The Writing Anthology: 1990

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As a way of recognizing and rewarding academic excellence, the Honors Committee and the Skills Committee take pleasure in publishing this anthology of student writing. Professors from all disciplines were invited to submit papers of all types which, in their judgment, demonstrated good writing.

Twelve papers were selected by independent readers for their superior rhetorical competence, high levels of readability, originality, and insight. From among the finalists included in this anrhology, two were chosen to receive the John Allen Writing Award, and one was chosen to receive the Maureen Danks Award for writing in the sciences.

The co-winners of the John Allen Award for 1990 are Martha Schaefer and Shannan Mattiace; the winner of the Maureen Danks Award is Dan Tomson.

This year's readers were Joseph Messina and Mary Ann Klein, professors of English at Quincy College, Quincy, Illinois.

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Copulators Versus Populators: Exploring the Profane and Profound Bittersweet Entirety of Love In *Ulysses*

by Martha Schaefer

Joyce Seminar, Walter Cannon. Assignment: Write a critical/analytical paper that helps to illuminate James Joyce's *Ulysses*.

Few analyses of "Oxen of the Sun" are without Joyce's 1920 words to Frank Budgen: "Am working hard at 'Oxen of the Sun,' the idea being the crime committed against fecundity by sterilizing the act of coition" (Gilbert 139). The obvious Homeric parallel is that of the slaughter of Helios' oxen with the sexist revelry of the lusty medical students led by "Mr Malachi Mulligan. Fertiliser and Incubator. Lambay Island" (U14.660). Atherton writes that "This conscientious objection to contraception appears several times in Joyce's works, but on each occasion the tone of the passage in which the condemnation occurs leaves one in doubt as to its seriousness" (324). Such passages as "Copulation without population! No, say I!" (U14.1422) support Atherton's point as well as the many pun-like reference to contraceptives such as an "umbrella" (U14.785),"a stout shield of oxengut" (U14.465), "French letters" (U14.363), and "as snug a cloak of the French fashion as ever kept a lady from wetting" (U14.777-778). The pathetic travail of Mrs. Purefoy concurrent with this discussion on the "spleen of lustihead" (U114.232) perhaps suggests too shallow an interpretation of Joyce's message to Budgen. Rather than debating whether Joyce's apparent meaning was intended to be a facetious or a serious assault against the Mulligans of *Ulysses*, a more sophisticated reading embraces the Joycean biases against the entire panoramic cast of "Oxen." Because the "crime committed" is "against fecundity", the potential of conception, not conception itself, the "sterilizing" is not biological but emotional. This interpretation makes sinners of the contraceptive copulators as well as the mindless populators and would explain Joyce's negative attitude toward the victimized baby-makers such as Mina Purefoy and May Dedalus.

> Mina Purefoys husband give us a swing out of your whiskers filling her up with a child or twins once a year as regular as the clock always with a smell of children off her .... the last time I was there a squad of them falling over one another and bawling you couldnt hear your ears supposed to be healthy not satisfied till they have us swollen out like elephants (U18.159-166).

Bloom shares Molly's opinion. "Poor Mrs Purefoy! Methodist husband. Method in his madness" (U8.358). In the "Wandering Rocks" chapter, he associates fetuses with the slaughter of their mothers.

> Plates: infants cuddled in a ball in bloodred wombs like livers of slaughtered cows. Lots of them like that at this moment all over the world. All butting with their skulls to get out of it. Child born every minute somewhere. Mrs Purefoy (U10.586-591).

McCrotthers' awe is of Mr Purefoy. "I cannot but extol the virile potency of the old bucko that could still knock another child out of her" (U14.891-892).

These barbaric references to the conception and delivery of Mrs Purefoy's "heir" (U14.945) as well as the Dickensian gloss of her blessed hour (U14.1310-1343) clearly cast Mrs Purefoy as a sacrificial victim. Mr Purefoy, although not provided with an opportunity to defend himself, is the sterilizer of the act of coition because he has the same lack of regard for Mrs Purefoy as Mulligan would have for his Lambay patrons or the revelers for their women or "Godpossibled souls that we nightly impossibilise" (U14.225-226). The exploitation of fecundity or potential fertility (male or female) is the crime and the "sterilization" is the loveless, lustful act of coition. This explains Stephen's shame of his own conception. "Wombed in sin darkness I was too, made not begotten.... They clasped and sundered, did the coupler's will" (U3.45-47). Besides the oedipal guilt of his resemblence to his father, the greater guilt lies in the Purefoy-like slaugter of his mother. When Mulligan accuses him of being the killer of his mother by not praying at her bed Stephen responds, "Someone killed her" (U1.90). Bloom has similar sympathy for the Dedalus children as he does for the orphaned Dignams.

> Home always breaks up when the mother goes. Fifteen children he had. Birth every year almost. That's in their theology or the priest won't give the poor woman the confession, the absolution. Increase and multiply. Did you ever hear such an idea? Eat you out of house and home (U8.30-34).

Love as a prerequisite to Creation was explored by Milton as well as Stephen's own Aquinas and is obviously lacking in its pure emotional essence in the human procreation of *Ulysses*.

The tension of macrocosm/microcosm in *Ulysses* is often achieved by the juxtaposition of Bloom and Stephen each indulging in introspection or extrapolation in comic opposition. Their perspectives on love and death, though often appearing to be in Joycean parallax, are as unique and similar as likely are this reader's and writer's. Both men are groping for love (Bloom in Molly and Stephen as a father, son or creator) and are haunted by death (Bloom in the loss of his Rudys and Stephen by the ghost of his mother). "Oxen of the Sun" is the jocoserious setting for the merger of love and death. Janusko points out that the scene opens with Bloom and Nurse Callan discussing the death of O'Hare and the pain of Purefoy. "Although this is a chapter on birth, the beginning of life, it is not unrelated to death, the last end of life, for birth is the beginning of death just as death is the beginning of 'undeathliness' (U, 386.01). The close connection between conception, birth and death is reiterated often in Ulysses" (11). A hint

of the poetic little death of sexual orgasm is exaggerated by the "Scotch student" (U14.738); "A drenching of that violence, he tells me, sans blaque, has sent more than one luckless fellow in good earnest posthaste to another world" (U14.782-785). Stephen says that once she lets a "cat into the bag" (U14.1304) she must let it out "to save her own" (U14.1307) life. "At the risk of her own" (U14.1307-1308) life is Bloom's correction. Self preservation according to Stephen or unselfish love according to Bloom is the death-defying reality of a female delivery. Even ingnoring intent, whether a man "murdered his goods with whores" (U14.276) or sincerely produces "fruit of their lawful embraces" (U14.1321-1322) or a woman wishes to "dance in a deluge" (U14.787) or is a revered "mother and (or) maid in house of Horne" (U14.834), the obvious cycle of love producing death and death producing the fruit of love are clear.

"Oxen of the Sun" begins with "Hoopsa boyaboy hoopsa!" (U14.5) which Gifford notes is the "midwife celebrat(ing) the birth of a male child" (408-409) and ends with "that day is at hand when he shall come to judge the world by fire" (U14.1575-1576) and the second coming of Elijah (U14.1580) lending a cyclical quality of birth, death and rebirth. "The aged sisters draw us into life: we wail, batten, sport, clip, clasp, sunder, dwindle, die: over us dead they bend" (U14.392-393) says Stephen. For a chapter whose theme is maternity, the presence of death hangs close throughout. The advance of death is constant with the onset of birth involving mother, father and child in a triangle around love and death. "The son unborn mars beauty: born, he brings pain, divides affection, increases care. He is a new male: his growth is his father's decline his youth his father's envy, his friend his father's enemy" (U9.854-857). Bloom innocently speculates on Parnell's marriage without considering that he has allowed Rudy and Blazes each to separate him from Molly. "Can real love, supposing there happens to be another chap in the case, exist between married folk?" (U16.1385-1386). Stephen becomes Bloom's substitute son as "now sir Leopold that had of his body no manchild for an heir looked upon him his friend's son and was shut up in sorrow for his forepassed happiness" (U14.271-273). This son substitution continues with Bloom's birth in "Circe" and the nurturing by Bloom in "Eumaeus" and "Ithica." Molly's speculations on Stephen travel from an association with him and Rudy (U18.1306-1312) to Stephen as a lover which are interrupted by thoughts of Boylan (U18.1360-1370). Stephen thus becomes a Rudy/Boylan competitor rivaling Bloom for Molly's affection. Bloom may have a similar linking of generational advancement when he stares at the Bass ale label, "ruby and triangled" (U14.1108). "It is she, Martha, thou lost one, Millicent, the young, the dear, the radiant" (U14.1101-1102). The blending of Martha and Milly in his trance are the daughter/lover rivals which advance Molly's age and antagonize her jealousy. Both these factors act as a wedge between her and Bloom. Stephen asks "Will any man love the daughter if he has not loved the mother?" (U9.423-424) and "Will he not see reborn in her, with the memory of his own youth added, another image?" (U9.427-428). Bloom's trance in Oxen inspired by the red triangle Janusko suggests may represent "the vagina, entrance to the womb and promise of continuance of the race" (30) would show a similar death-bound tension of the daughter/lover merging and interfering with the affections which should be given to the wife/mother.

The love that produces and nurtures a child is deadly simply because it advances the generation of the parent and more subtly because the maturing child is an image of the youthful attractiveness of their gender respective parent and is therefore a competitor and a painful reminder of the irretrievable sexual/marital youth in which they were conceived. Molly is therefore both jealous and boastful about Milly's sexual appeal.

> her tongue is a bit too long for my taste your blouse is open too low she says to me the pan calling the kettle blackbottom and I had to tell her not to cock her legs up like that on show on the windowsill before all the people passing they all look at her like me when I was her age of course any old rag looks well on you then a great touchmenot too in her own way (U18.1033-1037).

Jean Kimball discusses the impact of the 1984 Hans Walter Gabler's *Ulysses* which clarifies the "Word known to all men" (U9.429-430) as "love" which is consistent with the Ellmann scholars but a divergence from the Kenner camp which alleges the word to be "death." Kimball's noteworthy suggestion is "that the complete answer to the question Stephen asks about the 'word known to all men' is not 'love' or 'death' but 'love' and 'death,' for whatever is born of the flesh through love will die" (152). Conceive the words as consubstantial, as a seasonal continuance reflected in nature, not an if "love" then "death" syllogism. Gifford defines consubstantial as "sharing the same substance, as in theological terms the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit do" (416). The consubstantiality of love and death is compared to nature and thrown into the realm of "some questions which science cannot answer" (U14.1229).

> An ingenious suggestion is that thrown out by Mr V. Lynch (Bacc. Arith.) that both (*)*natality and mortality*, as well as all other phenomena of evolution, tidal movements, lunar phases, blood temperatures, diseases in general, (*)*everything, in fine, in nature's vast workshop* from the extinction of some remote sun to the blossoming of one of the countless flowers which beautify our public parks is subject to a law of numeration as yet unascertained. (U14.1267-1273 *italics are mine).

Death occurs in nature with life springing from the ruin. The storm that drives the party into the hospital ends with "raindew moisture, life essence, celestial" (U14.1407-1408) and the entire chapter about love/death is relayed in an evolution of English language. Joyce writes Budgen that the language "progression is also linked back at each part subtly with some foregoing episode of the day and, besides this, with the natural stages of development in the embryo and the periods of faunal evolution in general" (Gilbert 140). These clues of progression in "Oxen of the Sun" are as obviously hidden as those of nature's. Claire Culleton reveals one of Joyce's subtle techniques of advancement is that "the pattern of the names in 'Oxen' mirrors the pattern of Irish political and genealogical history" (25). The only two events in *Ulysses* that might not be subtle, everyman, everyday occurrences (eating, sleeping, thinking, betting, boasting, searching, copulating, etc.) are the arrival of Mortimer Purefoy in the House of Horne and the departure of Paddy Dignam from the

mortuary to the cemetary. "Oomb, allwombing tomb" (U3.402), says Stephen of a kiss on the strand and Bloom contrasts his statement about births with one of death: "Funerals all over the world everywhere every minute" (U6.514). The events of Bloomsday worthy of being "written out in a fair hand in the king's bible" (U14.517-518) are therefore lost in the "mist of years" (U14.1327). Love and death occur simultaneously significantly and insignificantly on June 16, 1904, as they are occuring this moment. Bloomsday is therefore a-day-in-the-life and a the-day-in-the-life tale. The text of *Ulysses* as well as a sea of criticism about it suggest that Stephen, Bloom and Molly all harvest the potential for radical change from a day that begins and ends with men pissing and shaving. Their problems and solutions existed before June 16th; Even Dignam's death and Purefoy's travail are days old. It is the meaning extracted by the characters like that of the reader's which is dynamic. The catharses resulting in the altered attitudes of these characters are as simple and complex as a religious experience. God and humanity have allegedly coexisted since the beginnings of earthly accounts of life (the birth of words) but only when a conversion occurs is humankind certain of God's love and perhaps God reminded of the uncertainty of humankind's love. The divine catalyst is the Holy Spirit who Father Boyle states the "catechism calls the Third Person 'Spirit of Love, Capital Dispenser of all supernatural gifts and graces,"giver of life,' expressed in Pentecostal 'fiery tongues' which lead to the speaking in diverse languages" (129). The triangle already described of the third persons of Martha/Milly and Rudy/Stephen/Blazes result in Pentecostal experiences for Bloom and Molly. Bloom's trance in "Oxen of the Sun" is typically footnoted as a Pentecost with the Bass Ale triangle acting as the tongue of flame and the rumble of the medical students especially after the call to "Burke's!" (U14.1391) the speaking in tongues.

Molly recounts three experiences which cause her to speak in a new way, each elevating her to her final conversion. The first with Boylan: "I wished he was here or somebody to let myself go with and come again like that I feel all fire inside me" (U18.584-585) which makes her want "to shout out all sorts of things fuck or shit or anything at all" (U18.588-589) but she doesn't because she doesn't feel comfortable with Boylan because "he does it and doesnt talk" (U18.592) and she might look ugly to him when she speaks in her strange tongues. Bloom she knows and cares for too well to "bulge it right out in his face as large as life he can stick his tongue 7 miles up my hole as hes there my brown part then Ill tell him I want 1 or perhaps 30/-" (U18.1521-1523); But, "I dont want to soak it all out of him like other women do" (U18.1524-1525). She does consider faking ecstasy complete with a lapse into tongues to earn her own sexual returns:

> I know every turn in him Ill tighten my bottom well and let out a few smutty words smellrump or lick my shit or the first mad thing comes into my head then *Ill* suggest about yes O wait now sonny my turn *is* coming Ill be quite gay and friendly over it O but I was forgetting about this bloody pest of a thing (U18.1530-1534).

Her ultimate conversion is brought by her menstruation, a red triangle itself if we reverse Janusko's description of the Bass label. Her period not only prevents the deceptive Poldy sex she considers, but it is also a new virginity, an affirmation of fecundity and creative innocence which causes her to think differently, the spark of catharsis: "damn it damn it they always want to see a stain on the bed to know youre a virgin... you could be a widow or divorced 40 times over a daub of red ink would do... let me up out of this pooh sweets of sin" (U18.1125-1129). Her period prevents the deception of Bloom and is the rejection of Boylan's "sweets of sin" which he brings early by "all the poking and rooting and ploughing he had up in me" (U18.1106). After she reminds herself of the "bloody pest of a thing" (*U18.1534*), her thoughts do stray once to Stephen as she considers what to wear and to get flowers in case Bloom brings him home Friday but we know from earlier that "Friday Saturday Sunday" (U18.1107) are days of her menstrual cycle which would "pester the soul out of a body" (U18.1107-1108). Now with her soul transcended from her body, her usual mode of ecstasy (sexual) is foiled, so that the only objection she has to meeting Stephen is spiritual superstition, "Fridays an unlucky day" (U18.1550). The flower thoughts and her natural cycle lead to thoughts of Bloom and herself: "he said I was a flower of the mountain yes so we are flowers all a womans body yes that was one true thing he said in his life" (U18.1576-1577). The scarcity of the word "truth" sincerely used in *Ulysses* (only once prior to "Penelope" in regard to a mother's love) is a signal of Molly's conversion. The lapse into tongues are her rambling thoughts; "I was thinking of so many things he didnt know of" (U18.1582). Significant in these are the mention of birds in flight (U18.1584), foreign references such as "Greeks and the jews and the Arabs and the devil knows who else from all the ends of Europe and Duke street and the fowl market all clucking outside" (U18.1588-1590) and the reds of "the sea the sea crimson sometimes like fire" (U18.1598-1599) and of flowers, "I was a Flower of the mountain yes when I put the rose in my hair like the Andalusian girls used or shall I wear a red yes" (U18.1602-1603). This ecstasy culminates in Bloom when "his heart was going like mad and yes I said yes I will Yes." (U18.1608-1609).

Molly and Bloom through their own internalization of events, memories or emotions gleaned from the day's ordinary occurrences have extraordinary experiences which reduce their triangular wedges of obstruction into Trinitarian consubstantial entities. Like a Donne poem, the profane and profound serve as vehicles for each other because of their sensual similarity. Their rebirths are primarily a result of the metempsychotic experiences of their day. Molly becomes Bloom in the sense that she notices Boylan's uncultured behavior and his ruthlessness in the satiation of his appetites which conveyed in the slapping of her rump (the profane counterpart of the profound slap of birth and ordination present in "Oxen") which makes her feel as used as old Poldy tripping up the stairs with morning tea. Molly is also very jealous and suspects that Bloom is an adulterer which would seem like calling "the kettle blackbottom" (U18.1034) but Molly laments "*its all his own fault if I* am an adultress as the thing in the gallery said O much about it if thats all the harm ever we did in this vale of tears God knows its not much doesnt everybody only they hide it" (U18.1517-1519). The pain of adultery, jealousy and the loss of Rudy experienced by Molly is a mental metempsychosis of Bloom's thoughts. Bloom's maternity, female sexual abuse and birth in "Circe," the day-long assumption of his

inferior intellect by other men, and the loss of Stephen whom he's given birth to and welded with images of Rudy are a mental metempsychosis of Molly's pain. Resembling the constant co-existence of God and humankind, Molly and Bloom have had the raw materials for this development for some time but like the coming of Elijah or the Spirit, the chemistry of events was only miraculously ordinary or similarly different enough on June 16th in order to change the unchangable. Beyond this explanation is difficult "Because it (is) was a task for a superior intelligence to substitute other more acceptable phenomena in the place of the less acceptable phenomena to be removed" (U17.1008-1010), and because "Science, it cannot be too often repeated, deals with tangible phenomena" (U14.1226-1227). Joyce through Stephen in *Ulysses* directs us to make a Kierkegaard-like leap of faith of the intellect; this is a reversal of the usual Bloom-like intellect which desires to affirm "acceptable phenomena" and eliminate the "less acceptable." Joyce pushes us to use concepts such as parallax, metempsychosis, consubstantiality and transubstantiality to struggle with the illusory nature of existence rather than accepting as real the construct of history's metaphors which Valente calls Joyce's "mind-forged manacles of Irish society" (87).

> It had better be stated here and now at the outset that the perverted transcendentalism to which Mr S. Dedalus' (Div. Scep) contentions would appear to prove him pretty badly addicted runs directly counter to accepted scientific methods (U14.1223-1226).

Consubstantial love and death and mental metempsychosis (mentally "living in another body" (U4.362)) among characters in conflict such as Molly and Bloom or May and Stephen deepen the meaning in the Circe episode when Stephen's mother says, "All must go through it, Stephen. More women than men in the world. You too. Time will come" (U15.4181-4184). This precedes the question of the "word known to all men" and would seem to imply that that word is "death." Yet why the reference to "More women than men"? To simply state that more women die appears a waste of ashen words. In Hades Bloom thinks, "More dead for her than for me. One must outlive the other. Wise men say. There are more women than men in the world" (U6.545-547). If the "go(ing) through" referred to the ecstasy/anguish of love/death it would better fit the novel's progress. Male maternity has occurred psychophysiologically in Bloom and artisically in Stephen, and Mulligan has joked about both. Female physical maternity has been widely discussed in Mary, May Dedalus, Molly, Mrs Purefoy, and Eve. There have been subtle references to aborted female artistic maternity in Milly who Bloom sends to learn photography "instead of sending her to Skerrys academy where shed have to learn not like me" (U18.1006-1007) and Dilly who has Stephen's eyes but not a ghost of a chance in developing her mind although she buys a French primer over a novel like *Sweets of Sin*. A concept of no love without death, or no death without love (since you would have failed to exist) removes love from the simple sticky sweet sentiment of sex and religious ritual or the Gerty and May-like expectations of what love really is. Maternity, the paradigm of love, is a paradox of joy and pain, love and death, gravida and grave. Nor is *Love's Old Sweet Song* simply a memory of lost intense infatuation or sexual or procreative highs but the embodiment, the consubstantial existence of the sleep after sex, the advance to the grave by bringing forth the next generation, the acceptance of biological necessities far from the transcendent excitement of the height of the Howth.

The ghost scene in "Circe" continues with *Love's Bitter Mystery*, the song sung to May by Stephen (U15.4190) and directly following Stephen asks the "word known to all men." Stephen, by singing that song to his dying mother, by refusing to cower to the Church to please her, by being possessed by her ghost, obviously feels the bitterness of love. May says she loved Stephen in the womb (15.4203-4204) which is the time of perfect, natural versus culturally influenced love. "Before born babe bliss had. Within womb won he worship" (U14.60). "Amor matris, subjective and objective genitive, may be the only true thing in life" (U9.842-843). Stephen pulls himself into a fetal position after he is hit (U15.4934) and Molly complains that men are "so weak and puling when theyre sick" (U18.23). This desire to return to the perfect natural love of the womb, like the sorry travail of Eve cast from the garden, will always result in pain. Creation was once perfect as the womb is perfect but now love and death are consubstatial. This lends a jocoserious meaning to Stephen's words:

> Therefore, everyman look to that last end that is thy death and the dust that gripeth on every man that is born of woman for as he came naked forth from his mother's womb so naked shall he wend him at the last for to go as he came (U14.107-110).

The womb/tomb relationship is developed early when Stephen makes the ghastly comments about his conception and the kiss on the strand. Stephen's words then indicate that man's search for perfect love leads him back naked into another womb which is a "death" of sexual gratification as well as a marking of his mortality when he passes into parenthood and death. The death to death, ashes to ashes, womb to womb or tomb to tomb is tragicomically clear. Stephen and Bloom are fatherless, sonless searchers for love or the comfort of their respective wombs which naturally is a progression to their tombs. Bloom's refuge is in Molly, "from the unknown to the known through the incertitude of the void" (U17.1019-1020), "the childman weary, the manchild in the womb" (U17.2317-2318). Stephen's course is the opposite as a "conscious rational animal proceeding syllogistically from the known to the unknown and a conscious rational reagent between a micro and macrocosm ineluctably constructed upon the incertitude of the void" (U17.1012-1015). The sky is described as an "ocean of fecundity" (U17.1156), the "starshiny coelum. God's air, the Allfather's air, scintillant circumambient cessile air" (U14.1408-1409) and it is this womb of the world that the artist claims as his own. Notice that the coelum or vault suggests female reproduction but the "Allfather air" is described as "scintillant" as in the light or spark of the spirit, "circumambient" as in the omniscient, omnipotent Father, and "cessile" which Gifford glosses as an obsolete word meaning "yielding" (440). The "yielding" quality of the air in the company of Father and Spirit in a fertile female vault of sky naturally suggests the absence of the Son. Because this occurs at the

exit from the house of Horne, it is probable that the universe is yielding (as in birthing or embracing) the savior son of Stephen who as an artist will reject the microcosm of personal gratification (Bloom's maternal protection) for the artistic role which he jests about in a frightened way. "Bous Stephanoumenos, bullockbefriending bard, am lord and giver of their life" (U14.1115-1116).

Stephen, rather than becoming **a** son or Bloom's son, becomes **the** son; as artist he is man/woman/god or his own trinity of creator. In "Ithica" when Bloom offers the "proposal of asylum" (U17.955) Stephen declines reminding Bloom of "Mrs Emily Sinico" (U17.947). The bulk of *Ulysses* criticism suggests that Bloom and Stephen's thoughts join and form the gossamer ironframe of the novel's structure. Assuming Stephen has access to Bloom's memory, his mention of Mrs Sinico should cause Bloom to remember his thoughts about her in "Hades": "Last time I was here was Mrs Sinico's funeral. Poor papa too. The love that kills" (U6.996-997). Stephen is a dirty echo of Mr Duffy of "A Painful Case", a troubled stick-toting aesthete seeking love and comfort. Duffy had asylum with Mrs Sinico and "Captain Sinico encouraged his visits, thinking that his daughter's hand was in question" (D.110). Stephen refuses to participate in the Rudy/Boylan/Duffy wedge earlier discussed, recognizing that love does kill and that surrogates are in fact nothing but obstructions or usurpations. Early critics were shocked at Joyce's profanity but it's only a Donne-like vehicle of morality. Love in every aspect is volatile, even that of the sterile celibate, Duffy:

> He thought that in her eyes he would ascend to an angelical stature; and, as he attached the fervent nature of his companion more and more closely to him, he heard the strange impersonal voice which he recognized as his own, insisting on the soul's incurable lonliness. We cannot give ourselves, it said: we are our own (D.111).

The intercourse of thought as Duffy "entangled his thoughts with hers" (D.110) like its sexual counterpart is a union, an act of love and thus contains the responsibilites morally associated only with sex. Molly, and seemingly Joyce, see adultery as equally damaging whether mental or physical. A cry of loneliness, a quest for love, is heard after the midwife's slap, a deathly impact with a train (D.114), and in the aesthetic discourses of Duffy. To each his womb/tomb seems to be Stephen's thoughts as he enters the night. His rejection of Bloom, unlike Duffy's of Mrs Sinico, is loving, as natural as a son leaving his fathet to become a father, leaving his mother to accept his wife. Stephen's love is "of my race" (P.253) and his expression of love will be to create "the uncreated conscience" (P.253) of his race through art.

> In woman's womb word is made flesh but in the spirit of the maker all flesh that passes becomes the word that shall not pass away. This is postcreation (U14.292-295).

Mary gave flesh to the Word but Stephen by being the craftsman or "spirit of the maker" and the womb or flesh which crafts or "passes" the word which itself becomes the son, yet is consubstantial with its creator, has become a timeless trinity. This confusion over the generational and gender relationship between Stephen artist and his work is comically exploited by Lenehan, "Have no fear. He could not leave his mother an orphan" (U14.1123). This is reminiscent of Shakespeare being the Hamlet/ghost and Hamnet/son. Art like progeny (more accurately a "matreny" if the word existed: "we are linked up by successive anastomosis of navelcords" (U14.300)) is an link of past and future generations. "When one reads these strange pages of one long gone one feels that one is at one with one who once... (U3.143-145). Thus the artist always lives wherever one lives with his art. "Oxen of the Sun" is stylistically a development of all English prose which is a tribute to that womb of art which preceded Joyce. Bazargan sees "Joyce's relation to his predecessors not in terms of distant parallelisms or correspondencies, but in the context of what in contemporary critical discourse is called the 'iterability' of a text, a term implying the rebirth of something at the moment of repetition" (272). The word of "one" artist is thus the spirt which impregnates the reader/artist, becomes part of "one's" womb of experience which "one" then fertilizes with "one's" new spirit of talent perpetuating a cycle which Bloom confuses of as Beaufoy or Purefoy (U8.275-289). Every animal or artistic birth is a miracle of ontogeny yet a simple part of the phylogeny.

Stephen may thus appear to be another Mina Purefoy or May Goulding sacrificing himself for his child of art. This is inconsistent with a character who declares "Non serviam!" (U15.4228) and smashes the chandelier of mother causing the "ruin of all space, shattered glass and toppling masonry" (U15.4245). Stephen is conscious that "History to blame. Fabled by mothers of memory" (U15.4371-4372) for the false human constructions of wisdom. "Know all men, he said, time's ruins build eternity's mansions" (U14.289-290). The true wisdom of Proverbs 9:1 like the true love of mother has been adulterated by the "two masters... an English and an Italian" (U1.638) the Henry and Nicholas or king and pope of "Oxen" who in the false constructs of faith, like papal bulls, rob Minos of his wife's natural lust: "maid, wife, abbess and widow (so that) to this day they would rather any time of the month whisper in his ear in the dark of a cowhouse or get a lick on the nape from his long holy tongue than lie with the finest strapping young ravisher in the four fields of all Ireland" (U14.595-599). Stephen's adulteration of Proverbs — "lo, wisdom hath built herself a house, this vast majestic longestablished vault, the crystal palace of the Creator, all in applepie order" (U14.402-403) — is his recognition of the limitation of human wisdom and the houses or institutions she's built as custodians of such. "(he taps his brow) But in here it is I must kill the priest and the king" (U15.4436-4437) says Stephen. His mother, by loving priest and king over husband/son and country, becomes a symbolic oppressor for both: "And a third (master), Stephen said, there is who wants me for odd jobs" (U1.641). Stephen may know by intellect the bittersweet nature of love but the natural emotional acceptance of such without cultural impediments requires the magic of Bloomsday. In the morning his "Pain, that was not yet the pain of love, fretted his heart" (U1.102). Oded says, "Stephen is searching subconsciously for motherly qualities in religion, those same emotional elements he yearned for in his relationship with his mother" (41). In *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* this quest is pentecostally portrayed in a brothel and a confessional which he refers to in *Ulysses* as his search for the land "called Believe-on-Me"

(U14.444). Stephen therefore does not smash Mother, God, or Country with his ashplant in "Circe" but the constructions of thought and language which have changed them to Ghoul, Pope and Citizen. He destroys not the true "majestic longestablished vault" but the "crystal palace" which Gilbert glosses as that of *this "World's Fair"* (420) explaining Stephen's dislike for "the aqueous substances of glass and crystal, distrusting aquacities of thought and language" (U17.239-240). Language is thus to be broken, questioned, not served unconditionally because it is made not begotten. The paradox is summed up by Valente in the words of Foucault:

> We cease from thinking if we do not wish to think under the control of language. The most we can do is to attain an attitude of doubt concerning the question whether the boundary here really is a boundary (90).

This tension is tragicomically played out in "Circe" when the quarrel between Stephen and Private Carr is a misunderstanding of language. Bloom with maternal insight urges Cissy Caffrey to "Speak, you! Are you struck dumb? You are the link between nations and generations. Speak, woman, sacred lifegiver!" (U15.4647-4649). Only female/divine creations or "Amor matris, subjective and objective genetive, may be the only true thing in life" (U9.842-843) but outside of the bliss of the womb all we have is language, "Ungenitive" (U15.4376) says Stephen of his words to Cissy perhaps implying too "ungeniture," as words are at best spurious counterfeits of nature attempting to echo thoughts which are prisoner to the very words which feign to be their offspring. The words are ungenitive, dispossessed abortions of thought as Cissy is the non-fertile, "ungeniture" representative of woman as creator in this scene. Valente rephrases Nietzsche to explain Joyce's cloying at our metaphors: "Not believing in knowledge is the strongest, most capacious governance of all" (96). Maternity, the only certainty, has been sacrificed by king and priest and every language-built institution is built on the falsehood of patrimony or concepts equally uncertain. Culleton credits "High King of Ireland Brian Boru, who reigned from 976 to 1014 A.D." (24) as the initiator and enforcer of patrimony through surnames. Stephen clearly attacks the church's reversal of paternal myth and maternal certainty.

> Fatherhood, in the sense of conscious begetting, is unknown to man. It is a mystical estate, an apostolic succession, from only begetter to only begotten. On that mystery and not on the madonna which the cunning Italian intellect flung to the mob of Europe the church is founded and founded irremovably because founded like the world ¡or word¡, macro and microcosm, upon the void. Upon incertitude, upon unliklihood. (U9.837-842).

In "Oxen of the Sun" the mother is given more importance than the child as "the wife should live and the babe to die" (U14.215) although Bloom is reluctant to admit so. Thematically, throughout *Ulysses*, the Creator is valued over religion, the people of a nation over provincial nationalism, and homeland over king or parliament. Stephen is our chief spokesperson for this macrocosmic view and is distinct from other procreators because his search is for complete love and he abandons all cultural substitutes or distorted definitions. Kimball gives possible Aquinian or Aristotelian definitions of love but quotes Ellmann as translating Stephen's description of love (U9.430-431) as "Love truly wishes some good to another and therefore we all desire it" (145). May asked that Stephen pray instead of giving the comfort of love he had traveled from Paris to give. Stephen asks the ghost mother for love (and its mystery) but is told to repent and he responds, "The ghoul! Hyena! (U15.4200). His attempts for physical and spiritual love have similarly been exploited by prostitutes and jesuits. The miraculous transformation of Stephen from self-absorbed exploiter (his unpaid loans, intellectual teasings) and exploited (Haines, Mulligan, women, family and religion) to self-sufficient artist embracing all umbilical cords of reality and transcending them is made possible by the same force Aquinas, Milton and other writers attribute to the Creator. Yes, love in its complete meaning with all risks of disappointment, pain and death. The character left to explain this is the one most like and unlike Stephen himself, Molly.

Physical science is Bloom's preoccupation and spiritual transcendentalism is Stephen's. Molly's passion for physical transcendentalism which she achieves through earthy sexual pragmatism is closer to Stephen's sensual Pentecostal-like absolutes which he has sought in the brotherhood and brothels; "theres nothing like a kiss long and hot to your soul" (U18.105-106). Molly is a worldly, earthly, uneducated spokesman for all Stephen believes. Molly and Stephen both seem to know that "It is an age of exhausted whoredom groping for its god" (U9.810). Molly can "feel him trying to make a whore of me" (U18.96) as Stephen can feel Haines, the editor, Mulligan and even his mother doing the same by their desire to exploit or adapt his "light" or talent to their own uses or perceptions. "But thou hast suckled me with a bitter milk: my moon and sun thou has quenched for ever" (U14.377-378). Fortunately, Stephen discovers the starry vault of creation "as loves own star arent those beautiful words as loves young star itll be a change the Lord knows" (U18.1340-1341). Molly is reverent of God and blesses herself when she hears the "Boom" that frightened Stephen but she is distrustful of priests and religious ritual. "I always think of the real father what did he want to know for when I already confessed it to God" (U18.112-113). Boom or Bloom of the "land of Phenomenon" (U14.439) explains the Boom pseudoscientifically, "the discharge of fluid from the thunderhead" (U14.426-427) comically imposing an anthropomorphic sexuality on the heavens which he states are "all of the order of a natural phenomenon" (U14.427-428). "hed scoff if he heard because he never goes to church mass or meeting he says your soul you have no soul inside only grey matter" (U18.140-142) but "as for them saying theres no God I wouldnt give a snap of my two fingers for all their learning" (U18.1563-1565) so "where does their great intelligence come in Id like to know grey matter they have it all in their tail if you ask me" (U18.709-710). Molly's uneducated harangue is packed with questions regarding death, truth, life and the thought of "love" is repeated in her monologue with a frequency possibly only less than "yes." She has experienced maternal love, frustration and loss, physical love with and without the sanction of matrimony, and is troubled by a gnawing sense of the reality of age and death versus a need to love, reach, be, live forever or as long as she can. Stephen's preoccupations

are similar as he values "essences" and dismisses idle intellectualizing.

> Art has to reveal to us ideas, formless spiritual essences. The supreme question about a work of art is out of how deep a life does it spring. The painting of Gustave Moreau is the painting of ideas. The deepest poetry of Shelley, the words of Hamlet bring our minds into contact with the eternal wisdom, Plato's world of ideas. All the rest is the speculation of schoolboys for schoolboys. (U9.48-53).

"Return, return, Clan Milly: forget me not, O Milesian" (U14.371-372) says Stephen following a rejection of his mother. The Milesians, a Celtic group which Scott says resembles "those of pre-Greek and pre-Hebrew civilizations" (10) worshipped goddesses as "not only the primary principle of fertility, but also ¿as¡ the roles of 'creator and lawmaker of the universe, prophetess, provider of human destinies, inventor, healer, and reliant leader in battle'" (9). The role of women then in the Celtic Ireland before the Roman (church) or Briton (law) Scott describes as one of "considerable power, but their status deteriorated in historical times, reaching rock-bottom in the nineteenth century, just before Joyce's birth" (9). Irish pre-medieval architecture has preserved the carvings of Sheela-na-gigs which Scott describes as "crouched with open crotch, pointing to or even fingering exaggerated genitals. Sheelas usually have large heads, forbidding facial expressions, and skeletal torsos with little or no breast development" (11). The Sheela-na-gig's death mask and exaggerated sexuality visually combine the co-existence of love and death. Scott admits that the Sheela's original meaning is merely conjecture but theories run from a worshipped sign of the embodiment of fertility and death, to a warning of the evils of sexual promiscuity. Lammers refers to Darcy O'Brien who sees Molly as an archetypal, "a sexually degraded, whore-like woman whom Irishmen most fear and despise yet also most desire" (487). Consubstantial love and death, *Love's Bitter Mystery*, the Sheela and Molly are a bit harsh and like Stephen and Bloom the reader's initial reaction to reality is aversion. Molly hates "that pretending" (U18.492) and is concerned with the elemental truths of love, death and life and is disgusted with men because "why should we tell them even if it is the truth they dont believe you then tucked up in bed like those babies in the Aristocrats Masterpiece" (U18.1237-1240). Molly calling Aristotle "Aristocrat or whatever his name is" (U18.1240) appears to be Joycean humor, considering Scott credits Aristotle with the devaluation of women who "possessed an abundance of the material aspects of the soul (the vegetative and sensitive) but only insignificant intellectual qualities" (9). Stephen mentions the Madonna flung to the mobs and Scott affirms that "Mariology, the growing Irish reverence for the Virgin Mary, was especially strong in Joyce's era.... The mature Mary, Mother of Sorrows, became 'the most appropriate model for a generation of women' many widowed in post-famine Ireland" (15). Stephen is a sensitive, sensual seeker of love, truth and creative expression who has "lived riotously with those wastrels and murdered his goods with whores" (U14.275-276) who is contemptuous of the confines of Western culture. Molly is only unintellectual or amoral from the subjective view of the very constructs that Stephen shattered with his ashplant. As a Sheela or Dana goddess she is a beautiful creator prophetess goddess. "I love flowers Id love to have the whole place swimming in roses God of heaven theres nothing like nature the wild mountains then the sea" (U18.1557-1559).

Molly is aware of her own mortality, "as for being a woman as soon as youre old they might as well throw you out in the bottom of the ashpit" (U18.746-747), and like Stephen she understands but still fears embracing the "pain of love" (U1.102); "I suppose I oughtnt to have buried him in that little woolly jacket I knitted crying as I was ... I knew well Id never have another our 1st death too it was we were never the same since O Im not going to think myself into the glooms" (U18.1448-1451). Still Molly refuses to be a Mary of Sorrows or an imitation of the BVM. Her non serviam is as strong as Stephen's fired by similar pain and frustration:

> were to be always chained up theyre not going to be chaining me up no damn fear (U18.1390-1391).

Molly's need to reconcile her life with what is natural instead of cultural is another tie with Stephen.

> what else were we given all those desires for Id like to know I cant help it if Im young still can I its a wonder Im not an old shrivelled hag before my time living with him so cold never embracing me except sometimes when hes asleep the wrong end of me not knowing I suppose who he has (U18.1397-1401).

Her role as mother is powerful, "they wouldnt be in the world at all only for us" (U18.1439) as Stephen's is as artist. As the novel moves to resolution, both embrace the bittersweet entirety of their roles. Molly explains the "incertitude of the void" (U17.1015) without Aristotelian abstractions or English punctuation.

> why dont they go and create something I often asked him athiests or whatever they call themselves go and wash the cobbles off themselves first then they go howling for the priest and they dying and why why because theyre afraid of hell on account of their bad conscience ah yes I know them well who was the first person in the universe before there was anybody that made it all who ah that they dont know neither do I so there you are they might as well try to stop the sun from rising tomorrow the sun shines for you (U18.1565-1572).

"Everything that lives,' Nietzsche proclaims, 'says yes'" (89) and Molly's "yes" is that proclaimation contends Valente. Molly does say that the one truth she's heard from Bloom is that she is a "flower of the mountain yes so we are flowers all a womans body" (U18.1576-1577). This "truth" of Molly's is no simpler that that of Stephen's based on maternity. Truth according to the prophetess Molly has a Nietzschean conditionality:

> silly women believe love is sighing I am dying still if he wrote it I suppose thered be some truth in it true or no it fills up your whole day and life always something to think about every moment and see it all round you like a new world I could write the answer in bed to let him imagine me short just a few words not like those long crossed letters (U18.736-741).

If the premise is accepted that Molly is a spokesperson for Stephen, both embracers of the void, saying yes to love and death which is elemental to human imitations of the divine act of creation, then Molly's words above take on a new significance. What if the "writer" referred to above was not that of a billet doux but a novel with some at least some truth in it with all the answers being summed up in "just a few words" by a simple Sheela on her sex-stained sheets. Valente says that "more than an absent truth, Molly represents the truth of truth's absence" (93). *Ulysses* is like "a new world" and it has filled many a reader's "whole day and always something to think about" like life. *Ulysses* in its nebulous enormity and elemental simplicity is life. Valente conveys this eloquent interpretation of Molly's yes: "To live fully is to love the necessary so utterly that one engenders it" (89). Yes!

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Buddhism and Marxism in Sri Lanka: Complementary But Not Congruent

by Shannan Mattiace

Asian Cultures, Dr. Cynthia Mahmood. Assignment: Take an interdisciplinary approach to a term-long project on a topic of your choice.

SECTION ONE: INTRODUCTION

As with any world religion, Buddhism can be approached from many different perspectives and used as an ideology to legitimize a particular movement, social class, economic structure, or political philosophy. While religion has often been used to sanction or justify, it has also played a dynamic role in the process of social change. Essentially, religion in any society plays a dual role.1 In this essay I will take an indepth look at Theravada Buddhism and several of its main tenets to determine the relationship between Buddhism and Marxism. These two philosophies developed centuries apart and in different areas of the world, but share some common ideas, concepts, and visions for a just and peaceful society. Parenthetically, Buddhism and Marxist also contain fundamental differences and disagreements on the nature of reality and that which gives life ultimate meaning.

I believe that the similarities between the two philosophies is one factor which makes Theravada Buddhist states in Southeast Asia more apt to adopt a Marxist political system than a capitalistic one. Can one link Buddhism and Marxism together in much the same way that Weber correlated Protestantism and capitalism? Or is Marxism in Southeast Asia more a rejection of Western materialism than a real affinity with Buddhist philosophy?

In order to test this hypothesis I will focus on Buddhist Sri Lanka as a case study. Has Buddhism historically functioned as a legitimizing force for the state? What effect has Buddhism had on political institutions in Sri Lanka since independence? What role has Buddhism played in the recent communal violence and riots between Sri Lankan Sinhalese and Tamils?

BUDDHISM AND MARXISM: COMMON GROUND?

> In the early days of the world there was a magic tree which bore as fruit all kinds of food and goods which the people enjoyed. The early inhabitants of the world had no idea of making profits, and everyone used the fruits of these trees for his own needs, and these were ample for everyone's needs. Then greed appeared in the world, and people began to pluck from their own consumption. Then, according to the ancient legend, the wonderful tree disappeared.[2]

This ancient Buddhist legend clearly illustrates Buddhism's historic and deeply imbedded concern with society and how it is ordered. The Buddha himself, born around 600 B.C. preoccupied himself with political and social matters. According to ancient texts, he was frequently seen about royal palaces and involved himself in state matters. The Buddha focused on two central aspects in his teaching: The reordering of human consciousness and the reordering of human society.[3] The existing social order was so important to an individual's search for Enlightenment and Truth that it is presupposed in the Buddha's teaching, rather than prescribed.[4]

Although Buddhism "seems to be primarily concerned with the suffering of the individual and the ultimate unsatisfactoriness and sorrowfulness of life," this does not make Buddhism a private or individualistic Way to Truth. On the contrary, "Buddhist reformers and activists have insisted that even individual salvation cannot be attained in a world which holds humans in slavery." [5] Although salvation, or Nirvana, can be attained by self-forgetful activity, 'forgetting oneself' should not lead to a selfish existence.[6] Instead Buddha advocated that "forgetting oneself is for the benefit of others." [7] Ernst Benz who strongly argues that Buddhism should be understood as a social religion asserts that "The follower of Buddha is truly a servant of all." [8]

Trevor Ling cites three reasons why there developed in early Buddhism so strong a concern with the wise and beneficent government of human society. The first was due to the Buddha's interest and concern with public affairs. Secondly, the need to ensure optimum conditions for the functioning and maintenance of a Buddhist society called for such involvement. Lastly, since Buddhism by its very nature denies the individual soul salvation is not a private affair, but is deeply concerned with the public world.[9]

The *sangha*, or order of monks, is also a reflection of Buddhism's social nature. In sharp contrast to Christian monks, the *sangha* does not completely withdraw from society. The work of a monk is not for himself, but for society.[10]
The *sangha* and the common people have a reciprocal relationship; each have duties to one another.[11] The monks receive guests, conduct religious schools, and serve as gentle missionaries, spreading the Buddha's message to a suffering world. They hold few material possessions and rely on the community to provide for their physical needs. The monks beg for their food, not simply for subsistence purposes, but as a symbol of their own renunciation of private property.

The influence of the *sangha* has been extremely impactual on Buddhist societies as it provides an example

of an egalitarian approach to living which rejects the private-profit motive and is non-acquisitive in nature.[12]

The *sanhga* assist lay Buddhists in seeking the way of salvation and an eventual cessation of suffering: The eight-fold path. "The Buddhist path is not so much a series of stages or steps as a particular grouping of states of mind with the property of flowing naturally towards the goal." [13] The states of mind which lead to an eventual transcendence of ordinary understanding are: Perfect view, Perfect thought, Perfect speech, Perfect action, Perfect livelihood, Perfect effort, Perfect mindfulness, and Perfect concentration. [14]

These states of mind cannot be attained within a society which espouses values contrary to them. How can the Buddhist individual seek to lose his/her sense of self in a capitalistic society whose very basis is individualism and greed? One cannot understand the impermanence of all life and reality if one's society encourages a lust for material possessions.

Unlike many other world religions, some scholars argue that early Buddhism was more a philosophy and a way of approaching the world than a traditionally defined religion.[15] Trevor Ling, renowned English scholar of Comparative Religions, defines Buddhism as primarily a theory of existence. It is secular and based on rationality, but also points to the sacred and the transcendental. [16]

Asian Marxists have pointed to Buddhism's emphasis on rationality to buttress their own political ideology and its affinity to Buddhism. D.C. Vijavardhana in "Revolt in the Temple," his famous treatise on political Buddhism, responded to those eager to establish a link between the two philosophies by saying, "Marxism is described as "a leaf taken from the book of Buddhism- a leaf torn out and misread." [17] However, several of Buddhism's sacred texts contain stories, legends, and instructions to political leaders which some consider Marxist in tone. One of Buddhism's most holy texts contains instructions to kings to distribute the wealth of the land among the poor and urges that all receive a daily allowance of food. [18] Both Buddhism and Marxism sprang up at critical times in their histories when people sought a new understanding and response to societies' increasing depersonalization. Buddhism was developed in India around 600 B.C. as republics disappeared and monarchies organized. Indian monarchies tended to be more impersonal and the new religion responded to these feelings of depersonalization. Marxism emerged after the Industrial Revolution and was a response to the depersonalization of urbanization, the rapid spread of unfettered capitalism, and Christianity's accomplice role in man's growing alienation. [19]

Both Buddhism and Marxism are non-theistic in philosophy. Before 1944 Marx wrote extensively about religion until turning to more social and political themes. He believed that Western religion, namely Christianity, was one primary cause of man's alienation. He once called religion "a symptom of a disease which is to be found in the distortion in the economic life of man." [20] The majority of his essays concerning religion were directed specifically against the Protestantism of the Prussian state, and therefore against other forms of European state Protestantism. [21]

Marx vehemently rejected the state's use of religion to achieve its own ends. He accused Christianity of false consciousness while lamenting the alienating and deplorable conditions into which men had allowed themselves to descend. But scholars are uncertain as to whether Marx rejected religion as a universal phenomenon or if he directed his vectives only towards Western Christianity when manifested as a state religion. Although Marx condemned Western Christianity, he applauded when religion was used to challenge oppressive governments.[22] Some scholars argue that Marx's critique of religion can be best described as a critique of nineteenth-century theology, not religion in general.[23]

Whereas Marx reacted inimically to the realities and abuses of nineteenth-century Christianity in Western Europe, the Buddha, centuries earlier, condemned the excesses of Brahmanistic Hinduism. The Buddha argued that religion was often used to buttress a hierarchical and oppressive social order which allows certain people to speak for the masses while simultaneously maintaining their high place in the system. The Hindi concept of God, asserted the Buddha, caused the common Indian to passively accept his divinely ordained place in society and hope for a better life the next spin of the wheel. [24]

Buddhism has always been interested in temporal affairs because a Buddhist state "requires for its full and proper functioning the cooperation of a ruler whose policy and legislation is in keeping with the Dhamma." [25]

In countries where Theravada Buddhism has flourished, such as Thailand, Burma, and Sri Lanka, a strong need for a Buddhist state has been manifested. [26] It can also be noted that in the predominantly Buddhist countries of Southeast Asia, Marxist socialism seems to have a certain appeal. [27] U Nu, devout Buddhist and the first prime minister of independent Burma called Socialism "the doctrine which can lead our people back to the age of the magic tree, the Padaytha Tree." [28] For Buddhism, "the social order is supposed to provide the optimum conditions for the individual pursuit of Nirvana." [29] Trevor Ling eloquently described Buddhism and its social response as:

> A permanent revolution against priesthood, dogmatism, temple cults, class and caste privileges, and against all the mythologies which maintain a priestly class in power; the myth of God, the myth of man's hereditary sinfulness and impotence, the myth that man must subject his own reason to the authority of irrational doctrines of salvation.[30]

Buddhism allows the believer the freedom from theism and "leaves room for rationalism and rules out submission to some superhuman power controlling the world process." [31] For Theravada Buddhists, gods are for help with immediate needs, but are no help with awesome things such as birth and rebirth. It is true that gods inhabit the universe, but they cannot lead one to the Truth because they do not know the way.[32] Because Buddhists firmly believe that the world is constantly changing, they do not accept the idea of an unchanging God. If everything in life is continually in flux, how can one cling to anything? The unequivocable answer is that one must relinquish one's tendency to grasp on to what one perceives as stable and real, because all is an illusion. Truth comes to one who completely lets go.

This freedom from theism which Buddhism allows, is in many ways consonant with Marxism. Both Buddhism and Marxism are "based on a philosophical rather than a theological view of the human situation." [33] One scholar summarizes their similarity by saying:

> Buddhism's non-theistic character renders it less likely to come into conflict with Marxist doctrine, and...it agrees with Marxism in the kind of society it envisages, that is, one that is not characterized by class divisions or individual affluence.[34]

Furthermore, both philosophies view human beings as fundamentally good rather than evil.[35] This belief stands in sharp contrast with both Christianity and capitalism which perceive human beings to be fallen, selfish, and basically greedy.

Both Marxism and Buddhism are fundamentally based on praxis, the need for personal verification of what is at first accepted in faith. Buddha insisted that all propositions should be tested, including his own." [36] Many Buddhists exhort that, "If you wish to understand the Buddha's doctrine, you must practice it." [37] Marx also held praxis to be a key element in his philosophy and asserts that "the criterion of all truth consists in its verification by means of practice." [38] For Marx, orthopraxy (right practice) was more important than orthodoxy (right belief). However, both Marx and the Buddha fundamentally asserted that thoughts often reinforce oppressive structures, and in order for social change to occur radical alteration in thoughts as well as actions needs to take place. [39]

Finally, both Buddhism and Marxism seem to suffer from what some authors have called a "practicality gap." In the Buddhist *sangha* there is no institutionalized hierarchical structure; therefore when there is dissent within the group, a simple break-off occurs. There must be complete unity in every local *sangha* in order for national decisions to be made. Consequently, national and ideological unity becomes difficult, if not extremely trying. Correspondingly, concensus between individuals in a Marxist, egalitarian society may be achieved on a small scale, but often has proven impossible in large, complex societies.

This "practicality gap" can be perceived as a negative aspect of Buddhism and Marxism, especially in American culture which values pragmatism, utility, and functionalism above creativity, justice, and idealism. Perhaps Buddhism and Marxism appear complementary and attractive to persons who are dreamers and idealists; those who choose to see reality as a vision of what they want it to look like, rather than what it actually is. Personally, both philosophies affirm the idealism inherent in my being. I pride myself on pragmatism and moderation, but dream of a just society where government leaders not only limit their concern and attention to "national interests," but fight and stand for human rights and dignities of all citizens. I hope for a society where people matter, not simply because they can vote, but because they are human beings and deserving of the highest respect and care. I desire a society where money is not a definitive standard which judges all other values, where work is compensated with a fair wage, and where underemployment as well as unemployment are undesirable and unacceptable. At their most positive I believe that Marxism and Buddhism also envision this type of society, albeit for different reasons and motivations.

BUDDHISM AND MARXISM: WHEN THE FOOTPRINTS OF THE BUDDHA AND MARX FOLLOW DIFFERENT PATHS TO TRUTH

However, although Buddhism and Marxism do share some common ground, it must not be forgotten that Buddhism is a major world religion and Marxism is a humanistic philosophy based on dialectical materialism. There are authors who not only see Buddhism and Marxism as disjunct philosophies, but perceive Capitalism and Buddhism as complementary. They state that Buddhism's insistence on the value of each individual's search for truth and enlightenment mirrors capitalism's emphasis on the individual's imagination and initiative. In addition, these authors assert that Buddhism's egalitarianism and lack of hierarchy is essentially democratic. Thailand is used as an example to support this theory and profit is said to be accepted as a motivating factor in Thai society.[40]

The above view illustrates the facility and the frequency with which religion is used to support and add meaning to a particular ideological position. One must exercise caution in equating a secular and religious philosophy for a secularist views material reality as holding ultimate meaning and significance, yet those who call themselves believers and follow a spiritual path perceive ultimate meaning as transcendental. For this reason I do not assert that Marxism and Buddhism are congruent, yet they can be complementary.

Unlike Buddhists, Marx certainly does not consider the physical and material world to be illusory and impermanent. Neither does he advocate losing one's ego and sense of individuality in order to find truth and meaning. Instead, he poses social, political, and economic changes which will result in a new ordering of society. This totally opposes Buddhism's intrinsic belief that all of life is impermanent, for if we think that we can fundamentally alter the society we live in, we are assuming that our society is real.

The use of violence is a significant point of difference and the most readily observable contrast between Buddhism and Marxism. A respect for every living thing and all of nature is central to the Buddhist way of life. Buddhists let the world wash over them; they do not manipulate nature, but work with and through it. In sharp contrast, Marx vehemently attested that a violent revolution is necessary to end class struggle and usher in a proletariat government. Marx's belief in the ability of human beings to create their own destiny without the assistance of a God or nature led to Marxists' complete domination over the external world.

To conclude this first section, it can be stated that the fundamental foundation and ultimate goals of Buddhism and of Marxism are radically different, if not opposed. However, coexistence is possible because both philosophies possess some significant analogous views and visions of temporal society. We next turn to Sri Lanka as a case study on this theme.

SECTION TWO: BUDDHISM AND MARXISM IN SRI LANKA

Buddhism reached its apex in India during the reign of Emperor Asoka (Mauryan dynasty) in the third century BCE. But soon afterwards, it risked total assimilation and absorption into Indian Hinduism and was carried to Sri Lanka by Asoka's grandson. Sri Lanka was to be the shining light which preserved pure Theravada Buddhism.

According to S.J. Tambiah, scholar and native Sri Lankan, Buddhism was from the beginning very political and tied to Sinhalese nationalism. Early Buddhist monks formulated the founding myths, legends, and ideologies which would serve to unite the Sinhalese people of Sri Lanka. [41] According to Tambiah, Buddhism in Sri Lanka behaved similarly to Hinduism in India in that it incorporated the South Indian people (the Tamils) and their art into its own.[42]

Buddhist nationalism re-emerged and was strengthened in times of Sri Lankan crisis, usually foreign invasions from south India, or later, from Portugal, Holland, and Great Britain. [43] "Sinhalese Buddhist nationalism became a major political and cultural force in response to British imperialism (1796-1948)."[44] Sri Lankan author Vijaya Vidyasagara also gives support to this argument and asserts that Buddhism, rather than concerning itself with social justice, has historically furthered Sinhalese and anti-imperial nationalism. He states:

> It is true of course that the Buddhist Sangha in our land was not indifferent or inactive when it came to the conquest of the country by a foreign invader, but this would not appear to be so much motivated by a social concern inspired by religious ideals for the realisation of a just and righteous society as by a concern for safeguarding Buddhism institutionally and in consequence the Sinhalese people whose culture and civilisation had been so closely bound up with Buddhism. [45]

Although some attest that Sri Lankan Buddhism has completely preoccupied itself with Sinhalese and anti-colonial nationalism, others see it as having furthered the cause of social justice. Responding to Vidyasagara's argument mentioned above, the author, a prominent Buddhist scholar, lambasts the author's criticism of Theravada Buddhism and its supposed lack of social justice. This scholar claims that "the *samma vaca*, the *samma kammanta*, and the *samma ajiva* of the noble eightfold path of Nirvana are at all times with total social relevance." [46]

In order to ascertain the nature of Sri Lankan socialism since independence it is necessary to look at the 1956 elections in which Solomon Bandaranaike became prime minister. He was the founder of Mahajana Eksath Peramuna (MEP-People's United Front) political party, a political alliance of four nationalistSocialist parties. Bandaranaike's pursued both Buddhist and Marxist goals during his tenure (1956-1959). During this period Buddhism was given a prominent place in state affairs and Sri Lanka established diplomatic relations with Communist states.[47]

There is evidence that the 1956 elections led to the achievement of some significant social goals for Sri Lankans. Wealth and land were distributed more equally as Bandaranaide initiated much needed land reform programs. A complete nationalization of paddy (rice-growing) lands was launched and evidenced "Sri Lanka's sustained commitment to an egalitarian society as well as its leadership among Third World nations in its execution of socialistic goals." [48] It's difficult to determine whether Bandaranaike gained his power by his overall policy of democratic socialism or if he "appealed to the Buddhist and Sinhalese language of the majority of Sri Lankans against the English-oriented post-colonial elites."[49] Was the prime minister committed to socialism and social justice through Buddhism or did he use Buddhism to gain public support?

Tambiah devotes much of his book to the roots of Sinhalese and Tamil communal violence. In his view, Sri Lankan Buddhism in its militant populist incarnations does not have any ethical and normative substance. "Instead," Tambiah writes, "It has been used as mere diacritical and mnemonic of crowd and mob identity as a rhetorical mobilizer of volatile masses and as instigator of its orgasmic spurts of violence." [50] According to Tambiah, Buddhism in Sri Lanka has legitimized the status quo because it has historically enjoyed a majority status. Additionally, Buddhism has been synonymous with being Sinhalese and Aryan. Tambiah calls this manifestation of Buddhism as "Buddhism shorn of its universalistic message." [51]

Bruce Matthews in an essay entitled, "Sinhala Cultural and Buddhist Patriotic Organizations in Contemporary Sri Lanka," also observes Sinhala Buddhist groups which primarily promote "cultural nationalism" and do not support the devolution of power to Ceylon Tamils. One such organization, the Deshapremi Tharuna Bhikhsu Peramuna (DTBP-Young Bhikhus Patriotic Organization), is not as concerned with social issues and traditional Buddhist religious philosophy, as with what it perceives to be national issues. Therefore, any possible alliance with a political party would not depend on philosophical affinity, but on a particular party's willingness to promote Sinhalese, Buddhist goals.

In the case of Sri Lanka, it is not possible to aver that Marxism has prospered or even survived because of the country's strong Buddhist tradition. Except during Bandaranaike's tenure as prime minister (1956-59), Sri Lanka has not had a Marxist government, but has been firmly grounded in democratic socialism. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, widow of Soloman, was Sri Lankan prime minister after her husband's death and was defeated in the 1965 election for forming a coalition with the Marxist Lanka Sama Samaja Party. In 1970 she was re-elected not as the leader of a Marxist party, but as part of the United Front, a socialist coalition party.

Since Sri Lanka won its independence in 1948 it enjoyed a strong tradition of democratic socialism. A 1980 U.S. Embassy's report states that the Sri Lankan government before 1977: "Diverted a large share of available resources to free education and medical care, free and subsidized food, and subsidized energy and transportation service." [56] Marxism has gained some support in particular periods and among specific groups, but it has not been widespread or broadly accepted. For these reasons, Sri Lanka offers little or no evidence to substantiate the hypothesis that Buddhism and Marxism are mutually complementary and serve to support and legitimize one another. This conclusion is not a definitive

one nor does it suggest that the relationship between Buddhism and Marxism in other Southeast Asian countries mirrors the Sri Lankan case. Further research concerning Buddhism and Marxism in Southeast Asia must include an indepth study on the country's colonial history, the presence of Marxist political parties and governmental involvement, and Buddhism's role as a rallying point for anti-colonial struggles.

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The Mayans: Early Astronomers

by Dan Tomson

Astronomy, Dr. Al Moen. Assignment: Pick your own topic on astronomy for your written report. Use three or more literature sources outside our textbook. Consider your audience to be college students who have not taken this class.

The Mayan people of Eastern Mexico were a civilization of extremely advanced sciences including the fields of medicine, mathematics and astronomy. They were, however, also a very superstitious people who dealt with religion in every aspect of their lives. Although they could predict the motion of the planets and stars and even predict eclipses, they still believed the entire universe was created and managed by many gods: Some good, some bad; often fighting and exerting their power over the inhabitants of the Earth.

The Mayans made miraculous studies despite their time, place and naivete. They could predict eclipses in their own way. They based one of their calendars partially on possible eclipse time (once every 173.31 days or three times every 519.93 days). The Mayan calendar used Sacred Rounds for years, which were 260 days long, two of which would be less than two hours short of the period of time it takes for three possible eclipses. In this way, the priests knew when eclipses could happen and would predict them. If the eclipse occurred, the Mayan priests had proven their knowledge and power and if not, they could claim their power kept it away. (Hartmann, 37)

One main reason that the Mayans were so interested in eclipses was because, according to legend, their world would come to an end during a total eclipse of their area. Therefore, they felt they needed to know when an eclipse would come to prepare also for the possible end of the world. (Hammond, 293)

The Mayans exhibited this study of the sun, moon, planets and some stars in their architecture. For example, the Mayans built a device to measure the beginning of the new year in their city, Edzna. This device was cylindrical-shaped with a round stone upon the top. The entire cylinder would be shaded when the sun was directly overhead on July 26 which marked the Mayan new year. (Hartmann, 57) With this knowledge, they developed a very accurate calendar which will be discussed later in this paper.

Another interesting point with regard to Mayan architecture is that most buildings are oriented a few degrees east of north. Although some speculate thar this is due to calculations made by a magnetic device, it seems more likely that the angle of the buildings is due to astronomical observations. (Gallenkamp, 85)

There are even more graphic examples of the effect which astronomy had on architecture. For example, there is a group of buildings in Uaxuctun which contain a very interesting system of directions. The doorway of the northern temple lies on the summer solstice; that of the southern temple on the winter solstice; and the doorway of the central temple is almost due east. It is believed all of these calculations were made by astronomical observations. (Hammond, 294)

But, what about buildings built specifically for the purpose of studying the multitude of stars visible to the naked eye? Did the Mayan people have actual observatories to study the heavens? No one can say for sure, but it appears they did. In the Mayan city of Palenque, where almost all of the buildings are only one story tall, there is one tower which rises four stories in height. Although this could have been for announcing important visitors or used as a watchtower, it is equally possible that here is where they made some of their most fabulous studies of the stars and other celestial bodies. (Hunter, 135)

The Mayans were interested in more than stars, the sun and the moon. For example, the most studied planet for the Mayans was obviously the most visible, Venus. Venus was not only respected as a planet, but also as several gods of several different things.

They believed that there were once three little boys who lived with an evil old woman (sometimes said to be their grandmother, sometimes not) who persecuted and tried to starve them. But the little boys killed her lover and fed parts of him to her. She tried to kill them when she found out the trick they played on her, but they escaped and she gave up. Later, one of these little boys became the sun, the second became the planet Venus, and the third was turned into a monkey by the first two because he told stories about them. There were nearly as many versions of this story as there were Mayan cities, but most were close to this one. (Thompson, 355-365)

Venus, thus, was not just a planet, but a god who had once been a little boy who dwelled on Earth. This increased their interest in the planet and they studied every movement it made. They accurately predicted the location of this mysterious planet-god every day it was visible. They knew when to expect its heliacal rising and when to expect its disappearance and divided the time into four parts. The first part was 230 days from rising to disappearance; the second consisted of 90 days after reappearance; third, 250 days as the evening star and, last, eight days of invisibility. (Hammond, 291)

Most of what is known of the Mayan worship of Venus comes from a Maya book, one of only three which survived from their era. The book is called the Dresden Codex. Some authorities believe it also mentions Jupiter, Mars, Saturn and Mercury, but they are not sure yet. However, there is a second codex which shows they were interested in other planets because it shows the heavens with thirteen animal symbols on it, which possibly represent the planets they believed to be there. (Hammond, 293)

Although the Mayan people were isolated from the knowledge of Europe, they seemed to develop an incredibly accurate method of studying the celestial bodies and translating their messages into their everyday lives. They used the movements of planets and stars in their architecture, religion, and, of course, in their calendar. The high priests passed on and continued to add to the knowledge they had about astronomy until they knew things far beyond their time.

The Mayans did use their knowledge of astronomy in their calendars. They actually devised three different periods of time similar to our year for three different purposes. There was the 260-day sacred year of the Tzolkin. The second was a 360-day year called a tun which was used for calculating. One would assume they sought a round number for mathematical purposes. The third measure of time is called the haab or the vague year which took the 360-day year and added a five-day month called Uayeb. (Gallenkamp, Third Edition, 75)

The 260-day year related to religion, as so much of their lives did. They used, for the most part, 20-day months, so this 260-day period consisted of 13 months. During this sacred year, each city would choose a nobleman to fast for these months. (Thompson, 173) Another reason for the 260-day calendar related to possible eclipses as discussed earlier in this paper.

After these 260 days, there were 100 days left in their mathematical year. This would of course be five months. The mathematical year consisted therefore of 360 days: 18 months of 20 days each. (Thompson, 173) This calendar was used mostly for calculating long periods of time when a round number would be more useful.

At the end of the 360-day tun, there was one more month, but this one consisted of only five days. None of my sources discussed exactly what this month was for, but J. Eric S. Thompson does mention five unlucky days which could very well be these. (Thompson, 175)

But, as we know, a solar year is not precisely 365 days, but closer to 365 ¼days. The Mayans realized this and also had leap years to correct their calendars. (Gallenkamp, First Edition, 100) They measured this year with their sacred round which was mentioned earlier in this paper.

They weren't quite perfect in their corrections, but they were incredibly close. They measured a year as 365.2420 days rather than the present-day calculation of 365.2422 days. Also, they believed Venus' rotation was 584 days, but it is only 583.92 days long. (Gallenkamp, Third Edition, 78)

The Mayan calendar affected every part of their life. This again (like their astronomy) even affected architecture. For example, this Temple of Kukulcan in Chichen Itza has four stairways with 91 steps each. With the additional platform above, the total steps is 365 or the number of days in a Mayan civil year. The nine terraces are separated into 52 panels, 52 being the number of years in the ceremonial cycle of the Toltec calendar. Also, these terraces were separated by 18 staircases, the number of months in a mathematical year. It is amazing how they adapted their calculations of one aspect of life (here, time) into another (here, architecture). (Gallenkamp, First Edition, 187-88)

Yet another interesting fact about the Mayan astronomer-priests is that there was very little rivalry between the scientists of different cities. There is evidence that they met and discussed their own various astronomical findings (Hunter, 134) so that each one could be even more powerful in his own city. But, although the Mayans shared with each other, they were far advanced of their other tribal neighbors and show no sign of assisting them in their progress. (Hammond, 296) Their loyalty to each other as scientists rather than to their own people (they taught each other more than their own people to keep all of the present priests in power) is something we should all respect. Rather than feeling they needed to teach everything to everyone, they felt science was better left in the hands of those who could understand it.

Unfortunately, almost everything the Mayans knew was lost for decades and even centuries because when the Spanish invaded, they did not bother to keep records of the Mayan knowledge. This will always be one of the tragedies of our world because they may have known things we still only dream about. But, slow as it is, we are learning more of what they knew almost every day as their heiroglyphics are still being translated by experts.

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El Gran Secreto

by Wendy K. Weaver

Introduction to Literature (Spanish), Prof. Martha Chiarella. Assignment: Write a critical analysis on Jorge Luis Borges' "El etnografo" ("The Ethnographer")

Todo el mundo quiere saber el secreto de vivir. Con "El etnógrafo," Fred Murdock, Borges parece prometernos este secreto, o por lo menos, el secreto de los indios. Sin embargo, el solamente no provoca sin respuestas y con más preguntas. ?Cuál es el secreto? ?Cómo lo encontramos? ?Dónde lo encontramos? ?Cuánta importancia tiene? Nunca nos da ninguna indicación.

Es importante al argumento que Fred Murdock no sea especial de ninguna manera. El hecho que pueda ser cualquier persona sirve para hacernos protagonistas. Por eso, hemos caído en el juego de Borges, de su cuento, y de nuestras mentes. Estamos buscando el secreto y lo buscáremos siempre.

Fred-no como nosotros- lo aprendió al acostumbrarse a la vida de los indios. No era fácil. Tuvo que cambiar en todo; la ropa, la comida y los sabores, la vivienda, y aún los pensamientos y los sueños. Cuando estuvo listo, su maestro indio le dijo el secreto. Más tarde, después de su regreso a la universidad, se niega a publicarlo. En realidad ni se lo dice a nadie. ?Por qué? ?Es egoísta? Creo que no. De lo que dice del secreto podemos adivinarlo pero nunca sabremos si tenemos razón.

Primero se dice que "el secreto es precioso." Entonces suponemos que tiene mucho valor e importancia. Sin embargo, un poco más tarde Fred dice que el secreto "no vale lo que valen los caminos" que hay que andar para llegar a él. ?Qué debemos creer? ?Dónde esta la verdad? ?Cuál tiene más importancia, el secreto o los caminos a él? Ese el juego en que Borges nos coge.

Como si estuviéramos confundidos ya, Borges sigue. Este gran secreto también "vale para cualquier lugar y para cualquier circumstancia." Con esta información parece que el secreto es sencillo con miles de interpretaciones. Creo que Borges no nos da repuestas porque no las tiene, por lo menos, no las nuestras. Están adentro de cada uno de nosotros. Si lo sabemos o no, o si lo sabemos sin saber que es lo que es, la repuesta no es exactamente la misma para todos. ?Cuál es el secreto? Es el suyo.

Beyers Naude: The Man, The Minister, The Activist

By Stephen Lazarus

Politics and Literature of South Africa, Dr. James Zaffiro. Assignment: Discuss the political impact that a particular South African writer and his work had on the country.

The tension in South Africa between the quest for black liberation and the demand for white security and a preservation of apartheid has shackled virtually all of South Africa's institutions with chronic instability. Government, business, and education, all products of South Africa's separate development policies, largely cater to the country's five and a half million whites who comprise the elite privileged class, while ignoring the 28 and a half million blacks, who suffer in deplorable poverty from inhumane governmental abuse (CIA Fact Book, p. 270). While the apparent 42 year success of the Nationalist Party in imposing its minority rule on such a vast majority seems to defy all political logic, perhaps a more surprising shock is that the arena for the struggle against apartheid in the 1990's will not be South Africa's Parliament chambers but, to a large extent, will be the South African Church.

Apart from Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo and other liberation group leaders, the most vociferous opponents of apartheid have been church representatives from virtually every Christian denomination with congregations in the divided Republic. The contributions of churchmen such as Desmond Tutu, Alan Boesak, and Beyers Naude in organizing protests and voicing the blacks' grievances to the government have undeniably fueled the flames of discontent which threaten and destabilize the DeKlerk government today.

Of this influential triumvirate, however, perhaps the latter figure, the Reverend Christiaan Frederick Beyers Naude most quickly attracts the Western eye. He is white. He is an Afrikaner — and he has quite a powerful message for the half-persuaded or the unconvinced American who, either out of apathy or genuine uncertainty has dodged the South African dilemma in his own conscience. Naude's story — which he most willingly tells to reporters to further the cause of black liberation — also appeals to the American mind because he, an innocuous-looking, 74-year-old preacher has helped mobilize so much resistance against the ruling government. His example of a powerful, pro-apartheid Afrikaner, who sacrificed everything to struggle with the blacks, his role as the spiritual leader of the oppressed, and his position as an influential political activist, all qualify Naude to be a despised Public Enemy of the State. A closer look at Naude's life, ministry, and activism reveals not only why the government regards Naude as such an anathema, but also why he can take pride in his ill-repute: He has, in his own words, "obeyed God rather than man" (Randall, p. 99).

I. Naude: The Man

Beyers Naude was born on May 10, 1915 in the Nederduitse Gereformeede Kerk parsonage in Roodepoort and was the fourth of eight children to join the family of Mr. and Mrs. Jozua Francois Naude. His father was an active participant in Afrikaner political, cultural, and social life and highly valued his ethnic heritage in the Voortrekker Stock. Commemorating Afrikaner heroism in the Boer War, Jozua Naude named his son after General Christiaan Frederick Beyers who set up an armed command in the Western Transvaal, but drowned in 1914 when he fled across the flooded Vaal River.

Beyers Naude lived in Piet-Retif in the eastern Transvaal from age three until age six and then moved to Graaff-Reinet in the Cape and attended the Afrikaans Hoer Volkskook which his father helped open. According to one account of his childhood, Beyers spoke out even at a young age and, "gave early evidence of the independence that would later bring him into conflict with state authorities" (Randall, p. 4). At his matriculation in 1931, Beyers and five friends distributed a letter of protest against their, "authoritarian headmaster" (Randall, p. 4). This early activism at the Volkskool embarrassed his father, who was then chairman of the School Committee. His father later pressured Beyers into apologizing for his disobedience to authority.

In 1932, Naude entered Stellenbosch, the Harvard of South Africa's universities and majored in Afrikaans-Nederlands and German, with sociology, Latin and Greek as subsidiary concentrations. Peter Randall, in his tribute to Naude, "Not Without Honor," records that at Stellenbosch, Naude performed adequately in class, and that his professors regarded him as a mediocre student. While an undergraduate, Naude studied under a sociology professor who struck him with his forceful personality and his undauntingly dogmatic views — Dr. H.F. Verwoerd — the future minister of native affairs and prime minister, largely responsible for South Africa's policy of separate development.

Interestingly enough, Naude's penchant for protest remanifested itself at college when he and several other liberal students published an underground campus newspaper which questioned minor tenets of conservative Afrikaanerdom. "In an astonishing foretaste of what was to come," Randall remarks, "this paper was called *Pro Libertate* (the journal which Naude initiated some 30 years later and which was to mark the real beginning of his expulsion from the ranks of Afrikaner Establishment was to be called *Pro Veritate* (liberty and truth!))."

Naude received his B.A. in 1934 and pursued his calling to become a minister of the Nederuitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK). He completed his M.A. in 1936 and then entered the theological seminary at Stellenbosch, where he studied until 1939. On Christmas Day in 1937, Beyers became engaged to Ilse Weder, the daughter of German Moravian missionaries. Ironically, they met at an outing of Stellenbosch's Berg-en-Toer Klub (the Mountain and Touring Club) in which Beyers was an active participant

and was familiar with the Klub's popular nicknames, the Bok-en-Trou Klub (the Courting and Marrying Club) (Randall, p. 9).

II. Naude: The Minister

After Naude's graduation from seminary in 1939, he became an assistant minister for an elite congregation in Wellington and also married Ilse the following August. Despite his liberal jabs at the Afrikaner establishment during his youth, Naude remained an influential, important figure in society. In 1940, the Afrikaanse Broederbond, a South African-style mafia, partially founded by Naude's father, inducted him into their secret society, whose purpose was to establish white supremacy and, as Alan Paton writes, to enforce, "the overlordship of the Afrikaner in every department of South African life... (Cowan, p. 38.)."

Throughout the 1940's Naude strengthened his connections with the Broederbond, while serving several different NGK congregations in Luxton and Pretoria. Randall reminds:

> It was only from about the middle fifties that any serious doubts began to arise about the justice of the policies being implemented in the name of Afrikaaner nationalism and which were aimed at making Afrikaanerdom's political control inviolable (Randall, p. 11).

However, in 1952, Naude began his journey of self-transformation from a Broederbond member into a Black brotherhood compatriot. First, a former colleague of Naude's, Ben Marais, published *The Color Crisis and the West*. The book challenged Naude, as a member of Broederbond, to rethink the traditional Afrikaaner biblical understanding of race issues and human dignity and also the necessity of the segregation (Randall, p. 12). Naude's second step towards awakening to the unbiblical racism of Apartheid came when he traveled to North America in 1953. While studying church youth work abroad, several South African exiles confronted him publicly about specific examples of South African injustice. Randall explains:

> Naude at first tried to defend apartheid on scriptural grounds, but soon found that his arguments did not convince and became increasingly cautious about using them (p. 14).

During this period in which Naude faced growing doubts about the Afrikaner system of racial discrimination, church leaders presented him with several opportunities for advancement. In 1954 he accepted a call to shepherd a large congregation in Potchefstroom. Then, four years later, the Transvaal Synod of the NGK elected him to the moderature (or the denomination's executive committee). In this new position, Naude advised several pre-ministerial students from Pretoria University, in addition to performing several other administrative responsibilities. These students served as "missionaries" to the black daughter churches of the NGK and often shared with Naude the stories of frustration and abuse told to them by members of their congregations. These accounts of the government's racism and the events which followed in the early 1960's led to Naude's political conversion.

In November of 1959 Naude transferred to perhaps the most elite church in Johannesburg, the Aasvoelkop church on Witwatersrand. His congregation included several key figures in Afrikaner business, education, press and the Broederbond. Several of Naude's biographers have suggested that had he remained at the Aavoelkop congregation, he could have easily obtained a high post in the Nationalist government (Randall, p. 17). However, in the intervening years, the Sharpeville Massacre, the World Council of Churches' (WCC) Cottsloe Conference, and the unyielding commitment of his peers to their perversion of Christ's message, fully convinced Naude of the atrocity of apartheid.

Randall explains that the events of March 21, 1960 stunned Beyers Naude. "Archbishop Dennis Hurley," he writes, "identifies Sharpville as the culminating event in the process of 'conversion' experienced by Beyers Naude: out of that tragedy God spoke to Naude (p. 17)." After the government declared the nation in a state of emergency, the WCC responded by convening South African member churches to formulate their official response to the massacre. Naude actively involved himself in the preliminary preparation meetings and also in the conference, although Randall suggests that his actual contributions were minor (p. 20). The WCC's findings attacked the Group Areas Act, pass control laws, and the Mixed Marriage Act. It also refuted any attempt to justify the government's policy using biblical texts.

Naude then determined to establish several forums for the exchange of Christians' views about the role of the believer in the unjust Afrikaner society. He began to hold several informal Bible studies and to establish contacts with Christians who held similar convictions about the fundamental unfairness of apartheid. In May of 1962, he began publishing *Pro Veritate*, a journal devoted to circulating alternative views for Christians who affirmed the system. Shortly after the journal's founding, the Broederbond sent several "friendly warnings" to Naude and urged him to stop publishing his subversive ideas.

At this point in his life, Naude found himself increasingly at odds with his own beliefs of the past and the privileges which his elite heritage afforded him. Later, when the second Transvaal Synod failed to produce a strong church renunciation of apartheid, Naude grew very dissatisfied with the leaders of the NGK. From several acquaintances in his Bible studies and from various church leaders, Naude formed the Christian Institute (CI) on August 13, 1963 (Randall, p. 28). Ironically, Naude formed an activist organization to dismantle the very system which his father helped perpetuate by assisting the formation of the Broederbond.

However, Naude was then unfortunately caught between his newly-found convictions and his long-standing commitments. He pastored a congregation with some of the most powerful figures in Afrikaner society, yet he felt increasingly unwilling to tickle the ears of his congregation with the same message of delusion which he had embraced for so long in his life. When the board of the Christian Institute offered to appoint him director, he faced perhaps the toughest decision of his career. The church Synod determined to revoke his status as an NGK minister, if he accepted their call to lead the Institute (Randall, p. 29). Perhaps the most provocative portrayal of Naude's inner strife during this crisis comes from his own last sermon which he delivered to his congregation at Aasvoelkop in September, 1963. Naude expressed his disapproval of the

Synod's decision and also his determination to obey God's will for his life, to lead the Christian Institute, and to disregard the unjust decisions of man. He stated:

> When however the will and way of man comes into conflict with the will and way of God, then man must know: Now I must obey God rather than man (Randall, p. 100).

Naude emphasized to his congregations that the intolerant attitudes of his superiors in the denomination forced him either to leave the NGK church or to betray his belief that the Christian should actively oppose the unjust suppression of blacks:

> This is why the choice before me is not firstly a choice between pastoral work and other Christian work, not between the Church and Pro Veritate or the Church and the Christian Institute. No, the choice goes much deeper. It is a choice between religious conviction and submission to ecclesiastical authority. By obeying the latter unconditionally I would save face but lose my soul (Randall p. 102).

III. Naude: The Activist

Relying on the works of several of Naude's biographers, Randall describes the fourteen years that follow, those years until the banning in 1977, as an incredible period of religious development for Naude (p. 32). Gavin Ross, for example, explains:

> The steady development of the CI...can be accounted for by the series of crises its leading personalities had to undergo...Each crisis marked a further step in the development of the Institute as a more and more perceptive critic of the regime, a body which interpreted the demands and needs of black South Africans to their white oppressors and offered an increasingly sophisticated model for a truly egalitarian society. The more the Institute realized and expressed the wrongs done in South Africa, the more radical became its demands for change (Randall, p. 33).

Immediately after the Institute's founding, Naude faced opposition. One professor of theology at Pretoria University, Randall mentions, often told his students that Naude's Christian Institute and Pro Veritate were, "nothing but liberalist stepping stones from which propaganda which suits Communism admirably is carried into our churches (p. 33)." As a result of Pro-Apartheid Afrikaner pressure, several members of the Christian Institute resigned before the organization completed its first year.

Randall reminds, however that, "the first two years were not spent entirely on the defensive (p. 34)." Naude's Institute actively trained African churches in theology and established the African Independent Churches Association. In addition, the Institute circulated a letter, "to all 1500 NGK ministers in the country, warning that apartheid was being elevated above the Word of God (Randall, p. 34)." Inevitably, Naude and CI suffered the consequences for opposing the establishment. "In 1966," Randall explains, "the general synod of the NGK resolved that all officials and members of the church should withdraw from the CI (p. 35). Fortunately, Randall explains, several leaders in predominately English churches urged their members to join CI, and they helped counter the NGK sabotage attempt.

During the 1970's, representatives from within the Black Consciousness Movement maintained strong connections with the Christian Institute and largely influenced Naude's thinking. Randall argues that the Institute partially suffered because of this association. "The loss of Afrikaner support," he states, "was hastened as a result of the CI's own movement towards radicalism, brought about the influence of Black Theology and Black Consciousness... (p. 43)."

In addition, Naude and his associates suffered several set backs in the early 1970's. "Patriotic South Africans" published vicious smear letters against Naude, leftists, liberals, and Jews. Also, the Institute's Cape Town office was torched twice, and the Director of CI in Western Cape, Theo Kotze, had shots and petrol bombs fired at his house (Randall, p. 36). In 1973, the Schlebusch Commission investigated the CI along with the National Union of South African Students and the University Christian Movement. Naude was found guilty under the Commissions Act, but avoided conviction on an additional charge for Communist activity, when the government dismissed the case on a technicality in 1974.

In 1976, amidst the Soweto violence, the chief magistrate of Johannesburg warned Naude to cease indefinitely "from interfering with the present situation of unrest in the Witwatersrand area (Randall, p. 38)." The tension between Naude's CI and the government increased in November 1976, when the security police raided the main office and seized 3000 copies of Steve Biko's *Black Review*. Shortly following the incident, the government banned the CI and seventeen other organizations, their leaders, and their publications. The Institute's records and property were also seized. However, as Randall suggests, "...The destruction of the CI could not have been unexpected in the light of the increasing severity of the state's attitude toward the organization (p. 40)."

Randall's description of Beyers' life under the banning order is perhaps his most interesting contribution to the available information on Naude. He describes:

> Banning causes a profoundly damaging loss of spontaneity in one's human relationships. There is the risk of developing a permanent attitude of distrust towards new contacts — and even some old contacts — and a general feeling of suspicion; could they possibly be agents of the system, charged with carrying back information, even harmless snippets which might be used to produce a distorted picture (p. 41)?

At the age of sixty-two, Beyers Naude was, "restricted to the Johannesburg managerial district, unable to attend meetings of any kind, whether social, political, or religious, unable to be quoted, unable to speak in public or to write for a publication, unable to enter black townships, factories or any educational institutions, compelled to report like a common criminal to his local police station every week (p. 40)."

Randall also cites an interview with Naude's wife, Ilse which the South African Council of Churches published in June, 1978. She reveals the paranoia that the banning

order caused the family:

> One is always aware that you can't be open and free, even in your own home. One accepts that the phone is being continually tapped, so you're not free to discuss things over the phone, because the most harmless discussion could be twisted (p. 42).

In a poignant essay about life under the banning order, Naude reveals his strong determination not to buckle under the government's pressure. "In My Seven Lean Years" from 1985 he writes:

> I consciously refused to allow the banning order to accomplish its intended goal. It would not rob me of the opportunity to think, reflect, and plan for the future...it would not stop me from growing as a human being and as a Christian...it would never rob me (of) the deep conviction, inspired by my Christian faith...that the system of apartheid will eventually crumble and disappear and that our country and our people will be free (p. 12).

A Snapshot Portrait of the Life of Beyers Naude and the Political Events of his Country: 1984-1986

The government unexpectedly lifted Naude's banning order in September, 1984. Naude has feverishly resumed writing and speaking and has remained in the forefront of the battle against apartheid, often "joining forces" with Alan Boesak, Frank Chikane, and Desmond Tutu. The following snapshot of Naude's recent work against apartheid hopefully recreates to some extent the political atmosphere into which Naude has reemerged and illustrates Naude's role as a spokesman for reform since his unbanning.

J. Hennie Serfontein, a South African journalist from Johannesburg who has closely followed Naude's career, emphasizes in an article published shortly after the government unbanned Naude in 1984, that despite the sterile isolation which the activist experienced, he emerged without diminished standing or influence among his peers (Serfontein, p. 17). In fact, the reader might see how such an experience could spark great in an author's work.

Naude published a very revealing article in May of 1985 entitled "Where is South Africa Going?" This *Monthly Review* essay stesses that although South Africans, black and white, must consider themselves responsible to ease the racial tension in the country, "a serious obligation also rests on the most politically powerful and the most materially affluent country in the world, the United States, to reconsider its responsibility and its role toward South Africa (Naude, p. 68). Naude's suggestions for U.S. policy alterations clearly reveal the politicized nature of his activism. He calls for an end to "constructive engagement" and the "bogus concept" that the blacks' uprisings are communist-inspired (p. 70). He also concludes that the U.S. must reassess its foreign policy toward Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, and Namibia and accept that:

> part of the political change which black South Africans would wish to bring about will be a change of the present capitalist system of free enterprise towards some form of socialism (Naude, p. 70).

A March 27, 1985 *New York Times* story also indicates that not only economic instability characterized this period but also violence. In an article entitled, "South Africa's New Mood" Alan Cowell states:

> Black violence seems in some cases, savage. In Kwanobuhle last weekend militant blacks were photographed waving clench-fist salutes, grinning in a kind of obscure victory over the charred and mutilated remains of a black community councilor...

Beyers Naude also commented in an April 12, 1985 article that during the 1980's the resistance movement strengthened itself, because black leaders started to rise up and become more informed. He explains:

> Most black leaders...maintain that taking everything into account, the position of blacks has substantially worsened in the last twenty-five years. In the meantime, indisputably, black opinion on political issues has become much better informed, support for resistance has become more widespread...black attitudes have become militant and black actions are much better organized.

In 1986 women continued to play an important role in the struggle against Apartheid, although the police apparently treated them and their children with equal inhumanity. An Associated Press report from February 15, and a March 25 United Press International report from the *New York Times* explain:

> A group of women from ten anti-apartheid groups said today that the South African police killed 201 children under the ages of 18 during racial rioting last year.

Also:

> Witnesses said police officers swinging whips and firing tear gas broke up a crowd of 2,000 black women gathered for an anti-apartheid march today in Atteridgeville, a small black township west of Pretoria.

This writer truly thanks God that the plight of the oppressed in South Africa has improved greatly since 1986. The police abuses have not stopped, nor have leaders scrapped the discrimination policies, so characteristic of the unjust regime. South Africa, though, has truly reached a turning point in its history. The DeKlerk government promises reforms which even four years ago would have seemed unbelievable. Perhaps the rising tide of liberalism in Eastern Europe has spilled over onto the Cape — or perhaps the economic downturn of South Africa's economy has convinced the Nationalists of their dependence on the black's contribution to the economy. Their elaborate program of separate development has at last become too expensive. Whatever the reasons behind the new conciliatory tone of the Nationalists, there is now the clear prospect for long-standing change, for black enfranchisement, and perhaps even for black rule within the next two decades. Unbelievable.

In 1985, Naude wrote:

> I am convinced that no return to stability and normality in South Africa is possible as long as Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners remain in prison (*Monthly Review*, p. 70).

In February 1990, almost 100 political prisoners were released, and on February 11, 1990 at 8:15 Eastern Standard Time, Nelson Mandela walked out of detention — a free man. The watershed is here. A pivotal point in South African history has arrived. The future of millions of blacks, oppressed for so long, lies not only in the hands of Mandela, but also in the hands of activists, like Naude, and key negotiators in the newly-unbanned African National Congress and the United Democratic Front. Religious and political activists have played vital roles throughout the struggle, charting the course of the Resistance, and they will undoubtedly have important, but difficult roles in South Africa's future.

In his farewell sermon to the Aasvoelkop congregation, Naude made an analogy between the inevitable spread of the powerful, life-changing Gospel of Christ and the intoxicating spirit of liberation. Referring both to the apostles and the proponents of South African liberation, he writes, describing God's activity in both:

> ...for if this idea of theirs or its execution is of human origin, it will collapse; but if it is from God, you will never be able to put them down and you risk finding yourself at war with God (Randall, p. 101).

Liberation is coming to South Africa. Naude, like so many others, has played an integral role to make the present liberalization possible. His devotion along with that of millions of others in the struggle, makes Breyten Breytenbach's prophecy more valid today than at any other time in South Africa's history, "Time you may say, is Black (p. 190)."

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Dr. C. F. Beyers Naude: The Enlightenment of an Afrikaner

by Dale Deur

Politics and Literature in South Africa, Dr. Jim Zaffiro. Assignment: Discuss the political impact that a particular South African writer and his work had on the country.

Naude: The Enlightenment of an Afrikaner

I. A Problem with a "Broeder"

> "... it is a choice between obedience in faith and subjection to the authority of the Church. And by obedience to the latter I would save face but lose my soul."
> -Dr. C.F. Beyers Naude, 1963.

The Dutch Reformed Afrikaner community found itself in the midst of a dilemma in the early 1960's to the mid 1970's. One of it's own, a former Moderator of the Transvaal Synod for the Dutch Reformed Church (hereafter the NGK - Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk) and the son of one of the founding members of the Afrinkaner Broederbond, had broken ranks and was now active in his denunciation of the practice of apartheid and the institutions that support it. Something has to be done about this traitor! And so, on October 19, 1977, Dr. Christiaan Frederick Beyers Naude, named after an Afrikaner hero (Villa-Vincencio, p. 3), was served with a five year banning order from the very government for which he was a choice Prime Minister candidate at one time (Desmond Tutu, "The Cry of Reason").

II. 1915-1963: Birth to "Conversion"

> "In him the Afrikaner spirit, with its deep love of land and people, its generosity and humor, its courage and steadfastness, found one of its noblest exemplars.
> -Theodore W. Jennings, Jr., 1983

Who is this Beyers Naude, and what is the significance of his works and his writings? Born in 1915 to Jozua Francois Naude, a determined Afrikaner nationalist who was a Boer chaplain during the Anglo-Boer war, and Andriana Johanna Zondagh van Huyssteen, a deeply religious person, Beyers Naude was instructed from early youth in the ways of God and the Afrikaner people. He attended Stellenbosch University and the NGK Seminary which was a part of the university, and studied under such famous people as H.F. Verwoerd (professor of sociology, future Prime Minister, and the father of apartheid), B.B. Keet (professor of ethics), and John du Plessis (who was later tried for heresy and dismissed from the Seminary) (Villa-Vincencio, pp. 3-7).

After his schooling was completed, Naude began his service to the Afrikaner people in 1939 as an assistant minister in Wellington. It was here that he joined the Afrikaner Broederbond. The Broederbond was a society founded by a number of Afrikaners, including his father, that was dedicated to wresting power from the English for the Afrikaners. From 1942-1945 he served a congregation at Pretoria-South that included the Prime Minister at that time, General J.C. Smuts. After this period, he spent ten years as student pastor at Pretoria University, and became the first president of the NGK Christian Youth Movement. This position afforded him the opportunity to travel throughout Europe for 6½ months, a situation that he was to refer to later as one that gave him a new perspective on the world. In 1955, he moved to a church in Potchefstroom, which was another university town. He was closer at this time to conservative Calvinism and its endorsement of Afrikaner Christian Nationalism than at any other time in his life. Things moved fast for Naude at this time, with his election to the office of acting Moderator of the Transvaal Synod in 1958 and to full Moderator in 1963. Ironically, 1963 was also to be the year when he resigned from the Broederbond and the NGK removed him from the office of Moderator and revoked his ministership of the Aasvoelkop Kerk in a wealthy suburb of Johannesburg (Bryan, 1978, pp. 11-12, 82).

The last sermon that Naude preached to the Aasvoelkop congregation was entitled "Obedience to God", based on Acts 5:29: "We must obey God rather than men." In it he outlines, to a congregation that included the wealthiest and most powerful people in South Africa, the forces that led to his decision (Bryan, 1978, pp. 85-91). This sermon contains a very powerful message and shows the level of conviction that Naude felt towards his decision. In the writings analysis section of this paper, we will have a further look at this and other writings of Naude.

III. The Political Situation: Early 1960's

> "I said to myself, 'If this is what apartheid is all about, it is evil, it is inhuman, it is something that can never be supported'."
> -Beyers Naude, on a visit to a miner's dormitory in 1959 ("The Cry of Reason").

This time in South African history, the early 1960's was to be remembered as the beginning of very turbulent times that have continued until today. This was the time of the Sharpeville massacre, which was the event that opened the eyes of a lot of people to what was really happening with their system of government and its policy of apartheid. Even for those who knew that there was going to be problems with Dr. Verwoerd's flawed system, things were happening much faster than even they expected. The Johannesburg "Sunday Times" reported, "The events of 1960 were confidently expected only in 1980 at the earliest. But they are here with us now." The rush towards the disaster bred by their doctrine of white supremacy and harshly applied segregation policies had begun to come to its denouement. After three weeks of unrest, the Africans (minus their leaders), retreated into a state of submission. The battle was lost, but the war had just begun (Phillips, p. 3).

The Prime Minister of South Africa at this time was Dr. Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd, the father of the apartheid system. He was the man who, when introducing the Bantu Education Act in 1953, introduced it as a measure that should be taken to "educate the native to his station" (DeVilliers, pp. 317-318). His popularity among the Afrikaner people, which was at a high level anyway, was raised to almost immortal status when a demented farmer named Pratt shot Verwoerd twice in the head at point-blank range — and he survived (DeVilliers, p. 323). A later attempt on his life (September 9, 1966), committed in front of the entire Parliament just as Verwoerd was preparing to make a speech, was to succeed (DeVilliers, pp. 325-326).

At the end of 1960, the government, which had effectively become a one party system with the Nationalists holding a two thirds majority in both houses, removed what little say the natives had in the political system by abolishing the Natives' Represenratives (white people chosen as representatives for the native people) and unseating all of them from the Parliament (Phillips, pp. 177-182).

IV. Naude: The Later Years

> "In short, the Christian's participation in politics must be determined by his inescapable responsibility towards God and his neighbour."
> - Beyers Naude, January 1970

The time was right for Naude to show the native people that all Afrikaners were not against them. After leaving the service of the NGK, Naude threw himself fully into the task that he had chosen for himself, active in the job of editor of "Pro Veritate" and leader of the Christian Institute. Through these he became a champion for freedom and equality for all peoples of South Africa, becoming a hero among blacks to the point that at a funeral he was lifted up on the shoulders of the black mourners and carried as a hero might be carried. This was to be the equivalent of the "kiss of death" as far as the white Afrikaner community was concerned ("The Cry of Reason").

All along the way, Naude had been following his guideline of obedience to God rather than man. He had refused calls from the NGK in 1965 demanding that he resign from the Christian Institute (while Naude was no longer a minister of the NGK, he had retained his membership in the denomination). For him, confessing Christ meant rejecting the counter-culture Christianity of those who supported apartheid (deGruchy, pp. 105-106). He and other leaders of the Christian Institute refused an order to testify before the Schlebusch Commission, which had been brought into being to investigate the activities of certain anti-apartheid organizations (Bryan, 1978, pp. 51-52). He also recognized that his role was not to be a leader against the Afrikaner establishment; that was a job best left to the blacks. Through the Christian Institute he worked to document the hardening of the system and help different groups understand what choices would have to be made when choices could no longer be postponed (Silk, p. 582).

In 1974, Naude was honored with the presentation of the Reinhold Niebuhr Award at the University of Chicago. The citation for the award reads as follows:

> The Reinhold Neibuhr Award for 1974 to the Reverend C.F. Beyers Naude: churchman, pastor, prophet and, therefore, risk-taker on behalf of others; affirmer of the lordship of Christ and, therefore, denier of the lordship of Caesar; believer in God's love and, therefore, practitioner of human justice; provider of space for total sharing and, therefore, troubler of the status quo; exemplar of a courage that challenges others to risk more because he continually risks all (Brown, p. 303).

In his acceptance speech, Naude emphasized the issue of change; however, he stressed that any change should be non-violent, stating, "...we are committed, in accordance with our understanding of the Christian faith, to do everything in our power to achieve these goals by peaceful means; we are committed to the task of reconciliation based on justice and of Christian liberation through justice without which no lasting reconciliation could be procured" (Bryan, 1978, p.47).

All of these happenings were not lost on the government. Friends of Naude, such as Steve Biko (who would later die at the hands of the Secret Police from the severe beatings he received while being interrogated) and Manas Buthelezi (Naude's assistant who would later be named the Lutheran bishop of South Africa) had both been troubled by the authorities, Biko by the banning of his writings and Buthelezi by a personal banning order. At the time of the Soweto riots, another of Naude's assistants, Horst Kleinschmidt, had been detained and had fled to Holland. In May 1975 the Christian Institute had been declared an "affected organization", rendering it unable to receive funds from overseas. It needed these funds desperately to continue its work, since the majority of those blacks were unable to contribute towards the cause and the majority of whites were unwilling to contribute (Cowan, p. 39). The February 1977 issue of "Pro Veritate" had been banned. It seemed to be only a matter of time before Naude himself would be banned (Bryan, 1977, p. 1020).

Finally, in October of 1977, the other shoe dropped. The flow of events were speeded along by the death in detention of Steve Biko in September 1977. The Christian Institute and 17 other (mostly black) organizations were declared unlawful by the minister of justice. Naude and six other whites were banned, initially for a period of five years (Cowan, p. 39). His banning restricted him from speaking publicly, being quoted in the press, meeting with more than one person at a time, or traveling beyond the magisterial district of Johannesburg (Silk, p. 581).

With restrictions such as these, lesser men might have given up. Naude, however, tutned his banning into a

window of opportunity for personal counseling of people experiencing problems, either in their encounters with the South African system or in their personal spiritual lives. In the video "The Cry of Reason" he shares that this time was a time of tremendous personal spiritual growth for him. Indeed, where he had initially been experiencing doubts whether he had chosen the right course, each new day convinced him more that his actions were blessed by God (Beyers Naude, "The Cry of Reason").

On September 25, 1984, the government lifted its banning order on Beyers Naude. The end of the banning, which was officially to last until 1987, came suddenly and without explanation. In December of the same year, he succeeded Desmond Tutu as executive of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) (Cowan, p. 39).

If the Afrikaner administration had released Naude from his banning expecting him to lay low and keep to the background, they were profoundly mistaken. Naude launches himself back into the mainstream with a renewed vigor. He became a regular speaker at black gatherings, and preached the gospel of hope to predominantly black churches ("The Cry of Reason"). He also travelled abroad, calling on world powers, such as the United States, to bring their economic power to bear against the forces that promote apartheid. With events taking the turn that they have in the last few weeks in South Africa, it appears that Naude's dream of a fair and equitable system in his beloved South Africa may someday be realized.

> "Every day that I live becomes more meaningful, more fulfilled, and, for me, much more enriching. Time is too short, so I've discovered, for all the tremendous revelations of the love of God which he has given to me — new insights, new visions, new possibilities, new dimensions of human living, new relationships with people around me, new depths of concern, and of agony, and of joy which make my life — yes, I can truly say it — so deeply meaningful that I'm eager when I go to bed at night to awake the next morning and to say, 'It's a new day, a new life, it's a new experience of God and of humankind.'"
> -Dr. Christiaan Frederick Beyers Naude, 1987.

V. Analysis of the writings of Beyers Naude

> "One of the elements necessary to allow this moral force to display itself is voluntary individual or communal suffering on the part of those involved in the struggle for human dignity and human rights."
>
> "In the tradition of Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, I implicitly believe that once this divine power of moral force is understood and fully and effectively utilized, it will, in turn create a human initiative presently lacking in our society to resolve situations and systems of conflict through nonviolent means"
> -Beyers Naude, 1975.

As the above passages indicate, the writings of Beyers Naude are not something that one needs to read over and over again to derive their true meaning. Naude writes with the bluntness of a sledgehammer, saying exactly what is on his mind. However, one can contrast this with the writings of a Steve Biko (a.k.a. Frank Talk), which are also blunt but possess what could be interpreted as overtones of racism. There are no such overtones in the writings of Naude; a true concern for his fellow man and a caring expression of the love of God are evident in all that he writes.

Naude is also a man of great faith and conscience. If you look at the passage at the beginning of this paper, which is taken from the last sermon that he preached at the Aasvoelkop Kerk, you will see that the force of his own moral conscience would no longer allow him to continue with a church that did not work against the immorality of apartheid. He recognizes that to pursue this crusade he would have to be "...disobedient yet at the deepest level obedient, unfaithful, yet faithful at the deepest level" (Naude, "Obedience to God," 1963). Of course, the obedience and faithfulness he refers to in this passage are to whom he considers to be the ultimate authority, to God.

The bulk of Naude's writings, and the source of the writings that this paper is based on, are of two types: one, articles and editorials for magazines and two, texts of speeches and sermons. His articles, as I have related, are very direct and to the point; one cannot read a Naude article without knowing clearly the point he was trying to make. Also, it is without fail that Naude bases all of his writings on biblical truths. While this could be expected from a minister of the Word, it is indicative to me of the strong faith he possesses and of the desire he feels to live out his faith expression.

A good example of the strength of his sermons lies in the Easter message he delivered in 1977:

> "Jesus' death apparently confirms the complete power of the authorities: the state has the final word. But Jesus answers: 'You would not have any power over me unless it had been given to you from above.' And resurrection confirms his word 'to me has been given all power....' Therefore our hearts rejoice and we celebrate Easter in South Africa, because we know: The heavy oppression and the approaching storm is the necessary way of suffering which precedes the joy of a new Easter where we as Christians of all races will experience the glorious truth: 'To me is given all power in Heaven and on Earth'"
> -Dr. C.F. Beyers Naude, April 4, 1977.

Again, this passage points to a clear message: black South Africa will not be freed without some suffering, and no matter how much it seems that the state has the upper hand, all true power lies in the hands of God.

Outside of his concern for human welfare, Naude was also concerned that the system of apartheid was having an effect on the spiritual life of young South African blacks. In an article published in 1976 in the "Africa Report" he says:

> "...there is ample evidence available that more and more young black intellectuals are rejecting Christianity, are challenging the uncritical acceptance and support by white Christian leaders of a political and economic system with so much injustice inherent in the Acts passed to maintain such a system. Thus more and more blacks are forced to turn their minds and their hopes on a victory of marxist-supported movements like Frelimo and MPLA to effect their own liberation in South Africa. Surely, if the whites are in fact concerned about the growth and influence of Marxism or communism as they claim to be — would it not be the most natural and self evident action to abolish apartheid and to drop separate development?"
> -Beyers Naude, 1976 (p. 3).

The message here is clear. White South Africans, in their efforts to maintain the status quo, have done more to advance the communist and Marxist movements and to inhibit the grasp of Christianity than they could possibly imagine. An analogy that could be drawn here is that of the child raised in a strict household; once the opportunity arises to strike out against the values held dear by the authoritarian parents, the child is more likely to do so than another child that may have been raised in a more tolerant atmosphere.

In the same article, Naude warns against the eventual and unavoidable backlash the Afrikaners are headed towards:

> "If this call is not heeded at this crisis moment of our history, there is no doubt in my mind that South Africa will be entering a period where negotiation will be superceded by confrontation, where dialogue will be superceded by increasing hostility and emerging violence. It is imperative that we realize these dangers before it is too late. At this opportunity: may we have the willingness and wisdom to grasp this with both hands and move into the future with a strong conviction that in the seeking of a common destiny for our country and all its people lies the future peace and prosperity of our land"
> -Beyers Naude, 1976 (p. 6).

This article, which was written shortly before the Soweto riots, reads almost like a chilling prophesy. However, like a good minister in the Reformed tradition, Naude ends his article with a word of hope: if all work together for the common good of all people, therein lies the hope for future peace.

> "For the observer of the black scene, it has become evident that during the last number of years, black opinion on political issues has become much better informed, support for resistance actions has become more widespread both in urban and rural areas, black attitudes have become much more militant, and black actions have become much better organized"
> -Beyers Naude, 1985 (p. 6).

This quote, along with the next, reinforces what we have found to be true in our observations of the progressive militancy of the generations.

> "The government's negative response has led to the emergence of a new spirit of black militancy, especially among students and the thousands of post-high school youth, the majority of whom found themselves without employment because of South Africa's serious economic recession. This militancy was further fed by the growing belief among the youth that the government had conclusively proved that it was unwilling to initiate fundamental change and that such change could only be achieved through a measure of violence to counteract the violence of the state...
> ...For too long, the black community has suffered under political oppression, economic exploitation, educational neglect, and denigrating white attitudes and actions. For too long, the authorities (and those who put them in power) have ignored the warning pleas of millions of students and youths. For too long, people have been detained, tortured, banned, and imprisoned without adequate reasons. For too long, the regime has succeeded in cajoling, manipulating, bribing, or pressurizing blacks, Coloureds, and Indians to collaborate with the government in implementing the apartheid policy and hoping that they will thus be incorporated into the system.
> Now the moment has arrived when the people, after decades and decades of silent suffering, have started to rise up — in the burning of government properties the bombing of the homes and businesses of black government officials, stooges, and supporters, in the killings of black police and collaborators. All of these tragic developments were foreseen by many of us — for many years we have pleaded and warned that such a moment would eventually arrive. All this could have been prevented if these pleas had been heard and heeded. But now that this situation has become a bitter reality, what awaits us?"
> -Beyers Naude, 1985 (pp. 7-8).

It is clear from these passages that Naude mourns the developments that have come about with the escalation of events in South Africa. It is important to notice that while he desires social change without the use of violence, he does not condemn those who, feeling they have been forced by the prevalent oppression of the system, have resorted to violent means in an effort to gain their desired end. The underlying tone of the articles is that the whites have made their bed with their oppressive system of racial separation, now they must lie in it.

What does Naude see in the future for his country? Change, he feels, is inevitable. What might lie between the present system and change is not a pleasant thought; the end result, however, will be worth the price.

> "I share the fear of those who are concerned that this process is going to be stormy, painful, and bloody, But, the sooner the apartheid system is dismantled and apartheid rule is terminated the greater the hope of shortening this period of conflict and bloodshed and of transition toward non-racial democratic rule" -Beyers Naude, 1985 (p. 9).

As I write these last lines (2-11-90), there is new hope for the abolishment of apartheid in South Africa. Prime Minister F.W. deKlerk has released Nelson Mandela after 27 years of imprisonment, and has made very promising statements about the abolition of "second-class" citizens. He is also hinting towards the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of all political prisoners. While he faces strong opposition from the right-wingers, his swift action may ensure that their reaction may be too late. The inevitable is happening, and I am sure that Dr. Naude will not mind if his predictions of widespread bloodshed do not come true. Let's join him in his hopes and prayers that the transition period may be as swift and sure as the beginning has been.

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A Chorister's Account of Medea's Fate and Fable

By Kristina Chermak

World Literature I, Mary Stark. Assignment: Assume a persona of a character from our class readings. Create a credible character's voice using specific facts and references from the text.

I bring you greetings this day from the noble city of Corinth where I reside (as in years past) as a low-regarded woman. The tale I wish to tell is one recounting a most exciting and yet perplexing time in my life — a time when a foreign woman named Medea entered our city and brought with her a string of events and set of ideas which upset the usual balance of life. I was one of a chorus of women who attended closely to her as the web of events surrounding her life became intertwined with mine.

You see, Medea was originally from the far-off land of Colchis. It was there she fell victim to Eros' arrow — into a deep, passionate love with Jason. She saved his life by betraying her father, killing her brother, and bringing death upon Pelias. In gratitude (I can only assume), Jason brought her with him to Corinth. Here, they had two children and seemed to be living quite happily — until Jason made known his engagement to our princess. Despair engulfed Medea's heart. She was a woman defiled and rejected by the one for whom she had sacrificed everything.

It was at that point I first became acquainted with Medea. Some other Corinthian women and I were curious when we heard her wail from the other side of the city. We journeyed to Medea's palace, where we found the children's nurse kneeling at the bloodstained altar, her face raised to Olympus in supplication. I asked her what had happened that would bring her so much grief. She told me of Jason's intention to wed the princess. I felt a modest bit of pity for Medea, but did not think Jason's deed so utterly appalling. Men often give "honor/To another woman's bed" (1.153-154). I especially thought it foolish that she wished death upon herself in her despair. After all, "The final end of death comes fast./No need to pray for that" (1.151-152). I heard her rantings, promising revenge on Jason and his new love, and thought Eris had visited her mind. From what I could understand of her howling, she seemed also to be voicing a plea to Zeus, the god to whom she had sworn her oath of love for Jason. She begged him to relieve her of her grief.

We, the chorus, decided it would be wise for Medea to "relax her rage" (1.174). We thought we could calm and soothe her, if she would allow us to speak with her, detering her passions from driving her to commit regrettable acts.

The nurse went inside to summon Medea into our presence. Medea did not resist. She came to us, fearful that failing to do so would cause us, her fellow womankind, to think unkind things of her. She wanted us on her side, so she had to be sure we would judge her only after hearing her version of the story. I was curious to discover what that would be.

During her account, I began feeling a closeness with Medea — a bond created between us as creatures assigned to the same cursed role in life — that of womanhood. For, it was at that point that she began to speak not only of her own griefs, but of those belonging to all of womankind.

"Women are the most unfortunate creatures" (1.229), she said, also pointing out how we must have wealth to buy a husband (who functions as our master) and, after doing so, we must adjust our behavior and manners to adapt to his lifestyle (while he remains free from any duty to return such favors). Men are free to pursue new relationships whenever they become bored while we must "keep our eyes on one alone" (1.245). Medea spoke to my heart as she pointed out that men think they bear all the hardships by battling in the wars, while we (supposedly) have a "peaceful time" (1.246) at home bearing and raising children. I agreed with Medea — "I would very much rather stand/Three times in the front of battle than bear one child" (1.248-249).

With all her mutterings of women's hardships, Medea managed to capture our attention. She had us nodding in unison to each word she uttered. Then, she proceeded to bring pity upon herself, pointing out that, even though we are all pitiable as women, she was more so as an exiled woman in a foreign land. She reminded us that we have a country and "enjoy life and the company of (our) friends" (1.253) while she had become "deserted, a refugee, thought nothing of/By (her) husband" (1.253-254).

At the time, I felt extreme pity for this woman who seemed alone in the world — a victim of most unfortunate circumstances. As I recount those days, I wonder if the whole speech may have been a ploy to incite the threads of my interests and pities, incorporating them into her web of revenge. For, it was when she had drawn on them at length that she asked us to keep silent about any plans of revenge she might make against Jason, the princess, and her father. We felt our silence was justified, "For in other ways a woman/Is full of fear, defenseless, dreads the sight of cold/Steel; but, when once she is wronged in the matter of love,/No other soul can hold so many thoughts of blood" (1.261-264). It seemed to us Medea had the right to revenge since she was skilled in sorcery and Hecate had blessed her with courage to execute such plans. To this day, I do think she was justified in seeking revenge on Jason — if only she could have avoided hurting innocent people ...

I, along with the others, promised her silence and gave her my blessing. However, I was hoping someone (namely the princess' father, King Kreon) or something would intervene and resolve the entire matter without need for revenge. Much to my dismay, Kreon, instead, arrived at the palace and compounded Medea's desperate situation, banishing her and her children from Corinth. It seemed he feared she would harm his daughter if she remained. I would have done the same were I in his position, for one's child is very dear. However, my sympathies were much

with Medea. She was soon to be exiled for the second time in her unfortunate life and it seemed she had nowhere to turn. But, Medea was crafty and, after appealing to Kreon's paternal instincts by reminding him of the pitiful state her children would be in were she to be immediately exiled, he allowed her to remain for the day. At the time, this relieved my pity for Medea, since it would give her time to find a place for her and her children to live. I now can see it would have been much better if she had been ordered to leave immediately.

Jason was to blame for Medea's misfortune. She had given up everything she had known for her fiery love — and was now alone in a foreign country with no one and nowhere to turn. All of society is quick to blame women for their unfortunate circumstances. Yet, "It is the thoughts of men that are deceitful,/Their pledges that are loose" (1.409-410), not women. I was proud that Medea refused Jason's offer of money to pacify her, for Jason seemed to offer it out of cowardice. He seemed afraid to admit he had been to blame for all that had happened. Refusing his money was a form of courage in itself and I was glad that the woman was winning this battle (at least in my eyes!). I felt, at that moment, paradoxical feelings toward Medea — pity and pride, and yet relief not to be in her place. I found myself understanding how such unfortunate circumstances could lead a woman to desire her own death. If I must ever be without my country or home, "Let death first lay me low" (1.634). I could not bear it.

After Medea refused Jason's help, there was a visit from Aigeus, an old friend of Medea's. She appealed to him for a place to go and he agreed to accommodate her. I praised Hera that Medea would have refuge. However, my joy soon faded as Medea told me of her plan to murder the princess — and then HER OWN CHILDREN! I could not believe any mother would consider killing those whom she had suckled at her breast. Doubts invaded my mind. I thought killing her children was too extreme. Despite my doubts, however, when she enlisted us to help her get Jason to come speak with her, I agreed to participate. She had trapped me in her web of words about women — and I did believe Jason deserved revenge. However, I begged her not to go through with her plans to "Be the murderess of (her own) babes" (1.831). I did not believe she would really be able to kill them. After all, I had only heard of one woman who had ever done such a thing. That was "Ino, sent mad by heaven when the wife of Zeus/Drove her out from her home and made her wander" (1.1259-1260). She was so distraught after what she had done to her own babes that she threw herself "Over the sea-cliff to die with her two children" (1.1264). Certainly, killing one's children must result in a grievous death. It is a deed too evil to endure.

Despite my pleas, Medea acted on her plan which included an "apology" to Jason, a gift of a poisoned dress and diadem to the princess, and the murdering of her children. Everything went as she had designed it — but when it came time to kill the children, she faltered. She almost decided to leave them alive, wondering why she should "hurt their father with the pain/They feel, and suffer twice as much pain (herself)" (1.1020-1021). However, she also feared being a "weak woman" (1.1025). This and her deep passion for revenge led her to those seemingly fated moments when she slayed her two children. At that dreadful moment, my body quivered as I realized I and the others had failed her. We had come to the palace to control her passion. Instead, we had become a part of it. I was an accomplice in the slaying of two blooming lives. But then, I do not blame myself. I had fallen victim to her passion, drawn by our shared roles of womanhood into her web of revenge. Her words drew us in and entangled us among the intricate threads of her plan. As an unhitched chariot rolls in increasing fury on its path down a steep hill, rendering its passenger powerless to control its impending doom, so had Medea's chariot of revenge caught us up and carried us helpless toward the valley of murderous despair.

When Jason arrived at the palace, fearing for the life of his children who would be the obvious targets of revenge by any loyal followers of Kreon, who had also fallen victim to Medea's poison in a last, loving embrace of his daughter, it was I who had the unpleasant duty of informing him his children were already slain — by their mother's hand. He seemed genuinely devastated at first, but it soon seemed apparent in his argument with Medea that he only cared about the children because they were dead — because Medea had achieved her revenge. Medea had killed her children with her hands, but it was Jason's abandonment that had led them to their death. Medea said she had loved them. Jason said she "loved them, and killed them" (1.1374). As difficult as it is for me to believe that a woman should kill her own babes, it seemed Medea was right in this circumstance. Why should Jason, who cared little about his children, be allowed to receive the joy of his sons (only because they would pass on his name) while Medea, who truly loved them, would never enjoy them again?

As we saw Medea ride away in her chariot to the safety of Aigeus' home, the other women and I watched with mixed emotions. We had begun as impartial observers to what we had witnessed and had finished as accomplices to the revenge which murdered two innocent children. Our instincts told us that killing children was wrong. Yet, Medea seemed to be in an almost impossible situation. It may be that she had the right to murder her own children since she alone loved them. Yet, I wonder if they would have been better off alive and unloved. We have asked these questions of ourselves over the years and we reach the same conclusion now as we did then: that "Zeus in Olympus is the overseer/Of many doings" (1.1393-1394) and most likely had also overseen the events surrounding Jason and Medea. As mortals, we are incapable of knowing the reasons for such things. "What we thought/Is not confirmed and what we thought not god/Contrives" (1.1395-1397). If a purpose for the murder of two innocent children exists, the gods are the only ones who know and understand it.

Author Analysis: Albert Nolan, theologian

by Brad Holst

Politics and Literature in South Africa, Dr. Jim Zaffiro. Assignment: Discuss the political impact that a particular South African writer and his work had on the country.

"...no one can deny that wrong and even evil deeds are committed in our society, as in all others. But if you start questioning your authorities you act against the Christian spirit. They are invested with the authority of God and far be it from us to doubt their decisions. Render unto Caesar what belongs to him."

"And if Caesar starts usurping what belongs to God? If he starts deciding on life and death, must I strengthen his hands for him?" — conversation from Andre Brink's ***A Dry White Season***

Not too long ago, Western thought experienced a radical restructuring of one of its basic tenets. For centuries, Western civilization adhered to the philosophy that the world has been, is, and always will be basically static. God created it as such and so he wills it to remain. Individuals were to be content with the order of the universe, and "social classes were also to keep their places" (Knitter, 7). As enlightened thought and the rise of modern science assumed center stage during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, this mode of thinking began to be increasingly challenged.

With the French Revolution, the industrial revolution, Darwin's theories of evolution, and Einstein's "new physics", a decisive blow was struck to the conceptualization that there was a definite place and order for everybody and everything. In its stead arose a theory of perpetual change and relativity - man and the world are "not in a state of being but in a state, or better a process, of becoming" (Knitter, 7). Theologians note this trend as one from "classicist culture" to "historical culture" (Knitter, 31).

Christianity assumed its traditional form (i.e. doctrines, confessions) in the classicist period and has been rather slow in relinquishing its hold on the static view of reality put forth by classicism. Two main camps of religious thinkers (comparative religionists and liberation theologians) are leading a charge against the fundamentalist Christian insistence that there is *one* truth for all times and circumstances, and that that truth has only been outlined within traditional Western Christianity. Anyone seeking to know the truth can, *and must*, find it in the doctrines of the West. Those rebelling against this notion propose a new (and what they proclaim to be better) way of doing theology - namely contextually.

Contextual theology focuses on "what God means in a given historical and cultural context" (Adams, 76). The idea here is that the experience of God (or whatever one proposes to call ultimate reality) by man is dependent upon both culture and history; therefore, Christian theology must be faithful to its context if it is to be truly appealing to the individuals in that context. Ultimately, all theology can be termed contextual - traditional Christianity is theology in (and for) the Western context. When individuals from the Western tradition presuppose that their Christianity is equally appropriate for peoples of other cultures, they perpetuate the ethnocentric tradition which has dominated the history of the West.

Liberation theology is located firmly within the contextual theology camp. It is here that great strides are being made towards creating a biblically based social religion which is encased in a shell of concrete experience that corresponds to the specific cultural milieu being targeted. Certain common threads, however, seem to weave through the various theologies of liberation. These are helpful to keep in mind when one encounters liberation theology. First, the focus is on the poor and the oppressed - these individuals need to be liberated from their specific forms of oppression; moreover, a close look at the bible shows that the God of history has shown great concern for those who are oppressed. Second, great emphasis is placed on praxis (practice or action)--one's religion should be more a striving for orthopraxis (right action) than orthodoxy (right doctrine). Third, the liberation theologian co-opts the methods of the social scientist into the process--no longer is theology restricted to the realm of the humanities; the disciplines of political science, economics, and sociology have been absorbed into the process.

The term "liberation theology" derived from, and is still mainly used to refer to, the theological developments taking place in Latin America. One is quite able to see, however, numerous contextual versions of the theology of liberation emerging throughout the Third World. The major concern of this paper is the work of one individual, Albert Nolan, as he strives to contribute to the liberation theology movement in the South African context - a place where the West and the third world seem to be confronting each other head on.

Albert Nolan was born in 1934 in South Africa. As he grew up, the son of middle-class parents in a racially mixed part of Capetown, there were times when he went to bed hungry. His mother, however, never allowed him to think of himself as poor and served to remind him (whenever he started feeling sorry for himself) that many others were suffering much more than he was. Nolan admits, however, that he never truly encountered the horrible sufferings of South Africans until much later in his life (1988 Nolan, 50).

In 1954, Nolan made the decision to enter the Dominican Order. As a result he studied in both South Africa and Rome. Upon being ordained into the priesthood, he began lecturing at seminaries and theological schools. He also became engaged in pastoral work among the poor in his native land. During this time, he was directly exposed to the oppression which rules the lives of the majority of South Africans. By virtue of his race and his position (the South African Government really has no desire to have the Pope enter the picture), however, Nolan has been personally exempted from the most egregious injustices of the system, and he knows it. "Of real suffering I can only say that I have seen it. I have touched it and I have become marginally sensitive to it. Nothing more" (1988 Nolan, 51). In his pastoral work, Nolan undoubtedly faced the concrete realities of

individuals for which traditional Christianity was not only unattractive, but was likely observed to be siding with the enemy.

Nolan's dedication to pastoral work continued, however, and prompted him to become a university chaplain for many years. Until the early eighties he served as the National Chaplain to Catholic students in South Africa. One best gets a feel for his devotion to pastoral work via the fact that Nolan was elected master general of the Dominican Order in 1983, only to decline the position, preferring to stay in South Africa. Most recently, he has been affiliated with the Institute for Contextual Theology in South Africa.

While Nolan's personal life may shed some light on the development of his theology, possibly more important is an understanding of the specific cultural circumstance his distinctly contextual theology is aimed at. Nolan's first book, "Jesus before Christianity," was first published in 1976. What follows is a brief summary of the South African milieu into which this book was initially introduced.

Internationally, there was significant discussion within the U.N. during 1976 concerning the South African situation. A call was made to isolate South Africa until the minority regime was replaced by a government based on self-determination (NYT, Ag7, 4:6). The Swedish foreign minister called for economic sanctions including an arms embargo and a ban on new investment (NYT, O22, 1:2:3).

South Africa's economy was experiencing a definite economic downturn. The Export-Import Bank upheld the ban on loans to South Africa. There was slow economic growth, the trade deficit increased 40% during the year, and inflation was measured at 13% — the depression of the economy prompted South African parliamentary opposition leader Sir de Villiers Graaff to say, "Apartheid, combined with monumental stupidity and incompetence on the part of those in charge of the country's economic and financial affairs, has brought South Africa to the brink of economic and financial ruin" (NYT, O11, 41:5). Yet there remained 340 U.S. firms in South Africa with a combined investment of over two billion dollars (Grimond, 3:2).

Regionally, unrest in Rhodesia was the main concern. The revolution in Rhodesia concerned Vorster (who was in his tenth year as South Africa's prime minister) because he feared the revolutionary spirit would spill over the border into his own country. As a result, Vorster and U.S. secretary of state Henry Kissinger met three times to discuss southern African regional strategies which would be likely to facilitate the quickest transfer to black rule in Rhodesia as possible. It was no secret that Vorster saw this as merely a strategy to protect the stability of the apartheid system at home (Kamm, 3:1).

Domestically, their were two major developments during 1976. One was a symbol of the escalation of the struggle (Soweto), the other was a victory for apartheid (independence of Transkei). The explosion of student riots in Soweto on June 16 marked a transition to a new era in the struggle which now embodied more direct open resistance. Widespread organized rebellions of this type had not occurred since Sharpeville in 1960 (NYT, Jn17, 1:1). Opposition seemed to grow despite the increasingly brutal approach taken by the security forces. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) condemned the actions taken by the South African regime. It was noted that, "Mr. Vorster's policies of detente and dialogue with the rest of the continent may well have been killed in Soweto" (Kaufmann, Jn19, 1:6).

Concerning the Transkei issue, South Africa's policy of separate development culminated here. On October 26, 1.3 million Xhosas lost South African citizenship as Transkei was declared "independent" (NYT My27, 4:3). Not a single nation in the world community recognized this declaration. The OAU and the UN prohibited contact with the Transkei "government" (NYT, O22, 1:2:3). Chief Buthelezi (Zulu leader) directly opposed the homeland policy and (somewhat surprisingly in the light of current events) called for black unity (Kaufmann, Ap23, 1:1).

Of specific interest in this analysis, is the observation that at this juncture, numerous religious groups seemed to be taking a more active role in criticizing the system and taking part in the struggle. Christians, like everyone else, were immersed in the issue of liberation. Minister of police Kruger targeted "radical" Christian groups as fosterers of the riots (NYT, Jn21, 8:8). As a result, the offices of the South African Council of Churches and the Christian Council were raided by the security police (NYT, N16, I:5:1). The Christian Institute of Southern Africa openly criticized South Africa's development into a police state (NYT, S21, 6:1). There was no denying that religion was getting mixed into the political fabric and that this trend was quite intentional. Through all of this, the South African Reformed Church continued to give its direct support to the apartheid system.

In light of all of these events, one notices that the system which props up the theory of apartheid underwent only minor reforms during 1976. Repression was still a major theme. Although some petty apartheid concessions were made, the heart of the system remained intact. The powers of detention provided in the Security Act were used more and more extensively in an attempt to maintain minority rule. Over 100 detainees were documented to have died during the 1975-76 period — over 30 were reported as suicides (Burns, 3:3). Nonetheless, the white government continued in its tradition of self-righteous, introspective evaluations. This is no more clearly enunciated than by defense minister P.W. Botha who said, "Where in the whole wide world today can you find a more just society?" (NYT, My24, 2:4).

So what did Nolan contribute to the context just outlined via "Jesus Before Christianity?" He begins this quest for the historical Jesus (the man who walked the earth in first century Palestine before the Church generated its massive doctrine concerning him) by saying one cannot be totally objective in this analysis because all are conditioned by their historical circumstance. Yet the prospects for unparalleled catastrophe which are a very real part of our world also confronted Jesus within his historical context. Hence Nolan concludes, "Our present historical circumstances have quite unexpectedly provided us with a new perspective on Jesus of Nazareth" (1976 Nolan, 9).

In the second section, titled "Praxis," the portrait of Jesus which emerges from Nolan's analysis is that of a man ruled by compassion for all who were poor and oppressed. Jesus' concern is the liberation of these marginals of society from their oppression. By stirring up faith in others (through a contagious process involving his compassionate actions), Jesus set the wheels of their liberation in motion. Since Jesus was known as a man of God, his acceptance was seen to represent God's acceptance — the result was hope.

The "Good News" proclaimed in the third section is Jesus' prophesy of the coming kingdom of God (earthly, but based on radically egalitarian values) which would be for the poor and oppressed specifically. Jesus believed that the kingdom had to be received (i.e. grace), but that man had a definite role in ushering in the kingdom. Since, for Jesus, God is a God of compassion, true compassion for one's fellow man could lead to a faith in the coming of the kingdom which would be sufficient to make the kingdom come. Jesus, in this analysis, is discovered to have failed in his effort to generate enough faith during his lifetime to make the kingdom come (or the people failed him). So what is Jesus' message to Christians today? They must interpret that in light of today's signs of the times.

Part four, entitled "Confrontation," is where the most obvious liberation theology is to be found in this monograph. In the first chapter of this section, "Politics and Religion," Nolan reveals Jesus as really combatting the main oppressors of his context — the religious leaders who have no compassion for their fellow human beings. Nolan then deals with Jesus' willingness to confront political leaders. Jesus' act of clearing the temple was premeditated and specifically designed to make a statement against the abuse of money and trade. "Here were traders and money-changers blatantly serving Mammon instead of God" (1976 Nolan, 102). Jesus was tempted to raise his struggle to an escalated level of violence because of the messianic expectation he aroused. Nolan concludes that Jesus avoided violence not because he opposed it in principle, rather because practically it would have been suicide for a multitude of Israelites. Nolan continues, "We can surmise that if there had been no other way of defending the poor and the oppressed and if there had been no danger of an escalation of violence, his unlimited compassion might have overflowed temporarily into violent indignation" (1976 Nolan, 111). (The door, henceforth, has been left open to the use of violence at the proper time.)

Nolan then concludes with several chapters in which he explains his position on the elevation of Jesus to an object of faith. One's faith begins with an evaluation of the signs of the times (just as Jesus evaluated his). The first step is to have the same compassion Jesus had for his fellow man. It follows, therefore, that one must recognize those forces working against man as the forces of evil. "Is the system not the modern equivalent of the kingdom of Satan?" (1976 Nolan, 140). By believing in Jesus, one asserts that good will eventually win out over evil. People can (and must) have faith and hope; for faith is the ultimate power, the power of goodness, the power of God.

"Jesus Before Christianity" is likely to have made a distinct impression on many Christians. Desmond Tutu, in a review of the book writes that, "It is wonderful to find that a white person can write so well on liberation theology" (Tutu, 69). Nolan is beginning to come to terms with the concept of liberation theology in South Africa; however, he goes much farther (and becomes more explicit) in the ensuing period.

During the interim between Nolan's first major work and his most recent one, "God in South Africa: the challenge of the gospel," much happened. The struggle of the oppressed in South Africa intensified. Nolan found himself (in his pastoral capacity) among those struggling. Nolan also did some writing with (or in honor of) several major South African religious leaders (i.e. Allan Boesak, Charles Villa-Vicencio, Beyers Naude, Desmond Tutu).

One can see the growing influence that socio-political issues began to have on Nolan as his theology continued to focus more directly on the situation he found himself in. This progression is made evident in a comment he made in 1986 concerning the total replacement of the apartheid system: "Not only must we pray for it, we must also work for it by struggling together to find the most orderly and peaceful way possible in the circumstances of unseating the tyrant and having a general election to ensure that the tyrant is replaced by a government that governs for the common good" (Boesak, 96).

"God in South Africa" represents the climax of Nolan's theological work. It is clearly contextual and fairly systematic. "It is an attempt to preach the gospel on South Africa rather than speculate about its universal meaning... The book is addressed to South African Christians" (1988, Nolan, xi). It is also clearly along liberation theology lines. "There can be no doubt that what Jesus said and did was good news for the poor and bad news for the rich and the powerful" (1988, Nolan, 12).

As Nolan assumes a thoroughly contextual approach, he makes a distinction between the content and the shape of the gospel. The content is what varies with time and place, the shape remains basically the same. By consulting the bible, Nolan feels he can lay out the gospel's basic shape. First the message must be spontaneously welcomed as good news — more specifically, it is good news for the poor. Some people will undoubtably protest this inherent privilege of the poor. But Nolan believes that one must be willing to take sides — to support the oppressed or the oppressor (and obviously God is on the side of the oppressed). Those who feel they can remain neutral are in fact giving implicit support to the status quo (i.e. the oppressor). The gospel must also be a prophetic message that proclaims what God is doing in South Africa today. So, in the end, the shape of the gospel is derived from the bible (specifically the New Testament) while the content is a function of the specific cultural and historical circumstance.

One will notice throughout the book a continuing analogy between the purity or holiness system of the religious leaders of Jesus' time and the current apartheid system in South Africa. These systems are (were) both social embodiments of sin because of the suffering they cause(d) — suffering being the visible result of sin. But sin is not just sin against man, what makes it sin is its offensiveness to God. So, in looking for God in South Africa, where better to look than in those who suffer? One further note on sin is noteworthy: sin is not necessarily a bad or evil *act*; people also commit sins of omission. "How easy it is for us to deceive ourselves into thinking that doing nothing is not sinful" (1988 Nolan, 42). Alas, Nolan's call to praxis.

In several of the middle chapters, Nolan tests his skills as a social scientist. He comments on the suffering that the system has generated among the people. He delves into the intricate workings of the system in trying to unmask it. Possibly the most interesting of these chapters is the one that points to the signs of hope in South Africa. Jesus found tremendous faith among the people in his historical context, in South Africa today, the hope which Nolan sees manifests itself in several ironies. First, despite the fact that the entire system of apartheid is designed to separate the races, there is a great deal of non-racial unity arising. Second, participation in the struggle is guaranteed because the system won't allow anyone to escape from it. Third, organization (especially trade unionism) has grown up in

the face of the system which attempts to make divisions. Fourth, in a system where the majority has no voice, an affinity for grass-roots democracy can be seen to permeate the resistance organizations. Fifth, the education crisis has forced students, parents, and teachers to take the entire educational process more seriously. In all of these the common idea is that the system is actually counter-productive. Each day it oppresses it generates more opponents. Hence, the crisis of the system itself is a sign of hope for South Africa. The most important sign of hope in South Africa is not, however, the overall tendency of the system to generate its opposite. Supreme hope, rather, lies in the tendency of people to respond to the conditions which make liberation appear imminent.

The good news for South Africa is, therefore, arrived at. "God is angry about the intolerable suffering that is being inflicted upon so many human beings by a system God abhors and detests" (1988 Nolan, 180). God is on the side of the oppressed. It is a time (a type of time, not chronological time) for action due to the imminence of liberation.

Nolan then issues several challenges. The individual must strive to move beyond the self to community concern. He challenges action — "The only way to follow Jesus Christ in our circumstance is to become an activist" (1988 Nolan, 203). One must also reflect on one's actions in order to ensure that they were, and continue to be, appropriate for the circumstance. Prayer for liberation is also the Christian's duty.

Nolan's final challenge is to the Church as an institution. "The role of the Church is to bring God into the picture" (1988 Nolan, 213). How? By becoming a site of the struggle. Not surprisingly, all Christians do not agree on what God is doing in South Africa. The Church is to preach the gospel enveloped in the signs of the times. The Church should also be a critic of the system and take sides on issues. Formulating policies and political plans, however, is the role of political parties. A line has been drawn in an attempt to warn the Church not to assume the form of a political organization and thereby neglect her other responsibilities. The individuals who make up the Church can (and should) be involved in the political process, but, "Problems arise when the Church as an institution begins to offer its own solutions to political problems."

In the end, as in the beginning (via the quotation from Brink which sets the tone for this essay), one realizes that, "Perhaps nowhere in the world is the relation of religion and politics more important, or more agonizing, than in South Africa today" (Sontag, 81). It is quite interesting to reflect on the work that is being done with the theology of liberation in the South African context. Although Albert Nolan may not be a Tutu or a Naude, his contribution to the struggle in South Africa should be noted. He writes clearly and puts forth interesting and challenging ideas. In a single author analysis such as this, one is never really quite sure who is affecting, or being affected by, whom; however, Nolan has undoubtedly played a role in making Christianity more of a positive influence in the lives of South Africa's oppressed.

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On "Black Rook in Rainy Weather"

by Kristi Peters

American Literature 1940-present, Dr. John Miller. Assignment: Write an original analytical paper of 4-6 pages on a poem by Sylvia Plath that we have not read in class.

Sylvia Plath's "Black Rook in Rainy Weather" is the sort of poem one uses to introduce a collection of poems (as the editors of the text have consciously done) since the poem itself is the author's own expression of personal poetic inspiration. Perhaps for Plath it is not so much inspiration as a seizing of the senses that "haul(s her) eyelids up" and grants "a brief respite from fear/Of total neutrality" (11.29-32). Still, these eye-opening experiences possess a certain "celestial" quality not unlike a divine revelation that occurs suddenly and without portent. That is to say, her burning moments of sensual awareness are the results of both an intense appreciation of the environment and an external intervention that induces this appreciation. And it is from this heightened sensitivity that her poetry springs, leaping incandescent from mind to paper.

In this poem Plath describes that extraordinary experience that is the seed of poetry as a fire or light:

> A certain minor light may still
> Leap incandescent
> Out of kitchen table or chair
> As if a celestial burning took
> Possession ...
> (11.14-18)

This light of sensual appreciation may originate from even very ordinary objects — kitchen tables, chairs, a wet bird — thus making sacred or significant an object or event "otherwise inconsequent" (1.20). The light also is associated with supernal images of angels and miracles:

> ignorant
> Of whatever angel may choose to flare
> Suddenly at my elbow.
> (11.25-27)
>
> The long wait for the angel,
> For that rare, random descent.
> (11.39-40)

Therefore, the light also evokes a spiritual appreciation of the sensual experience. These rare moments of illumination — a "sight on fire" (1.6) — are like the sudden appearance of an angel, like the occurrence of a miracle:

> Miracles occur,
> if you care to call those spasmodic
> Tricks of radiance miracles.
> (11.36-38)

The descent of these angels is rare and random, so that the author must be "Wary (for it could happen/Even in this dull, ruinous landscape)" (11.23-24). As she experiences the physical world she does not expect miracles (that is, the sudden revelation of some ulterior design) to "set the sight on fire." Yet she still believes miracles do occur, that the angels do make their rare, random descents.

Within this light the author finds purpose and pattern in the sights and sounds around her. The leaping incandescence bestows on its interval "largesse, honor,/ One might say love" (11.21-22). The "interval" may be the physical space which the object occupies, or it may be the connection between the illuminated object and the poet's senses, and it is upon this suddenly significant interval that the "certain minor light" (1.14) confers purpose: Generosity, honor, love between the poet and the source of light. When there is no light or miracle to kindle the experience, the world lacks regularity and purpose:

> nor seek
> Any more in the desultory weather some design,
> But let spotted leaves fall as they fall,
> Without ceremony, or portent
> (11.7-10)

The leaves fall in disorder and the landscape is dull and ruinous — all exists in total neutrality. It is those "spasmodic/Tricks of radiance" (11.37-38) that "grant/A brief respite from total neutrality" (11.30-32), that charge the interval (whether negatively or positively) and bring forth beauty and design from the "obtuse" and "desultory" background. Yet about this purpose-lending light there is a certain irony: These miracles that bestow beauty and design are random and sudden and quite rare. The very thing that creates order arises from a seeming disorder — they are "spasmodic tricks" that only the wary and shrewd ("politic") will understand.

The author's attitude toward the desirable but elusive flame seems to be one of tentative hope and guarded anticipation. She does not, as she looks at a "wet black rook/Arranging and rearranging its feathers in the rain" (11.2-3), expect a miracle to leap forth in poem form. Nor does she seek prophecy from the irregular weather or falling leaves or "mute sky" (1.13). But because she has witnessed the rare descent of the angel (the bringer of light, illumination) before, she now walks wary, "skeptical,/ Yet politic" (11.24-25), always alert to the possibility of a miracle, though not quite giving herself completely over to miracles. "I do not expect miracle" (1.4), the author says and semi-skeptically defines and qualifies her belief in these miracles of light:

> Miracles occur,
> if you care to call those spasmodic
> Tricks of radiance miracles.
> (11.36-38)

Though Plath reserves for herself a certain amount of skepticism and caution, as poet she is willing, even compelled to accept and believe in the light despite its nearly unbroken absence from the world. And just as the Holy Spirit's tongues of fire descended upon the disciples of Christ, so the flame of poetic inspiration can descend upon its disciples and enable them to speak a language that hallows the experience and illuminates the common.

Bush and Beijing

by Eric S. Sanderson

U.S. Foreign Policy: Fall 1989, Professor James Zaffiro. Assignment: Write a research paper of approximately 15 pages on a topic of significance to understanding the process of foreign policy decision-making.

June 1989 brought about the first major foreign policy crisis for the new Bush Administration. Tensions in Beijing between students urging further advances towards democracy and government officials came to a head as troops called in earlier to maintain order opened fire on the demonstrators, killing scores and horrifying the world. For the Bush Administration, in but its fifth month, the events in Tiananmen Square posed a unique dilemma: How to express disgust and apply pressure without sacrificing the relationship the United States had slaved to develop since 1972. An analysis of how this dilemma was handled will provide insight into how President Bush and his Administration function.

Before drawing any conclusions, however, it will obviously be necessary to discuss how the events unfolded, Bush's subsequent reactions, and then how these reactions were perceived and accepted by other foreign policy actors: Mainly Congress and public opinion. Following logically will come a look at the impetuses for his actions as well as consideration of the factors which influenced his thinking. Examples include: A wish to avoid harming the Chinese people, hope that moderates would emerge in charge, China's strategic importance, and his experience as a liaison officer in Beijing under Nixon. Finally, the stage set, attempts may then be made to piece together the puzzle. Merely four months after the heat of the crisis, not all the pieces are yet available, but the borders may be constructed. Speculations may be made on who was in on the foreign policy decision making process, the role of Congress, and the Administration's view of who should formulate foreign policy. How Bush's reaction and his decision making style fit the crisis, as well as some things he may have done better will also be examined. Throughout, an underlying question will be whether or not the foreign policy decision making process is in a period of transformation.

The first hints of a movement in Beijing date back to April 15th when students gathered to mourn the death of Hu Yaobang, one of China's leading advocates of change. The mourning continued into the next week as 100,000 students gathered in Tiananmen Square. It was at this point that the Chinese government began to take notice. It was also then that the movement captured the attention and support of intellectuals and began to take shape as demands for freedom of the press, direct talks with the government, and an end to corruption were aired. On April 29th, government officials agreed to meet with student demonstrators, but neither side emerged content. The hunger strike undertaken by 2000 students on May 13th added a new twist. As the news spread, over one million gathered in Beijing to show support. In reaction to these developments, on May 20th the Chinese government came down hard, ousting Communist Party Chief Mr. Zhao Zyaing and imposing martial law in parts of Beijing, requiring the presence of troops. Reports surfaced of strife in the Communist Party and the movement permeated the country as the situation grew in intensity and gravity. This continued until the infamous day of June 4th, when troops opened fire on demonstrators in Tiananmen Square, creating worldwide shockwaves.

As it now appears, President Bush and his Administration made little mention of the brewing crisis early on. Many wondered why it was taking them so long to recognize the movement. "Sadly," said New York Times columnist A.M. Rosenthal in his May 19th article "The Absent Americans," "President Bush so far has failed to put this country where it belongs — out front, as the great ally of the revolution flowing across China, arousing love, all over the world." (NYT, 5/19, p.35). Only when martial law was declared and restrictions were placed on U.S. news transmissions did Bush draft a letter urging Chinese officials to refrain from using violence in dealing with the situation and complaining about the media restrictions (NYT, 5/21, p.18). Meanwhile, the State Department issued its own statement expressing disappointment in the decision to bring in troops and urged dialogue between government and student demonstrators on the freedoms then in question (NYT, 5/20, p.6). Secretary of State James Baker was vocal about his concern, stating that while it was not in the best interest of the U.S. to face instability in China, it was sympathetic to the student movement. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee passed a resolution on May 18th stating that the students were fighting for the very principles upon which the United States is founded. They denounced the fact that the Chinese government was violating rights to vote, talk, and write. The Committee therefore urged a warning on the part of the U.S. that any violent action would result in stiff penalties (NYT, 5/19, p.35).

Even on the day of the violence, the Administration was reluctant to take action. This may be in part due to the fact that information was hard to come by. Baker hesitated to come down too hard, claiming that the Chinese government had displayed "a significant amount of restraint," that there had been violence on both sides, and that the U.S. should not interfere in China's internal affairs. He did not announce any penalization on the part of the Administration, but there was talk of halting arms sales to Beijing (NYT, 6/4, p.21). The delicacy of the situation was thus already evident in that Bush did not act quickly. This would seem to suggest the existence of numerous factors to weigh and consider.

On June 4th, as bodies were being removed from Tiananmen Square and most of China looked on horrified and in shock, President Bush did denounce the shootings saying, "I deeply deplore the decision to use force against peaceful demonstrators and the consequent loss of life." (NYT, 6/4, p. 21). As is evident from his statement, the President did not opt for the strongest language possible. Critics were numerous, especially in Congress where harsher action was demanded. Differing opinions as to what steps the Administration should adopt spanned the whole gamut.

Many Congressmen, spearheaded by conservative Republican Jesse Helms, urged an end to military

exchanges and transfers of technology, and suggested yanking the U.S. Ambassador to China. Others, like former National Security Advisor and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, advocated patience and caution so as to avoid antagonizing the government (NYT, 6/5, p.12). It is interesting to note that just two days after Kissinger suggested the U.S. "cannot afford emotional outbursts" (NYT, 6/5, p.21), President Bush said he hoped to avoid "an emotional response" to the chaos (NYT, 6/6, p.1).

On June 5th, in reaction to bipartisan congressional pressure and public opinion influenced by up close looks at the violence, Bush went as far as to suspend military sales to China, but stopped short of imposing economic sanctions or pulling the U.S. Ambassador (NYT, 6/6, p.1). This seems to fit with Bush's long time image as a compromiser. It typified his reserved — wait and see approach — what Bush himself frequently referred to as the "prudent path." According to the New York Times, "Bush appeared to be seeking middle ground between Congressional calls for more severe penalties and his own instincts, based in part on his experience as head of the United States Mission in China, that Washington should not move abruptly to freeze relations with the Chinese Leadership." (NYT, 6/6, p.1).

This "measured response" fell short in the minds of many. Chinese students, studying in the U.S. and outraged at the actions of their government, implored President Bush to take decisive action. They advocated halting investment and technology transfers, as well as the removal of the Ambassador to Beijing (NYT, 6/5, p.11). The widespread belief in Congress appeared to be that President Bush had not yet gone far enough and was avoiding further action. Human rights action groups also called for strict economic and military sanctions (NYT, 6/4, p.21).

For reasons to be discussed later, Bush momentarily resisted mounting pressure to take further action. The President seemed especially reluctant to yank the U.S. Ambassador stating, "Our ambassador provides one of the best listening posts we have in China" (NYT, 6/6, p.15), a valid concern it would seem, given the difficulty in obtaining information. Adding to the uncertainty was the fact that the U.S., as of June 9th, still had no idea of who, if anybody, was in charge. Information was so hard to obtain that Bush was actually watching CNN, often cited for its excellent coverage, for news on the events (NYT, 6/6, p.15). One could then argue that Bush's choice to "wait and see" was in fact a wise move because it would have been difficult to predict the reaction any further U.S. moves would have engendered on the part of the Chinese "ghost government." Reaction on the part of the Bush Administration prior to June 9th can therefore be tied to the fact that it felt moderates may yet emerge from the chaos. Had that been the case, the U.S. would have benefitted from the open channels it had worked so hard not to sever.

As it turned out, however, moderates did not emerge. Rather, the June 9th appearance of Chinese Premier Deng Xiaoping on Chinese television surrounded by hard liners disheartened Bush and his Administration. The hard liners appear to have the inside track to Chinese leadership as Xiaoping, now 85, left himself without an apparent heir with the death of Hu Yaobang and the April 20th ousting of Communist Party Chief Zhao Ziyang (NYT, 6/16, p.9). The appearance of the hard liners, according to a State Department specialist, means "that things are going to be much rockier between us and the Chinese Government" (NYT, 6/10, p.5).

The new Chinese leadership wasted no time in seeing that things got "rockier" in a hurry. Bush quickly tied normal relations to recognition on the part of the Chinese government as to the validity of the student movement (NYT, 6/9, p.1). They evidently paid little credence to the declaration, initiating a wave of purges to further smother what they termed a "counterrevolutionary rebellion" (NYT, 10/11, p.1). Death sentences were pronounced and carried out on leaders of the democracy movement. When questioned on the matter, President Bush replied, "Anything that codifies the acceptance of brutality or lack of respect for human rights will make things more difficult." (NYT, 10/11, p.16)

Meanwhile, other foreign policy actors had their own ideas. Members of Congress expressed sadness, realizing that the U.S. may once again have to look at China through the same lens they used prior to 1972 when the first signs of movement towards democracy were witnessed (NYT, 6/10, p.5). The Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee commented, "China in the past 15 days has pushed back her position in the international community to where it was 15 years ago." (NYT, 6/10, p.5) Finally, Secretary of Defense Cheney, in a rare comment on the issue, expressed dismay over the fact that Mr. Deng, who prior to the crisis came off as the man behind the reform and modernization, could now be the villain largely responsible for the carnage (NYT, 6/10, p.5).

The situation quickly worsened as the United States Embassy, with the go ahead from Secretary of State James Baker, agreed to allow Fang Lizhi, an astrophysisist, and his wife Li Shuxian, to stay. This is normally contrary to U.S. policy, but given that their lives were in danger, exception was granted (NYT, 10/14, p.17). As enraged Chinese officials complained bitterly about the move, U.S. Speaker of the House Tom Foley urged President Bush to adopt a stronger stance (NYT, 10/19, p.10). His statements seemed indicative of congressional sentiment, as many claimed that such blatant human rights violations could not go unpunished and that without steps to encourage a move to human rights, Chinese-American relations looked bleak (NYT, 6/18, p. 27). On the Chinese side, Beijing seemed to be vigorously downplaying the events and lambasting foreign journalists who they called "rumor mongers" and accused of interfering in Chinese internal affairs (NYT, 6/17, p.5).

On June 20th, Washington, in its first steps against Beijing since its suspension of weapons sales early in the month, began to crack down, demonstrating disapproval of Chinese repression. It halted high-level meetings between U.S. officials and the Chinese Government, and announced plans to "postpone consideration of loan applications" then pending with institutions like the World Bank (NYT, 6/21, p.1). The Administration also summoned the Chinese Ambassador Han Xu to the White House to present him with a petition requesting both clemency for those sentenced to death and pardons for those sent to prison (NYT, 6/21, p.1). So it seems as though the new steps taken were an attempt to appease Congress without permanently severing ties. Again, it would seem Bush was trying to please everyone and thus opted for a "middle of the road" approach. Says the New York Times, "The steps announced today, which fall short of a formal break in diplomatic relations, reflect the

Administration's effort to walk a tightrope between public and congressional pressure for more decisive action against China and the President's wish to avoid shattering American relations with the Chinese leadership." (NYT, 6/21, p. 1). After an exhaustive look at the day by day accounts of the events taking place in Beijing and the way Bush reacted, or failed to react as some may argue, it is obvious that the President attached great importance on maintaining open ties with China. The obvious question is why? This requires a look into what was at stake.

An editorial, appearing in the June 5th edition of the New York Times suggests, "President Bush, who has not hesitated to rebuke the Soviet Union and Nicaragua for lesser crimes, has so far failed to adequately express the revulsion Americans now feel." (NYT, 6/5, p.16). Critics were no more content when he failed to instigate economic sanctions as the purges began. But Secretary of State James Baker defended the stance in a meeting with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, telling one Senator, "I think the President was mindful of the need to preserve, to the extent that we can, what is a very, very important relationship. And, as a result of that, he took some carefully crafted steps." (NYT, 6/21, p.1). There are several reasons President Bush saw it so crucial to maintain relations with China, the five most important being: 1) The "Soviet Question;" 2) A desire to maintain business ties; 3) An attempt to avoid hurting those he wished to protect; 4) Bush's ties to China; and 5) the Chinese leadership's lack of respect for world opinion.

First, the United States' preoccupation with the Soviet Union once again manifested itself, though less blatantly than usual, as it displayed caution in dealing with China. Fully aware that a break in U.S.-Chinese relations could end up pushing the Chinese to the Soviets, the Bush Administration exercised patience and shied away from an "emotional" response. Kissinger, who had earlier praised Bush's "prudent path," was also quick to point to the danger of giving the Soviets a "free ride" (NYT, 6/5, p.12). In the back of Bush's mind had to be the notion that the democracy movement initially gathered strength just as Chinese-Soviet relations began to thaw. It coincided with the visit of Soviet President Gorbachev, regarded as a leader favorable to reform and change. His May 16th visit, during which he and Chinese leaders normalized relations after 30 years of poorly hidden animosity, may have served to fuel student intensity.

Indications are that members of the Administration such as Defense Secretary Cheney are hesitant to write off the Cold War despite vast improvements of U.S.-Soviet relations in recent years (Washington Post, 4/17-23/89, p.23). It seems, however, that they have deemed it unwise to draw undue attention to that fact. A gaffe of this nature could set relations back considerably. The Cold War came on suddenly — its disappearance will take time! As he is reluctant to discuss the status of the Cold War, Bush is equally hesitant to discuss Chinese-Soviet relations. In fact, he seemed reluctant to expand on any of the multiple "countervailing" strategic considerations that determined his policy towards China. One is left to assume that it would have been dangerous for the Administration to unveil everything, and one might further speculate that the explanation has its roots in the Cold War.

The stakes are high in such a game. Over the Cold War period, the Chinese partially offset the strategic threat posed by the Soviets. So what would a break with China imply? The Chinese have been vital when it comes to covert cooperation in fighting Soviet influence in countries such as Cambodia and Afghanistan. It also provides the U.S. with listening posts by which experts monitor the activity of their Cold War adversary. In addition, not only do the Chinese help offset the influence of the Soviets, but also that of the Japanese in Asia. Finally, good relations with China have allowed the U.S. to monitor the number of silkworm missiles the Chinese send to the Middle East (NYT, 6/26, p.8). So obviously, the risks were enormous: More than Bush was willing to incur simply to take a firmer stance. Thomas L. Friedman, in the June 22nd New York Times, suggests that Bush and Baker are fitting the events into an overarching analytical framework. A Senior Administration Official cited in the article suggested that Bush feels China will move through several stages in months and years to come. The official's account would have Bush believeing that the present regime is obsessed with political survival alone and will therefore pay any price to guarantee it. The President apparently feels the country will enter a new stage focusing on restoring economic modernization (NYT, 6/22, p.10). The hypothesis would seem to fit, as Bush's actions are seemingly geared toward a time when a more moderate approach is adopted. By not antagonizing the present regime, Bush is leaving himself a channel through which he can exert influence when the time comes.

A second reason Bush opted to forego economic sanctions was simply his desire to maintain economic contacts in hopes that the moderate government he sees in China's future will once again feel free to tap them. More importantly, Bush sees the economic ties as having played an integral role in the country's move to democracy prior to June (NYT, 6/6, p.15). Says a June 22nd editorial entitled "Firm, Not Just Angry, Toward China" in the New York Times, "American principles and interests are best served when these constituencies understand that all the advantages of economic, technological, and strategic ties with the U.S. remain available - but only if China stops cruel repression." This seems to run along the same lines as Bush's policy. Finally, one may speculate that the President also had the interests of the U.S. business community in mind: The halt to all military sales will undoubtedly take its toll on the firms contracted to produce the weapons. Further sanctions would aggravate the problem.

The third reason correlates nicely with the second. Bush worried that more extreme action would harm those he was most interested in protecting. Says Thomas L. Friedman, New York Times journalist, "An additional factor inhibiting further American sanctions is the awareness in the Administration that the most powerful levers it has left are commercial and technology sales, the severance of which could have severe repercussions on the very people the United States is trying to support." (NYT, 6/10, p.5). Perhaps the most pertinent observation was that made by one Administration official who said, "We don't have an interest in seeing them turn inward and become isolated, or in taking measures that will punish the Chinese people. Those are the two factors that will shape our foreign policy." (NYT, 6/26, p.8).

The simple fact that Bush served as a liaison officer to China under Nixon probably influenced his policy. Alexander George, in his work Presidential Decision Making in Foreign Policy (1980), indicates that foreign policy is designed around the decision maker's "image of the external world" (p. 55). President Bush's image of

China was shaped by his time spent there. He had a chance to associate frequently with many of those believed to be behind the violence. Consequently, it must have been difficult to fathom that his long-time acquaintance (some would say friend) Deng Xiaoping was most likely responsible for the massacre. Says Friedman in his July 2nd article, "Some experts theorized that Mr. Bush's seeming reluctance to use such language may be tied to his stint in Beijing as ambassador. It is difficult to summon a poetic outrage against people whom you basically liked and once considered friends." (NYT, 7/2, p. 3).

A final reason for the "measured response" relates to how Chinese leaders reacted to criticism early on. It was previously mentioned that the Administration sees Chinese leaders as obsessed with political survival, willing to go to any length to preserve it. This may explain why as Richard Bernstein puts it in his June 27th New York Times article "Why the Crackdown?," "The repression shows how little the rulers fear world opinion." (NYT, 6/27, p.6). This would prompt one to wonder if the Bush Team took this into consideration. His reluctance to take further action when confronted by public opinion and Congress would indicate that he did. He appears once again to believe that the Chinese leaders will turn to those more democratically inclined in due time as their own efforts to repair economic damage fail.

With a firm grasp of the way events happened in China and the consequent reactions on the part of the Bush Administration, it is now necessary to draw some conclusions on the process: To speculate on who was in on the decisions, to see if any themes reoccur which provide insights on Bush, to delineate the roles of Congress and public opinion, and to uncover areas for improvement. This is the culmination of research: The bringing together of countless little facts and a chance to step back and draw conclusions — to build the puzzle.

One intriguing task is that of determining with the limited information available, who was in on formulating policy. Before the crisis in China ever evolved, David Green, a columnist for the Washington Post suggested in his April 17-23 article "The Bush Administration's Three Muskateers" that President Bush liked the team approach. The Administration, he claims, likes to work and be seen as a team: One without stars the likes of Kissinger or Dulles. He also notes that although disagreement between advisors is not missing with this team, once Bush makes a decision, all tend to fall in line behind him (Washington Post, 4/17-23, p. 23). China seems to fit this paradigm as there was little if any public dissent on the part of top staff. Baker, who has seemingly assumed the most visible role, repeatedly backed and defended Administration decisions and was occasionally supported by Scowcroft and Cheney who appeared next to the President at several news conferences. The team appears to be a tight one. Says Friedman:

> As with many other decisions on China, the actions today to suspend high level exchanges between American and Chinese officials and to postpone consideration of new loans to China by international financial institutions were made by the President and Secretary of State, along with a tight circle of aides. It took not only many White House staff members by surprise but many in the State Department as well (NYT, 6/22, p.10).

As the above quote would seem to suggest, Secretary of State Baker played a pivitol role. As Bush appointed top aides, it was agreed that Brent Scowcroft, his National Security Advisor, would have a limited role in foreign policy, leaving the lead to Baker (The Christian Science Monitor, 11/25/88, p.3). This relationship seemed to hold in the China Crisis as Baker was unquestionably the most visible and outspoken Bush aide. Baker's State Department seemed busy over the course of events, preparing interagency reviews complete with recommendations for the President and seeing that U.S. citizens in China were well cared for. The Defense Community appeared to take a back seat in public though it is certain Cheney was in on all talks. The way it appears, Scowcroft stuck to his role as questioner and evaluator, a role many former NSC Advisors have disregarded in an attempt to play a larger role.

It is also interesting to use the crisis to observe the interaction between the Executive and Legislative branches: To make inferences about how they struggle for influence. It is no secret that Congress applied constant pressure on Bush to take harsher action. Bush, in turn, asked incessantly for patience on their part. Congress was influenced heavily by public opinion, which itself was influenced by graphic news reports showing the violence between Chinese people. It is no wonder that the public urged stronger actions: They went by what they saw and did not consider what they were ignorant of — that is to say the enormous stakes the Bush Administration was playing with. It will soon be suggested that had the Administration done a better job of playing public opinion, it could well have had less critics all around.

As for Congress, they constantly hounded the Executive Branch not only to act more decisively, but to act more quickly. Representative Stephen J. Solarz went as far as to claim that if Bush failed to act, "Congress will do it for him" (NYT, 6/5, p.12). Early in June, this seemed unlikely, but later in the month when Bush's reaction to hard line executions of three demonstrators fell short of their expectations, Congress did indeed take matters into its own hands. Despite pleas to the House Foreign Affairs Committee by Baker for a restrained response, it took measures to severely limit exports of computers, weapons, satellites, and financing to China. Their motive in so doing may be interpreted several ways. One may assume they were genuinely so repulsed that they saw the action as mandated. On a more pessimistic note, one may rather see the move as part of a continuing effort to have a greater say in the making of foreign policy which began with Viet Nam and Watergate. Should such critical decisions be entrusted to the President alone? That is the topic of a whole new research paper. In any case, it is dangerous to have the two branches so opposed. Says Baker, "We've seen instances in the past where we have not spoken with one voice in the conduct of our foreign policy and we've always, almost without exception, failed in those instances." (NYT, 6/23, p.5). But on June 29th, Republicans and Democrats again joined forces in the House to pass a bill imposing stronger sanctions on China. Measures included a bar on sales of nuclear equipment, a freeze on funds for trade and development, and an end to financial support of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation in China but did not go as far as to renounce China's "most favored nation" status. Bush expressed disappointment but said he would not veto the measure

(NYT, 6/30, p.1).

The move rekindled debate on who is responsible for formulating U.S. foreign policy. Secretary of State Baker commented that the President and not Congress was responsible for its formulation (NYT, 6/30, p.7). Earlier, in response to a question concerning Congressional demands for tougher sanctions, the President sharply replied, "I've told you what I'm going to do. I'm the President. I set foreign policy objectives and actions taken by the Executive Branch." (NYT, 6/6, p.15). This would seem to indicate a belief on his part that in a crisis situation like China, the President is to act alone and the Congress should rally behind his decisions. He will have a hard time convincing Congress!

Bush's "prudent path," although highly criticized at times, was actually well thought out and correct. One should not be too quick to judge it wrong without studying all the variables and looking at the long-term effects. Down the road, his actions may prove much more effective than the more emotionally based suggestions of his critics. He shut the door enough to communicate his dismay but left the welcome mat out as an invitation to turn things around. It appears as though Bush genuinely loves the job of being President. This helped immensely in dealing with the crisis because he was willing to exhibit patience. One can only question how things would have been different had the situation developed a year earlier! Bush's slow, cautious style seemed to match the crisis. It would appear the long-term benefits may vindicate his actions. The two powers have come quite a way together: Imposing a fork in the road would have been unwise. Finally, while he is in a position to abandon relations given further provocation, it would have been much more difficult to reconstruct them should he have acted prematurely.

Several other generalizations may be made by looking at the crisis. The Adminstration seemed to be reactionary in nature. This is evidenced by the fact that they waited to see what the hard liners would do before imposing further penalties. They used a policy of incremental response. It seems that the ball is now in China's court. Should they continue repression and lies, the U.S. will have little choice but to back off. Just as they did not issue a statement until the movement was well under way, it is doubtful the United States will initiate contact of any kind until China makes a move. That Bush, who has since been criticized for his hesitance in the attempted Panamanian coup and in recognizing the magnitude of change in the Soviet Union, seemed also to hesitate here parallels his reactionary tendencies. The President often appeared indecisive and unwilling to act quickly. This may be attributed to Bush's management style, to the lack of information, or both. According to George, rational calculation of the utility of various actions requires both sufficient information about the situation and "substantive knowledge of cause-and-effect relationships that is relevant for assessing the expected consequences of alternative courses of action" (p. 25). Given that information was hard to come by and the cause-and-effect relationships were unclear due to uncertainty over Chinese leadership, the Administration faced a formidable obstacle in constructing a solid foreign policy. In this light, Bush's hesitance is understandable. It is quite difficult to speculate at this time about how things would have been different had Bush reacted quicker. Under the circumstances, his moves may be justified.

Certainly, Bush made his share of mistakes. That which is most often discussed is his failure to correctly play public opinion. China does not occupy the media spotlight as frequently as its northern neighbor. As a result, Americans tend to be both less informed and opinionated. They were thus heavily influenced by television accounts of the violence. As time progressed, many pointed out that although Bush's policy was indeed sound, he should have made a greater effort to play off major themes and get public opinion behind it. Experts feel less attention would have been paid to the fine print had the President succeeded in publicly expressing the sentiments most Americans were feeling (NYT, 7/2, p.3). Had he succeeded in doing so, Congressional pressure, which is often a function of public opinion, may not have been what it was.

As a last question, one may ask if Bush realizes that with ameliorations in U.S.-Soviet relations, foreign policy cannot be conducted as it has been since the end of World War II. Nathan and Oliver, in their work United States Foreign Policy and World Order (1989), suggest that all foreign policy decisions are made using a mold formed by the Truman Doctrine, the National Security Act, and NSC-68. In other words, the United States tends to look at everything as an immediate threat to democracy by the evils of communism and opts for force-based decisions whenever possible, downplaying diplomatic solutions. If the desire were there, the crisis in China could be made to fit the mold in that it was a threat to democratic movements. But Bush's handling of the crisis would seem to indicate that although he is not ready to write off the Cold War, it is no longer the only consideration guiding U.S. policy. Hints indicate a transformation of foreign policy towards a more nuanced, patient, thought out, and inclusive process has begun. If this is indeed the case, it is but a beginning. To Bush's credit, the effort was there and he stood relatively firm faced with significant pressure to take a firmer stance early on. One can only hope that the trend continues as Bush learns, develops, and puts time under his belt.

The issue is far from dead. Though the fire seems to be contained, the world is occasionally reminded that things are still smoldering. Just last week, former President Nixon, on a private visit, attempted to reopen the doors he proudly claims to have opened back in 1972. The trip proved much less successful than he had hoped as leaders appeared stern and unwilling to budge. One may also imagine that although the situation is not getting the ink it once did, President Bush and his Administration still monitor it with a magnifying glass, should they need to act again.

Stepping back, it is quite sad that Bush had to act at all, that such a tragedy could take place in a nation which appeared to be placing itself on the right track. Said the June 10th New York Times, "We are no longer dealing with that nice fuzzy China of panda bears. That is gone. Pandas don't shoot their young. We are now dealing with a big developing garrison state, with few redeeming qualities other than the fact that it sits next to the Soviet Union." (NYT, 6/10, p.5). China was not the first such nation to derail, nor is it likely to be the last. This is why the job of President Bush and his team of foreign policy "engineers" is so crucial. The events in China put them to their first real challenge and thus served as an exemplary case study. Four months after the fact, China's future is still foggy. The Administration seems content with its

handling of the crisis and stands ready to act as a lighthouse should the Chinese turn their way. Said the same June 10th New York Times,

> For now, Administration officials say they feel that their military sanctions and public statements have positioned the United States right where it wants to be: If those favoring change succeed, they will remember the Bush Administration for having materially and verbally demonstrated support. But until then, a crack in the door has been left to the existing leadership to signal that if they moderate their behavior, some measure of good relations can be maintained (NYT, 6/10, p.5).

May they waste no time in getting back on track.

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Plaid Cymru: An Effective Expression of Welsh Nationalism?

by Carol D. Price

European Politics, Dr. Wil Hout. Assignment: Write a research paper of roughly 15 pages on a topic of significance for the study of European Politics.

On the two western peninsulas of Britain, behind great Offa's Dyke, live a people who have suffered from a collective identity crisis since the earliest settlements there. In the eighth century their fellow islanders, the Britons, labeled them weallas — "foreigners" — which was rather ironic considering that *they* called the Britons *Cymry* — "fellow countrymen."[1] No wonder then, that the people behind the dyke began referring only to themselves instead of the Britons as Cymry, and *Cymru* —Wales — was born. A few centuries later in 1536 the British reclaimed the Welsh[2], and the political repercussions of this ancient division and reunion are still felt in modern Wales as the question of its nationhood sporadically arises.

In Wales, varying degrees of leftover resentment natural to a small nation annexed by an imperial power led to the formation of a nationalist party. Plaid Cymru was formed in 1925 and is still in existence despite consistently feeble electoral showings. Most recently, in the 1987 general election, Plaid Cymru received only 7.3% of the Welsh vote, as compared to 45.1% for Labour, 29.5% for Conservative, and 19.2% for Alliance.[3]

Why has a party that stands for Welsh identity, that by nature should transcend most typical divisive factors such as class and religion, that in theory should hold some appeal for every Welshman, performed so poorly? Because Plaid Cymru has rigidly focused its high ideals on issues that *are* divisive: The Welsh language and Home Rule for Wales. They have demanded unequivocal separation from England, and in doing so, ignored the predicament of the majority of English-speaking Welsh, centuries of common history with England, and the difference between cultural and political nationalism. Not only are these issues divisive, but the Welsh, in spite of their geographical proximity to each other, are prone to divisions among themselves.

Conditions after World War I were ripe for a nationalist movement in Wales. Welsh-born David Lloyd George, who emphasized the right to self-determination, was prime minister; the University of Wales, established in 1893 [4], had for the first time developed students with a separatist identity, inspired by surging Irish nationalism. Politically, the Liberals, who commonly represented Welsh interests, had failed in the 1922 and 1923 elections and Labour made only a half-hearted attempt to appeal to Welsh voters.[5]

Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru was born into this atmosphere in 1925, created by Lewis Valentine, Ambrose Bebb, H.R. Jones, J.E. Jones, Moses Gruffydd, D.J. Williams, and Saunders Lewis, none of whom were members of parliament or had any political experience.6 Charismatic Saunders Lewis became the heart and soul of the party and embraced a romantic conception of Wales as part of a long-lost European civilization that went far beyond traditional non-conformity. Lewis was a militaristic style nationalist, who aggressively "spurned loyalty to British political parties,"[8] advocated complete disassociation from London, and argued that "Welsh nationalism ... should be an ideological force separate and distinct from the other ideologies prevalent in Wales."[9]

Adamant that the Welsh language should have priority in Wales9, Plaid Cymru insisted that all their meetings and publications, such as the newspaper *Y Ddraig Goch*, be in Welsh — in spite of Saunders Lewis' support for the use of English along with Welsh. They succumbed to the use of both after a dismal showing in the 1929 general election, but retained their focus on the inextricable link of the Welsh language to Welsh national identity.[10]

For the first twenty years of its existence, Plaid Cymru remained electorally negligible as it tried to establish policies on language and economics and clarify its social philosophy. In addition to its Home Rule platform, as World War II approached, the party adopted a pacifist neutral stance and "encouraged conscientious objection, a highly unpopular move,"[11] which resulted in a poor showing in the 1945 general election.

By this time a disappointed Saunders Lewis had gone into an "embittered seclusion"[12] and Gwynfor Evans, a graduate of Oxford and Aberystwyth who was destined to become the first Plaid M.P., was elected the party's president.[13] The party's outlook remained dim, especially since the United Kingdom as a whole became even more flag-waving and centralized in the wake of World War II. In 1945 eight Plaid Cymru candidates stood for the general election and seven of them lost their deposits.[14]

A flicker of hope arose for Plaid in 1949 when they joined in a "Parliament for Wales" campaign that had support from both Labour and Liberals. A leading member of Plaid Cymru acted as secretary for the movement, but nothing ever came of it as the "movement was too shapeless, broad-based, and ill-organized to make permanent headway."[15]

Thus began the uphill battle of the 1950s, when in the elections of '50, '51, and '55 all 7, 4, and 11 candidates lost. Finally, in 1959 with 20 candidates, deposits were saved at Caernarfon, Merioneth, Anglesey, and Llanelli, receiving a total of 77,000 votes.[16] The party gained momentum with the widespread outrage over the Tryweryn affair, when a reservoir built to supply the English with water destroyed a Welsh village in the process; this was combined with a growing concern over the language, accented by the re-emergence of Saunders Lewis on February 13, 1962 when he gave an inspiring speech on the priority of the language over self-government[17] that led to the formation of the Welsh Language Society.

Plaid enjoyed greater success in the 1960s, earning 8% of the vote with 23 candidates in 1964 and 4.3% in the March 1966 elections. The breakthrough occurred in July 1966 when the aforementioned Gwynfor Evans of Carmarthen won a seat in Parliament by 39%.[18] The next year parliament passed the Welsh Language Act, which states that "Welsh should enjoy 'equal validity' with English for official, governmental, and legal purposes."[19] Plaid faltered a bit in 1970, when 25 candidates failed to win a seat[20], but fared well in February of 1974 when they defeated Labour twice — in Caernarfon and Merioneth.[21]

Plaid Cymru's growing influence in 1974 naturally made devolution an issue once again and in October 1973 the Kilbrandon Commission was formed to examine the possibilities.[22] Public opinion on the matter was favorable, Plaid favored it (as an elected assembly was better than nothing), and every Labour candidate in Wales committed to it. The government proposed in white paper "Democracy and Devolution" "directly-elected assemblies for Wales and Scotland, with the Welsh one having only executive powers instead of the legislative role granted the Scottish assembly."[23] In spite of criticism of the proposal that came mainly from the socialist South of Wales, which felt that separatism was contrary to socialist ideals, and other concern over the proposal's ambiguities, the date for the referendum was set for 1 March 1979. A little over fifty years after Plaid Cymru's formation, a partial triumph was imminent ... but when the votes were in, 88% were *opposed* to devolution[24] —the closest thing to home rule that Wales had ever been offered. Plaid had been forsaken, but the fault was its own.

Plaid Cymru's first major mistake was its exclusive use of Welsh for the first few years and then only a grudging acceptance of English. Welsh had been shunned by supposedly even "Welsh" political organizations, and the University of Wales' lectures were mostly in English as well.[25] Only about 37% [26] of the population could speak Welsh in 1921, so obviously Plaid could never gain widespread support with roughly two-thirds of Wales excluded from its influence.

The language debate within the party was reflected by the distrust between the monoglots and duoglots.[27] Language has typically been considered the basis of national identity,[28] but loyal Welshmen resent the implication that they're less Welsh because through no fault of their own they were never exposed to the language. Prys Morgan and David Thomas explain:

> ... the cultural and social identity of Wales has not unnaturally been closely associated with the survival of the Welsh language. It does not follow that those who do not speak the language lack national feeling or patriotism.[29]

They also suggest that one reason the devolution referendum failed was suspicion between *Cymru Gymraeg* — "Welsh Wales" - and *Cymru ddi-Gymraeg* — "Anglo Wales": monoglots were afraid of duoglot preference by the local government.[30]

The monoglot-duoglot question was also a class issue. The English presence in Wales since the Acts of Union of 1536-1543 had benefitted the Welsh landowning class[31] and by the middle of the 19th century the gentry was anglicised and Anglican, "while the remainder of the rural population was poor, increasingly nonconformist, and Welsh-speaking."[32] Naturally, the upper class (and the middle class that aspired to be upper) had doubts about the "usefulness" of nationalism.[33] Plaid Cymru's strongest support was from rural Wales — "the antithesis of industrialization."[34] As a result, then, of Plaid's concentration on the Welsh language, they never gained the support of those with money — and therefore power.[35]

Much of rural Wales that supported Plaid Cymru was Nonconformist, but ironically, the Nonconformist movement itself had nothing in common with Plaid Cymru, and in this sense Plaid depended on the wrong people for support. The Nonconformist religious movement developed out of English exploitation of the Welsh working class in the 19th century, and Nonconformist chapels were in competition with the Anglican church (and the Presbyterian, Independent, Baptist and Methodist in competition among themselves) for government grants based on congregation size.[36] Typically, the Welsh language was strongly associated with religion: some went so far as to claim that "divine providence had a particular purpose in preserving the Welsh language"[37] and of the 434,000 people that comprised the four major denominations, 300,000 attended Welsh language chapels.[38] However, the Nonconformist struggle for popularity and money led it to abandon any loyalty to Welsh it may have had in order to attract members, which probably was not much to begin with since Nonconformity was narrowly based in an industrial conflict whereas Plaid's concerns were more "intellectual" in nature. Nonconformity had nothing to do with Welsh identity *per se*[39] and no ties to the language no matter how dearly Plaid Cymru may have wished it to be so.

Plaid Cymru's other plank was Home Rule, which it considered essential for the preservation of the language and therefore Welsh identity altogether. Plaid would have been wise, however, to learn from a previous effort — the *Cymru Fydd* —"Young Wales" movement — that tried to push the developing nationalism in the mid-19th century into a bid for Home Rule.[40] *Cymru Fydd* broke down after the 1895 elections because the "pressure for independence was so limited that the crisis passed."[41] What both Cymru Fydd and Plaid Cymru failed to account for is the undeniable link between England and Wales due to shared history.

Wales and England were linked economically during the Norman conquest of the 11-12th centuries.[42] English administrational influence began when Wales was shired in 1284, and the unification process was complete and official when in the Acts of Union Wales was annexed by England and all administrators were commanded to speak English.[43] As mentioned earlier, the gentry were benefitted by the English presence and not opposed to the annexation. At the very least it gave the Welsh an equal status with the English, which was more desirable than being dominated by them. Penal laws were enacted against the Welsh only after Owain Glyndwr's failed revolt in 1400-1410.[44] Richard Rose points out that the first governmental distinction for Wales was the establishment of the Welsh Secretary of Education in 1907, and the Welsh Office ministry was not set up until 1964.[45] There was no official Welsh capitol until 1955 when Cardiff received official status.[46] Recognizing that the British have not been famous for oppression[47], we might assume that the lateness of these posts' establishment was simply due

to a previous lack of demand for them. After all, Wales *has* been represented in parliament, with the Welsh M.P.s enjoying the same privileges and pay as their English compeers. In the past they were loyal to the crown "not because of any manipulation but because of an identity of interest." This loyalty was obvious in 1642 when "very few" Welsh M.P.s supported parliament over the king.[48]

In the light of centuries of Welsh-English bonds, Plaid Cymru's insistence on complete disassociation from London and England appears rather unreasonable. Even vocal supporters of Plaid Cymru possibly identify with England subconsciously although this could hardly be proven. Besides, in refusing to cooperate with London they cut off their only legitimate avenue of influence — the established political system. The fact remains that the Welsh have been citizens of the United Kingdom for a long time and the same percentage of Welsh as English are proud of being British — 86%.[49] In a comparison of Irish and Welsh nationalism, Kenneth O. Morgan said:

> In Wales, unlike Ireland, the supreme objective was equality not exclusion — equality with the framework of the United Kingdom and the empire, recognition of the distinct social and cultural needs of Wales without disturbing the overall governmental system, let alone breaking away from it. Most of the Welsh were content with their dual identity, which stressed their Britishness as well as their Welshness, which encouraged their growing influence and importance within an expanding empire and a thriving system of manufacture, trade, and enterprise, rather than put it all to risk by severing Wales from England and letting it sink or swim on its own.[50]

The proof of Plaid's mistake is shown in its success in the 1966 election when the Plaid campaign emphasized the poor economy. "Neither Welsh self-government nor the status of the language seems to have played much part in the campaign,"[51] and conversely, Plaid's support waned in the next few years as the economy improved.

It would appear that from the beginning Plaid Cymru over-estimated the strength of Welsh nationalist feeling, or more likely, simply mistook the Welsh defense of their cultural identity as political nationalism. That some sort of fervor existed cannot be denied, but the original national consciousness that developed in the mid-19th century was in reaction to events like the "Blue Book" treachery[52] and the erection of toll-gates across the countryside.[53] As high as national feelings ran during this time, however, they remained vague politically and certainly not separatist: "By the eary 1880's, a sense of Welsh nationality within the wider framework of the United Kingdom was present as never before."[54]

In one sense, Plaid Cymru's formation couldn't have come at a worse time. Most Welsh political radicalists had achieved their educational, religious, and cultural goals by around 1914.[55] The University of Wales, a genuine manifestation of national pride, received royal assent in 1893[56], and in the years from 1905-1915 the Welsh Department of Board of Education, National Library, National Museum, Welsh Insurance Commission, National Council for Wales for Agriculture, and the Welsh Church Act were established.[57] In fact, right before World War I Welsh liberal M.P. E.T. John presented a Home Rule bill in the House of Commons, but "it was a dead letter."[58]

The apolitical nature of Welsh nationalism is not unique: the revival of French provincialism, for example, has been strong but the peoples' loyalty remains with the national government in Paris. Safran describes it as "emotional and cultural rather than 'functional'..."[59] National identity in general does not necessarily involve politics, as in Germany.

> National identity, the sense of belonging to a particular national community, usually sharing a common physical territory, language, history, and cultural values, has been present among Germans at least as long as it has among many other European nations. This general national identity has not been linked, however, with a stable unified state and political system.[60]

Therefore, it seems obvious that Plaid's focus should not have been or be on Home Rule or priority for Welsh, but with securing legislation that will help preserve the language and promote the Welsh cultural identity within the framework of the United Kingdom.

The future of Welsh nationalism and Plaid Cymru remains a question, and the Welsh battle for identity will not be against England but among themselves. The nationalist spirit is there, manifest in the increasing number of Welsh-language nursery schools, the National Eisteddfod, bilingual roadsigns, the Plaid Cymru M.P.s who represent Gwynedd, SC4 television, and university students who display the proud Welsh dragon and sing the Welsh national anthem while showering and at rugby games.

But the Welsh must be careful not to divide themselves into nothingness, especially where the language debate is concerned. Historically, Wales has never been strongly unified, due to rough geography, an east-west transportation network (that leads to England instead of linking North and South Wales), economic differences between the industrial South and rural North, and a lack of leadership from the anglicised Welsh upper class; these might be attributed in part to the early English presence in Wales, and even further back to the tribal Celtic social system.[61]

However, the original causes are not really important; the Welsh must do what they can now to bridge the gaps. As Glanmor Williams says, "They are too small a people to indulge in the masochistic luxury of self-inflicted wounds."[62] They need to find broader ways of defining their identity and search for common points of culture. The minority of Welsh speakers must admit that the monoglots are just as emotionally attached to Wales as the duoglots are, and the majority of English speakers must be empathetic of the desire to preserve Welsh and unsuspicious of the motives for doing so.

Plaid Cymru, then, must adjust its focus to securing legislation from Westminster that will benefit the Welsh people as a whole, and avoid issues that will perpetuate conflicts. If one realizes that nationalism is more than simply speaking a language, Plaid Cymru has an obligation as the Welsh Nationalist Party to preserve the whole culture of the people, and not simply remain the whiny, protesting voice of an idealistic few.

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9. Ibid., p. 27.
10. Ibid., p. 182-3.
11. Jones, p. 266.
12. Morgan, p. 376.
13. Williams, Gwyn, p. 290.
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15. Ibid., p. 381.
16. Ibid.
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19. Ibid., p. 389.
20. Ibid., p. 393.
21. Ibid., p. 396-7.
22. Ibid., p. 395.
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24. Rose, Richard, p. 62.
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26. Ibid., p. 183.

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29. Morgan, Prys and Thomas, David, **Wales: The Shaping of a Nation** (North Pomfret, Vermont: David and Charter Ltd., 1984), p. 45.
30. Ibid., p. 83.
31. Jones, p. 69.
32. Morgan and Thomas, p. 106.
33. Williams, Glanmor, p. 26.
34. Jones, p. 214.
35. For further discussion about the language debate in Wales see Gwyn Williams p. 293.
36. Davies, E.T. **Religion in the Industrial Revolution in South Wales** (Cardiff: University in the Industrial Revolution in South Wales: (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1965), p. 11, 64, 76.
37. Williams, Glanmor, p. 25-26.
38. Morgan, p. 96.
39. Davies, p. 14.
40. Williams, Glanmor, p. 28.
41. Jones, p. 247.
42. England has provided Wales with an economic security that Wales could never have if it depended on its own limited industry. This economic security will keep Wales unionist, no matter how emotional their cultural movement becomes.
43. Jones, p. 64-5.
44. Morgan and Thomas, p. 64-71.
45. Rose, p. 59.
46. Morgan and Thomas, p. 220.
47. At least not in this century, when after WWII they successfully decolonized. Northern Ireland has just as many unionists as people desiring a free and united Ireland.
48. Jones p. 86-7. The Welsh lack of opposition of Charles I is attributed to the lack of commercial life in Wales, which meant that the king's policies did not affect the Welsh with the impact that they did the English.
49. Rose, p. 51, 55.
50. Morgan, p. 120.
51. Ibid., p. 387-391.
52. Ibid., p. 23. The Educational Commissioners presented a report in 1847 that identified the Welsh language as a "curse" to the nation. This "Blue Book" treachery is now a Welsh folk memory, and the commissioners are remembered "for their ignorant attacks on the Welsh language as an obstacle to culture and enlightenment."
53. Morgan and Thomas, p. 107-8. The erection of toll-gates around market towns during a period of low farm prices infuriated the rural Welsh, who had to pay several times just to go into the town to sell their goods, knowing they would not earn much once they got there. The series of protests led to the "Rebecca Riots" in 1839-1843.
54. Morgan, p. 91.
55. Jones, p. 248.
56. Morgan, p. 110.
57. See supra note 55.
58. Morgan, p. 119.
59. Safran, William, **The French Polity** 2nd ed. (New York and London: Longman, 1985), p. 41.
60. Conrad, David P., **The German Polity** 4th ed. (New York and London: Longman, 1989), p. 45.
61. Morgan and Thomas, p. 61. The *gavelkind* system of inheritance divided the father's land equally among the sons, leaving them to fight among themselves for a piece of land large enough to live off of, and resulting in the small farms typical of Wales. This differed from the English system, which left the whole lot to the oldest son. Tribal systems are prone to conflicts, as illustrated by native Americans and the Africans.

The Power and the Glory

by Sara Vander Kooi

Dr. Roderic Camp. Assignment: Examine the major themes of the author, focusing especially on those which explain Mexico's development. Suggest their significance and consequences.

I was feeling conspicuously American amongst all the pro-Sandinista, anti-American British at a rally last spring in London. We were anxiously waiting for President Daniel Ortega to appear on stage to give a rousing political speech declaring the rights of the Nicaraguan people. Then, a voice broke the chants, and informed us the introductory speaker was the famous English author Graham Greene. The crowd silenced as the elderly 84-year-old white haired man slowly made his way to the microphone. He, in his ill-health, had flown from the South of France to make a rare appearance to advocate the rights of this Latin American country. I suspect Graham Greene began his interest in Latin America after being commissioned in 1938 by the Roman Catholic church to visit Mexico and report on the religious persecution there. From that journey, Graham Greene penned one of his great literary pieces, *The Power and the Glory.*

The Power and the Glory is a novel set in Mexico in the late 30's, soon after the revolution. Greene's main protagonist is a "whisky priest" hunted down by the Red Shirts in an anti-clerical purge in the South of Mexico. In his efforts to avoid the Red Shirts, his life intertwines with people and situations that reflect some of the most important themes in Mexican history: the state, the foreigner, and the Church. Through the journey of the whisky priest, Greene paints the harsh world of "lust, crime, and unhappy love." (p.125) However, Greene gives hope in this dismal struggle to exist, and presents the promise that life in Mexico might once again be enjoyed.

The overarching theme of the novel is the continuing efforts of the state to lessen the influence of the church and foreigners. To represent this effort, Greene develops the character of the lieutenant to portray the mentality of the idealistic viewpoint of the revolution, and perhaps how this viewpoint might evolve in the future. Towards the beginning of the novel, the goals of the government are clearly stated by the lieutenant, "He would eliminate from their childhood everything which had made them miserable, all that was poor, superstitious, and corrupt. He was quite prepared to make a massacre for their sakes -first the church, then the foreigner, and then the politician - even his own chief would one day have to go." (p. 58) The aim is to create a better society for the children of Mexico to live in, and the only way to accomplish this is to destroy completely the past. Thus, throughout the novel, the lieutenant mercilessly pursues those objectives.

During the post revolutionary era, the state tried to drive out foreign influences. The Mexicans' distrustful attitude towards foreigners is clearly exemplified by the lieutenant who, "seemed to indicate that he wouldn't even accept the benefit of shade from a foreigner." (p.35). Of course, the foreigners, like Capt. Fellows, a wealthy banana plantation owner, felt absolutely "no responsibility for anyone." (p. 31) Naturally, in assuming this careless attitude, the foreigner would alienate the Mexicans. The Mexicans' obvious reaction would be to oust the foreigners from their society. Thus, during this time period, Greene describes the foreigners as "lonely" and "vacant." To furthur emphasize this point, Greene interestingly creates an American gringo, who is also (like the whisky priest) being pursued to his eventual death by the lieutenant and his Red Shirts. However, Greene does add an element of optimism in the future relationship between the Mexican and foreigner through the daughter of Capt. Fellows. This young girl does embrace responsibilty in the affairs of Mexico, and she hides and cares for the whisky priest. This seems a premonition of better foreign relations in the future.

Besides foreigners, the Mexican government is attacking the Catholic Church by eliminating the priests. Basically, Greene develops two options for the priest by using two characters, Padre Jose and the whisky priest. (However, it might be argued that there is a third, martyrdom, but since Greene did not really develop a character along these lines, I shall omit it.) Padre Jose gives into the state's demands by getting married and abandoning the church's religious ceremonies. This character is described as obscene and a traitor to God. He refuses to give burial rites, to shelter the whisky priest, and to listen to his confession. This priest shamefully cowers under the threatening shadow of the state. Likewise, the whisky priest superficially appears to be equally despicable as a priest. He has many unlikeable characteristics; drunkenness, greed, and even breaks his chastity vows, resulting in the birth of his illegitimate child. Yet, this character is much more complex, for he seems to hold the key to Christianity.

"In his innocence," the whisky priest, "had felt no love for anyone; now in his corruption he had learnt..." love for his fellow Mexicans. (p.139) This priest is no martyr to God, but rather a martyr to his own people. He is enslaved by his love for them - a type of reluctant prophet. Constantly, Greene gives examples of the whisky priest sacrificing himself for others by giving confessions, baptisms and even offering the shirt off of his own back to the man who betrayed him. The whisky priest is their Saviour who in the end makes the ultimate sacrifice of love - his life.

The whisky priest is not a traditional Catholic priest, nor does Mexico need a traditional Catholic Church. The people exemplifying the greatest faith are not the haughty, pious Catholics, rather the Indians who practice their faith in non-traditional ways. Instead, "the work of Indians had nothing in common with the tidy vestments of the Mass and the elaborately worked out symbols of the liturgy." (p. 154) Greene describes one Indian woman as having faith that could move a mountain and she didn't even cross herself in normal Catholic fashion. Then, the climax of non-traditional religious expression came at the end of the novel, when Indians walk 50 miles to hear the whisky priest say mass. This time there is no fear of interruption, being hurried in the sacraments, or judgement on the character of the whisky priest. These are the heretics and the true Christians, the simple, suffering souls whose spirituality can never be repressed.

Finally, the last objective of the lieutenant is to oust the politician from Mexico. The novel really doesn't cover this theme in depth, although certainly it demonstrates the need for it. The officials are so vividly described as "fussy" and "authoritative." The laws the government create and enforce are not for the politician. They are above the law and gamble and drink all they please. The government, despite idealistic intentions, is corrupt.

The lieutenant accomplishes his goals, both the American and the priest are gone - never to be wanted again. "He was left without a purpose, as if life had drained out of the world." (p.207) He seems to recognize that as hard as he might try, these influences will never be demolished. His rigorous idealistic goals do not fit into the real world. Mexican past history can never be wiped out. A better society will only be created by combining the past and the new. I think the lieutenant recognizes this and even reaches an element of forgiveness towards the things he hated so much. Interestingly enough, when Padre Jose refused to listen to the whisky priest's confession, the lieutenant took his place. It was almost as if the lieutenant became the theologian, giving hope that one day foreigners, the state and the church can all exist harmoniously.

Hope. Hope that Mexico will become a place in which you can find peace. Just as the whisky priest realizes that "when the struggle was over and he had crossed the mountains, life might after all, be enjoyed again." (p.146) Mexico, one day might climb past her struggles and be a place where life can be joyous.

I suspect Graham Greene desires the same for Nicaragua...