Catholic sermons of his past. Stephen often quotes poetry like he once did scripture. Admiring Yeats, Stephen cradles the opening lines to the play Yeats has just finished. For Stephen, this kind of artistic expression is above all divine and creates a “soft liquid joy [that] flowed through the words where the soft long vowels hurtled noiselessly and fell away” (Joyce 245). For Stephen, art has now given him the pleasure and purpose to proceed in life with aim, purpose, and passion.

It is finally in Stephen’s conversation with his best friend - Cranly - that the transformation is completed. Unconvinced of Stephen’s new attitude on life and religion, Cranly decides to test Stephen’s sincerity. Stephen proclaims that “I will not serve” when questioned about his mother’s wish for Stephen to partake in the Easter rituals of Catholicism (Joyce 260). This statement harkens back to the biblical statement *non serviam*, traditionally assigned to Satan in Jeremiah (Gifford 190). Clearly Joyce is paying homage to the biblical reference, but much like Satan, Stephen must still be bound by Catholic dogma even as he denounces it. Cranly observes “how [Stephen’s] mind is supersaturated with the religion in which you say you disbelieve” (Joyce 261). This conversation is important in highlighting Stephen’s newly found artistic discipline that is in the mold of his former religious discipline.

Stephen is never truly able to leave the structure of organized religion. A process of submission and routine is one necessary to the active and open practice of faith. In this vein it is a substitution of the Christian doctrine by one of personal and practical prominence – art. Art as religion is an idea that Stephen has fully realized and subsequently turned into a way of life. His words, thoughts, and actions are all influenced by art. He speaks of art, consumes art, and appears on the verge of creating art.

As the novel ends, Stephen has yet to produce any work of substantial merit. Further reading of Joyce will uncover Stephen Dedalus in *Ulysses*,⁴ Joyce's other literary masterpiece. *Ulysses* portrays Stephen not as an artistic success, but rather a failure. In his consideration of this theory, Cordell D.K. Yee contends "no education really takes place, and it is not clear that he has made much progress toward becoming an artist" (Brady 68).⁵ This reading completely overlooks one important fact. Stephen Dedalus and James Joyce are inherently interchangeable, as this novel is largely autobiographical. With this understanding, one must read *Portrait* as the resulting piece of evidence of Stephen's artistic expression. Joyce as Stephen has created art; he has created the novel in question. The last section only further solidifies my point. Here the novel takes a turn almost unheard of for the time. Joyce changes the narrator in this final section to a first-person perspective, in a journal entry form.⁶ It is my contention that this signifies nothing less than the reader being thrust from the past to the present and into the head of Stephen (to be read Joyce). The character in the book becomes the author, the author becomes the artist, and the artist finally finds salvation.

Portrait is a work of art in its own right. Flawed or flawless, no one argues its ambition, or its rank as one of modernism's champion works. Stephen, like the novel, is largely left up to interpretation regarding his success, or failure in theory and art. Yet, Joyce is aware of this, perhaps even purposefully, unanswered question. In this unanswered question I find perhaps the greatest evidence for artistic achievement yet. Art should always, above all, raise questions, curiosities, and challenge conventional thought. No serious critic will argue that *Portrait* is not an indelible piece of art. Therefore, for reasons and evidence stated previously, the reader, the critic, the skeptic should not question Stephen Dedalus' artistic baptism, and subsequent affirmation. To put it as only Joyce can, "O life! I go to encounter for the millionth time the reality of experience and to forge in the smithy of my soul the uncreated conscience of my race" (276).

Notes

1. All quotations are from James Joyce's, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (New York: Penguin Books, 1992) and shall be cited parenthetically in the text.
2. For further examples of religious imagery in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* see C.G. Anderson's essay "Christian Symbolism in *A Portrait*."
3. "The connections between religion and aesthetics goes as far back in intellectual history as one would care to go. At the turn of the century, the context within which Stephen develops, religion and aesthetics were as inextricably intertwined as they had ever been" (Buttigieg 107).
4. For further reading see C. G. Anderson's essay "Baby Tuckoo: Joyce's "Features of Infancy."

5. A larger discussion concerning the connection between Stephen Dedalus' theory and his art is found in Cordell D.K. Yee's essay "The aesthetics of Stephen's Aesthetic."
6. Michael Levenson's essay "Stephen's Diary in Joyce's *Portrait* – The Shape of Life" is an interesting look at how this final, yet often overlooked section can, has, and should be read.

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The Moral Dilemma of Atomic Warfare

● ● ● Edward Gunn

By the end of World War II, “more than 100 Japanese cities were destroyed by fire-bombing, and two by atomic bombing, causing one million casualties, including more than half a million deaths, the majority being civilians, particularly women and children.”¹ The climax of these firebombings occurred when the United States of America dropped the most powerful weapons ever used in warfare on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. At 08:15, August 6, 1945 the *Enola Gay* dropped the nuclear bomb called “Little Boy” over the center of Hiroshima. It exploded about 580 meters (1885 feet) above the city with a blast equivalent to 13 kilotons of TNT.² Three days later, on the morning of August 9, 1945, the crew of the American B-29 Superfortress *Bock's Car*, carrying the nuclear bomb nicknamed “Fat Man,” found its target over the city of Nagasaki. The bomb exploded 469 meters (1,540 feet) above the ground almost midway between the Mitsubishi Steel and Arms Works, in the south, and the Mitsubishi-Urakami Ordnance Works (Torpedo Works), in the north, the two principal targets of the city.³

The horrific destruction that resulted from these bomb blasts was unlike any that had ever been witnessed before. According to one source, “at the point of detonation the temperature probably reached several million degrees centigrade. Almost immediately a fireball was created from which were emitted radiation and heat rays, and severe shock waves were created by the blast.”⁴ On the ground, beneath the explosion center (hypocenter), the temperature rose to approximately 7,000 degrees Fahrenheit. The heat within 1 1/4 mile radius from the explosion center burned the clothes that people were wearing.⁵ The explosion generated an ultra high pressure. The wind velocity on the ground beneath the explosion center was 980 miles per hour, which is five times stronger than the wind generated by strong hurricanes. The pressure was equivalent to 8,600 pounds per square foot.⁶ In Hiroshima, an area of 5 square miles was reduced to ashes, and of the 76,000 buildings in the city 62.9% were destroyed and only 8% escaped damage.⁷

It is impossible to know the exact number of deaths that resulted from the explosions because people continued to die from the effects of radiation for several years after the attacks. Most estimates put the number of deaths by the end of 1945 at around 200,000 people. In addition to these deaths, many suffered severe health problems from radiation exposure. Birth defects, blindness, and immune system failures continued to affect the victims of the nuclear bombs.⁸ With all of this death and destruction, there can be no question as to the awesome power and destruction that was unleashed against Japan. The atomic bombs had indiscriminately killed babies, mothers, the elderly, the sick, and many other indefensible people.

To many people, the actions of the United States were a moral abomination and totally unnecessary. To others, the nuclear attacks were necessary and morally justified. Who is right? The answer depends on how, and by whom, morality is defined. Nuclear warfare is nothing more than an extreme form of “total warfare” which has been practiced since as far back as the American Civil War. Yet there has been no world outcry against the practice of total war. In the final analysis, nuclear war cannot be condemned if total warfare in any form is morally justified.

Many books, articles, and web sites address the moral issues of whether or not the atomic bombs should have been used. Some approach the subject as a “strategic justification” issue. In focusing on the strategic justification for using the atomic bombs, answers are

sought as to whether the bombings could be justified on the basis of their necessity in order to shorten the war and save lives. If so, then it was moral; if not, then it was immoral.

Other publications speak to the issues of the morality of warfare in general, and particularly when civilian populations are involved. These types of publications address questions of the morality of war itself. Can warfare be moral? If so, then how are legitimate targets of war identified? Can it be moral to attack civilian populations in the name of war? Again, many publications seek to answer these questions. None of these sources, however, define the moral principles by which these nuclear attacks can be judged. And further, how can the morality of the atomic bombings of Japan be discussed while ignoring the overriding principles of total war that permitted the actions? The outcries over the fate of Hiroshima and Nagasaki have been heard, and they have spurred many debates. But where is the outcry over the other acts of war that have led to the deaths of untold millions of civilians?

The Issues

The issues involved in the decision to use the atomic bombs on Japan have been debated virtually from the moment of impact. Controversy over President Harry S. Truman's decision to use the atomic bombs has been debated, and the issues continue to be argued over 60 years later. There are many questions concerning the circumstances that led up to the decision. Were the bombings really necessary, or were there other, less drastic, alternatives? Did using atomic weapons shorten the duration of the war and save more lives than would have been lost otherwise? Was Japan already trying to surrender through Russia, and if so, did Truman know it? What motives were involved in Truman's decision – racism, revenge, to make a political statement to Stalin, or simply to justify the 2 billion dollars that were spent developing the bomb? Or, were Truman's motives based upon military strategy alone? Were the bombings simply overkill of an already defeated enemy? Knowing that the Japanese would not give up their emperor, why did Truman insist on "unconditional surrender" only to allow the emperor system to continue after the war? Why was the second bomb dropped so soon after the first with no chance for a response from Japanese leaders? There are many questions for debate, but probably the most important controversy is the moral issue of targeting civilian populations. Is it moral to target civilians in warfare?

These questions are the subjects of thousands of books, articles, and letters. Hundreds of Internet web sites are devoted to addressing these and other issues that were brought to the surface when Hiroshima and Nagasaki were devastated by the world's first nuclear attacks. As more and more information continues to be uncovered or declassified, historians and scholars have more resources to support their particular view of the atomic debate.

It seems that with every passing year, more and more people are coming to believe that the nuclear attacks against Japan were not necessary to win the war. Browsing through the many books in a library or through sites on the Internet reveal that more people regret Truman's decision than support it. However, that sentiment is not unanimous. Whatever the controversy concerning the bombs, one can find well-reasoned arguments on both sides of the issue. Many scholars and historians passionately defend their beliefs about the justification for using nuclear weapons against Japan.

Did the Atomic Bomb Save Lives?

The question of whether the atomic bombs saved more lives than would have been lost otherwise is still hotly debated today. Professor Robert P. Newman of the University of Pittsburgh has written much to support the notion that the bombs did indeed save many lives, both Japanese and American. Newman claims, "The preponderance of evidence shows that at the time of decision the Truman administration believed, with good reason, that invasion plans threatened an unacceptable loss of life, to Japanese as much as to Americans."⁹ Newman uses many facts, figures, and documents to defend his position that many more people on both sides would have been killed had the bombs not been dropped.

On the other hand, a panel that was requested by President Truman to study the Pacific war disagrees. Their report, *The United States Strategic Bombing Survey*, was issued in July 1946. It declared,

Based on a detailed investigation of all the facts and supported by the testimony of the surviving Japanese leaders involved, it is the Survey's opinion that certainly prior to 31 December 1945 and in all probability prior to 1 November 1945, Japan would have surrendered even if the atomic bombs had not been dropped, even if Russia had not entered the war, and even if no invasion had been planned or contemplated.¹⁰

In the question of whether the bombs saved more lives than they cost, people look at the same bank of information, but reach different conclusions. Robert Newman and the members of Truman's panel all use logical arguments to support their opinions and yet reach opposing conclusions.

Was Japan Already Trying to Surrender?

The question concerning Japan's plans to surrender prior to the atomic bombings finds proponents on both sides of the issue. After considering testimony from many Japanese leaders after the war, Robert Newman concludes, "Early surrender? With no atom bombs, no Russians, no invasion? Careful inspection of the testimony of the surviving Japanese leaders involved ...shows that Japan would have fought on indefinitely."¹¹ Again, this is the conclusion of a scholar who has researched the issue and gives evidence to support his beliefs. Another scholar, Robert James Maddox, Professor of History at Pennsylvania State University agrees with Newman. Maddox claims that it is a myth that the military (and Truman) believed that Japan would surrender before an invasion was scheduled. The problem with this scenario, he claims, "...is that no one yet has produced any documentary evidence. Efforts to create substantiation where none exists have resulted in some gross distortions of the historical record."¹² Maddox goes on to quote General George C. Marshall, Navy Chief of Staff Admiral Ernest King, General Henry H. Arnold, and others to show that they believed an invasion with many casualties would be necessary before Japan would surrender.

In contrast, it is not too difficult to find other researchers who disagree with Maddox and Newman. Doug Long, the author of a web site devoted to spreading the truth about the atomic bombings, quotes many documents that show that Japan *was* seeking a surrender mediated by the Soviet Union, and that the U.S. military and President Truman knew about it.

Long documents many statements from Japanese foreign minister Shigenori Togo to the Japanese ambassador to the Soviet Union, Naotaki Sato, that prove that Japan wanted to end the war.¹³ Long also documents the fact that President Truman was aware of Japan's intentions. Again, whatever the issue, supporters and detractors can be found who give logical arguments to support their views. Is there any way to know the truth beyond a doubt?

Why Unconditional Surrender?

Why did President Truman insist upon Japan's unconditional surrender? After the atomic bombings and Japan's surrender, the United States permitted Japan to keep the emperor system of government. Emperor Hirohito continued to occupy his throne for over forty years after the war. It was widely understood that the Japanese revere the emperor as a deity, and this attitude toward Hirohito was the major obstacle that prevented Japan from surrendering unconditionally. Mark Seldon, in his introduction to *The Atomic Bomb: Voices From Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, writes, "The evidence suggests that had the United States softened the language of unconditional surrender – indeed, had it employed the very language that secured Japan's surrender after the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings – surrender could probably have been achieved without the atomic bomb or an invasion."¹⁴ So was the unconditional surrender policy just plain vindictive?

One source states that "[a]lthough unconditional surrender was demanded from Japan, the Potsdam Declaration stated that the Allied Powers 'do not intend that the Japanese shall be enslaved as a race or destroyed as a nation.'" The Potsdam Declaration made clear that "freedom of speech, of religion, and of thought, as well as respect for the fundamental human rights shall be established."¹⁵ The authors go on to say, "These were the terms under which Japan was called upon to surrender. Far from vindictive, they were not ungenerous conditions for an enemy caught in the grip of militarists determined to wage a last-ditch battle to the death."¹⁶ However, the terms of the Potsdam Declaration mean nothing if Japan was not aware of its contents.

Even assuming that Japan was fully aware of all of the terms of the Potsdam Declaration, there was still no guarantee that the emperor would be spared. There was no clause in the declaration stating that Japan could retain the emperor, and the other statements in the declaration were subject to interpretation as to how these promises would be fulfilled. Kyoko and Mark Seldon disagree with Freed and Giovannitti about the justification for demanding Japan's unconditional surrender. The Seldons say that since the critical issue was the emperor, and since he was allowed to remain after all, then the United States was wrong not just to say so up front. Freed and Giovannitti state that Japan was aware of the "generous" terms that would be granted to Japan. Again, there is no consensus on the issues.

What Were President Truman's Motives?

Can it be known for a fact what President Truman's motives were for resorting to nuclear attacks? Certainly Truman's diaries and other records can be looked at to find *evidence* concerning his motives. But does that end the debate? It does not, because people tend to look at evidence that supports their beliefs, and overlook or downplay evidence to the contrary. Robert Newman disputes at length the arguments that the "cultists" (his term) have used to show that racism, a fixation on the Russians, or bureaucratic domination (justifying the expenditures for creating the bombs) were the deciding motives for Truman. He believes

the evidence shows that

These analyses do not, however, remove the pressure point of decision, which lay with the president. He ordered the dropping of the first bombs “as available” as surely as he ordered cancellation of the third. And the White House was fixated on securing Japan’s surrender, on terms that would obviate recrudescence of militarism, as quickly and with as few casualties as possible.¹⁷

In short, Newman believes that Truman’s motivation for using the bombs was solely strategic. Newman uses many facts, figures, documents, and interviews to make his points.

But again, other writers argue that there were other, less lofty, motives for Truman’s decision. Noted historian and author Gar Alperovitz has written extensively to support his view that the atomic bombs were dropped on Japan primarily for their effect on the Soviet Union. Alperovitz shows that “the new weapon was first explained to the President because of its role in diplomacy, *not* because of its role in the war. In late April—in the midst of an explosive confrontation with Stalin over the Polish issue—Secretary of War Stimson urged discussion of the bomb because (as he told Truman) it had ‘such a bearing on our present foreign relations.’”¹⁸ Alperovitz makes note of another incident that reveals Truman’s motives: “‘If it explodes as I think it will’, Truman told an associate (indicating the Russians as well as the Japanese), ‘I’ll certainly have a hammer on those boys.’”¹⁹ These quotes certainly give reason to suspect that “atomic diplomacy” was at least a factor in Truman’s decision to use the bombs. And as with Newman, Alperovitz uses a lot of historical data to defend his position on the topic.

Much information is available to show that there were possibly many motives that went into Truman’s decision to use the atomic bombs, and no one can state positively whether any given motive was the deciding factor. When looking at all the issues that were present in the decision, one must admit that the choice was multi-faceted, and good arguments are made on each side of every issue. However, even if all sides agree to a stalemate on the issues of the motives for, and necessity of, using the bombs, a greater issue is left on the table: the morality of the indiscriminate killing of civilian populations.

The Moral Issue

The moral issues involved in atomic warfare are certainly significant, and the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki have certainly stirred a lot of debate. But the atomic bombing of Japan did not create any moral conflict that did not already exist. Despite the awesome power and destructive capabilities of atomic weapons, no new ethical issues should arise regarding their use. The moral questions that were applicable to Truman’s decision had already been dealt with, and they were already a part of military history even before World War II.

Debating the *strategy* of dropping the atomic bombs will likely continue. Historians and other scholars use the information that is available to form and support their beliefs about the necessity of it. No one can prove beyond a doubt whether lives were saved, whether Japan was ready to give up, or whether the bombs were necessary to force Japan to surrender. Evidence can be argued from many perspectives. But in a sense, these are not moral issues; they are simply questions of military strategy involving numbers and time.

The only real moral issue involved in the atomic bomb decision is whether or not

bombing civilian targets is justified. One can agree or disagree with the justification, but again, this was not a *new* moral issue created by the existence of nuclear weapons. Civilians had been targeted repeatedly by many nations, including the U.S., for many years. The weapon or method used is not a moral question. Yes, atomic bombs are horrific, but the fact that they kill and destroy more quickly than other methods of warfare is not a moral issue. To examine the issue of whether or not the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were morally justified then is synonymous to asking whether bombing civilians is justified.

The question should then be asked, “Who decides what is morally acceptable and what is not?” Is the morality question to be determined by individual nations? Is there some sort of international standard that can be applied to define what is moral and what is not? If there is an international standard, with whom does the responsibility lie to enforce these standards of moral conduct?

Defining Morality

When asking if the atomic bombings were morally justified, it might be helpful to determine whose standards of morality will be used to answer the question. Who defines morality? Is morality defined by individuals, communities, nations, or the world? Further, is it the profession of a belief or the actions of an individual or state that defines morality? As the saying goes, “Actions speak louder than words.” If an individual or country says one thing, and then practices another, then what are that individual’s or country’s true moral standards?

The idea of Cultural Relativism insists that morality is defined by individual cultures, and the morals of one culture cannot be imposed on another culture.²⁰ In a book on this topic, Melville Herskovits makes the point that “[c]ultural relativism, of course, deals with more than just morals, ethics and values; it is also concerned with judgments of time and space and volume, differences in perception and cognition, as well as of conduct.”²¹ By this standard, any particular action could be interpreted as moral in one culture, and immoral in another. For example, in some cultures prostitution has been considered an acceptable practice. But in many other cultures, prostitution is seen as immoral, and laws are enacted in an attempt to prevent it. It may be fine to leave the question of morality up to individual cultures when the issues affect only those within that culture. However, nuclear warfare is not an issue where the effects are confined to those of an individual culture. The implications of it are global, and therefore the morality of targeting civilians cannot be defined by any single culture.

Morality: The Individual Perspective

It may be safe to assume that almost all rational people find repugnant the thought of killing women, children, and the elderly in the name of war. If a surveyor went around the world asking individuals if they would have a moral problem going from house to house in an enemy civilian population and killing the elderly, babies, and women, one can be sure that almost everyone would find the whole idea revolting. On an individual basis, even Truman, who ordered the nuclear attacks, halted any further bombings because, “He said the thought of wiping out another 100,000 people was too horrible. He didn’t like the idea of killing, as he said, ‘all those kids.’”²² Although he chose the path of nuclear warfare, Truman had a moral problem with the results of his decision.

On an individual basis, President Roosevelt, who ordered the atomic bombs to be developed in the first place, found the idea of bombing civilians to be inhuman barbarism. In

a letter to Governments of France, Germany, Italy, Poland and Great Britain, Roosevelt called for an immediate halt of all bombing of civilian populations. In this letter dated September 1, 1939, Roosevelt stated:

The ruthless bombing from the air of civilians in unfortified centers of population during the course of the hostilities which have raged in various quarters of the earth during the past few years, which has resulted in the maiming and in the death of thousands of defenseless men, women, and children, has sickened the hearts of every civilized man and woman, and has profoundly shocked the conscience of humanity.

If resort is had to this form of inhuman barbarism during the period of the tragic conflagration with which the world is now confronted, hundreds of thousands of innocent human beings who have no responsibility for, and who are not even remotely participating in, the hostilities which have now broken out, will lose their lives. I am therefore addressing this urgent appeal to every government which may be engaged in hostilities publicly to affirm its determination that its armed forces shall in no event, and under no circumstances, undertake the bombardment from the air of civilian populations or of unfortified cities, upon the understanding that these same rules of warfare will be scrupulously observed by all of their opponents. I request an immediate reply.²³

It is clear from this letter that virtually all sides in the European theater of World War II were engaging in the bombardment of civilian populations, and that Roosevelt had strong moral objections to this sort of activity.

Even the scientists involved in creating the atomic bombs had struggled with their own consciences over the moral implications of the weapon they were developing. Although they wanted to end the war, many were troubled by the nature of the weapon that they were creating.²⁴ Leo Szilard, probably the first scientist to conceive of an atomic bomb, opposed the use of the atomic bombs on Japan because he believed that “[a] nation which sets the precedent of using these newly liberated forces of nature for the purposes of destruction may have to bear the responsibility of opening the door to an era of devastation on an unimaginable scale.”²⁵ Sadly, the United States of America bears the responsibility of beginning the nuclear age.

Morality: The Collective Perspective

Even though on an individual basis almost everyone, including Roosevelt and Truman, finds it immoral, collectively, as nations, targeting civilian populations had been repeatedly practiced. It seems that on an individual basis, targeting civilians is absolutely immoral. However, collectively, as nations at war, it had become routine. So the question remains, “Is it morally wrong to bomb unfortified cities?” Again, who defines morality? Perhaps some common ground needs to be determined that can define morality across all cultures and nations. One way to find some common ground would be to look at agreements, treaties, and

international organizations to determine if a global consensus exists on the morality of targeting civilian populations.

The act of targeting civilians was determined to be morally unacceptable by several international agreements dating as far back as 1899 with The Hague II convention and The Hague IV (1907) convention concerning Laws and Customs of War on Land.²⁶ The United States Senate ratified both of these agreements. The Hague II convention states in Article XXV, “The attack or bombardment of towns, villages, habitations or buildings which are not defended, is prohibited.”²⁷ The convention further states in Article XXIII, “Besides the prohibitions provided by special Conventions, it is especially prohibited to employ arms, projectiles, or material of a nature to cause superfluous injury.” It would be difficult to argue that indiscriminate bombing of cities and villages would not result in “superfluous injury,” especially in the case of nuclear bombs.

Since then, resolutions by the League of Nations (1938) and the United Nations (1961, 1968) have confirmed that bombing civilians is morally wrong. But, even if every nation agrees to abide by certain standards of conduct in times of war, is the agreement made null and void if *all* participants cease to abide by the rules? This is precisely what happened during World War II. Through the practice of “total warfare,” nations had given the green light to targeting the civilians of an enemy nation. Walter Schoenberger makes this point in his book, *Decision of Destiny*, when he says, “The morality of total war had already been sanctioned by the requirements of national security. The use of the atomic weapons symbolized the acceptance of total war and provided the precedent for their possible use by other governments.”²⁸ Since virtually every country involved in World War II had already been practicing total war, it can be argued that on a national level these governments had accepted the act of targeting civilians to be morally justifiable. So a dichotomy exists: at the individual human level targeting civilians is immoral, but on the national level it is acceptable.

Total Warfare

The concept of total warfare was not new for the military leaders in World War II. Although there is no authoritative definition of what constitutes total warfare, most scholars would agree with the definition offered by Roger Chickering in *Total War: The German and American Experiences, 1871-1914*. Chickering states,

Total war is distinguished by its unprecedented intensity and extent. Theaters of operations span the globe; the scale of battle is practically limitless. Total war is fought heedless of the restraints of morality, custom, or international law, for the combatants are inspired by hatreds born of modern ideologies. Total war requires the mobilization not only of armed forces but also of whole populations. *The most crucial determinant of total war is the widespread, indiscriminate, and deliberate inclusion of civilians as legitimate military targets.*²⁹ [emphasis added].

In total war, civilians are viewed as acceptable military targets because they are seen as inseparable from a nation’s ability to wage war.

Erich Ludendorff, the supreme German general in World War I, wrote extensively on

the topic of total war. Ludendorff's idea of total war contained five basic concepts:

War is total; first, because the theater of war extends over the whole territory of the belligerent nations. In addition to this diffusion of risks, total war also involves the active participation of the whole population in the war effort. Not armies but nations wage total war. Thus, the effective persecution of total war necessitates the adaptation of the economic system to the purposes of war. Thirdly, the participation of large masses in war makes it imperative to devote special efforts, by means of propaganda, to the strengthening of morale at home and to the weakening of the political cohesion of the enemy nation. Fourth, the preparation of total war must begin before the outbreak of overt fighting. Military, economic, and psychological warfare influence the so-called peacetime pursuits in modern societies. Finally, total war must be directed by one supreme authority, that of the commander in chief.³⁰

Though some might not agree with all five of Ludendorff's concepts of total war, the idea that all people of a nation are involved in that nation's ability to wage war is undisputed. The chorus from a popular World War II British song reinforces that point:

It's a ticklish sort of job making a thing for a thing-ummy-bob
Especially when you don't know what it's for
But it's the girl that makes the thing that drills the hole
that holds the spring that works the thing-ummy-bob
that makes the engines roar.
And it's the girl that makes the thing that holds the oil
that oils the ring that works the thing-ummy-bob
that's going to win the war.³¹

Civilians are crucial to any war effort because they are the ones working in the factories making war materials, they are the farmers growing food for the soldiers, and they are the ones paying taxes to their government to pay for the war effort. Without the civilian population, no nation could effectively wage war.

This concept of total war did not begin with World War II. As early as the American Civil War, the philosophy of total war was practiced. General William T. Sherman employed total war tactics in his march to the sea to divide the Confederacy in half. Sherman destroyed civilian farms and homes as he burned a path through the South culminating in the burning of Atlanta Georgia. Historian John G. Barrett writes in his book, *Sherman's March Through the Carolinas*, "Considering all the people of the South as enemies of the Union, he [Sherman] planned to use his military forces against the civilian population as well as the armies of the enemy."³² Barrett further states that "it was not a sense of cruelty and barbarism that prompted Sherman to formulate his theory of total war. This conception was the outgrowth of a search for the quickest, surest, and most efficient means to win a war."³³ Some consider Sherman a great military strategist because of his practice of total war.

Elements of total warfare also existed in other conflicts before World War II. These conflicts included the French Revolution, the American Indian Wars, The Taiping Civil War in China, and World War I. The French Revolution serves as an example of how the total population is critical to the war effort. From an article on the online encyclopedia Wikipedia, the concept is explained:

The French Revolution has introduced some of the concepts of total war. The fledgling republic found itself threatened by the most powerful coalition of European nations to have been formed at that point in history. The only solution, in the eyes of the Jacobin government was to pour the nation's entire resources into an unprecedented war effort - this was the advent of the levée en masse. The following decree of the National Convention on August 23, 1794 clearly demonstrates the enormity of the French war effort:

From this moment until such time as its enemies shall have been driven from the soil of the Republic all Frenchmen are in permanent requisition for the services of the armies. The young men shall fight; the married men shall forge arms and transport provisions; the women shall make tents and clothes and shall serve in the hospitals; the children shall turn linen into lint; the old men shall betake themselves to the public squares in order to arouse the courage of the warriors and preach hatred of kings and the unity of the Republic.³⁴

The government in France believed that the whole population was critical to the war effort and looked upon every man, woman, and child as a resource for war.

The Native American Indians were vanquished from the United States largely through the wholesale slaughter of civilian populations. The Union soldiers looked upon the civilians as part of the Indian war machine, and therefore legitimate targets.³⁵ On the other hand, slaughtering of Indian civilians had been going on a long time before the Civil War, as far back as the Pequot War, King Philip's War, the DeSoto expedition, and Christopher Columbus.³⁶

The Taiping Rebellion (1851-1864), one of the bloodiest wars in human history, claimed 20 - 50 million lives, many of which were civilians.³⁷ This war, a clash between the forces of Imperial China and those inspired by a self-proclaimed mystic named Hong Xiuquan, saw many of the elements of total war: large scale conscriptions, attacks on civilian populations, and destruction of agricultural resources: "This war truly was total in that civilians on both sides participated to a significant extent in the war effort and in that armies on both sides waged war on the civilian population as well as military forces."³⁸ Although this war claimed more lives than World War I, and possibly World War II, the mass killing of civilians that took place in this war has not created the heated debates that have taken place over the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Almost from the beginning of World War II, both the Allied and Axis powers were regularly bombarding civilian populations in efforts to limit the enemy's capacity to wage war. The Germans had conducted aerial assaults against cities in Poland, the Netherlands, and against

London. In response, the British began night raids on Berlin, Hamburg, and other cities. Near the end of the war, the United States and Britain conducted aerial raids on Dresden that killed at least 35,000 civilians.³⁹ Targeting civilian populations was not limited to the European theater of the war. The Japanese also were involved in the targeting civilians in China, Taiwan, the Philippines, and Indonesia.⁴⁰ In Nanking, the capital of China, “Japanese troops, with the help and encouragement of their chain of command and the full knowledge of their senior officers, killed up to 350,000 Chinese civilians.”⁴¹

Conventional bombings took much more time and many more planes to approach the level of destruction that the atomic bombings had, but the devastation was just as great. The March 9-10 incendiary bombing of Tokyo brought more casualties and destruction than either of the atomic bombs.⁴² But the moral issue is the same with the Tokyo bombings as it is with the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings. They all involved the bombing of cities with civilian targets. Yet there has been little if any moral outcry concerning the non-nuclear bombings. It would seem that it is not the act of killing civilians but the method by which they are killed that causes moral offense.

An Issue of Hypocrisy

Since almost every nation was guilty of targeting and killing civilians during World War II, why were some of the leaders of the defeated nations put on trial for war crimes including killing civilians? It seems to be hypocritical for a country to label as a crime, and to seek punishment for, actions for which they are all guilty. “At the Tokyo war crimes trial of 1948, Justice Radhabinod Pal of India issued a dissenting opinion in which he invoked the ‘inhuman blasts’ leveled on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and criticized a judicial process in which ‘any crime remains available only against the vanquished in a lost war.’”⁴³ In affect, what this is saying is that “[i]t’s only a crime if you lose the war.”

Perhaps rather than admitting that what was done to Hiroshima and Nagasaki was an act of targeting civilians, the victors in the war chose to prosecute the vanquished in an attempt to make themselves believe that somehow their actions were different than what the enemy had done. That is not to argue that what the Japanese had done during the war was not barbaric, but as the old saying goes, “two wrongs do not make a right.” The United States leadership in World War II cannot claim that they took the moral high ground because in reality they had resorted to the same tactics that many Japanese leaders were tried, convicted, and sentenced for committing. For those who believe that dropping the atomic bombs was morally justified and necessary to win the war, is it too much to at least admit that it took away the right to claim any moral superiority over the enemy?

Conclusion: Living up to a World Standard of Morality

It should be clear by now that the question of the morality of dropping atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki is very complex, and there are no clear answers. Should the actions of the United States in this regard be condemned? If so, then the actions of many other nations before and during World War II must also be condemned. The moral question is not about how big and destructive the bombs are, but about killing unarmed civilians in war. Most nations had stated in one treaty or another that they believed it to be morally unacceptable to target civilians, yet virtually all parties involved did so. So does the international community *really* believe that it is immoral? Their *words* say yes, but their *actions* say no. Their leaders *say* yes, but their

military *actions* say it is acceptable.

With no worldwide authority to define morality, the actions of the United States in dropping the atomic bombs on Japan can be seen by one standard of morality to be an unacceptable, barbaric act. But by another standard of morality, these same actions can be seen as a necessary consequence of war that does not violate moral principles. On an individual level, virtually every human being with a conscience would have a moral dilemma in killing unarmed women and children. What kind of person could look into the eyes of a little baby and then snuff out that baby's innocent life? Certainly no person with any moral conscience at all could do such a thing. However if the act is sanitized by labeling it "total war", and is carried out by bombs dropped from the air so that the faces of the victims do not have to be viewed, then it seems a perfectly acceptable conduct of war.

What this world needs is not only a debate regarding the morality of atomic warfare, but there should also be a worldwide outcry against all acts of total war. Nations signing agreements and treaties is not enough—they have done that before and then ignored them. But rather, all nations of the world must utterly refuse to participate in the barbaric acts that have become acceptable in warfare, and which have made many believe that there is nothing immoral about the mass killing of helpless human beings using nuclear bombs. The nations of the world must live up to the agreements and conventions that almost all them have stated to be their moral position. These agreements—including The Hague conventions, The Geneva Conventions, and many other resolutions and treaties—have stated that the nations believe that the indiscriminate killing of civilians is immoral.⁴⁴ And even if one or more nations continue to commit war crimes such as targeting civilians, the other nations must not see that as an excuse to lower themselves to that barbaric standard. The nations of the world must begin to live up to their words. If the immorality of total war is understood and believed, then the immorality of nuclear warfare is obvious.

The difference between the total war that has become a standard practice of warfare, and the atomic bombing of Japan is that with nuclear weapons it is now possible to destroy all human life on earth. Would anyone like to justify the use of nuclear weapons in the next war? If nuclear weapons are ever used again, there may be no one left to debate the morality of it.

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Jiangxi Elementary School Explosion: A Look at Human Rights in China

● ● ● *Rhonda Maynard*

Introduction

On March 7, 2001, thirty-seven children in a small village southwest of Shanghai were killed when firecrackers they were forced to assemble at school exploded. The blast sparked outrage throughout the world and brought to the forefront, once again, China's record of human rights abuses. The incident presents a unique opportunity to examine human rights in China. We can analyze the event to answer the following questions: 1) Which human rights, if any, were violated? 2) Does international pressure force change? and 3) How does China define "human rights?"

PART I. WHICH HUMAN RIGHTS WERE VIOLATED?

According to the United Nations "Universal Declaration of Human Rights," the following rights were violated during the course of this event and cover-up. A discussion follows.

Article 23. (1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favorable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment...

Article 26. (1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages...

Article 19. Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers...

Article 12. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honor and reputation. Everyone has the right to protection of the law against such interference or attacks...¹

Free Choice of Employment and Right to Free Education

According to the standards set forth by the United Nations, the Jiangxi elementary school explosion serves as an example of the violation of both free choice of employment and the right to free education. Simply put, the children were forced to work; thus, they did not have free choice of employment. Moreover, reports stated the school factory was set up because of government imposed budget cuts for education. In other words, the students allegedly worked to fund the school, which is an infringement on their right to free education. After the event, Chinese people expressed shock and outrage on Web sites and Internet chat

rooms: “‘how could this happen in China?’ one person wrote. ‘Schools are for learning, not for business.’”²

How could something like this happen? Two reasons: poor economic conditions and under-funded schools. In a country of 1.3 billion people, people are willing to sacrifice rights in order to make a livin—even in an industrial province like those found in southern China, where over forty million migrant workers work and live at the factories. In 2004, Chinese workers at one plant made about one-hundred dollars per month, or about fifty-cents an hour.³ Some companies pay even less. The fact that the blast occurred in a poor rural district is even more telling, since rural workers make far less than those in urban areas (see figure 1).

Figure 1.

2003 urban per capita disposable income	\$1,028*
2003 rural per capita disposable income	\$317*
Persons living in poverty (estimate)	30 million
Persons whose income does not exceed \$1* per day (estimate)	100 to 150 million

*Figures in U.S. dollars.

Source: U.S. Department of State Report on Human Rights Practices in China, February 29, 2005.

According to UNICEF, “[a]lthough no accurate statistics are available, the International Labor Organization estimates that in developing countries 250 million children between age five and 14 work. More than 60 percent of them live in Asia.”⁴ At the time of the explosion, Jiangxi was “one of China’s poorest provinces.”⁵ In fact, according to one BBC report, “the extent of poverty in the region was emphasized when phone calls to the local fire brigade were met with a recorded message, saying the number had been disconnected because phone bills had not been paid.”⁶ The Washington Post Foreign Service reported, “Parents reached by telephone said teachers seeking to supplement their meager state salaries forced the children to work without pay and set production quotas that had to be met before the children could go home.”⁷ What makes the incident even more terrible was that, according to one villager, “[t]he parents complained many times to the school and the township government, but nothing happened.” ... The bereaved father said children were even fined a few pennies if they refused to work.”⁸

At the time of the incident, the BBC reported that human rights workers blamed chronic under-funding in rural Chinese schools. “There are reports of teachers having to sell semen and tobacco to help fund local schools.”⁹ *The Taipei Times* confirmed the report, stating, “Cash-strapped Chinese schools do sometimes rent out space to businesses to raise money... Last month [February 2001], state television reported a room rented out by one Shanghai school was used as a gambling den.”¹⁰ National Public Radio’s Rob Gifford explained, “[s]ubsidies from the central government to the local governments have all but stopped... the villages are really being left to fend for themselves. They’ve got to raise their own money in order to pay for things like hospitals, to pay teacher’s salaries.”¹¹

Freedom of Speech and Press and Freedom from Attack on a Person's Reputation

Criticism over China's infringement upon freedom of speech is not new. Perhaps the most vivid image that Americans have of China is Tiananmen Square, when the Chinese government killed several student demonstrators during an attempt to halt a protest against the government. As Rosemary Foot points out in *Rights Beyond Borders*, "It was the crisis in June 1989, reported so extensively on our TV screens, that brought China's human rights record to the forefront of global attention."¹²

In the aftermath of Tiananmen Square, Chinese citizens became more outspoken than ever about the issue of free speech; therefore, it is not surprising that soon after the Jiangxi Elementary School explosion, western journalists received reports from villagers about an alleged Chinese government cover-up: "Parents have...accused the government of cover-up," the *Agence France Presse* wrote, and "survivors of the blast and parents have been warned to keep quiet and to stick to the official explanation."¹³ United Press International reported, "villagers in a small Chinese village have cried foul as state media and government officials changed the story of how over 40 of their children died as their school exploded early Thursday."¹⁴

The cover-up accusation is not without merit. After all, local police first blamed an allegedly mentally ill villager named Li Chuicai for the explosion. Local police told the *People's Daily* that they [police] had found an incriminating note written by Li in which he stated he intended "to set off an explosion in a crowded place."¹⁵ Police also matched chemicals from the explosion to those found in Li's house, and there were four eyewitnesses "who saw Li riding in the direction of the primary school carrying plastic pockets obviously with something in them."¹⁶ Finally, "autopsy results of Li's body showed that he was at the very center of [the] explosion."¹⁷ The newspaper declared, "Aftermath Well Handled."¹⁸

As stories appeared around the world criticizing the Chinese government for its handling of the case, Premier Zhu Rongji assured the public that it was, in fact, "a lone madman."¹⁹ When asked again nine days after the explosion whether or not he continued to believe it was "a lone madman with two bags of fireworks," Zhu replied, "I know overseas media and media in Hong Kong did not agree with the explanation I gave them. They all chose to believe that the explosion was caused by production of fireworks by the students...But up to now there is no evidence that can be found to override the conclusion we already drew."²⁰ Zhu did, however, go on to say that there would be an ongoing investigation, and anyone involved in a cover-up would be punished (in fact, some local officials were dismissed according to a 2001 U.S. State Department report²¹). A foreign ministry spokesman later reiterated Zhu's comment, saying "investigations had proved a mentally disturbed villager had caused the blast in a suicide mission and that journalists had distorted the facts in order to attack China."²²

PART II. DOES INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE FORCE CHANGE?

The Jiangxi Elementary School explosion prompted the Congress of the United States to look more closely at U.S.-China trade relations. In a letter to secretary of Labor Elaine Chao, Representatives George Miller and Nancy Pelosi wrote, "what has emerged is a very disturbing picture of systematic forced labor by very young children that requires a thorough review by the Department of Labor and, if corroborated, immediate action in conformity with legal restrictions against the importation of products manufactured under such conditions."²³ Besides the obvious concern for the welfare of the Chinese people, Congressman Miller and Congresswoman Pelosi also were worried that fireworks made by the students

could wind up in the United States. In other words, Chinese blood would be on U.S. hands. Some reports suggest, sadly, that some of the firecrackers were used during Independence Day celebrations.²⁴

It does appear that international pressure has forced China to take the issue of human rights more seriously. The Chinese government regularly cites publicly that ensuring human rights is a top priority. Early in his July 27, 2005 address to the National Committee on United States-China Relations in Washington D.C., Tang Jiaxuan, State Councilor of the People's Republic of China, said, "In March last year [2004], China's National People's Congress met to write 'the State respects and safeguards human rights' into the Constitution. China has acceded to 21 international human rights instruments, and conducted human rights dialogue with many countries, the U.S. included, on the basis of equality and mutual respect."²⁵

Just a couple of months ago, on September 22, 2005, the Chinese Ambassador to the United States, H.E. Zhou Wenzhong, in a speech to the Asia Society in New York, outlined five important things for the future of China-U.S. relations: 1) an evaluation of China-U.S. over the past 26 years, 2) broad mutual interests on strategic and security issues to serve as the bedrock of our cooperation, 3) a mutually beneficial or "win-win" situation is completely feasible, 4) people-to-people exchanges offer vast potential, and 5) create a more unified approach to differences over such questions as Taiwan, [*human rights*] and religion.²⁶ Specifically, Zhou stated, "The Chinese government attaches high importance to the protection and advancement of human rights. The people in China are enjoying more substantial human rights than ever before."²⁷ Zhou admits, "we have not done perfectly. There is still room for improvement. But we are striving for constant progress."²⁸

What Zhou says appears to be true, at least in East Asia in general. For example, one Hong Kong School for expatriate children now teaches students about child labor and the United Nations Commission on the Rights of the Child as part of its curriculum in an effort to "cultivate internationalism and respect for other cultures."²⁹ One fourth-grader said about child carpet-weavers, "It's not very pleasant, it's very dark... You can get hurt by the dangerous materials."³⁰

PART III. CHINA'S DEFINITION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

In the U.S., our concept of human rights mostly derives from our notion of unalienable rights as defined by the Founding Fathers in the Declaration of Independence; that is, those of "life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness." In reality, however, "the widening and deepening of the human rights idea owes itself to a variety of factors."³¹ Foot states,

[It] must include revulsion against genocidal practices during the Second World War, racial discrimination, and the propping up of repressive regimes in the cold-war era. Important too has been the shifting balance of voting power or bargaining power in the U.N. bodies or state bureaucracies; the changing of legislative and bureaucratic procedures, the consequences of which were only partially realized beforehand, and which demonstrate the independent power of institutional arrangements; and a kind of tit-for-tat targeting by adversaries that in the context of fluctuating voting power often served to make less partisan and more global the effects of new initiatives.³²

The Chinese differentiate between due rights (legal rights) and “natural rights.”³³ In China, human rights are more closely related to “due rights” than “natural rights,” whereas in the West, human rights are considered “natural rights,” and laws are made in order to protect them. Furthermore, the Chinese concept of human rights mostly derives from a mixture of ancient Confucianism and modern Marxism. It might appear as if these two concepts—Confucianism and Marxism—are diametrically opposed; after all, Confucius wrote about individual morality and ethics, while Marxism stresses the community, not the individual. However, the two philosophies do have at least one similarity. The Confucian value “Chung” teaches loyalty to the state. Loyalty to the state, albeit a misinterpretation of Marx’s and Engels’ philosophy, is considered by many an important tenet in modern Chinese Communism. To the Chinese, then, the phrase “human rights,” is inherently community related. One can only have human rights if it benefits the community. If the community suffers because of an individual, then the individual’s rights are revoked in favor of community harmony.

Nevertheless, citizens like Wei Jingsheng, one of the activists imprisoned after the Democracy movement, are forcing the Chinese government to rethink their definition of human rights. In a letter written from prison in June 1991, Wei declared, “The lack of human rights is the principle cause for many of the concrete problems confronting Chinese society.”³⁴ He lists six fallacies regarding the Chinese theory of human rights:

FALLACY ONE: Human rights are the internal affairs of a country, and foreign governments and organizations have no right to interfere...

FALLACY TWO: There are different standards of human rights. Different standards apply to different countries, nations, cultural traditions, and social systems and people should be content with the human rights standards stipulated in the laws of their country...

FALLACY THREE: It is permissible to discuss the issue of human rights and carry out international human rights, but it is an “abnormal phenomenon” to preach specific values, ideologies, and models...

FALLACY FOUR: It is permissible to discuss and even protect human rights, but no international pressure will be tolerated. Emancipation of human rights under a dictatorship can only come about through the dictatorship’s “own choice.”...

FALLACY FIVE: “We have managed to feed and meet the subsistence needs of over one billion people” and “this is the greatest human right”...

FALLACY SIX: “Looking after the interests of the majority of the people is our major point of departure on human rights.”³⁵

Wei’s letter was very influential, and the “White Paper on Human Rights in China” was issued later that year (November 1991).

Conclusion

China has a long way to go in proving its commitment to protecting human rights. In July 2005, the *South China Morning Post* reported, “Children as young as 13 years old were sent to work in sweatshop factories in Dongguan, Guangdong under ‘summer jobs’ schemes backed by their parents and their schools.”³⁶ Teachers and factory bosses involved were un-

concerned. They “claimed that they were merely helping the children financially by arranging the apprenticeships.”³⁷ Until the Chinese government reconciles the disparity between urban and rural income, the problem of poverty, and cracks down on child labor abuses, the foreign community must remain vigilant in its demands for human rights improvements.

(Endnotes)

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27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
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A Woman's Religion: How Ann Lee Broke Through the Patriarchy

● ● ● Jennifer Roberts

In the last few decades, feminists have been looking to the Shakers as both a model for women's equality in religious leadership and as a model of an ideal utopian society. Ann Lee, founder of the American Shaker religion, provided the building blocks for future Shakers to codify and expound on the laws set forth by this enigmatic visionary, which would lead the Shakers toward an egalitarian society. However, a few scholars have exposed what they see as contradictory ideas of gender equality that permeate Ann Lee's philosophy, as well as that of the later Shakers. Debates rage over the later Shakers gendered labor division and Lee's supposed enforcement of the patriarchy as proof that Lee was not an advocate for women. Others, in Lee's defense, claim that her belief in a female counterpart to Christ coupled with her leadership role is proof enough that she was in many respects a feminist. Though the argument is sound, it does not go far enough. One must look at Lee in the context of her own time and not through twenty-first century eyes. One must look behind the curtain, behind the patriarchal hierarchy, to understand how Lee worked within the only system available to women to affect wide-scale change and make the Shakers a "women's religion."¹

Though Lee was the founder of a new religious sect, Lee recognized that she would need to work within the patriarchal framework of both society and Christianity, and manipulate the hierarchal system to further the standing of women within a religious community. To understand how Lee manipulated her position and the confines of such, and to fully understand the significance of Lee's ideology of religion and how it has informed feminism today, we must first explore her history. Lee's experiences as a young girl, a wife, a mother, and a leader of an influential religion will help clarify the rationale behind the dichotomy of her teachings.

Lee's childhood and upbringing are critical to the understanding of how she shaped the Shaker religion. Lee, born into a working class family in 1736 in Manchester, England, had no formal schooling. In fact, Lee remained illiterate her entire life. Luckily, her oral teachings were written down in some of the Shaker's most important religious texts: *The Divine Book of Holy and Eternal Wisdom*, and *Compendium*. Often, these texts are referred to as "Mother's Wisdom," which laid the foundation for the belief system of the early Shakers. Within the teachings we discover the ideas on the role of women that supports Lee's standing as a feminist visionary and champion of women. The natural progression of the Shakers into an era of positive attitude toward women in their society and liturgy was a direct result of Lee's influence from within the system.

Through Lee's oral teachings we get a clear account of her childhood and inclination for religious duty. Lee, an enigmatic child, exhibited quite an interest in religious mysticism. She had visions of a godly nature from a young age. She was dedicated to God and keenly aware of her own sinfulness. Lee's preoccupation with her own impurity seemed to torture her: "I labored in nights; continually crying for my own redemption, and in the daytime I put my hands to work and my heart to God. My sufferings were so great that my flesh consumed

upon my bones and I became as helpless as an infant.”²² Lee’s religious fervor and awareness of her shortcomings as a mortal not only attracted the attention of those around her, but also set her up for a life of purpose.

Lee’s religious awareness and propensity toward mysticism left her open to explore a new religion being formed in 1747. The Quaker religion split, with one sect becoming the *Shaking Quakers*, so named for their “highly emotional services, during which members sang, shouted, danced, spoke in tongues, and literally shook with emotion.”²³ After her conversion in 1758, Lee’s personality and vitality enabled her rapid rise to leadership.

Though married, Lee would advocate celibacy and a sibling mentality among the believers, having them refer to each other, married or not, as *brother* and *sister*. It has been speculated that four difficult childbirths and the deaths of all four children influenced Lee in developing this particular tenet of the Shakers.⁴ In an essay “Blessed Mother Ann, Holy Mother Wisdom: Gender and Divinity in Shaker Life and Belief,” Marjorie Procter-Smith helps us draw the conclusion that childbirth did indeed have an effect on Lee’s religious philosophy. Procter-Smith highlights Lee’s account of a religious experience in which Lee uses wording that parallels her own experience of giving birth:

Thus I labored, in strong cries and groans to God, day and night, til my flesh wasted away, and I became like a skeleton, and a kind of down came upon my skin, until my soul broke forth to God; which I felt as sensibly as ever a woman did a child, when she delivered of it.⁵

The metaphorical use of labor and birth mark Lee’s recognition of the oppressiveness of the female body in relation to reproduction and child rearing. Equating birth to something other than *natural* and *normal* was radical and would help deconstruct the theory that a woman’s worth laid only within her womb. It would be this philosophy that would open the doors for women in the Shaker community to look beyond motherhood as their only option. Lee demonstrated that women could also consider leadership roles in liturgy and become active participants in the economy and community.

Lee was not afraid to challenge societal and religious norms. In England in 1770, while Lee was imprisoned for breaking the Sabbath, she claimed to have had visions that confirmed for her that celibacy was the only path to God because “lust was the original sin...[O]nly by giving up intercourse entirely...could humankind be reconciled with God.”⁶ It can be argued that Lee’s success in proclaiming celibacy as the only avenue to salvation helped lead the natural progression toward equality in the church and society for women. By removing the oppression of child bearing, women were able to “develop and exercise both [their] male and female attributes.”⁷ Lee recognized that if a woman’s role was defined only in relationship to motherhood—a woman’s purpose is for reproduction only—then women would not be able to advance into other social, religious, and economic arenas.

Lee’s voice broke through for women in a multitude of ways, but none held on stronger than the belief in the duality of Christ. During her imprisonment in England in 1770 in which she had her visions that established celibacy as the only way to God, she had another vision that would further solidify the importance and equality of women in the Shaker society. Lee’s vision revealed to her that there was no holy trinity connected to Christ, but instead, a duality—male and *female*. Lee stated that Christ, in his first coming, represented

only the male counterpart, referred to as the “second Adam.” The vision also informed Lee that Christ’s second coming would be appearing in the female form, known as the “second Eve.” Setting up an equality of female-ness and male-ness in Christ would spill over into the equality of women in the Shaker community. The Shakers reverence for Ann, as well as her dynamic leadership ability, led them to think she, Mother Ann, was the female godhead of Christ.⁸ The visions would assist the move toward utopian ideals and set women up for future equality in liturgy.

Though having strong recognition in a female deity that was “essential to woman’s social and religious emancipation,”⁹ the Shakers juxtaposed positive female imagery against conventional societal ideals about women. Procter-Smith explains that the “greater sinfulness of women necessitated, in part, the Second Coming of Christ in female form.”¹⁰ Lee herself would propagate the conventional rhetoric on women’s inferiority both spiritually and domestically.

Lee felt that there was a feminine component to Christ, yet she also believed that men were heads of household. Her stance on women’s roles as wives and mothers would stand in contradiction to the equality of Christ’s gender. In the sacred text *Divine Book of Holy and Eternal Wisdom*, Lee dictates a conventional gendered role for women in the household: “Rise early, and look well to your household affairs; go forth in cheerfulness and good humor, and perform well your part which is allotted to you.”¹¹ The path allotted for women, as Lee saw it, was still a path secondary to the role of man:

As in nature it requires a man and a woman to produce children, the man is first and the woman is second in the government of the family; he is the father, and she the mother; and the male and female children must be subject to their parents, and the woman subject to her husband, who is the *first*.¹²

Lee’s position on family structure was in apparent opposition to her role as leader in the Shaker community, which did not go unnoticed by some. Suzanne R. Thurman, in her book *O Sisters Ain’t You Happy*, explores the androgynous model of the Shakers by highlighting the difficulties Ann Lee had in her challenged, untraditional role as apostle and public speaker. Thurman recounts a challenge by John Meacham, future leader of the Shakers, in which he questioned Lee about “the propriety of her public speaking and visible leadership role,” which does not obey Paul’s admonishment against women speaking up in church.¹³ Lee responded and carried further the previous quote on women’s and men’s roles by saying, “[W]hen the man is gone, the right of government does not belong to the children, but to the wife.”¹⁴ Lee was justifying her position while advocating gender hierarchy in an attempt to blend the two roles.

The question of whether there was a female head of church in the Shaker community was asked and answered differently on another occasion. When confronted again about the position of a female leader, there was slick denial: “No; Christ is the head of the church.”¹⁵ Whereas this first answer relegates the woman to leader only in the absence of her husband, the second removes her from leadership completely and puts it in the hands of God. Still, “Lee was the undisputed center of the community,”¹⁶ and the environment that she created would encourage later Shaker leaders such as John Meacham to expound on the ideal utopian existence.

We need look no further than Lee's own words in arguing that Mother Ann influenced future generations to lean toward equality in women's rights within the community despite the contradictions. The mere fact that Lee founded and ran the Shakers in early America gave women a positive role model. Regardless of Meacham's challenge to her visible leadership, and Lee's own views on men as heads of household, "belief in Lee as a female godhead served later generations of Shakers with a theological basis for their espousal of equal rights for women."¹⁷ All the building blocks were in place for a natural progression into what is now argued as a utopian and feminist society and religion.

Following Ann Lee's death in 1784, Shaker leaders began to head in a new direction by creating separate but equal orders for men and women and fully developing communal living. The natural progression of the Shakers into communal living in large part may have come about from Lee's success in acquiring converts during her nine years in America. Churches and communities threatened by Lee and the Shakers' success became violent. Mobs consistently terrorized the Shaker's pacifist community. The need to huddle closer together for protection is one of the primary reasons communal living may have developed among the Shakers in the last decade of the eighteenth century.¹⁸ Along with communal living and socialist policies (i.e. communal property, etc.), sexual segregation had evolved.

The development of separate religious orders was another step toward a post-Lee Shaker ideology. Each order was split into male/female orders. The orders were then headed by two men for the male order and two women for the female order; both sets of leaders would have equal say and rule over the society. In this way, equality in liturgy became a cornerstone in Shaker religion, influencing the outside world.

However, this brings up the question of whether separate but equal is truly equal. Thurman may say yes, but Procter-Smith would argue that it does not. Procter-Smith points out that the effects of instituting sexual segregation "relegate[d] women to the "back room" not only for worship, but during public speaking and debate as well."¹⁹ She goes on to explain that public speaking was strictly assigned to men. The fact that Ann Lee was an exception to this rule was explained away by her elevated status as a prophet and that "ordinary women" were not expected to emulate her.²⁰

Another reason some think the Shakers were not feminist lies in their gendered labor division. Labor in the Shaker society was divided between the sexes and mirrored the same divisions found in the outside world: men were in the public sphere, while a women's place was in the home, the private, unseen sphere. Procter-Smith argues that the Shakers viewed the traditional work done by women to be of "divine origin," and that "Shaker women were advised that true freedom for them lay in remaining within the 'woman's sphere.'"²¹ However, Thurman argues against reaching the conclusion that gendered labor division should be cited as evidence against the Shaker's women-friendly community; she states that one must take into account the nature of the times and how rural Shaker women differed from rural women in general. With the advent of industrialization, division of labor became more oppressive for women, but the same does not hold true for the rural Shaker woman: "[T]heir positive view of physical labor, their emphasis on skilled work, their views on gender, and the connotations of the public and private spheres in their community made women's work highly valued in Shaker society."²² Thurman stresses the fact that the Shaker women's work was less tedious and less divisional than that of other rural women because of their "practice of labor rotation, communal work, and use of technology."²³ Thurman goes on to say that the Shakers did not

devalue women's work and instead suggests that the gendered labor distribution in the Shaker community was an acceptable practice that did not take away from their ideology of equality among women and men.²⁴

The argument for and against the Shakers as exemplars of an ideal society can continue to be debated with cases being made on either side. What is clear, though, is that Ann Lee's theology and theory, however contradictory, created an environment that fostered changes within the religion that would push women's equality closer to the forefront of discussion. It was through her leadership and teachings that the next generation saw the opportunities to inhabit an idealistic community that prized perfection and hard work in order to be closer to God. After Lee's death, the Shakers divided their housing into celibate, equal dormitories; appointed a female and male leader to minister the religion and society in shared, equal power distribution; and instituted equal possession of property. Through Lee's struggles within the patriarchy of society and the Christian religion, the Shakers would come the closest in creating a utopian society, a society that was the model for a perfect social and religious organization comprised of gender equality, economic equality, and religious equality.

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Notes

1. Defined by the majority of its members as female with female leadership.
2. Ken Burns, 1989

3. Lindsay Jones, *Encyclopedia of Religion 2nd Edition*, (Detroit, MI: Thomas Gale, 2005), 8268.
4. Angela Howard Zophy, *Handbook of American Women's History, 1st Edition* (New York, NY: Garland, 1990), 322.
5. Marjorie Procter-Smith, "Blessed Mother Ann, Holy Mother Wisdom: Gender and Divinity in Shaker Life and Belief," *Gender in Cross Cultural Perspective*. Eds. Caroline B. Brettel and Carolyn F. Sargent. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1997, 390-397.
6. Jones, *Encyclopedia of Religion 2nd Edition*, (Detroit, MI: Thomas Gale, 2005), 5389.
7. Suzanne R. Thurman, "*O Sisters Ain't You Happy*": *Gender, Family, and Community Among the Harvard and Shirley Shakers* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2002), 60-61.
8. Scholars continue to debate whether Ann Lee ever proclaimed herself as the female counterpart to Christ, or whether her devoted followers made the proclamation after her death.
9. Procter-Smith, "Blessed Mother Ann, Holy Mother Wisdom: Gender and Divinity in Shaker Life and Belief," 395.
10. Ibid.
11. Paulina Bates, "WISDOM instructs Females who are bound in Marriage to Males," *Divine Book of Holy and Eternal Wisdom, sect.8* (Lebanon N.Y.: 1849), <http://www.passtheword.org/SHAKER-MANUSCRIPTS/Holy-Wisdom/wsdmindex.htm>
12. F.W. Evans, "Biography of Ann Lee," Chapter XI, 68., *Compendium* <http://www.sacred-texts.com/chr/shaker/sc/sc.htm>
13. Feminist thinkers in theology are also challenging this commonly held belief that Paul had advocated silence for women. Some argue that Paul was simply stating an opposing view, as he had been known to do, before scrutinizing and dispelling it.
14. Thurman, "*O Sisters Ain't You Happy*," 61.
15. Procter-Smith, *Women in Shaker Community and Worship*, 14-15.
16. Ibid.
17. Zophy, Angela Howad, *Handbook of American Women's History, 1st Edition*, (New York, NY: Garland, 1990), 322.
18. Some scholars also see the communal living as a factor in the later decline of the Shakers. Pulling away from the outside world separated them from competition in industry; thus, they lost income and the ability to keep them self-sufficient.
19. Procter-Smith, *Women in Shaker Community and Worship*, 98-99.
20. Ibid.
21. Procter-Smith, *Blessed Mother Ann, Holy Mother Wisdom: Gender and Divinity in Shaker Life and Belief*, 395.
22. Thurman, Suzanne, "*O Sisters Ain't You Happy*," 68.
23. Peters, Robert, "Lee, Ann," *The Reader's Companion to American History*. <http://www.college.hmco.com/history/readerscomp/>.
24. Thurman, "*O Sisters Ain't You Happy*," 67-79.

The Art of Revolution: Feminist Art and the Women's Liberation Movement

● ● ● *Jennifer Wall*

Feminist art of the 1960s and 1970s, like the Women's Liberation Movement of the same era, represented a radical new beginning. The women of both movements wanted to change views about gender, and create equality and recognition that women had long been denied. The momentum and force of the Women's Liberation Movement generated new subjects and inspiration for a new type of female artist, who then used art to advance her cause and inform the public sphere. Judy Chicago and her associates best expressed an example of this interplay. They contributed to the women's movement in two ways: they used the techniques of the women's movement to awaken younger women artists, while using their own work and teaching to advance the larger cause of women's liberation.

Critics, historians, and even other artists ignored women artists throughout art history. During some eras, women artists were punished for simply trying to express themselves. The New Deal and the Works Progress Administration (WPA) helped open the door for women all over America. The WPA allowed for women to find a place not just in factories and the job market, but in the fine arts world. The WPA gave jobs to artists, and for the first time these artists included women. Photographers like Dorothea Lange and painters like Lee Krasner found work through the WPA.

The New Deal art projects, however, offered both opportunities and repression. Women artists found themselves still having to draw a line between expressing and repressing their femininity in a male-dominated society.¹ Although forty percent of self-declared artists in the 1930s census were women, many were still caught in the fold of trying to decide where their loyalties lay. It was not as simple as being a professional; being a woman was always tied to whatever they did. Thus in the 1930s, though women were becoming more "modern" and the ability to work outside the home was more accepted, the challenges of social value or what was thought to be the "the women's place," and equal opportunity in the workplace hindered many women.²

The WPA afforded women artists an unprecedented opportunity for professional employment, through which they could form an identity. Although this identity was still limited socially and the assumption was that the only experience worth recording was the male experience, they found a door they could begin to push through.³ However, this narrow passageway for women artists was closed with the end of World War II. It was assumed that women, who had now experienced success and employment, would want nothing more than to return to the role of wife and mother. The women artists of the WPA found themselves in a similar situation.

Women artists were automatically denied access to the Abstract Expressionist movement because of its macho mystique. Abstract Expressionism was defined as action painting. It encompassed many different styles but was defined by the male mystique and the movement of action. The Abstract Expressionist group was a "boy's club" of womanizers and alcoholics.⁴ Lee Krasner, who had begun to find a voice through WPA projects, found herself

simply being defined as Jackson Pollock's wife and nothing more. Hans Hofmann, a highly regarded teacher and artist, said that Krasner's work was so good one would not have thought it was done by a woman.⁵ Krasner found herself supporting Pollock's career. She promoted him and his work, while still attempting to create her own. Her work, however, was not to find fame until the Women's Liberation movement. When feminist art was to be "rediscovered," Krasner would move out of the shadow of her husband.⁶

Some women did gain some recognition in the 1950s art world. Krasner and Elaine de Kooning gained some recognition through their husbands. Critics thought they were naïve women simply following the path set for them by men. No critic would admit that it was Krasner, not Pollock, who was the first Abstract Expressionist. It was also not admitted that it was Krasner who did Pollock's interviews and set his schedule.

Women in the 1950s and earlier faced isolation, not only from each other but in the case of women artists, from their own history.⁷ H.W. Janson's influential textbook, *History of Art*, was first published in 1962.⁸ It contained neither the works nor name of a single woman artist. Janson justified this by saying he had yet to find a woman who clearly belonged in any volume of art history.⁹ He was simply following a path set before him by other art historians. Similar to the factory or the work place, art was not regarded as women's work. The factory and the job place were for men. Women were to be mothers, wives, and homemakers, but not professionals and certainly not artists. With the National Women's Organization (NOW) and Women's Liberation, these images that society pushed on women were about to change and it was they who were going to change them.

NOW was formed to obtain equal employment, and professional women wanted to be treated as equals based on qualification. Women's Liberation moved with NOW but went farther; they wanted abortion rights and sexual liberation. NOW and Women's Liberation brought forth not only a new type of artist but new subject matter. Women artists were finding in the women's rights movement a voice for which they had been longing. The women artists of the 1960s and 1970s were determined not only to find a place within the art world for themselves, but to use their art to speak against discrimination for the benefit of all women.

One artist in particular took it upon herself to speak for women. Judy Gerowitz took the name Judy Chicago in 1969 as a way to escape the isolation and move away from all things imposed on her by a male social dominance. She wanted to choose freely her own name.¹⁰ Chicago was born in Chicago, Illinois in 1939.¹¹ Her father was an important presence in her life and from an early age, she wanted to be just like him. Her father was an intelligent and charismatic man whom Chicago deeply admired. Through her Women's Liberation readings and her associations with other activists, she discovered that one's sex, according to society, determines one's personality, interests and options. She believed for a long time that she was wrong in wanting to be a person separate from her sex.¹² Typical of other women artists before the movement, Chicago gave up art for a number of years because she, like many others, grew wary of always having to justify her work and her femininity. Just as many other women within the Liberation movement, Chicago found herself truly alienated. She realized that the art community as it was could not provide her what she needed to realize herself as a person and as an artist. With this realization, she found an alternative and devoted herself to the women's movement.¹³

Early in her art career, Chicago got married and during this time, she stopped working. It was still uncommon for women to work once they married. She became depressed,

but then in the late 1960s, Chicago began to use abstract, formal images to express herself as a woman;¹⁴ she had found her voice again. She found little support in the art world because instead of trying to hide that she was a woman, Chicago put herself, her experiences, and her womanhood into her work. Chicago read Valerie Solanas' *The Scum Manifesto* and everything changed. She saw an alternative to isolation, rejection, and repressed anger.¹⁵ In the Women's Liberation movement and NOW, Chicago found a community and support system. She began to create work that expressed not only herself as a woman, but the experience she had gone through in a male-dominated society. When Chicago was isolated from the art world, she found an alternative at Fresno State College in Los Angeles. It was here that Chicago began to challenge not only the art world but society.¹⁶

Fresno was founded as an experimental college that offered courses in Marxist politics, African American studies, and women's studies. Courses in these studies were very rare. Chicago approached the Art Department head and wanted to hold a women's art class that would challenge the women in it as artists and as women. She wanted the class held off campus away from the male population. In previous teaching experiences, Chicago had found that women on campus in male-dominated classes tended to be passive and withdrawn. She herself had experienced isolation in male-dominated settings and she believed it had stunted her growth as an artist and as a woman. In the gender segregated art classes, she found that the female students were assertive, eager, and angry.¹⁷

A space was rented in a run-down area of Los Angeles and each student in the program gave twenty-five dollars to pay rent for a seven-month period. By working off campus, the group surpassed normal academic time and space, sometimes working beyond the normal academic day. The space was located in an urban area where they became a community with resources and research areas, which encompassed urban markets, malls, and swap meets. Relying on methods used by women in the Liberation movement, the group included consciousness raising, reading, discussion, and activities that built up the skills of a modern artist. Chicago's classes focused on what NOW and Women's Liberation were speaking about. They looked at traditional gender roles and the repression of women's desires, experiences, ambitions, and fears. The unspoken curriculum was learning to contend with manifestations of power, both political and social.¹⁸ Chicago believed that she had been robbed of knowing her own heritage in art history, so a large part of the group's work went into research about women in history.¹⁹ It was Chicago's contention that these women had the right to know what women's literature was available. She used Women's Liberation literature and ideas on woman's roles to engage and inform.²⁰ These feminists criticized the ideologies and discourses of traditional art history. As artists and women, they wanted to know their own history. Feminist historians and activists wanted to marginalize themselves from art as it had been practiced and recorded. Thus, they rejected the gendered nature of access to cultural production, the questions of representation and gender, and the differential treatment of men and women's art by critics, galleries, museums, and historians.²¹

Chicago found something that was prevalent within all of the women's movements. She had known she wanted to be an artist and once set in her struggle she had let nothing stop her. The women in her classes had never had anything expected of them, nor had they ever been asked what they wanted to do. Chicago soon found out that no one had demanded that these women reach their potential.²² Many of them had been pressured by parents to get good grades, but establishing personal goals and identity was another story. In some ways, Chicago

found herself having to teach these women to make demands of each other by exchanging and expressing their thoughts, feelings, and ideas.²³

Along with many women in the liberation movement, Chicago's students found themselves confused. They could not work consistently on their art, as they had personal conflicts in the relationships of boyfriends and husbands. However, the idea that one did not have to have a boyfriend to be successful soon filtered into Chicago's class. Gradually these women became conscious of their situation as independent women in society and culture. This in turn forced them to become involved not only in their art but in promoting NOW and Women's Liberation. They realized that it was no longer acceptable just to cope with society as it was. The challenge had to come from within and they accepted that there was nothing wrong with them for wanting more.²⁴

By 1971, Chicago felt that her time at Fresno had been productive. She herself had grown in the liberation movement. Her work was blatantly referencing Women's Liberation and its contexts. Chicago went to join the Feminist Art Program at California Institute of the Arts (CalArts), where artist and liberation activist Miriam Schapiro worked.²⁵ There she and Schapiro began work on a building that became very important in the feminist movement.²⁶ Located in urban Los Angeles, *Womanhouse* provided a collaborative art environment that addressed the universal experiences of women.²⁷ Unlike Fresno where the students' art had little exposure, *Womanhouse* was given national attention that spurred on the ideas of sexuality and discrimination against women.

Womanhouse not only encouraged young artists; it generated a new subject matter, as well. The seventeen rooms of *Womanhouse* presented the relationship between gender and social roles, in a direct and obvious way. Most of the rooms replicated conventional aspects of a home. The activities in each room, however, challenged the traditional images of women through creative exaggeration. The house literally brought to life Betty Friedan's 1963 *Feminine Mystique*. *Womanhouse* gave a visual image to "the problem with no name."²⁸ Not only did the rooms of the house give a face to the problem with no name, it also provided new imagery for the public, along with performance pieces done by women artists each night the house was open. The images showed the public that it was not just a select group of women that felt as NOW and Women's Liberation did, but rather an issue of growing concern to women more generally. Women wanted to be seen as a presence in society and not just in the kitchen and nursery. These performances brought life and reality to the imagery in the house and many of them went far against the grain of what was acceptable for a woman to talk about in public. They addressed sex, homosexuality, and went against traditional roles of women. These were not issues about which women were supposed to express ideas or have opinions.²⁹

Before the women's movement, women were pictured in art as mothers, wives, prostitutes, or servants.³⁰ Women as subject matter was only seen as appropriate if it were done by males. Thus, one could usually only find women in art portrayed only as the virgin, a mother, a happy wife, or the extreme opposite, the sinner, temptress, and whore. In later art history women were seen as emasculators or the objects of rape and lust. Women were rarely shown nude unless it was degrading or in line with the male gaze. Suddenly women artists were taking ideas from the women's movement.

In its manifesto, NOW not only provided an outline for working towards equality for women in the workplace, but they also addressed the idea that false images of women should be protested and changed in the interest of the human dignity of women. Members of NOW

felt that these false images fostered self-denigration, dependence, and doubt.³¹ Even the new Radical Feminist in New York spoke out against the images of women in media and advertising. They felt women were being paraded around and that a double standard of what a woman was to be was being given to young women all over America. The feminist artists of this time took up this new subject matter and presented the public with a visual to go along with the words of NOW and other women's movements.

Women artists were looking at the idea of universal women's experience. They began to take apart the stereotyping of women in society as homemakers and mothers with no sexuality or personal choice. Images of sexuality and sex experience began to filter into the art world, as well as images of women's issues that would never have been discussed in public, like rape and menstruation. In *Womanhouse*, Chicago created a *Menstruation Bathroom* that challenged the traditional notion of shame society placed on a woman when she entered puberty (Appendix A). Chicago's bathroom was pristine white, with feminine hygiene products double wrapped. The bathroom was shrouded in silence and became a metaphor for the unspeakable.³²

The artists of *Womanhouse* began to use their bodies not only as references in images but as performance art. The idea of a woman being a sexual being with desires of her own was given visual imagery. No longer could critics of the movement say that only a few neurotic women had those feelings, because throughout America, many found themselves relating to the desires and fears expressed in the imagery being produced by the feminist artists of *Womanhouse*. Women outside the art world could relate to the imagery of the feminist artists even if they had not had the same experiences as the artists. Other women artists outside of *Womanhouse* found themselves being drawn into the feminist movement. They began to connect the vagina, labia and flowers, quilts, weaving, and body art as obvious subject matter and imagery.³³ They longed to transcend out of gendered identity through their work.³⁴

In the Women's Liberation movement, feminist artists found a door through which they could voice the universal issues of women. They found new subject matter as well as an art world that could no longer ignore their presence or their art. They provided the visual images through which the Liberation movement could inform the public. As the number of feminist artists grew so did the movement as a whole. Progressively more women found themselves relating to the images of universal experience and many utilized, supported, or contributed to the movement. Women were now taking a stand for themselves both vocally and visually. By taking a stand, these women did accomplish change. Chicago herself went on to do several series of work on or about the universal woman's experience. Feminist art provided visual imagery for Women's Liberation, giving women everywhere an image to go with "the problem with no name."



Judy Chicago's *Menstruation Bathroom*, 1972.35
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Notes

1. Helen Langa, "Egalitarian Vision, Gendered Experience" in *The Expanding Discourse*, ed. by Norma Broude and Mary Garrard, (Oxford: Westview Press, 1992), 409.
2. Ibid., 410-411.
3. Norma Broude and Mary Garrard, ed., *The Power of Feminist Art: The American Movement of the 1970s, History and Impact*, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1994), 13.
4. Ibid., 10-13.
5. Ibid.
6. Much of Krasner's work was not discovered or promoted in galleries till the Women's Liberation Movement. It was following this that Krasner's work began to be included in the core group of Abstract Expressionists.
7. The lack of women's history was true of all women. Women's Studies was not taught as a whole.
8. Norma Broude and Mary Garrard, ed., *The Power of Feminist Art: The American Movement of the 1970s, History and Impact*, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1994), 16.
9. Ibid.
10. Judy Chicago, *Through the Flower: My Struggle as a Woman Artist*, (New York: Anchor Books, 1977), 63.
11. Ibid., 1-2.
12. Ibid., 3-10.
13. Wendy Slatkin, *The Voices of Women Artists*, (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1993), 284. Includes personal writings of Judy Chicago.
14. Judy Chicago, *Through the Flower: My Struggle as a Woman Artist*, (New York: Anchor Books, 1977), 34-40.
15. Ibid., 59.
16. Norma Broude and Mary Garrard, ed., *The Power of Feminist Art: The American Movement of the 1970s, History and Impact*, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1994), 32.
17. Judy Chicago, *Through the Flower: My Struggle as a Woman Artist*, (New York: Anchor Books, 1977), 72.

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19. Ibid.
20. Judy Chicago, *Through the Flower: My Struggle as a Woman Artist*, (New York: Anchor Books, 1977), 69.
21. Janet Wolff, "The Feminine In Modern Art: Benjamin, Simmel and the Gender of Modernity," *Theory Culture and Society* 17 (December 2000): 33-35.
22. Judy Chicago, *Through the Flower: My Struggle as a Woman Artist*, (New York: Anchor Books, 1977), 74.
23. Ibid.
24. Judy Chicago, *Through the Flower: My Struggle as a Woman Artist*, (New York: Anchor Books, 1977), 75.
25. Schapiro and Chicago had met before and Schapiro, who was more radical then Chicago, had brought Chicago farther into the movement.
26. Norma Broude and Mary Garrard, ed., *The Power of Feminist Art: The American Movement of the 1970s, History and Impact*, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1994), 39.
27. Ibid.
28. Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*, (New York: Norton, 1963), 1-5.
29. Norma Broude and Mary Garrard, ed., *The Power of Feminist Art: The American Movement of the 1970s, History and Impact*, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1994), 55.
30. Harriet Sigerman, *The Columbia Documentary History of American Women Since 1941* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 206.
31. Norma Broude and Mary Garrard, ed., *The Power of Feminist Art: The American Movement of the 1970s, History and Impact*, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1994), 55.
32. Georgia O'Keefe did this in her works. She never told people that her flower paintings were sexual but many took that idea away after viewing her work.
33. Mira Shor, "Contemporary Feminism: Art Practices, Theory, and Activism – an Intergenerational Perspective," *Art Journal* 58 (Winter 1999): 12.
34. Norma Broude and Mary Garrard, ed., *The Power of Feminist Art: The American Movement of the 1970s, History and Impact*, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1994), 57.

Hirohito: Dunce or Duplicitous Leader?

● ● ● Michelle Yost

Introduction

At the conclusion of World War II, American occupation forces faced a tough decision: remove the Showa Emperor Hirohito and charge him with war crimes, or leave him as the symbolic leader of a defeated nation. To this end, General MacArthur chose to ease the occupation of Japan by allowing Hirohito to remain in the position of Emperor (now largely impotent) and helped to reform the image of the Emperor in the new democratic government. Hirohito was not up front about his role in the war, and MacArthur did not press for details. Previous historical works have portrayed the Showa Emperor as a background figure who bore very little responsibility for Japan's actions. With new sources released by the royal family, Herbert Bix makes the argument in his book, *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan* (2000), that the Emperor was not a passive figure controlled by militaristic forces, but an active director of World War II. History is always changing in accordance to new popular interpretations, and Hirohito's war history has changed significantly in the last forty years.

To this end, I will compare the position of Bix's book with four published before his between 1966 and 1998. Leonard Mosley's *Hirohito: Emperor of Japan* is the oldest, published in 1966, and by far the most sympathetic to Hirohito. In 1971 there was David Bergamini's *Japan's Imperial Conspiracy*, blowing onto the historical scene with allegations of a cover-up about Hirohito's true involvement in the war. However, his book was not well received (as will be seen in the reviews) and he did not have access to all of the documents that Bix used. Edward Behr, author of *Hirohito: Behind the Myth* (1989), balanced the position of Mosley and Bergamini, asserting that in the person of Hirohito there was "a shrewd and skillful manipulator as work, who knew what was going on."¹ In 1998, Peter Wetzler published *Hirohito and War*, which makes the argument that while Hirohito was well informed about military maneuvers, his participation in the decision-making process was driven by his desire to maintain Japanese policy and the image of the imperial household. Wetzler summarizes, "The emperor was not the ultimate or the only decision maker; he was part of the decision-making process."² The image of Hirohito's guiltless ignorance was crumbling away, but reviewers and fellow historians don't seem to have come to full acceptance of the Emperor's war responsibility until Bix's book.

Beginning with the Meiji Restoration in 1867, the position of Emperor of Japan was moved from a marginal religious figure to the center of the government. However, the cabinet (headed by the *genro* at first) held real control. Military leaders were given powerful positions in the cabinet, and the cabinet often appointed prime ministers independent of public elections. With this history, it is not impossible to image Hirohito as "a helpless puppet of 'the militarists'";³ but new documentation points a guilty finger at him as a well informed schemer who helped to guide Japan's war course. Herbert Bix asserts,

From the very outset Hirohito was a dynamic emperor, but paradoxically also one who projected the defensive image of a passive monarch. While the rest of the world dissociated him from any meaningful personal role

in the decision-making process and insisted on seeing him as an important figurehead lacking notable intellectual endowments, he was actually smarter and shrewder than most people gave him credit for...

From late 1937 onward Hirohito gradually became a real war leader, influencing the planning, strategy, and conduct of operations in China and participating in the appointment and promotion of the highest generals and admirals.⁴

If this is the case, then it was not an uncontrolled military and cabinet making all of the decisions while the Emperor did nothing. At the least he is guilty of appointing those who carried out the war crimes. Indeed, Generals Tojo (appointed prime minister), Itagaki, Kimura, Doihara, Matsui and Muto were all executed, though they avoided pointing the finger at the Emperor at risk to themselves.

Old perceptions of Hirohito

The final surrender of Japan was delayed because of their insistence on maintaining the Emperor's position, but with the atomic attacks and American ships blockading the country, Hirohito (his voice being heard by the public for the first time) announced Japan's unconditional surrender on August 15, 1945. He specifically surrendered to American forces, which were now responsible for rebuilding the devastated nation. General Douglas MacArthur did not take long in deciding to exempt Hirohito from charges of war crimes and to leave the monarchy in tact, if powerless, because MacArthur needed Hirohito as a symbol to help keep the occupied Japan under control. To this end, "Hirohito had to furnish an account exculpating his action as the sovereign head of the Japanese state over the previous twenty years... And he had to do so secretly, for his self-defense necessarily entailed assigning responsibility for war and defeat to some of his most loyal subjects."⁵ This deliberately crafted history of Hirohito was mostly accepted by scholars until recently.

Leonard Mosley's sympathetic book, *Hirohito: Emperor of Japan*, introduces the Showa Emperor as "a gentle introvert, scholarly and civilized man of peace who found himself Emperor of a nation bent on war and conquest... [H]e found the courage and the resources, in spite of military fanatics and palace conspiracies, to outwit the plotters and end the war."⁶ Mosley doesn't deny that Hirohito gave the approval for the Imperial Conference to go ahead with a declaration of war against the United States and Great Britain, though it was done with long deliberation and hesitation. However, Mosley states, "For almost eighteen months after Pearl Harbor, Hirohito ceased to play any part in the affairs of his nation, except as a symbol."⁷ Mosley summarizes Hirohito's passing of the war as dull, not doing much besides issuing rescripts to the people to keep fighting. As it became more apparent that Japan could not win, Mosley believes, "The more the Allies advanced, the more the Army sought to involve Hirohito. It was as if they were determined that, if they were smashed, the Emperor be smashed too."⁸ Hirohito supposedly went to General MacArthur on September 26 to offer himself up for judgment, and MacArthur was so touched that he told Washington that Hirohito could not be arrested for war crimes, which Truman grudgingly accepted.

Mosley's book received less-than-stellar reviews. F.C. Jones, in the *English Historical Review*, wrote that it "is not a book for the serious student of Japanese history... Mr. Mosley relies very largely on stories about the emperor and his relatives told by officials or ex-of-

ficials of the imperial court...The most that can be said for this book is that the portrayal of the emperor as a modest, retired, and peacefully inclined monarch who has made his name as a marine biologist, is one which is generally accepted.”⁹ This review does at least confirm the period’s recognition of Hirohito’s war responsibility as negligible. Charles D. Sheldon, in the *Journal of Asian Studies*, writes of Mosley, “He runs into trouble when he attempts...to assess the role of the Emperor and his advisors in the decisions which led to the war in China and in the Pacific...This reviewer is not at all convinced, for example, when Mosley argues that the Emperor, with a little encouragement from his advisors, could have reversed the whole trend toward war with the United States.”¹⁰ Though not a well executed history, *Hirohito: Emperor of Japan* fell into line with the old belief that the Showa Emperor had no control over the events of World War II.

The earliest dissenter from the tradition of Hirohito-as-innocent-bystander was David Bergamini’s *Japan’s Imperial Conspiracy*. He claims to have read thousands of pages of previously un-translated documents in Japan proving Hirohito’s culpability (including the Saionji-Harada Memoirs and the journals of Generals Honjo and Sugiyama). Sir William Flood Webb sat as a judge on the Tokyo War Crimes tribunals and wrote the introduction to the book, stating, “Mr. Bergamini presents a strong case for believing that Hirohito schemed and plotted to lead Japan to the conquest of Asia.”¹¹ The premise of this extremely long text is that there was a deliberate plan for war, and a well executed cover-up to keep Hirohito from being accused of any wrongdoings, which included burning official documents and senior officers lying about the Emperor’s conduct. Bergamini himself states, “I perceived that Hirohito, at the very least, was not the passive dupe of history that he had been made out to be...Until 1945 he was said to have kept up with every detail of government, to have consulted constantly with officials of all sorts...”¹² A month before the attack on Pearl Harbor, Hirohito was going over Admiral Yamamoto’s Order Number One, which outlined the pre-emptive strike on America. This wasn’t something Hirohito was shown at the last minute to rubber stamp, and Bergamini believes this is only one of many examples of Hirohito’s complicity. Bix repeats much of what he says, but it would take three more decades for Bergamini’s ideas to be accepted, except Bix would get a Pulitzer for it.

Bergamini’s *Japan’s Imperial Conspiracy* suffered terrible criticism, and Edward Behr explains why in his introduction to *Hirohito: Behind the Myth*:

The only major English-Language “revisionist” book to question the accepted view of Hirohito as a peace-loving, powerless prisoner of his entourage, David Bergamini’s *Japan’s Imperial Conspiracy*, was so violently attacked by a cohort of academic experts that Bergamini became a pariah, reviled, ridiculed and driven to an early death by the weight of negative critical abuse. Bergamini’s error was to attempt to discover a conspiracy pattern in Hirohito’s behavior, from his earliest years as crown prince, and to try to prove that he had deliberately placed a handful of key supporters in top positions in order to plan Japan’s militaristic expansionism...It was a flawed view, for Bargamini failed to grasp the difference between the emperor’s formal, “abstract” powers and their practical limits, and this failure was compounded by erratic scholarship, an attempt to twist all the available facts to prove his theory.¹³

This is an exceptionally harsh critique of Bergamini, especially considering now that he may not have been completely wrong in his assertions that Hirohito directed the Second World War, and then played dumb when the Americans arrived. Bix has not helped Bergamini to prove a far-reaching conspiracy, though. In *The Journal of Asian Studies*, reviewer Shumpei Okamoto states, “Despite its quasi-scholarly paraphernalia, Mr. Bergamini’s book has little value as a serious historical study.”¹⁴ Apparently, the diaries that Bergamini used were not considered to be scholarly enough at the time and he is accused of using them out of context to prove his point. He is also accused of using his experience of internment by the Japanese in the Philippines as slanting his view on history.

Not so wildly paranoid about conspiracies, but still holding the Emperor somewhat accountable for the war, Edward Behr’s *Hirohito: Behind the Myth* doesn’t go as far as Bergamini. On the one hand Behr states in his introduction, “The view that Hirohito was a war criminal...has since become shockingly unfashionable, and even to raise the subject is enough to provoke a storm of indignation... Nowadays, any hint that Emperor Hirohito may deserve even a small portion of the blame for the events that led to Pearl Harbor...is regarded as unwarrantable.”¹⁵ But on the other hand, Behr admits, “The ‘official’ Japanese line that Hirohito could not be held responsible for any of the steps that led to World War II because he was unaware of what was going on behind the scenes and was, in any case, lacking any real power, seems to me incredible.”¹⁶ Behr still finds that Hirohito was extremely uneasy about the military bringing the conflict into Indochina and the Pacific, but that he set these events in motion with his quiet acceptance of the military’s unauthorized conflict in Manchuria and China. Hirohito was “a sovereign trapped into following an irrevocable course of action...unwilling to accept the consequences of his past decisions, unable to put his war machine into reverse...”¹⁷ Hirohito was responsible for starting World War II, according to Behr, if for no other reason than he had put events into motion that he could not stop.

However, critics were still not accepting Hirohito’s war responsibility. Stated in the *Journal of Japanese Studies* by reviewer Stephen Large, “Behr consistently ignores important evidence, and many studies that use this evidence, which disagrees with his interpretation...for Behr to argue the case for his war responsibility through inference, insinuation, and guilt by indirect association is neither good investigative journalism nor good history.”¹⁸ The barriers guarding Hirohito were starting to crumble (Behr was not banished from the historical community for his views the way Bergamini was) and Bix’s large tome would finally allow for popular acceptance of Hirohito’s war guilt.

The most recent work before Bix’s book was Peter Wetzler’s *Hirohito and War*, in which he proposed, “Hirohito’s advocacy of Western scientific learning and constitutional monarchy was fundamental to the perpetuation of Japan’s imperial line, its supposed unique polity... The same can be said for his participation in pre-war military decisions.”¹⁹ Hirohito does not have the entire blame for war laid on his shoulders for three reasons: 1) His main concern was with the continuation of the imperial family and its position in politics; 2) He was consulted about war plans, “but was not able to dictate plans or basic strategy;”²⁰ and 3) His education was meant to imprint upon him the importance of the imperial line. Wetzler makes a point of emphasizing Hirohito’s legal responsibility in accordance with the Meiji constitution, but that MacArthur promoted the image of a figurehead emperor in order to better facilitate the American occupation of Japan. In the end, Wetzler concludes, “Because the emperor did not wish to risk destruction of the social and political order he headed, the ques-

tion of vetoing the war never arose.”²¹ Wetzler does not give Hirohito the role of an individual who helped to plan the bombing of Pearl Harbor, nor does he give Hirohito any way out of the war. To this end, the emperor is still excused for actions of the military.

Wetzler’s book is praised for being readable, but there are several flaws that reviews enjoy pointing out. Stephen Large says in *The American Historical Review*, “There are many instances where the author’s avowed desire to revise our picture of Hirohito causes him to make too much of the obvious, to put an interpretive spin on events that is at best highly dubious, to rely on thin evidence while omitting material that might challenge his claims...”²² However, not everyone is so critical of how Wetzler approaches Hirohito. Peter Duus, for example, asserts, “Wetzler may be completely wrong about the Showa emperor’s motives but we will probably never know... But as Wetzler amply demonstrates, evidence for the emperor’s complicity in the decision to go to war with the United States is abundant and unambiguous.”²³ This moderate approach to Hirohito, as complicit but not solely to blame, was well received. But Bix will not allow Hirohito to keep any excuses about family or passive acceptance with regards to his was responsibility.

Recent perceptions of Hirohito

Herbert Bix’s *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan* does not solely focus on the Showa Emperor’s war guilt, but aims instead “to study precisely those formative events and ideologies that underlay, deeply or near the surface, Hirohito as a monarch and a man. It focuses on the forces that shaped his thoughts and actions... It seeks to describe his actual role in policy making when he was the center of events.”²⁴ Hirohito did not object to the Army’s unauthorized maneuvers in Manchuria in 1931 because the effort was successful in expanding Japanese territory. Bix asserts that Hirohito “knew who had planned it, who had ordered it and who had carried it out. He was totally aware that several senior officers had violated the army’s own penal law.”²⁵ The military had not pulled the wool over the Emperor’s eyes, and he allowed the conflict in Manchuria and China to progress. He did suffer some anxiety about an out-of-control army causing a ruckus at home and abroad, and he spent several years getting them under control, expressing his full authority by crushing the military uprising in 1936. Hirohito was not a military puppet.

Leading up to the bombing of Pearl Harbor, “Hirohito’s command prerogatives were changing quickly, and he was about to become a commander in chief in every sense of the word.”²⁶ As opposed to Mosley’s assertion that the cabinet composed the declaration of war against the US and merely gave it to the Emperor for his signature, Bix states that Hirohito began composing the war rescript in October, going through several drafts with the help of military and civilian advisors. Nor, as Mosley believed, was Hirohito just sitting around in the dark while the war raged with the U.S.: “Hirohito routinely received drafts of developing war plans and full explanations of operations... Battle reports and situation reports were delivered to the palace daily.”²⁷ Hirohito went so far as to send aides out to various battle zones to check the accuracy of these reports. These actions cannot be mistaken as careless or uninformed. Hirohito knew exactly what was going on throughout the war.

So why was Hirohito not called to answer for his willing role in World War II? General MacArthur had several reasons; one was that he was instructed to work “through Japan’s existing government structures and mechanisms, including the emperor.”²⁸ But there was also a psychological component meant to keep the Japanese docile under occupational rule:

Japanese military leaders alone bore responsibility for the war, and the emperor, “the moderates” around the throne, and the people had been totally deceived by them...Code-named Operation Blacklist, the plan turned on separating Hirohito from the militarists, retaining him as a constitutional monarch but only as a figurehead, and using him to bring about a great spiritual transformation of the Japanese people. Because retaining the emperor was crucial to ensuring control over the population, the occupational forces aimed to immunize him from war responsibility, never debase him or demean his authority...²⁹

This means that from the outset, Hirohito was not in great danger of being charged with war crimes (even if he did not know it right away). The United States needed the figure of the Showa Emperor too badly, and instead laid the burden of guilt on those leaders around Hirohito. MacArthur secured Hirohito’s position, and Bix asserts, “in defending the Emperor, GHQ and the conservative elites were also promoting their respective version of Japan’s lost war. GHQ succeeded in establishing only the militarists as aggressors, not the emperor who had commanded them.”³⁰ To preserve his image in the eyes of the people, Hirohito was encouraged by MacArthur and the General Head Quarters to be seen by traveling around and distributing money and supplies. For the first time he was becoming connected to the people of his nation as a man instead of a god.

Bix’s book was not universally accepted though, and two Japanese reviewers in *Japan Echo* had quite a bit to say about *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan*: “Because he limits himself to analyzing the emperor and his entourage, Bix inevitably ends up overstating the emperor’s role in events. The key to what was going on in Japan at that time was the unchallenged power of the military. But Bix makes almost no attempt to analyze the military’s role and influence.”³¹ They are critical of his use of mostly secondary sources published by Japanese researchers. At the same time, though, they do not completely dispute Bix’s assertions about Hirohito’s guilt involving World War II, especially in Japan, but that Americans, for the most part, “have adopted a moderate stance, treating Emperor Showa as a constitutional monarch who had misgivings about a military run amok but who ultimately had no choice but to declare war on the United States.” They go on to note, “One exception to was a book published in 1971 entitled *Japan’s Imperial Conspiracy*...Bergamini argued that Emperor Showa was a dictator on a par with Hitler and Mussolini and that he was the main instigator of Japanese aggression during his reign. But he presented a weak case, offering little in the way of supporting documentation.”³² Bergamini’s book may have been dismissed as unacceptable scholarship, but it was not forgotten simply because it dared to question the MacArthur construction of Hirohito. Bix started from this perspective – that there was no question of the Emperor’s war guilt – but replaced premeditated conspiracy with a ruler caught up in the excitement of territorial and economic expansion, and presented his findings in such a convincing manner as to be awarded the Pulitzer Prize, signifying the final acceptance of Hirohito’s knowing involvement in World War II.

Conclusion

Scholars of Japanese history are not going to be able to return to the old views of a quiet, scholarly Emperor being held captive by a military bent on world conquest. It has

taken decades for this artificial construct of the emperor's involvement to be changed, and his war guilt is now accepted at least to some degree. Bix laments that "[p]rotecting the emperor and remaking his image were complex political undertakings that could be achieved only by grossly exaggerating the threat of social upheaval in Japan, rigging testimony, destroying evidence, and distorting history."³³ The passing of time has allowed too many new documents to come to light, and despite the rampant destruction of imperial records before MacArthur's arrival, personal memoirs and diaries provide a record of Hirohito's personal involvement in the war. Still, this is a question that may never be fully answered due to the incineration of so many documents, and there are more that the imperial family and the US government have refused to release. Even in death Hirohito's actions are continually being examined and revised, and Bix's work cannot be seen as the conclusion to decades of historical inquiry into the Emperor's war responsibility.

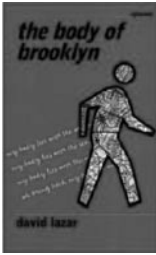
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Notes

1. Edward Behr, *Hirohito: Behind the Myth* (New York: Villard Books, 1989), xxiii
2. Peter Wetzler, *Hirohito and War* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), 7.
3. Herbert Bix, *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan* (New York: Harper Collins, 2000),

4. Ibid., 12
5. Ibid., 2.
6. Leonard Mosley, *Hirohito: Emperor of Japan* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1966), vii.
7. Ibid., 273.
8. Ibid., 275.
9. C.F. Jones, "Untitled Review," *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 83, No. 327, 436
10. Charles D. Sheldon, "Untitled Review," *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 2, 400.
11. David Bergamini, *Japan's Imperial Conspiracy* (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1971), xiii.
12. Ibid., xxv.
13. Edward Behr, *Hirohito: Behind the Myth* (New York: Villard Books, 1989), xxi.
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16. Ibid., xxiii.
17. Ibid., 207.
18. Stephen S. Large, "Untitled Review." *Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 17, 511.
19. Peter Wetzler, *Hirohito and War* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), 11.
20. Ibid., 6.
21. Ibid., 201.
22. Stephen S. Large, "Untitled Review," *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol.53, No.4, 569.
23. Peter Duus, "Untitled Review," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 58, No. 1, 222.
24. Herbert Bix, *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan* (New York: Harper Collins, 2000), 5.
25. Ibid., 240
26. Ibid., 387.
27. Ibid., 389.
28. Ibid., 544
29. Ibid., 545
30. Herbert Bix, *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan* (New York: Harper Collins, 2000), 559.
31. Matsumoto Ken'ichi, "Critiquing Herbert Bix's "Hirohito." *Japan Echo*, Vol.29, No.6, 67.
32. Ibid., 64.
33. Herbert Bix, *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan* (New York: Harper Collins, 2000), 618.



Lazar, David. The Body of Brooklyn. Iowa City:
University of Iowa Press, 2003. 180 pp.

● ● ● *Jennifer Roberts*

With obvious homage to Montaigne, Orwell, and Hazlitt, writer David Lazar brings the formal essay back to contemporary readers. Lazar's *The Body of Brooklyn* is a compilation of personal essays, a series of witty, personal, and digressive self-studies of Lazar's youth in Brooklyn during the 60s and 70s. The reader is treated to everything from juicy tidbits of sexual awakening to the uncomfortable and wrenching trials of being an overweight child, to confessions so raw and honest that one would think them too embarrassing to admit.

The title essay of Lazar's book deals directly with the *body* and its betrayals. Lazar states that he was *husky*—a word used to soften the reality of his obesity—and “weaned absurdly late,” not being fully potty trained until six (27-28). Once Lazar lost weight, the troubles with his body did not cease, but only shift into a disloyalty of another shape. Lazar explains his complicated relationship to his body as, “being possessed by aliens, who had stepped in to fill the vacuum left by my not-so-dear departed fat cells” (27), and lamenting that “[y]ears of therapy, years of thinness, years of spending time, romantically or sexually, with highly attractive women, have had, in some ways, little effect on my body's mind” (29).

Lazar's confessions are not tempered but intensified by his skillful writing techniques. Through dense sentences and prolonged reflections, Lazar brings the reader on a journey into his memory as he explores the mind's ever-confusing remembrances and attempts to make some sense out of his life. Lazar's philosophy that sentences should be structured with the “density of poetry” is evident and consistent throughout each essay. In one of his essays, “Movies Are A Mother To Me,” Lazar relies on the metaphor to pull the reader into a dramatic and poetic remembrance of his mother:

We returned from the hardware store and the air was as heavy as it gets—when it seems one is carrying it place to place only to lay it on top of another heavy layer of air that one must carry someplace else, as though we were trying to build castles in the air with cinder blocks or were the grain to the air's millstone...[t]he sky flashed on the dark day as if a cosmic light switch were clicking on and off, and the rain came down in sheets for five minutes. (86).

Lazar's unhurried sentences require the reader to slow down, to savor each word for its bitter or its sweet fullness.

Coupled with Lazar's love for dense sentences is his apparent love of digression. At times Lazar trumpets his digression, and at other times the reader finds herself deeply immersed in new territory before even realizing it. One such essay, “Further Father: Remembering John Waterman,” deals with Lazar's relationship to his father by examining one of

his father's pseudonyms, John Waterman. Waterman was Protestant persona developed for business purposes. Lazar writes:

My father particularly liked invoking some variant of the flat Mid-western or generically Southern accent for Waterman...As I grew older, I would sometimes wince at what seemed so accentually stereotypical as to be unbelievable. And I wondered at my father's inner workings, what the accent internally, when he invoked this floating persona and the voices that accompanied it. (74)

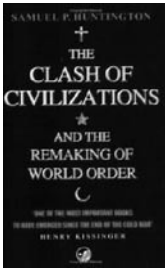
The reader wonders, too, about the importance of the pseudonym, what it means for a Jew to create a perceived banal, non-ethnic persona to conduct business, what it means for a father and son. But, we have to wait as Lazar sprinkles the essay with digressions into reflections on his grandmother, his Brooklyn accent, his multi-ethnic neighborhood where Protestants were considered "freaky," before tying it all back to John Waterman. Though there are times when the digressive technique lingers too long, and the reader starts to wonder if she were reading a new essay, for the most part, Lazar executes digression expertly, bringing the reader through the muckiness of memory and back to where she started with new insight into the author and his subject.

I liken the need for digression to the embracing of the dust that spots our memory. Digression is needed to work around the dusty memories, see through them. When asked about the pictures in his photographic essay "Some Images: Toward a Photographic Mishnah" that ends *The Body of Brooklyn*, Lazar announced that he doesn't mind dust and particles spotting old photographs. "Dust represents time." Dust is memory. Digression is the attempt to understand memory.

Readers beware: for those who wish to read a straightforward, point-A-to-point-B story, *The Body of Brooklyn* could prove frustrating. Density, and a style that can languish in digression for a lengthy period of time may not be for everyone. One reader of *The Body of Brooklyn* announced that Lazar's book was one of the first that she could not read while watching television, though I imagine Lazar would find the comment a compliment; Lazar's writing demands one's full attention as well as an encyclopedia, dictionary, and a classic movie guide.

Lazar is a smart read. That said, his love of movies permeates each essay. With references to Orson Welles, *Arabian Nights*, The Marx Brothers, Danny Kaye in *The Secret Life of Walter Mitty*, George Maharis of *Route 66*, and Jean Hagen from *Singing in the Rain*, all contained in one essay, one begins to think she has missed out on important cultural experiences. The reader can either leave drained and overwhelmed or ambitious and head out to the local video store for the complete collection of classics beginning with *Horsefeathers*.

Lest you think that Lazar takes himself too seriously, there is certainly enough cheekiness and irony, a distinct New York Jewish humor that prevails throughout each essay. As he explains in the introduction, "A book of autobiographical essays without irony is like a swimmer without sun block. Too much uninhibited exposure" (xii). Lazar is unafraid to expose us to relived embarrassments, analyzed relationships, and a life full of ruthless irony. Mostly, Lazar is unafraid to challenge his reader, urging her to live vicariously through his reflections, laugh at his shtick, and reach for her compilation of reference books. *The Body of Brooklyn* is a book meant to be read and reread with patience.



Huntington, Samuel P. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996. 368 pp.

● ● ● Zack Reat

Samuel Huntington's article entitled "The Clash of Civilizations?" was published in *Foreign Affairs* journal in the summer of 1993. In that article he proposed a theory on the future organization of world politics in the post-Cold War period. In brief, his thesis was that the primary source of conflict in the world would be cultural, not economic or ideological.¹ Furthermore, the dividing lines of conflict would be along borders between nations that exist on civil boundaries. This theory for post-Cold War development ran directly counter to the more optimistic "'end of history' thesis advanced by Francis Fukuyama," and thus, created a great deal of controversy in the field.² *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* is Huntington's response to the questions and critiques raised by the original article.

In this book Huntington argues that the civilizations of the world will not naturally congregate behind one system of government and get along in relative peace and harmony in the post-Cold War world. Instead, civilizations will come into conflict over matters that are not economic or ideological, but cultural. Huntington's thesis rests on the assertion that "culture and cultural identities, which at the broadest level are civilization identities, are shaping the patterns of cohesion, disintegration, and conflict in the post-Cold War world."³ Throughout the five sections of the book Huntington expands on this main thesis and comes to many conclusions about the future of civilizations and their part in global politics.

The first section presents Huntington's argument on the organization of civilizations on the global scale. The seven main civilizations presented in the first part of the book are as follows: *Sinic, Japanese, Hindu, Islamic, Western, Latin America, and African*. It is in this section that the make-up and relationships between these civilizations are revealed and discussed in the context of a *universal civilization* in the wake of modernization and Westernization.

Section 2 addresses "The Shifting Balance of Civilizations"⁴ by beginning with an explanation of the West's decline in power on the global scale. Huntington offers a quantitative analysis of Western civilization's power in comparison with the world's other civilizations. From the data Huntington provides it is clear that the West is in a state of decline as other civilizations gain more power and influence throughout the world. The most impressive challenges to Western domination come from Islamic and Asian civilizations. According to Huntington these civilizations stand alone in defying the West as their culture is expanding without deference to the standards of Western civilization. In fact, "Both Asians and Muslims stress the superiority of their cultures to Western culture."⁵

The next section of the book deals with the grouping of civilizations around the world, and the effects that those groupings have on conflict. Huntington explains that in the post-Cold War world, "Countries relate to civilizations as member states, core, states, lone countries, cleft countries, and torn countries."⁶ These countries are classified in such a way

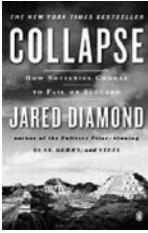
based on the culture's present and their relations with each other. The next section of the book looks at how the civilizations come into conflict with each other in the contested nations.

The first chapter of section 4 once again deals with the dominance of Western civilization in modern times. It discusses the spread of democracy as a result of Western influence throughout all major civilizations of the world, but reminds the reader that "the changing balance of power among civilizations makes it more and more difficult for the West to achieve its goals..."⁷ Furthermore, the rise in power of other civilizations has given rise to a new kind of warfare based not on ideology, but culture. Huntington claims that the wars of the future will be based on ethnic conflict, and occur along fault lines existing between civilizations. In the final chapter of this section Huntington discusses the nature of these fault line wars, describing them as wars that result from years of unresolved tension exploding on cultural, civilizational boundary lines. Huntington rounds out his discussion of the "clash" with some conclusions on the nature of civilizations in the world and some prediction for the future.

Overall, this book was a very interesting read that made some eye-opening insights into the nature of relations between groups of humans. In reading this theory I was often disheartened by the picture being painted, but never did I feel that the picture was unreasonable. At times the reading became quite dense and sorting through all of the facts became tedious, but the book did have a nice through line to follow when I got lost. I would recommend this book to students studying the nature of global political relations, but I would not suggest it for a pleasure read.

Notes

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2. Samuel P. Huntington. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. (Simon & Schuster: New York, NY, 1996), 31.
3. *Ibid.*, 20.
4. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, 81.
5. *Ibid.*, 102.
6. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, 135
7. *Ibid.*, 206



Diamond, Jared. *Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed*. New Yor: Penguin, 2005. 592 pp.

● ● ● Cassi Smith

After his Pulitzer Prize winning book *Guns, Germs, and Steel*, author Jared Diamond addresses environmental and social issues in his latest work, *Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed*. From studying fallen civilizations such as the remains of Easter Island, Diamond develops a five point framework explaining why these societies fell and applies them to current situations. According to Diamond, this five point framework (damage people inadvertently inflict upon environment, climate change, hostile neighbors, decreased support from friendly neighbors, and society's response to these problems) applies to places such as Rwanda, Australia, Haiti, China, and the Bitterroot Valley in Montana.

Diamond pulls the issues close to home fast as he first explains the current situation in a part of the world he personally holds dear, the Bitterroot Valley in Montana. This first chapter includes an explanation the author's personal attachment, the history of Montana's development, and an explanation of the state's environmental problems. Toxic waste from the mining business is seeping into the water system. Salinization from agricultural practices is ruining the soil. Road construction, irrigation, logging, and forest fires are damaging the streams; as a result the native fish species are declining. Also, an introduced pest is harming the elk and deer population.

Dealing with these problems, however, contains an interesting twist. In 1996 a 2,600 acre farm was bought and developed into a playground for the wealthy. Lot buyers build "cabins" starting at \$800,000 (34). But these wealthy homeowners do not contribute financially to the state. "Rich out-of-state homeowners are careful to stay in Montana for less than 180 days per year, in order to avoid having to pay Montana income tax and thereby to contribute to the cost of local government and schools" (61). Those who own lots at the farm simply use the land, adding to the environmental problems, and stick the locals with the bill. This using of the land, with people focusing on social gains rather than environmental welfare, is a pattern of poor human behavior that has been going on throughout history.

A great example of this behavior is Easter Island. It was not the building of expensive cabins that caused Easter Island's eerie fate. Instead, it was the very statues that the island is famous for. Nearly four hundred of these statues are between fifteen and seventy feet tall and weigh from ten to two hundred and seventy tons (79). But there are no trees and very little vegetation on the island, while all other Pacific islands are tropically lush in vegetation. Without any resources to construct moving materials how could these large statues be built by simple men? According to Diamond, because the statues progressively get larger in size, these statues were the result of a building contest among the eleven or twelve territories on the island. It is thought that the island was deforested in order to create building supplies to erect the statues. Instead of working together to keep the resources abundant, the Easter Island people worked and competed against each other which lead to the destroying of their island. The parallel can easily be noticed between the situation in Montana and Easter Island, a lack

of cooperation among groups to keep the environment healthy.

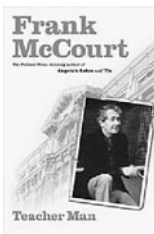
Another such civilization that demonstrates this poor pattern of behavior is Australia. The building of statutes was an inappropriate value for the people of Easter Island; similarly, the first Australians did not have their priorities in order. “Five sets of cultural values were particularly important: those involving sheep, rabbits and foxes, native Australian vegetation, land values, and British identity” (390). Like the focus on statues mentioned previously, the British settlers held their cultural values higher than the environmental needs of the land. Part of Britain’s national pride involved sheep, rabbits and foxes. As a result the Australian land is overrun with rabbits and fox, while the sheep farming causes soil erosion. The problem with agricultural practice down under is that the land mass is not suited for agriculture. As a result it costs farmers much more to farm than the profit they make from farming. Thus many abandoned farms dot the landscape as their owners face bankruptcy. This disregard for the Australian land is an example of that poor behavior that has caused previous civilizations to go extinct.

Similar to Easter Island’s residents, Australian citizens are constantly clearing the land for purposes not suited for surviving on the land:

I mentioned above that the Australian government formerly required tenants leasing government land to clear native vegetation. While that requirement has now been dropped, Australia still clears more native vegetation per year than any other First World country...Most of Australia’s current land clearance is going on in the state of Queensland for the purpose of creating pasture land for beef cattle. Queensland government has announced that it will phase out large-scale clearing, but not until 2006. The resulting damage to Australia includes land degradation through dryland salinization and soil erosion, impairment of water quality by runoff of salt and sediment, loss of agricultural productivity and land values, and damage to the Great Barrier Reef. (399)

The amount of vegetation clearing has obvious similarities to the clearing Easter Island underwent during the sculpture building competition. The constant soil erosion will further hurt the Australian farmer’s ability to make money off of his investment. Will Australia one day become abandoned because the land is so damaged from overuse and the introduction of non-native animals like the rabbit and the fox?

While Diamond does not venture to physically present this question to his readers, he does make the parallels among past collapsed civilizations and the civilizations of today so strikingly clear that the question need not be asked, only fathomed. Diamond presents his ideas and questions in an easy to understand language. He does not preach in his book, only tells the story and presents the issues. His tone is of concern, and sometimes sorrow, not blame or hatred. The book is organized well as each sentence provides another simple fact to build Diamond’s point that all societies can collapse if their behavior is not somehow changed to a proactive attitude for improvement rather than ignoring the problems.



McCourt, Frank. *Teacher Man*. New York: Scribner Book Company, 2005. 258 pp.

● ● ● Christina Amato

Anyone familiar with the writing of Frank McCourt will welcome his latest chapter in the story that continues to fascinate and inspire readers: the chronicles of McCourt's own life, both his moving personal trials in Ireland and the United States, and his struggles to break the emotional shackles of crushing childhood poverty. *Teacher Man* will not disappoint, as McCourt's insight and comic wit shine in this account of his thirty years as a high school English teachers. McCourt seems to pick up where he left off in *Angela's Ashes* and *'Tis*, framing his teaching experience in the public schools of New York City with the same colorful, vibrant narrative that won him acclaim and a Pulitzer Prize. In *Teacher Man*, McCourt explains why he was a "late-bloomer, a johnny-come-lately" to literary renown and fortune (he was sixty-six when *Angela's Ashes* was published); he answers the persistent questions of critics and fans, who demand to know where McCourt was all of the years he was not sharing his amazing story with the world. He replies simply, "I was teaching, that's what took me so long."

From there, *Teacher Man* soars with McCourt's reflections on the rewards, complexities, intricacies, limitations and at times chaos of the "downstairs maid of professions," teaching. McCourt's narrative is born of firsthand experience in the trenches, from his first teaching position in an elite public high school. His first years as an educator are riddled with the agonies and occasional joys of being embroiled in the world of adolescents. He vividly recounts his struggles to coexist peacefully with the hundreds of hormonal, temperamental teenagers that he is assigned to educate daily, the children of mechanics and dock workers who exhibit little interest in Chaucer and Shakespeare. Because he wrests little control from the unruly students in the classroom, McCourt lapses into his true art, storytelling. All through the remaining years of his teaching career, McCourt's students beg for stories of his wretched childhood in Ireland, pacified only when he exhausts his stories of miseries and misfortune. McCourt teaches at four different public schools in New York during his career, ranging from the poorest, most under-funded facilities, to the famed Stuyvesant High School, where both McCourt and the students are encouraged to let their creativity flourish. Whatever school McCourt teaches at, one similarity resonates: his students recognize him for the expert storyteller he is. McCourt's tales become the thread of connection binding him to these teenagers; they learn to respect him for his perseverance, his triumph over unfathomable poverty, and they capitulate when McCourt asks them in exchange to open their minds to the study of literature and creative writing.

The lives of McCourt's students both inside and outside the walls of his classroom come to life and radiate with the author's empathy, insight and keen eye for humor even in the most unusual circumstances. McCourt relates one instance in which he paraded his literature class, consisting of twenty-nine unruly girls and two boys, from McKee Vocational High School in the Bronx, to Long Island in order to see a college production of *Hamlet*. His students had demanded they be allowed on the field trip, after seeing flyers that other classes were attending. None of his students had ever seen a live performance before, and became so terrified, excited and disorderly at the sight of Hamlet's ghost father, that the student actor had to remove his hat to show that he was in stage makeup and just an ordinary college student. The twenty-nine girls of McCourt's class then "gasped and complained the whole play was a trick especially that phony ghost up there and they promised they'd never go to a phony play like this again."

On another occasion, McCourt inspires his English students by accident through food. On a less than successful teaching day, a student offered him a piece of homemade marzipan. When McCourt praised the treat, his class exploded into a flurry of offers for homemade specialties: kreplach and matzos, lasagna, meatloaf, kimchee (Korean hot cabbage) and various other family recipes and ethnic delicacies. The students convened class the next day in a park by the school, with a spread that attracted park goers, joggers, the homeless and even police. McCourt then turned the buffet into a class exercise by asking each of his students to bring in a family cookbook. They read exotic recipes aloud together, and eventually students brought in musical instruments and *sang* the recipes to the class. McCourt's creative writing class came alive: "They tell one another this is wild, the very idea of reading recipes, reciting recipes, singing recipes with Michael adjusting his flute to French, English, Spanish, Jewish, Irish, Chinese recipes." McCourt reflects on the days of diversion that the cookbook exercise dominated, but ultimately decides that those days were worth the small distraction from Mark Twain and F. Scott Fitzgerald.

McCourt shares more than humorous anecdotes about his life in the classroom, though. He reflects on the moments of deeper connection and friendship he is occasionally rewarded with in students present and past. He recounts the story of a Jewish student, Bob Stein, an eccentric, original character in McCourt's classroom, frequently prone to philosophical outbursts in the middle of a lecture. Secretly, McCourt admired his uniqueness, but must deflect these long-winded monologues during precious class time. One afternoon, Bob announces to the class he would like to be a farmer, much to the chagrin of his prominent Jewish parents. Bob's father, a rabbi, eventually paid McCourt a visit and entreated the teacher to side with him, to remind Bob of the disgrace he'd bring upon the family by choosing a career as a farmer, "living with pigs every day." McCourt deftly avoided conflict with the father, apologized for his unhappiness, and Bob quickly faded from his view after graduation. When McCourt bumps into his old student six years later, the young man asked, "Mr. McCourt, you never liked me, did you?" McCourt struggled to tell Bob what he really thought, his ever-running inner monologue urging him to be honest, to "tell him how he brightened your days, how you told your friends about him, what an original he was, how you admired his style, his good humor, his honesty, his courage, how you would have given your soul for a son like him." McCourt related all of this to Bob, and "the high school teacher and the large Jewish Future Farmer of America" embraced there on Lower Broadway.

Teacher Man is as much a tale of McCourt's questioning, critical internal dialogue and struggle for self-validation as it is a chronicle of the trials and tribulations of teaching literature to high school students. Throughout the book, McCourt asks hard questions of his own life, plumbing the depths of his own insecurities and shortcomings, from his failed first marriage to an unsuccessful bid for a Ph.D. He is an expert, as he observes, at "the ability to examine my conscious...the gift of finding myself wanting and defective." McCourt is painfully self-doubting as a young man in his first years of teaching, and questions of legitimacy nag him as he stands in front of hundreds of quizzical faces each day. In these early years of his teaching career, McCourt learns that he is not only the educator, but the educated. His students teach him and guide him as well, pushing him, challenging him, and at times even encouraging him. These students are, at times in his life, McCourt's only source of validation or worth. He reflects that while some days the teenagers infuriate him, at other times they are the only reason for getting up in the morning. It is this push and pull between frustration, disappointment and kinship and human connection that defines the world of teaching for McCourt.

Teacher Man emerges as a beautiful mosaic of McCourt's life and profession, and the lives of his students and the classroom; it is impossible to tell where one begins and the other ends. This book celebrates the teacher *and* the student, with McCourt donning both masks. McCourt's energy, passion and humor spill off the pages of *Teacher Man*, materializing into a worthy read.





Fishman, Ted C. *China, Inc.: How the Rise of the Next Superpower Challenges America and the World.*

New York: Scribner Book Company, 2005. 352 pp.

● ● ● J.T. Craig

In the midst of America's global war on terror, and the constant violence in Iraq, it is easy to forget about the other issues that America as a nation must face in our generation. The one issue that looms above all others is the rise to economic dominance that is now occurring in China. Aspects of this problem penetrate the news. Reports of outsourcing, of factories closing, of global corporate giants such as Wal-Mart using Chinese workers as cheap labor, are blips on the non-stop news crawl of the 24 hour networks. The full picture, however, of what China's rise implicates is almost never addressed, and other than politicians using outsourcing as part of their stump speeches, solutions to the "China problem" are not often discussed. Ted C. Fishman's book, *China, Inc.: How the Rise of the Next Superpower Challenges America and the World*, aims to change the lack of knowledge and discussion about how China affects the American economy, and America's standing in the global power structure.

To even begin contemplating all of the ways in which China is growing and thriving, one needs to understand that China has, at a low estimate, 1.3 billion people living there. There are most likely many more people, perhaps up to 1.7 billion people, but they live in rural areas where a census may not reach them. This, I believe, is the key factor in understanding the enormity of China's potential. The amount of skilled and unskilled labor at the disposal of Chinese companies, and American and other corporations operating within China, is staggering. It is not that the Chinese are the lowest paid workers in the world (they aren't) that makes them so enticing to business interests, but rather, that "China...sits in a relatively stable part of the globe and offers the world's manufacturers a reliable, docile, and capable industrial workforce, groomed by government enforced discipline." The sheer amount of people, combined with the largest urban migration seen in the history of the world (90-300 million people have left China's farm lands for the cities), and the fact that America, and the rest of the world, are addicted to cheap merchandise to buy, is creating an economic juggernaut unlike any ever seen.

The more money that is poured into China, the more we and the world facilitate China's power. The reason why American manufacturers, along with Europeans and every other country, are being beat by the Chinese is because they have a docile workforce that learns to craft tools, ornaments, cars, etc., with precise skill by hand. It is cheaper to pay a laborer in China to craft a car part, or machine part, than it is to buy a multimillion dollar machine and computer system to do the same job. As the Chinese begin to infiltrate and expand on each potential job market, their skill and quality of work increases. Chinese electronics, clothes, computers, DVDs, and everything else are made cheaper, and of equal if not better quality. Meanwhile, China as a nation has enough people to create the largest crop of technical and science students and workers ever seen. Not only is science and engineering the ideal field for many young Chinese students, the Chinese are also sending out students across the globe, learning from the top institutes, and returning to China, where investment and work opportunities eclipse those available anywhere else. In essence, there is a lot of potential for recruitment of scientists and engineers in China, but the non-Chinese world is losing the opportunity to use them. Rather, we educate them with the best technology, and then lose them back to their home country.

The problem is this: America and the world are now bound together with China. To attempt to stunt the growth of China by not investing in it would not stop its economy. Not only does America and the world depend on Chinese products (cheap in price, not in quality) to be able to spend and consume as much as we do, but we are also bound to China by China's

reinvestment in American debt. China is the largest buyer of American bonds. Essentially, China is financing our consumer spending spree. It is because China is buying our debt that we can have low interest rates. And so on. Conversely, China needs us to spend and be in debt so that it can continue to build a city the size of Houston every month, and continue to buy military technology. What if foreign investments were to suddenly disappear? Fishman writes,

When Asians pull out of our markets, Americans may discover abruptly that interest rates climb and the value of assets...declines...in the worst scenario, the United States' willingness to fritter away its national wealth to finance private consumption and unproductive government spending would extract a permanent price on the economy.

It is possible that this won't happen. It would be necessary for Americans to reduce their consumption, to invest in more savings, and for the government to reduce its spending. Combine this with the Chinese slowly moving their currency, the Yuan, away from its ties to the dollar, and things could equalize. However, it seems to me that at this continued pace, the Chinese investing in real estate, American businesses, etc., and Americans needing cheap merchandise to buy, thereby increasing their debt, that this is an unbreakable cycle. This could be good, or bad. Good, because America and China are tied together, and therefore each is dependent upon the other's continued success to maintain the standards of living and prosperity of its citizens. Bad, because for either to collapse means a negative economic impact on a global scale the likes of which have never been seen.

As one reads this book, a feeling of unease and dread overcomes the mind. The sheer amount of statistics, money, and logistics that has become the Chinese juggernaut seems unstopable. Mr. Fishman does not do much to allay these feelings. The one area that he stresses we must become better in is education. Without drastically altering and investing in the education system there will be no chance to stay competitive with China. One would think that with the amount of money going into China, that there would be a push amongst American high schools to introduce Chinese language programs. However, "a recent count of Chinese-language students in American high schools came up with just fifty thousand, while in China there are nearly as many people learning English as a second language as there are people who speak English as a first language in the United States, Canada, and Great Britain *combined*." The math skills and science skills of American kids in high school and college is not much better. There needs to be a push towards science and math education along the lines of the Sputnik era, one that will pave the way for new science and math education standards. This idea is nothing new in our public discourse, but perhaps the threat of China could finally force some real movement on the issue.

Unfortunately, assuming that these new standards would happen, I do not think that it would be enough to maintain the status quo of our global power. In the end, it comes down to sheer numbers; they have a billion more people in their country than we have in ours. And their population only continues to grow as the economy does. As Fishman observes, "[I]f per capita incomes in China...were to double overnight, the size of China's economy would instantly top the U.S. economy...If, however, the incomes of the Chinese up a mere half of those in the United States, a standard of living that the Chinese someday aspire to, China's economy would be *two and a half times as large* as America's." This simple statistic sums up what our generation of American citizens must come to grips with, and deal with. If things continue at this pace, we will essentially be renters in this world, owing our debt, and our products, to foreign whims, our new landlords. Steps need to be taken to stem the tide of spending, and focus needs to be put on new trade agreements, and education. This will allow us to at least remain the competitive, if not the economic, force we once were.

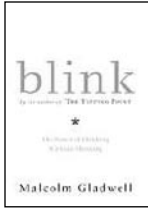
In Brief ●●●



Levitt, Steven D. & Stephen J. Dubner. *Freakonomics: A Rogue Economist Explores the Hidden Side of Everything*. New York: HarperCollins Publisher, 2005. 242 pp.

Steven Levitt is an economist who asks unusual questions: “Which is more dangerous, a gun or a swimming pool?” and “Why do drug dealers still live with their moms?” Stephen Dubner, a *New York Times* writer, helped Levitt put the answers into a fascinating and entertaining narrative. The introduction sets forth a simple explanation for the genesis of this book, stating “if morality represents how people would like the world to work, then economics shows how it actually does work.” This is followed by Levitt’s examination of the decrease in violent crimes during the early 1990’s, which were not due to any political or police action, but came about because the ancient criminals were never born. He contends that the *Roe vs. Wade* decision stopped a new generation of unwanted hooligans from taking to the streets. The chapters that ensue address other interesting correlations, such as how Sumo wrestling scores and school test scores can be analyzed for cheating by looking for scoring patterns. As to the drug dealers still living with their mothers, this data comes from several notebooks collected from a gang in Chicago called the Black Disciples. These ledgers revealed an organization as highly structured as any international corporation, with pricing for drugs, extortion dues, weapons purchases and even death benefits for the families of gang members who were murdered. In reality, the average street dealer only made \$3.30 an hour; only those in the top of the gang structure took home any significant amount of money. Even parenting is called into question, using test score data collected by the US Department of Education to show that certain assumptions, such as a child having an intact family or a stay at home mother, does *not* make the child a better student. *Freakonomics* is not a dull lesson in economics and statistics, but a delightful read that is both engaging and humorous.

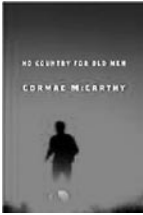
~Michelle Yost



Gladwell, Malcolm. *Blink: The Power of Thinking Without Thinking*. New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2005. 277 pp.

Malcolm Gladwell is a staff writer for *The New Yorker*, but his book *Blink* is a fantastic exploration of the powers of the human mind, a part of the mind few people are really in touch with. He makes his point quite clearly: “*Blink* is concerned with the very smallest components of our everyday lives – the content and origin of those instantaneous impressions and conclusions that spontaneously arise whenever we meet a new person or confront a complex situation...” The introduction is about a Greek kouros statue purchased by the Getty Museum in California; it did not look right. All the scientists who carbon-dated it and the geologists who examined its marble content said the kouros was authentic; but every specialist in the field of Ancient Greek art had an instantaneous revulsion to the statue. Though none of them could articulate what was wrong, they knew the kouros was a fake. From here, Gladwell goes on to explain how the human brain makes thousands of unconscious calculations based upon experiences, which he calls “thin-slicing.” The psychologist John Gottman from the University of Washington can successfully predict if a couple will remain married after fifteen years with an accuracy of 95 percent just by watching the husband and wife converse, measuring slight attitude changes such as disgust or sadness. Or, there is the example of Vic Braden, one of the world’s top tennis coaches, who knew when a player was going to double-fault on a serve. Braden had no idea why he could do this, but Gladwell discusses how this coach’s brain, based upon his years of experience, could make dozens of calculations about a player’s serving form in the blink of an eye and know where the tennis ball would go. There is still a moral to the story that Gladwell wants the reader to come away with: recognition of the power of the unconscious mind, and acknowledgment that we should not be resigned to accepting the prejudices of snap judgment. This book is a wonderful examination of who we are and why we think the way we do, with compelling examples and stories.

~Michelle Yost

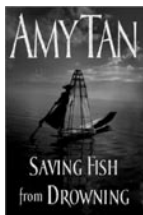


McCarthy, Cormac. *No Country for Old Men*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005. 309 pp.

“If God meant to interfere in the degeneracy of mankind, would he not have done so by now?” Cormac McCarthy raised this question in 1985 in what is largely considered his masterpiece, *Blood Meridian*. Twenty years later McCarthy explores this meditation in his first novel since *Cities of the Plain*

concluded the Border Trilogy seven years ago. In his ninth novel, *No Country For Old Men*, we are confronted with an array of characters that are desperately trying to make sense of life in a world that has long ago abandoned Christ. Anyone familiar with McCarthy’s work will recognize this as a recurrent theme, but in his newest offering McCarthy switches the focus of his style that has designated him as the literary descendant of Faulkner. Set in 1980 in southwest Texas, *No Country* introduces us to Llewlyn Moss, a young Vietnam vet that stumbles upon a botched heroin deal in the desert of southwest Texas on a hunting trip. What Moss confronts—drugs, the aftermath of a violent killing spree, money—is at the heart of a novel that explores the often blurred line between choice, providence, and salvation. Moss’ choice is one that sets McCarthy’s protagonist on the run from the law—most notably aging lawmen Sheriff Bell—and the devil incarnate—Anton Chigurh, a cattle gun wielding psychopath—which leads to a continual rumination that links all three characters on the question of, “how does a man decide in what order to abandon his life?” Bell’s role is twofold: he plays a surrogate father to Moss’ “runaway son” motif, while he faces his own ineptitude in a world that has passed him by—a role that Chigurh provides. Bell is both courageous and cowardly, a fact that has defined his entire adult life stemming from the Bronze Star he was awarded in W.W. II for an act mistaken for bravery. Chigurh’s sadistic idea of moral justice drives most of the novel’s action and eventually leads to the crossroads of America’s most ardent fascinations—violence and religion. While past novels of McCarthy’s have been largely balanced between these two camps in what have spawned essentially dark morality tales, this new novel heavily favors the fervent violence and fast paced dialogue that has warranted many to view this latest offering as mere pulp. This assessment is much too easy and largely ignores the bigger thematic complexity that—unlike his earlier novels—doesn’t expressly surface for the reader to justify McCarthy’s ardent spirit towards violent expression. The quality of writing though prevails and once the hunt begins McCarthy’s sparse prose hits you like a dose of heroin in the vein of minimalism. Sentences are short, terse, and provide an effect that sweeps its readers along in the fashion of a dime-store thriller. While sparse, McCarthy’s prose continues to reflect his mastery of dialect, conversation, and word use that has become his greatest contribution to American letters. While the debate continues to rage amongst critics, it is certainly safe to say that either camp examining this novel will conclude it is a minor addition to the author’s body of work. John Henry Newman once said, “It is a rule of God’s providence that we succeed by failure.” This quote proves applicable to the novel’s characters that are caught between the past and the future, but destined to act and make their life’s decisions in the present. To go one step further Newman’s words are perhaps even more poignant when applied to McCarthy himself. While certainly far from his best, McCarthy has succeeded in giving his audience at worst, a striking reward for the reader’s restless night.

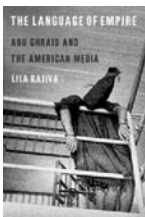
~ Adam Cottrel



Tan, Amy. *Saving Fish from Drowning*. New York: Putnam, 2005. 474 pp.

The story of twelve blundering American tourists trekking through the jungles of Myanmar certainly marks a radical departure for author Amy Tan. Indeed, *Saving Fish from Drowning* may initially disappoint diehard fans of Tan, who have come to anticipate her engaging stories about Chinese-American mothers, daughters and “aunties,” and their family struggles to bridge the age and culture divide separating them. While *Saving Fish from Drowning* does immerse readers in unfamiliar territory (quite literally), the novel possesses Tan’s signature complexity, rich storylines and twisting subplots, and her typical flair for wildly humorous sarcasm. When art curator and gallery owner Bibi Chen decides to lead twelve of her wealthy, self-indulgent, amateur art-loving American friends on a Buddhist art expedition through China and Myanmar, she cannot possibly imagine the chaos and misfortune that will ensue. Two weeks before the trip, Bibi is killed under mysterious circumstances in her art gallery, setting off a chain of events that dooms the unfortunate expedition before it ever begins. Bibi’s friends decide to embark on the trip as planned, and hire a tour guide painfully ill-equipped to deal with both the bumbling group of tourists and the wonders and mysteries of the Buddhist art Bibi planned to explore. Bibi’s spirit continues to narrate the story to the readers from beyond the grave, woefully filling us in as her friends bungle their way through the trip, committing every offense from unwittingly defiling an ancient Chinese shrine by urinating on it, to contracting raging cases of dysentery by disregarding Bibi’s original dining itinerary. Though it seems impossible that the clumsy group of Americans could find their way into even worse trouble upon entering Myanmar, a morning boat trip gone awry launches the group into the international spotlight. When Bibi’s charges fail to return from the ill-fated Christmas morning cruise, chaos, disorder and surprising plot twists ensue. As Tan weaves the outrageous, tangled explanation for the tourists’ disappearance and ultimate fate, she engages in what she does best: lively, versatile storytelling. The twisting of the plot, the complexity of the characters and the attention to historical detail makes this captivating story difficult to classify. *Saving Fish from Drowning* is equal parts comedy, satire, political commentary, social critique and history lesson. One criticism readers might raise is Tan’s insistence on portraying the American tourists as ill-mannered, disrespectful, and ignorant as travelers in a foreign country. While the antics and gaffes of the tourists do become tiring, it is hard to argue that Tan embellishes in her depiction of Americans abroad, her characters do not slip into being one-dimensional parodies of “typical” Americans; instead they are well-rounded, believable and unfortunately, naïve world-travelers. Overall, *Saving Fish from Drowning* makes a successful departure from Tan’s past novels and serves as an entertaining, worthy read.

~Christina Amato



Rajiva, Lila. *The Language of Empire: Abu Ghraib and the American Media*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2005. 224 pp.

Throughout the Iraq war, the ultimate goal of liberation and democracy for the Iraqi people has suffered numerous setbacks. We have heard of isolated cases of U.S. soldiers shooting unarmed civilians as well as other atrocities.

It is a common belief that these are the actions of a few soldiers whose judgment has been blurred by the brutality of war. The free press has molded our perspective on these events and the war in general. We have come to expect the media to report on the atrocities of war, even if they are committed by a few U.S. soldiers operating outside of protocol. However, in her book *Language of Empire: Abu Ghraib and the American Media*, Lila Rajiva argues that the human rights violations that took place in the Abu Ghraib detainment center were not the acts of a few rogue Marines, but were part of a much larger campaign against Islam—a campaign that was ignored by the American media. Rajiva investigates the events of Abu Ghraib and the American media's treatment of it by analyzing the language of the media. What could the language of the Bush administration and the reporters covering the Abu Ghraib scandal tell us? Why were thousands of Iraqis illegally detained, abused and systematically tortured? Why was Abu Ghraib swept under the rug by the American media? Rajiva's investigation into these issues lends a powerful perspective to the growing debate over the validity of the Iraq war.

Rajiva's investigation first delves into the events that took place within Abu Ghraib. She follows the paper trail of various hearings, testimonies and internal communications within the Bush administration. Her analysis of the media's treatment of the story points to the fact that the administration had known of the abuses and had orchestrated a cover-up. Testimonies of high ranking officials are littered with phrases like "to the best of my knowledge," and "I am not aware." Rajiva's research leads us to ask "what did the Bush administration and the Marine top officials know and when did they know it?" Further, why didn't the American media jump on the story and reveal the atrocities in a timely manner? Rajiva argues that there were several reasons for the lack of accountability. First, the Bush administration limited access to documents and locations that were essential to uncovering the truth about the scandal. Second, many reporters were intimidated by the task of taking an anti-war stance and reporting the facts in their entirety. Third, Rajiva asserts there were many reporters who simply could not view the war from outside their own biased perspective. Many people in the media could not or would not report the fact that U.S. Marines had committed an act of terrorism. At the core of Rajiva's argument is the notion that the torture, and subsequent lack of accountability, is the result of a deep seeded racial and religious bias held by those in the government, as well as in the American media.

In *Language of Empire*, Rajiva presents an enlightening new perspective on just one of the attacks on human rights to take place in the Iraq war. She presents evidence such as internal communications and various communications in the media to present an argument that shakes our beliefs about what America represents to the rest of the world. Are we liberating a nation of impoverished people who desperately needed American intervention, or simply satisfying our imperialistic desires fueled by our notion of Western, Christian superiority? With hundreds of civilians dying every month in Iraq, are we pursuing the preservation of

human rights or trampling on them? Most profoundly, are we defeating the terrorists or are we becoming a terrorist state? Rajiva presents a convincing argument that forces us to examine our nation's identity and our motives. Ultimately, Rajiva argues that those in the government, military and the media must learn to think and act outside of a scope shaped by religious and racial bias. Once this is achieved, America will truly be the provider of freedom and liberty for all. *The Language of Empire: Abu Ghraib and the American Media* stands as an important contribution to the national dialogue about the Iraq war, and America's identity within the Middle East.

~Nick Miller

Contributors ● ● ●

● **Christina Amato:** A senior English major with a concentration in Literary Studies, she plans to pursue her masters/doctorate in English while exploring (read: moving every three years) the country with her Air Force husband. The people she would like to thank would be: Dr. Margaret Koehler for her encouragement and inspirational material, Dr. Paul Eisenstein for applying a much-needed critical eye, and her amazing husband, for patiently listening to long-winded diatribes on the subject of Haiti.

● **Adam Cottrel:** Born helpless, nude, and unable to provide for himself in Trenton, New Jersey, he was eventually able to overcome these handicaps to become a student of English and American literature at Otterbein College. Adam would like to thank Dr. Paul Eisenstein and Dr. Norman Chaney for providing unparalleled examples of Academic professionalism and humanity. Adam would also like to thank his parents, Christopher and Gayl, who may have had something to do with overcoming those handicaps mentioned above.

● **Jason Thomas Craig:** A junior at Otterbein with a double major in Philosophy and Islamic Studies, his goal in life is to never “yoke the winds of indifference heavenward,” and to apply to grad schools next year. He would like to thank Dr. Andrew Mills, Dr. Paul Eisenstein, and everyone else who put up with reading all of his drafts. They were always there and always supportive. He would like to thank his parent for being there emotionally and financially, and Adam Cottrel for not being naked anymore.

● **Edward Gunn:** A Master of Arts in Teaching (MAT) candidate, Edward will graduate June 2006. He has a bachelor’s degree from Franklin University, and is going into teaching (Middle School language arts and social studies) as a career change. For over 20 years Edward has been the manager of a greenhouse operation.

● **Rhonda Maynard:** A senior History major in Continuing Studies, she was the co-recipient of the Department of History and Political Science’s Pierre Frederick & Louise M. Rosselot Memorial Award in 2003. Rhonda finished her final quarter at Otterbein from Cambridge, Massachusetts, where she works as an administrative assistant at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, while continuing her studies at Harvard University. In addition to her degree from Otterbein, Rhonda holds a B.S. in Secondary Education from The Ohio State University.

● **Nick Miller:** A senior history major at Otterbein.

● **Larsa Ramsini:** A freshman at Otterbein College this year, Larsa is double majoring in Mathematics and Philosophy and minoring in French. She'd like to thank Dr. Andrew Mills for being an awesome professor, and a tremendous help whenever she had questions about her paper. She also appreciated the encouraging words from Jason Craig throughout their entire Greek Philosophy class, especially when she started out having absolutely no idea how to go about writing the final paper. She is still undecided as to what career path she would like to follow, but for now she is leaning towards either graduate school in mathematics or law school.

● **Zach Reat:** Zach Reat graduated from Otterbein College in 2005 with a Bachelor of Arts degree in History. He is currently serving as an Americorps*VISTA volunteer with the Columbus Coalition for the Homeless where he uses the skills he acquired at Otterbein to advocate for positive social change. Zach Reat's essay entitled From Another Time and Place: Oral Testimony and the Holocaust was published in last year's Aegis.

● **Jen Roberts:** A junior double major in Women's Studies and English, with a concentration in Creative Writing, she plans, after graduation, to establish a writer's colony Summer 2007 in beautiful Hocking Hills with her friend "Hard Knox" (every fair-skinned white woman needs a gangster nickname), and would encourage all writers to seek out some solitude (for a reasonable price, of course). Jennifer would like to thank her husband and daughter for their enduring patience and unceasing support. She'd like to also thank the Otterbein community for offering her a space to grow, but specifically want to mention a few professors who have had a profound (yes, profound) effect on her life: Tammy Birk, Norman Chaney, Sarah Fatherly, and Shannon Lakanen. Each has influenced her in unimaginable ways, and she thanks them all.

● **Cassi Smith:** A junior psychology and political science major, she is a member of the Honors Program and the Otterbein Women's Golf team. After college Cassi plans on pursuing a Masters Degree in psychology.

● **Jen Wall:** Jen is a senior double major in history and art with concentrations in drawing and photography, along with a minor in art history. While her current focus is getting her senior show together, Jen would like to continue her education in grad school. For his constant affections and abundance of hairballs, Jen would like to offer her heartfelt thanks to Loki.

● **Michelle Yost:** A senior at Otterbein with a double major in History and English, Michelle will be graduating in June of 2006. After that, she plans to pursue graduate school, though she does not know in which field of study. She would like to thank her parents for their constant love and support (and provisions of clothing) as well as all of the fantastic professors at Otterbein who have made these last four years such a wonderful learning experience. *Ad Astra.*

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