



**The
Writing
Anthology: 1991**

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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 for their readability, originality, interest, and insight. From among the finalists included in this anthology, two were chosen to receive the John Allen Writing Award. This year, no one received the Maureen Danks Award for writing in the sciences because there were no submissions from those fields.

The co-winners of the John Allen Award for 1991 are Brady Shutt and Janice Klein.

Since students are the primary audience for The Writing Anthology, we wanted to change the way this publication was produced to reflect more student response. This year's readers and editors were Lisa Rustad and Chris St. Clair. I think you will find this edition more carefully edited, more readable and more coherently put together than past editions.

—Walter Cannon for the Skills and Honors Committee

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Selzer's Quest for Humility: Remembering Our Lousy Origins

by Jayna Blom

Intro to Literature--Nonfiction

Walter Cannon

Assignment: Write a book review of Richard Selzer's *Mortal Lessons* which appeals to this college audience.

"The lousy origin of the human species may offend the sensibilities of many, still it is a sweet and appealing idea that humbles as it elevates all creatures great and small."

Richard Selzer
Mortal Lessons

Humility. Random House denotes it as the quality or condition of being humble; a modest sense of one's own importance or rank. Others have described this uniquely human phenomenon in more poetic terms. For instance, Englishman John Ruskin once asserted, "I believe the first test of a truly great man is humility." Obviously then, I must interject, a "truly great man" is hard to come by these days.

Charles Haddon Spurgeon expressed his views on the subject in yet another manner when he said, "Humility is to make a right estimate of one's self." How true! I think to myself, yet all I have to do is take a look around at my fellow human beings (or even glance into the mirror) in order to see that people, in general, overestimate themselves. Humanity largely does not understand humility.

It is this very point that Richard Selzer addresses in *Mortal Lessons* and particularly in the sentence printed above, taken from the chapter entitled "The Twelve Spheres." It is probably best to examine the statement first in its context. In this section Selzer has just talked about things that are incomprehensible to human reason, the Chinese system of acupuncture being one. He goes on to compare the Chinese myth of creation to ours (thereby indicating that ours, too, is merely a myth). He comes to the conclusion that "aside from certain details of costume and a tendency toward slowness **theirs took 18,000 years,**" the Chinese creation myth closely resembles our own. His subsequent statement, the one I have chosen to dwell upon, must now be examined.

Since I share in the American ideology (so vividly displayed by our nation's doctors) that when a problem arises, dissection is the answer, I think it best to break this sentence apart in order to study it. Selzer begins, "The lousy origin of the human species may offend the sensibilities of many..." I believe he is referring to the

"lousy origin" of our evolutionary past. And, of course, this is offensive to our sensibilities. How can it be that we humans, the ones to whom God granted "dominion over all the earth," are actually descendants of a tree shrew that lived 80 million years ago in Africa? Furthermore, who wants to call the ape his brother? Our first inclination is to deny our quadrumanous past.

Selzer continues, "...still it is a sweet and appealing idea that humbles as it elevates all creatures great and small." The idea that we all have a common origin, that we owe every breath that we take to the first air breathing animal to spring from the nothingness of the Silurian period of the Paleozoic Era, that if it were not for apes we would not be here, is indeed a cause for humility. And though we all continue to evolve further, to become "elevated" to new levels, if you will, nothing can change the fact that we have descended from apes. Our humility must always remain.

Now, it may seem from this argument that part of Selzer's purpose is to debate the "fact" of evolution over the "myth" of creation. However, judging from his tone throughout the essays in the book, I think it is safe to say that this is not his purpose. His intention, rather, is merely to show us the implications that our universally humble beginnings should have in our lives. He mentions the "truth" rather than the "fact" of evolution in hopes that we might be able to keep the proper perspective in our day-to-day lives. Have we really any compelling reason as a group to assume such a feeling of superiority over all other life? And who is to say on an individual level that one person is any better than another?

I think Selzer is using creation as a medium through which to express his disgust with our grapplings for predominant status. He is not so much criticizing the idea of creation itself; it just happens to be an idea with which we are all familiar, and it happens to serve the purpose for his argument.

The creation "myth" for each culture or religion is similar in that it serves the purpose of ascribing to each person a certain sense of importance. Isn't it much more pleasant to picture our ancestors, beginning with Adam and Eve, as fully upright (in posture at least)? From dust and rib God created man and woman, but where in the Bible can we find proof that they stood on two feet and were not covered with hair from head to toe? Some simpleton, before considering his thought seriously, might argue that...well, Eve was able to reach up and grab the fruit from the tree, wasn't she?

Obviously that point is self-defeating as Selzer points out in "Bone." For if this is so, man in his "brazen reach for ascendancy" committed the sin for which the world has ever since been made to pay. By projecting in this chapter his opinion that man was once on all-fours and his "standing up" is the cause of many of our woes even today, Selzer makes a larger point. Just as he does in the other sentence, Selzer subtly bids us to reevaluate our superiority feelings. Why hide the fact that our tendency toward boldness and audacity causes us only grief, and furthermore, is not even warranted? We are no greater than the apes from which we descended.

Selzer expands on his humility theme in "Bone" when he addresses Jeremiah as a pithecanthropoid. If it is not enough that he includes a great Biblical prophet in a genus of preNeanderthal men, maybe his point is clarified in the words of Jeremiah. In warning the Israelites of the forthcoming wrath of God he says, "Down, you fools. Get down, before it is too late." Not only do we need to

humble ourselves before man, but also before God.

In a more modern context, even Indiana Jones in "The Last Crusade" was saved from decapitation by remembering that "a penitent man is humble before God." He dropped to the ground just in time to avoid a rotary blade that sought to make bloody meal of his head.

I think Selzer's point in all of his references to humility is in keeping with the title of his book: *Mortal Lessons*. He is interested in the fact that we are indeed mortal.

Knowing that there will come an end to our earthly life should make a profound difference in the way in which we live it. We need to keep things in perspective.

Yes, maybe it is true; my sensibilities are a bit offended by the thought of the "lousy origins of the human species." But what better way to instill the quality of humility into the human race? Thank you, Richard Selzer, for humbling us.

They Do the Lord's Work?

By Cory C. Springhorn

Intro to Literature (Honors) — Fiction to Film

John Miller

Assignment: Write an original analysis of Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose*

Many of the characters in Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose* would not be terribly out of place if they were figures in the church of today. While their methods may be different, Jorge, Bernard Gui, and Abo certainly have their counterparts in modern times. For these characters share with so-called religious men throughout history the pretense of acting for the glory of their God when in truth there is no glory to be found in their actions save perhaps for the men themselves.

Of the three characters singled out above, the blind Jorge, whose machinations in Eco's novel seem the most malicious and unjustified, is nevertheless the one who acts with the least amount of self-interest. While Jorge's actions are terrible, and ultimately endanger everyone in the abbey, it seems that Jorge at least believes that by poisoning the Philosopher's book on comedy, he is acting on God's behalf. In doing what he does, Jorge is not seeking any earthly power or prestige for himself (although he does hope to secure for himself a place in God's kingdom).

As Jorge is a Christian, however, and purports to believe in the omnipotence of God, there is a great contradiction between his basic beliefs and his justification for his crimes. Jorge explains why it was so imperative to conceal Aristotle's book on comedy: "But (Aristotle) had not succeeded in overturning the image of God. If this book... had become an object for open interpretation, we would have crossed the last boundary" (576). Presumably, the venerable Jorge would denounce as a blasphemer anyone who dared to assert that a man was more powerful than God. Yet Jorge's behavior not only shows that he considers God to be in danger from Aristotle, but further blasphemes God by suggesting that the Lord needs the protection of another mortal, namely Jorge himself.

This heresy subscribed to by Jorge has blossomed into one with a very large following in this day and age. Many "loyal subjects of God" now believe that their God, rather than being the protector of his flock, needs to be guarded by mere sheep. One of the most visible of these ovine is the Reverend Donald Wildmon, who has taken it upon himself to defend his God from such perils as the appearance of the word "dreck" (the Yiddish term for excrement) in the newspaper comic strip Bloom County. A true hero, this man. There are countless other Jorges out there, who believe that the almighty God cannot successfully endure the dangers of "obscene" photographs and magazines or "immoral" rock and rap lyrics without their invaluable help. Obviously, God is in great debt to the Jorges of this world.

The ignoble Inquisitor, Bernardo Guidoni, gives us another example of a man who is willing to assume the

duty of keeping the Lord from harm. This he tries to do by punishing, often exterminating, heretics. Bernardo Guidoni, or Bernard Gui, is one of those fortunate few who are able to know with great certainty all of the absolute truths about which the rest of us are only able to speculate. This gives Gui the unfailing ability to know when someone's beliefs about the meanings of the Scriptures or the details of Christ's life are not in accordance with God's truth. One has to suppose that much trouble at the abbey could have been avoided had Jorge but asked Gui whether Christ ever laughed, since the Inquisitor obviously has all the answers.

Getting back to the point, it seems that Bernardo is guilty not only of Jorge's crime, overestimating the importance of human beings, but also of using his holy office to feed his own pride. Bernard Gui gives the appearance of one who is not protecting the Church so much as calling attention to how well he is protecting the Church. Gui is ruthless and power-hungry, and has much in common with the DA who will prosecute anyone if he thinks he can get a conviction. Even the young and impressionable Adso recognizes that Gui is "without the slightest interest in knowing who killed the other monks," but is trying to gain support for his position in a simple debate at the expense of a man's life (461). Bernard Gui displays traits which are most unholy while pretending to be a holy man. Unquestionably, Bernard Gui seeks not to glorify God, but only to glorify Bernard Gui.

The Inquisitor also has his successors in the twentieth century. Happily, they do not have the same unlimited power that Gui had, at least not in developed civilizations. There are few places left on Earth where a man can have someone put to death by saying that he stands in opposition to the Word of God. However, there are more than a few people who try to make themselves important by convincing other people that they have been blessed with divine revelation. Oral Roberts is one of many ministers who have become both famous and wealthy by exploiting mankind's fear of God's power. Most of the perceptive persons in American society have long since seen Roberts and his ilk for the phonies they are, who use God's name to elevate their own status. Still, the legacy of Bernard Gui lives on. Because Gui and his counterparts have so utterly corrupted the ideals they expound, it is not even important if they actually believe what they say; their actions are unconscionable.

While he is not down on Gui's level, the Abbot is not the picture of virtue either. At the beginning of the novel, we get the idea that the Abbot is a sincere man, concerned with doing what is right to protect the brothers in his abbey. However, as the story progresses, Abo's attitudes change drastically. He becomes very defensive of his power and control over the abbey. To Abo, maintaining his authority is more important than finding a murderer. He banishes William from the abbey, even though William represents the best hope of unraveling the mystery, because he feels a need to reassert his jurisdiction in the abbey, and perceives William's investigation as a threat to his authority: "Kill his monks, but do not touch the honor of his abbey" (546).

It seems that none of the monks in this story is able to hold true to all of the morals by which they are sworn to live. Many of them are dishonest, many are lustful, Salvatore is a complete rogue, and even Adso forgets his vow of chastity. Not even the hero of the tale, Brother William of Baskerville, is able to live without sin, although

his vice, excessive vanity, pales in comparison to those of the other brothers. But the most menacing of all the rascals in Eco's novel are certainly those frauds who attempt to

disguise the improbability of their actions by passing them off as deeds done in the service of God.

Fission or Fusion? The Decision that Changed the World

By Brady Shutt

American Foreign Policy

Jim Zaffiro

Assignment: Write a research paper on an aspect of American foreign policy of your choice.

On January 31, 1950, President Harry S. Truman issued a public statement articulating that he had "...directed the Atomic Energy Commission to continue its work on all forms of atomic weapons, including the so-called hydrogen or superbomb." (a2Public Papers of the President of the United States 1, p. 138) This excerpt represents the culminations of months of struggle among agencies and individuals in the Truman Administration. The decision to proceed with feasibility studies on the hydrogen bomb escalated an already growing dependence on force-based diplomacy.

The essay will also reveal that many of Truman's advisors were opposed to the implementation of feasibility studies. A detailed analysis concerning reasons Truman decided in favor of such a program is included. The relative weight of political, technological, and economic considerations will be discussed as they relate to the process of policy making in the Truman administration. The president's managerial style will be analyzed, both from Truman's perspective and from the view of his advisors. This will provide adequate focus on the complex considerations that President Truman and his advisors faced in late 1949.

For the majority of my research I relied on primary sources. Included in this were Truman, George Kennan, David Lilienthal, and Dean Acheson's memoirs. In this respect I was able to obtain an unbiased view of the key players in the process. In this information, I looked for inner-circle interpretations of the roles of agencies and individuals. This method also provided me direct insight into the decision making process of each individual. By then using this in a part-to-whole method, I was able to clarify the aggregate process.

As stated above, primary sources were used when possible. However, the most detailed work on the process surrounding the decision to develop a hydrogen bomb was Jonathan B. Stein's *From H-Bombs to Star Wars: The Politics of Strategic Decision Making*, 1984. This provided a detailed description of the chronological events leading up to January 31. Discussion of committee members and tasks was abundant in the text. This source also provided domestic political insights encountered during the process. These insights were then applied to the key themes of the paper. Stein provided a broad and encompassing base of fundamental knowledge laden with key details. With this detailed background knowledge, research of specific actors

in the process was more applicable to the broader scope of decision making.

Of the primary sources, President Truman's seemed most useful. The obvious reason is that, as president, he was responsible for the decision to go ahead with the superbomb study. His compilation of personal notes, entitled *Memoirs: Volume Two, Years of Hope and Trial* (1956), was used to develop a better understanding of his reasons to proceed. More importantly, it uncovered possible contradictions in Truman's reasoning (included in these are his belief that the public desired more destructive weapons, and his perception of his management style). This source helped decipher domestic political pressures facing the president.

Harry Truman's public statements, compiled in *Public Papers of the President* (1950), provided accurate historical data concerning the decision making process in relation to the American public. The significance of domestic political pressures in this essay was enhanced by using this source as a tool to review other works and their validity concerning Truman's public policy. Because the source contained all of his public statements, it entailed an excess of searching for minimal relevant information. However, the information used was an important means toward the formulation of the thesis of the paper; the significance of domestic political pressures in the process of decision making.

Three other sources were instrumental in my research. These sources were the personal notes and essays of George Kennan, Dean Acheson, David Lilienthal. Each of these men was influential in the policy formulation process. Despite the similarity in format, each of these sources represented a different perspective, in terms of governmental position and area of expertise of the individuals. Kennan's *Nuclear Delusion* (1983) was used to gain insight into Soviet intentions and American misperceptions of these intentions. *Present At The Creation* (1958), a commentary on his years in the State Department by Dean Acheson, helped further understand the State Department's role in the process. His opinions of other players were useful in defining the "roles" and influence of the various individuals and agencies. David Lilienthal, who served on the special committee of the NSC, articulated several domestic considerations (e.g. Congressional pressure) in relation to technological achievements of the period. Each source fulfilled my research focus of using primary sources and then piecing together the big picture from these sources.

Before examining the domestic conditions surrounding the superbomb decision, it is necessary to discuss the reasons for the sudden emphasis on new, more powerful weapons of mass destruction. In 1946, Bernard Baruch, the United States representative to the U.N. Atomic Energy Commission, proposed the creation of an International Atomic Development Authority. This authority would have considerable international power over all phases of atomic development and use. The Baruch Plan was not implemented due to lack of support from the Soviet Union. (*Public Papers of the President of the United States*, Pp. 152-53) It must be noted that at this time the only country to have atomic energy capabilities was the United States. Thus, the implication was that the U.S. would, because of leadership in the atomic energy field, be the authority discussed in Baruch's plan. With this in mind, it is obvious why, given post-WWII tensions between the U.S. and Soviet Union, the Soviets voted

against the proposal. This suggests that the United States' major attempt at atomic control before 1949 was slanted and unacceptable in the eyes of the Soviets.

Increased tensions between the Soviets and Americans highlighted the years between 1946 and 1949. The tensions surrounded Soviet intentions in Europe. The Marshall Plan, formation of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and the Berlin crisis represent these tensions. The emergence of a bi-polar international system with ideologically opposed poles was evident. The Soviets' successful test of the atomic bomb in 1949 altered the course of American policy. Before this, President Truman stated that he was "...firmly committed to the proposition that, as long as international agreement for the control of atomic energy could not be reached, our country had to be ahead of any possible competitors." (Truman, *Memoirs*, p. 306) The official Soviet position on the matter was articulated by U.N. representative Vishinsky in November 1949. Vishinsky stated that, "We in the Soviet Union are utilizing atomic energy, but not in order to stockpile atomic bombs." Vishinsky further stated that, if necessary, the Soviets would have the means and prerogative to stockpile the weapons. (Kennan, *Nuclear Delusion*, p. 5)

This event, plus the fall of China to communism, marked a turning point for American objectives concerning atomic energy development. Pressure was now placed on President Truman to halt what most thought was the Soviet spread of communism as part of their plot to gain world domination. This essay will now direct focus to the debate surrounding the American response to the events detailed above.

Verifiable knowledge of the successful Soviet atomic explosion led President Truman to privately instruct various agencies and departments to study the feasibility of increased nuclear weapons capability in the form of a hydrogen bomb. Following Truman's public statement of the Soviets' test, Lewis Strauss, commissioner of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy (JCAE), stated in this "Memorandum to the Commissioners" that, "It seems to me that the time has now come for a quantum jump in our planning—that is to say that we should now make an intensive effort to get ahead with the super." (Stein, *From H-Bombs to Star Wars: The Politics of Strategic Decision Making*, p. 16) The Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) then asked its scientific advisory group, the General Advisory Committee (GAC), to determine the feasibility of such a weapon.

The GAC was unanimously opposed to implementation of a hydrogen bomb program. Two major reasons for this opposition were; 1) the use of limited resources for superbomb exploration and experimentation may detract from current nuclear programs. The fear was that the diversion of resources into a program whose feasibility was unknown would slow our fission (atomic) program to a standstill. 2) The chances of success in the field of the hydrogen bomb (based on the principle of fusion) were unknown. Unknowns, including time, money, and the technological possibility, led the GAC to oppose the idea. There was also the emergence of a moral opposition in the group. The fear that escalation by the U.S. would lead to an international escalation that may eventually result in the destruction of mankind. Thus, fear of an arms race is evident even at this early stage. (Acheson, *Present At The Creation*, p. 346)

A major underlying theme is evident from the GAC's unanimous opposition on the ground of feasibility

uncertainty. As the scientific advisory body of the Atomic Energy Commission, the commission's purpose was to articulate the technological possibilities and considerations of the superbomb. That the GAC was uncertain about the feasibility of the program shows that further decisions concerning whether or not the U.S. should proceed would be made in an atmosphere of technological uncertainty. The relative importance of scientific considerations in the decision making process was small.

Prominent individuals were also against the principle of the superbomb program. George Kennan, one of the foremost experts on the Soviet Union and a member of the Policy Planning Staff at this time, thought the U.S. needed to re-evaluate their atomic policy. Were the weapons vital to our national defense, and as such to be used "immediately and unhesitatingly" in a military conflict with the Soviet Union? Or, were they to be used as a deterrent to the use of such weapons by other countries? The difference between these is the principle of "first strike" that is inherent in the first posture. (Kennan, p. xvi)

Kennan warned that, without a declaration against the principle of first strike, our defense policy would become clouded and out of focus as a tool for foreign policy. Kennan's concern is that America's foreign policy would be increasingly based on force and not diplomacy. The further development of weapons of mass destruction would limit the flexibility that traditional diplomacy allows. Kennan understood the importance of nuclear weapons in America's defense policy. Yet, he felt that these weapons should be under the inspection and guidance of an international agency. This position was relayed to the State Department in the form of a paper to Secretary of State Acheson in January 1950. (Acheson, *Present At The Creation*, p. 347)

David Lilienthal, chairman of the AEC, was another opponent of the super program. Lilienthal argued that we needed to re-evaluate our foreign policy objectives. On October 30, 1949, he commented on the implications of the super, "At present...this would not further the common defense, and it might harm us, by making the prospects of the other course-toward peace-even less good than they now are." (*The Journals of David Lilienthal*, p. 582) Lilienthal felt that the policy review needed to be completed before development of the superbomb was initiated. Further, he felt that American renunciation of instigation of a hydrogen bomb program could serve as a call for attempts at international control. He contended that going ahead with the hydrogen bomb would only reinforce the perception that war with the Soviet Union was inevitable and that the U.S. would be willing to use weapons of mass destruction in the confrontation.

The Atomic Energy Committee was split on the issue. The majority of the commissioners, led by Lilienthal, were against the program. Along with Lilienthal, Sumner Pike and Robert Bacher were hesitant and wanted a full review of policy before instigating the super program. This hesitancy was not felt by Gordon Dean or Lewis Strauss, who were also on the committee. Both were advocates of feasibility studies, and eventual integration of the hydrogen bomb into our defense policy. The AEC postponed recommendation until the GAC report was received. The GAC's recommendation against the super was not, however, followed by the AEC. In fact, opposition from scientists, career diplomats, and advisory committees was not enough to stop the superbomb program. What

reason(s), then, was responsible for Truman's announcement on January 31, 1950? Thus far, attention has been focused on the separate agencies and individuals in the decision making process. It is evident that the Soviet explosion of the atomic bomb caused great division within the inner circle concerning American response. Attention should now be focused on Truman's management style and how the decision to go ahead with feasibility studies was reached in the face of widespread opposition to such action. In so doing, focus will be on Truman's reliance on the State Department, specifically Secretary Acheson, domestic pressures, and Congressional pressure stemming from Senator Edwin Johnson and Senator Brien McMahon.

President Truman described his management style in this manner, "I wanted to hear all sides when there was disagreement...I do not believe that the President is well served if he depends upon the agreed recommendations of just a few people around him." (Truman, *Memoirs*, p. 305.) In fact, Truman did meet with individual AEC commissioners, scientists, and military experts. Given the disapproval of most of these individuals, one must wonder on what grounds he formulated his final decision. Alexander George, in his book *Presidential Decision Making in Foreign Policy: The Effective Use of Information and Advice* (1980), describes Truman as playing the role of "chairman of the board, hearing sundry expert opinions on each aspect of the problem, then making a synthesis of them and announcing the decision." (George, p. 149) George further contends that Truman did not allow political considerations to permeate his decision making (as evidenced by his firing of McArthur during the Korean War). The remainder of this essay will attempt to show that, in the case of the controversy surrounding the hydrogen bomb, domestic political factors dictated Truman's decision making.

In fairness to President Truman, it must be noted that he did create a Special Committee of the National Security Council. This consisted of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, and the Chairman of the AEC; Dean Acheson, Louis Johnson, and David Lilienthal respectively. The function of each individual was to use their respective departments and staff to analyze technological, military, and political aspects of the situation. These would be brought together as a joint committee recommendation concerning U.S. action, or inaction, in the field of hydrogen weapons. (Truman, *Memoirs*, p. 309) Truman also publicly stated, concerning the possibility of releasing public information on the superbomb, "...I make that decision and nobody else." (*Public Papers*, p. 134) This shows that, although Truman processed information from multiple sources, he ultimately made the decision based on his synthesis of the situation. What, then, did Truman base his decision to go ahead with hydrogen bomb on?

One factor was the effect the fall of China to communism had on Truman's image among the American people. Given the anti-communist sentiment in America at this time Truman needed to respond decisively in the latest "threat" to the American people, the Soviets' atomic explosion in 1949. The American people felt that American nuclear domination was security against Soviet attack. When the Soviets exploded the atomic bomb, this perceived security produced by our atomic arsenal diminished. Public opinion polls in August 1949 show that 45 percent of the people polled thought that Soviet

possession of the atomic bomb made war with the Soviets more likely (only 28 percent thought it less likely). Also, 70 percent were opposed to a formal declaration that the U.S. would not use the atomic bomb as a first strike weapon. (Bernstein, *Politics and Policies of the Truman Administration*, Pp. 213 & 214) With these in mind, it may be contended that Truman felt pressure to respond with a stepped up armament, including a hydrogen bomb.

November 1, 1949, marks the dawning of a new wave of domestic political pressure. It was on this day that Senator Edwin Johnson of Colorado suggested, in a televised statement, that progress was being made on a hydrogen bomb. (Stein, p. 33) It must be noted that, in fact, Johnson was wrong. As of November 1, no progress on the bomb had been made. The importance of his statement lies not in the validity, but rather in the public repercussions. On January 17, *The New York Times* ran an article, known as the "Reston story," which probed the possibility of a hydrogen bomb. (Stein, p. 33) Reporters now began to question President Truman during his press conferences at the White House. Truman denied the validity of Johnson's statement on January 19, when he was specifically asked if he could provide "anything authoritative" to the American people. (*Public Papers*, p. 34) The increased speculation in the press signifies growing pressure on Truman to respond, with more than "no comment," to the possibility of a hydrogen bomb program. (*Public Papers*, p. 18)

Another source of Congressional pressure stemmed from Senator Brien McMahon. McMahon argued that to delay implementation of the hydrogen program would place "a ceiling upon our military advancement." (Stein, p. 27) Lilienthal described McMahon as one consumed with the belief that the Soviets were set on world domination. Development of the atomic bomb by that country was a positive step in that direction. McMahon contended our only defense was more nuclear firepower. (*Journals of David Lilienthal*, p. 595) McMahon represents a common American attitude at this time. Most people consumed anti-communist propaganda following WWII. Security, for most, rested on our ability to defend against communism. This placed extra pressure on Truman, being an elected official, to make a decision on the issue of the hydrogen bomb.

It is evident that Truman received mixed recommendations from agencies and individuals. The scientific world, as represented by the GAC, seemed to be against the hydrogen bomb proposal. Other individuals, such as George Kennan, were opposed to the development. Truman was facing increasing pressure from Congress, specifically Senators Johnson and McMahon, the media, and the American people. As a result, Truman turned to the NSC Special Committee as his primary source of information and advice. This suggests that Truman narrowed his attention to a specific body, comprised of three independent departments. In this sense Truman; 1) processed initial information from a very broad base of agencies and individuals, 2) realized that growing political pressure was forcing a decision, and therefore 3) appointed three individuals, as representatives of their departments, to synthesize the existing information into a group recommendation. The three individuals, and their departments, will now be discussed. Following this, the final recommendation, which resulted in Truman's public statement on January 31, will be analyzed.

Defense Secretary Louis Johnson was a strong advocate

of going ahead with the program. He felt that the superbomb would serve as a greater deterrent and would provide better protection against the Soviets. Johnson argued that the "psychological value" of the bomb made it necessary to proceed. In this regard he argued that the American public wanted increased defensive measures. Johnson was against waiting for a re-evaluation of our foreign policy objectives. He cited cost and the possibility of Soviet development of the hydrogen bomb as compelling reasons to begin research. Johnson, and the Defense Department, adhered to the four principles advanced in a Joint Chiefs of Staff memorandum. First, the super would serve as a deterrent. Second, the super would allow flexibility in planning. Third, a superbomb would better utilize resources used in nuclear production. Finally, the Soviet intentions, as evidenced by their atomic capability, made it imperative for the U.S. to develop better means of protection, mainly a hydrogen bomb. In short, the Defense Department urged Truman to take immediate action to begin implementation of the hydrogen bomb in our defense strategy. (Stein, Pp. 21 & 27)

NSC Special Committee commissioner Lilienthal disagreed with this posture. He argued that a full review of our foreign policy objectives needed to be completed before going ahead with the super. He urged the committee to consider a recommendation that would focus on; 1) expansion of the current atomic program, 2) increased attempts at international control, and 3) immediate, and complete, re-evaluation of our foreign policy objectives. (*Journals of David Lilienthal*, p. 588) His main objection was that simultaneous review of objectives and implementation of the super would slant the foreign policy study. He contended that once we went ahead with increased production of weapons of mass destruction, we could never go back. He also contended that going ahead would merely mask weaknesses in our current defense program and give the American people a false sense of security. For these reasons, Lilienthal advocated completion of a total review of American policy objectives before deciding on the hydrogen bomb matter. (*Journals of David Lilienthal*, p. 628)

Secretary of State Acheson agreed with Lilienthal's assessment that our policy needed to be reviewed. However, he thought that doing so before any progress on the hydrogen bomb was made was not politically feasible. Acheson recognized the merit of traditional diplomacy and international control and its value abroad. He also recognized that this had little value in Washington, D.C.: "What he [President Truman] needed was communicable wisdom, not mere conclusions, however soundly based in experience or intuition." (Acheson, *Present At The Creation*, p. 347) It must be noted that Acheson and Truman were close friends, and that Truman had backed Acheson on several occasions, despite political pressure to remove him from his position in the State Department. Another possible consideration in Acheson's recommendation is his shaky political status in 1949. Acheson had been accused of having an underlying support for Alger Hiss. A hard line stance against the Soviets certainly did not hurt Acheson. (Stein, p. 30) Whatever the reason, Acheson advocated simultaneous action regarding the hydrogen bomb and the review of our policy objectives.

On January 31, 1950, a unanimous recommendation was signed by the Special Committee and presented to the President. It recommended that President Truman take the

necessary steps to determine the feasibility of a hydrogen bomb. Also, the committee recommended a complete re-examination of our foreign policy objectives, both diplomatic and military. This advice was followed by Truman. His public statement that day signifies the compromise that was a result of the process of decision making. (see Appendix A)

The recommendation was not without conflict among the three men on the NSC Special Committee. Secretary Johnson was against re-examination of diplomatic and military objectives because of the potential cost of such inquiry. On the other hand, it is probable that Acheson conceded the development of a hydrogen bomb in order to achieve re-examination of policy objectives. The primary role that his department would, and did, play in this re-evaluation is one possible explanation. (Stein, p. 37) Lilienthal was opposed to the compromise because he felt the U.S. was missing perhaps the only opportunity to re-examine foreign policy objectives before we engage in a massive arms race. (*Journals of David Lilienthal*, p. 629) Nonetheless the recommendation was made to and accepted by President Truman. Why, given the ever-present debate and conflict, was this done?

Political pressures and consideration were the deciding factor in the decision. Secretary of State Acheson presented a politically sound compromise, and the President followed it. Indeed, the compromise between the three members of the NSC Special Committee shows the nature of compromise in the political field. President Truman was forced, by domestic political pressures, to make a decision on a complex issue. Truman later reiterated this when he stated that, "Occasionally some newspaperman gets wind of the existence of certain military plans and reports them as the fixed position of the government...such reports are often as damaging as they are inaccurate." (Truman, *Memoirs*, p. 305.) Senator Johnson's leak to the press certainly fits this description.

Truman faced pressure from the anti-communist public to respond to the newly gained atomic capabilities of the Soviets. Also, China had just fallen to communism. Congressional pressure, from Senators McMahon and Johnson, in turn created increased public pressure. Public discussion of the hydrogen bomb, due mostly to Senator Johnson's leak, increased and placed greater pressure on Truman. Factored together, it could be argued that these domestic political pressures dictated Truman's decision in 1950.

These speculations are not without support. The decision to go ahead with the hydrogen bomb was made despite widespread disapproval from leading nuclear scientists. The GAC's recommendation against implementation is sufficient evidence. The decision to go ahead with the superbomb was made during a time of technological uncertainty. Upon hearing President Truman's January 31 announcement, GAC member Isador I. Rabi remarked "...here is a statement from the President to do something that nobody knows how to do." (Stein, p. 18)

During the final NSC Special Committee meeting, Lilienthal was expressing his opinion that a complete re-examination of policy was needed before beginning feasibility studies when President Truman interrupted and said, "...we all could have had all this re-examination quietly if Senator Ed Johnson hadn't made that unfortunate remark about the super bomb." He went on to say that, due to the public discussion and excitement

that this created, he had no choice but to go on. (*Journals of David Lilienthal*, p. 632) This is perhaps the most striking evidence that Truman's decision was dictated by domestic political considerations.

This analysis illustrates the complexity of foreign policy decision making. The implications of the decision to go ahead with the hydrogen bomb are many. The re-evaluation of foreign policy objectives resulted in NSC-68. In this study, nuclear weapons were deemed as vital to our national defense. This implementation is a large factor in the massive nuclear arms race that accompanied the Cold War. Was Lilienthal's fear that re-assessment of policy during hydrogen bomb studies would slant the resulting foreign policy recommendation fulfilled? The results (e.g. massive arms race) are fairly conclusive evidence that his fear was realized.

Another result was the increased dependency on force based diplomacy. The spiraling of Cold War tensions beginning in 1950 is a good example of this. Our foreign policy objectives became pre-occupied with the fear of the Soviet Union. The decision to develop a hydrogen bomb may have marked the beginning of the arms race, and subsequently the beginning of many of the problems discussed in the essay.

Did Truman have a sound alternative? Given the amount of domestic and congressional pressure, it is understandable why he thought he had no choice. To delay development of the hydrogen bomb would have been to risk that the Soviets develop one first. This would have been politically disastrous for the Truman Administration. Fear of communism among the American people was high in 1950. Nuclear superiority went a long way in subduing this public fear. Whether or not this superiority provided real security was not of primary concern. Truman was caught between a hesitant group of advisors and an anxious, anti-communistic public and media. Upon review of all factors and variables, Truman opted to begin work toward a hydrogen bomb.

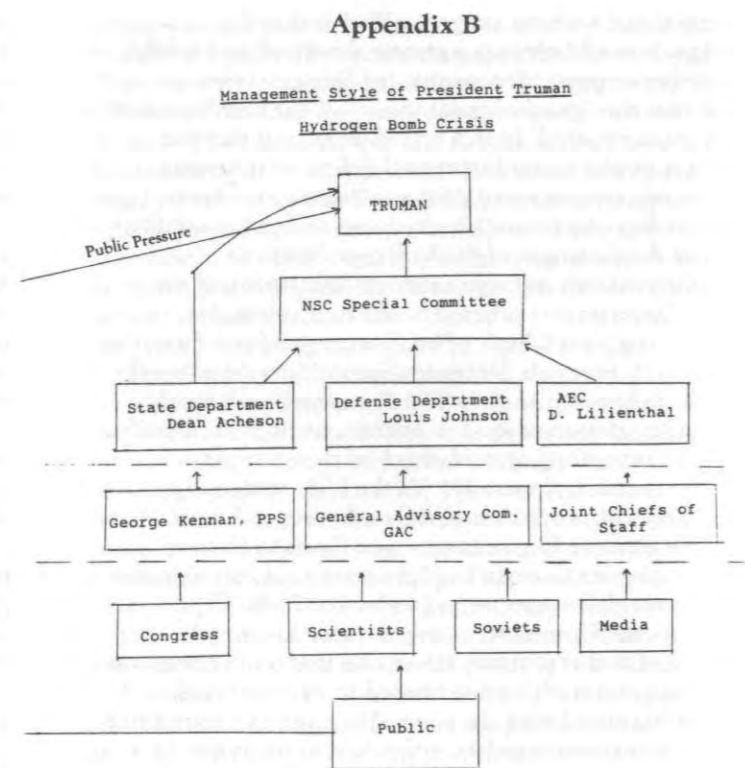
November 1, 1952 the first hydrogen bomb was exploded. "...Our whole purpose was peace; that we didn't believe we would ever use them (nuclear weapons) but we had to go on and make them because of the way the Russians were behaving." -Harry Truman (Stein, p. 36)

APPENDIX A

President Truman's Public Address
January 31, 1950

"It is part of my responsibility as Commander-in-Chief of armed forces to see to it that our country is able to defend itself against any possible aggressor. Accordingly, I have directed the Atomic Energy Commission to continue its hydrogen or super-bomb. Like all other work in the field of atomic weapons, it is being and will be carried forward on a basis consistent with the overall objectives of our program for peace and security.

This we shall continue to do until a satisfactory plan for international control of atomic energy is achieved. We shall continue to examine all those factors that affect our program for peace and this country's security."



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Plato Was A Duck

By Jamie Breuer

Classical Thought

Chad Ray

Assignment: What are Plato's forms, and how does Plato argue for their reality? Assume that you are addressing an intelligent student who has no background in philosophy.

Plato's efforts mark a new beginning in the world of systematized philosophy and critical reasoning. In addition to describing the historical person of Socrates in his dialogues (as in the *Apology*), Plato also uses Socrates as a character to put forth his own ideas. The most famous of the Platonic theories, and the one with which this paper will deal, is the Theory of Forms. Plato draws on the teachings of his mentor, Socrates, to generate this theory and to give shape to some of the ideas that, according to Plato, Socrates implied. Plato begins by asking himself what can be known about the physical world. What observations can one formulate and what are their logical conclusions? Plato then proceeds by trying to understand common bonds and similarities between language and reality.

Imagine, Plato would hypothesize, that a man sees the reddest rose that he has ever known. Because of its deep crimson hue, its silky texture, and its dark green leaves, the man pronounces this flower to be beautiful. Further imagine that the same man is walking along the seashore at sunset and because of the pastel-colored sky and the rolling blue waters, that man pronounces the scene also to be beautiful. For Plato, a discrepancy would seem to arise from this man's assertions. In the first instance, beauty was understood as the redness of the rose petals and the greenness of the leaves, and yet the second instance, which contains neither of those elements, is also said to be beautiful. In fact, it might be argued that the very reason the second scene is beautiful is that the water isn't red like the rose, but rather blue; and that the sky isn't green like the leaves, but rather pastel-colored. The things which make the one beautiful would be a cause of ugliness in the other. So how can the man make the apparently accurate statement that both the rose and the seashore are beautiful? Is there some sliding definition of beauty which is constantly fluctuating? Is beauty simply a relative value judgement? Neither answer suffices for Plato.

In the *Phaedo* (99D-101A), Plato addresses the awkward question that arises when trying to define beauty and other characteristics. It is not because of any inherent, sensed quality that the rose or seashore poses that they are beautiful—it is not the red petals or the blue water as such which constitute beauty. But rather, both are made beautiful and can be called such, because they both participate in absolute Beauty itself. According to Plato, there is nothing physical that one can point to and truthfully call Beauty, because the Form of Beauty lies completely beyond the material world. Beauty itself is Beauty because of its very nature, and it is that which makes other things beautiful. Everything on earth which one would call beautiful can only be called so in so far as it

partakes of the Form of (Absolute) Beauty. By such a theory, Plato can account for the belief that both the rose and the seashore can be rightfully called beautiful, though neither of them can be called the definition, cause, or nature of beauty.

For Plato, all things and characteristics can be said to participate in some higher order of reality: the world of Forms. Because of its manifestation in what is fundamentally an imperfect world, nothing can be said to be the Ideal of a particular character; for all of its beauty, a red rose is not Beauty itself. The above argument can be extended to include the whole of the material world, not simply characteristics, but substantial things themselves. For instance, a table with four legs and a table with three legs can both be referred to as "table" because they both partake of the absolute Form of Table. That Form contains the fundamental quality of Tableness that is shared by all those so-named physical objects on earth. Plato's Forms can only be understood intellectually and are the only type of enduring reality.

By the logic intrinsic to his Theory, Plato is forced to assert the complete separation of the world of the Forms from the material world. There is a clear division between the two and Plato gives much higher esteem to the Forms (as according to his logic, he must) than to this earthly existence. Plato's sense of true knowledge and understanding lies entirely within the intellectual realm of the Forms. For him, true knowledge of the physical world is impossible, and belief, at best, serves only to further comprehension of the essence of Forms. Plato wants to shun the body and the sensate life in favor of reason and rational existence. But this desire to alienate Form from physical reality would seem to have its drawbacks. To illustrate this, one can turn once more to the example of the red rose.

The rose in its prime is undeniably beautiful—or, rather, to be somewhat more accurate, the flower participates in the form of Beauty. But as the growing season goes on, the rose withers away; its color fades, and it grows ugly. What, then, can be said to have happened to it? Assuming that the flower itself was never in fact Beauty, but only a participant in that Form, Plato's theory leads to the conclusion that the plant in itself has not changed, thereby causing ugliness, but instead, only that its relationship with Beauty has shifted somehow. Correspondingly, Plato would have to reason that it is either the Forms themselves, or their instances in things, that are altering their associations with the material objects: "the Form gives way and withdraws . . . it cannot stand its ground . . . If it did, it would become different from what it was before." (*Phaedo*, 102D.) This leads one to believe, in conjunction with the concept of complete separation of the physical world from the Forms, that all change must be the result of the Forms advancing and withdrawing themselves. But Plato goes on to deny just such a conclusion, asserting instead an eternally unchanging world of Forms. Plato had difficulty accounting for change in the material world and Platonism tends not to be a dynamic system of ordered reality.

Philosophy's debt to Plato is great—his Theory of Forms, whether for good or bad, has shaped Western thought for thousands of years. And though much criticism has been levied against Platonism, it is still a system of thought that needs to be considered carefully. A comprehensive understanding of Plato is necessary to appreciate the kinds of advances (and criticisms) that have been made on his Ideas for millennia.

Beyond the Limits of Ordinary Experience: Nathaniel Hawthorne's "Rappaccini's Daughter"

by Ann C. Sobiech

American Literature 1620-1890

John Miller

Assignment: Write an analysis of a story or topic not discussed in class.

Blessed are all simple emotions, be they dark or bright! It is the lurid intermixture of the two that produces the illuminating blaze of the infernal regions (563).

Nathaniel Hawthorne explicates this "lurid intermixture" in several manners throughout "Rappaccini's Daughter." With his characteristic ambivalence toward his subject and ambiguous treatment of themes, Hawthorne draws the characters of "Rappaccini's Daughter" into the "neutral territory" of his Romance. Containing elements of both the sensual and the spiritual, the body and the soul, physical and spiritual reality, this neutral territory is an ideal ground for the exploration of the "commixture" of these dual aspects of humanity. Good and evil alike are discovered and examined here, evil being the more evident of the two poles. Significant components of existence are included: science, and its relation to God; love, its faith, its truth, and its power; innocence and maturity; and beauty. All these are studied in the microcosm of Rappaccini's garden. Beatrice, or Rappaccini's daughter, is an extension of the garden. In some ways, she is the epitome of the duality of humanity, containing both vile physicality and divine spirituality. Her relationships with the other characters illustrate the "lurid intermixture" found in humanity. Finally, she is a lesson emphasizing the necessity of faith in order to survive.

The garden is the microcosm in which the action takes place. Upon Giovanni's first look at the garden and its cautious caretaker, the correlation is made: "Was this garden, then, the Eden of the present world?—and this man, with such a perception of harm in what his own hands caused to grow, was he the Adam?" (555). It is the modern Paradise, full of enticing, tempting beauty, yet the same poisons responsible for the Fall of Mankind. This image of Adam suggests the doctor's innocence, yet the weakness of his character and the inevitability of his own Fall. Temptations abound, beauty gilds, and danger is imminent in all seductive flowers. Later Giovanni hastens "...into that Eden of poisonous flowers" (568). In the end,

Beatrice also refers to the garden as Eden (575). And this Paradise is the world of Rappaccini. Beatrice explains to Giovanni, "...this garden is his world" (566).

This microcosm exists in that neutral territory which embodies both spiritual and physical essence. The above image of Paradise depicts these qualities well: physical growth, humanity, yet a haunting, enticing beauty combined with spiritual, evil threats of death. The narrator mystifies and pushes normal objects to become something ghostly, mystical, and fantastic. The deadly, ominous flowers in the garden lend an evil air to the garden. It is nightmarish in description, a horrifying mixture of beauty and terror. Upon close examination, the flowers "...seemed fierce, passionate, and even unnatural" (565). To discover them in the forest on an afternoon stroll would be shocking. "Unearthly" are the blooms, characterized by an "artificialness" due to the "commixture," the "adultery of various vegetable species" (565). "...The production was no longer of God's making, but the monstrous offspring of man's depraved fancy, glowing with only an evil mockery of beauty" (565).

Yet the garden also appears to exist logically and physically. In daylight, the garden loses its ugly, evil ambience. When Giovanni examines the garden a second time, "He was surprised, and a little ashamed, to find how real and matter-of-fact an affair it proved to be, in the first rays of the sun" (559). This sun and the dew "...brought everything within the limits of ordinary experience" (559). The garden embodies this "commixture" caused by man, by Rappaccini (literally), by Adam. It is a product of "adultery," a "lurid intermixture" of the natural and artificial, the spiritual and physical. It is paradoxical Paradise, a utopia ruined by the weakness of man and his drive for knowledge, much like that of Rappaccini. By daylight it seems harmless, but it still exudes its deadly poison, a result of this mixture.

Beatrice has spent her whole life in that world, so it is her world also. In a way, she is an extension of that world. She is the creation of her father, and the flowers are her sisters. She, too, is poisonous, the most deadly of all the plants. In this manner, she is perhaps more basely physical than an ordinary human being. Yet she is a spiritual being as well, in ways transcendent of the other characters. "...Though my body be nourished with poison, my spirit is God's creature, and craves love as its daily food" (574). The narrator even deems her an angel:

...recollections which, had Giovanni known how to estimate them, would have assured him that all this ugly mystery was but an earthly illusion, and that, whatever mist of evil might seem to have gathered over her, the real Beatrice was a heavenly angel (572). She embodies beauty, yet a horrible beauty, taken with her power to destroy. Her person contains such sharp oppositions, that she represents too a mixture of the elements noted above.

Absent in her character, however, is knowledge and a thirst for it. She has been kept innocent by her imprisonment within the garden. Though the garden contains both good and evil, her person is devoid of evil save that potential for destruction her body maintains. The evil in her, then, is a result of her father's evil. She remains ignorant of the evil which pervades this physical world. Her innocence is evident in Giovanni's first conversation with her:

She talked now about matters as simple as the daylight or summer-clouds...questions indicating such seclusion, and such lack of familiarity with modes and forms, that Giovanni responded as if to an infant (567).

Her innocence allows her to trust everyone; it also provides her with great faith. The former is responsible for her death, as she becomes "...the poor victim of man's ingenuity and of thwarted nature, and of the fatality that attends all such efforts of perverted wisdom" (575). The latter, however, is her redemption.

She is wise in the spiritual realm. It is possible that she knows more truth than any of the others: "There is something truer and more real, than what we can see with the eyes, and touch with the finger" (571). According to the narrator, Giovanni's love is based on this "something," an idea formed by "her high attributes," however, rather "than by any deep and generous faith" (571). In the first meeting scene in the garden, Beatrice asks Giovanni to "Believe nothing of me save what you see with your own eyes." Attempting to forget the earlier scenes he witnessed (the lizard's death, the wilting of the flowers, the bouquet), Giovanni protests, "Bid me believe nothing, save what comes from your own lips." The narrator then responds, "It would appear that Beatrice understood him," and Beatrice replies, "If true to the outward senses, still it may be false in its essence. But the words of Beatrice Rappaccini's lips are true from the heart outward. Those you may believe!" (566).

Her fervor "beamed...like the light of truth itself." The angel Beatrice knows the truth, which lies in faith. She believes that Giovanni shares this truth with her. Here it must be highlighted that Beatrice but appears to understand Giovanni. His motives are not pure; he must have evidence, and he lacks deep faith. She misinterprets his need to escape what he saw as complete and total faith, which is not in his character.

Attempts to bring Beatrice down from this height and drag her into the physical world are the downfalls, or sins, of Giovanni and Baglioni. In the above passages regarding the garden, daylight was said to bring "...everything within the limits of ordinary experience." In "Writings of Aubepine," Hawthorne outlines a device in his writing: "...occasionally, a breath of nature, a raindrop of pathos and tenderness, or a gleam of humor, will find its way into the midst of his fantastic imagery, and make us feel as if, after all, we were yet within the limits of our native earth (555).

This "ordinary experience" is that daily existence, physical reality, all humans strive to maintain. This strategy may be applied to many situations where humans cannot cope with *strange spirituality or the gaining of knowledge*; the narrator proposes this as a way Giovanni should attempt to contain his love for Beatrice. He could "...have accustomed himself, as far as possible, to the familiar and daylight view of Beatrice; thus bringing her rigidly and systematically within the limits of ordinary experience" (563).

Bringing Beatrice into these "limits of ordinary experience" is essentially the plot of the story. Giovanni enters her world, becomes imbued with her poison, yet must always retreat back into his world of explanation and rationalization. In essence, he denies the spiritual and attempts to retreat into the physical. When he realizes how far he has entered the spiritual world of Beatrice, and her love, he hurriedly flees, directing "venomous scorn and anger" at Beatrice, who "...enticed me into thy region of unspeakable horror" (573). At the end of the story, just before Beatrice dies, he hopes:

...might there not still be a hope of his returning within the limits of ordinary nature, and leading Beatrice—the redeemed Beatrice—by the hand? (574)

Giovanni is drawn in, only to discover the evil of the intermixture, the horror of the mixture of emotions. The poison in his system was "...a wild offspring of both love and horror that had each parent in it, and burned like one and shivered like the other" (563). He "...knew not what to dread still less did he know what to hope; hope and dread kept a continual warfare in his breast..." (563). In his fright from this poison he retreats back to the "ordinary limits" of his familiar physical world, rather than reach for a spiritual solution.

Dr. Baglioni also hopes to save Beatrice. Yet his motives, though similar to Giovanni's in the sense that they involve solely the physical world, are composed of professional jealousy of Dr. Rappaccini. He assures Giovanni:

"...Possibly, we may even succeed in bringing back this miserable child within the limits of ordinary nature, from which her father's madness has estranged her" (570). He supplies Giovanni with the poison which will eventually kill Beatrice, that character immune to all poison. His reaction upon her death is one of "triumph mixed with horror": "Rappaccini! Rappaccini! And is this the upshot of your experiment?" (575).

In this last line lies part of the irony of the story. Rappaccini has failed in his quest to create the Eden he sought. It nearly was in his grasp, yet his daughter could not live isolated physically. When he brought Giovanni in, he almost succeeded, yet both of them were isolated from the physical world. He cannot understand this need, even though he is a man of science. His "spiritual love of science" (560) disables him from seeing the necessity of a physical existence.

Beatrice is holy, a spiritual creature who must die for lack of fulfillment. "...As poison had been life, so the powerful antidote was death" (575). The only way to be fulfilled is through love or death. As all love has been false, not based on faith but on motives of creation, lust, or vengeance, she must die.

She must pass heavily, with that broken heart, across the borders—she must bathe her hurts in some fount of Paradise, and forget her grief in the light of immortality—and there be well! (574)

As she dies, she says to her father:

I am going, father, where the evil, which thou hast striven to mingle with my being, will pass away like a dream—like the fragrance of these poisonous flowers, which will no longer taint my breath among the flowers of Eden (575).

She becomes the complete angel, dying as her innocence is broken by Giovanni's harsh, self-centered words. In a way she may be seen as Savior, dying for the sins of her father, Giovanni, and Baglioni, as a result of their sins and evil and a lesson to them to overcome their fear of transcending the limits of the ordinary.

"Oh, was there not, from the first, more poison in thy nature than in mine?" (575). Beatrice addresses this question to Giovanni as she draws her last breath. And yes, it is true. Giovanni's poison is lack of faith, inability to trust, and his attachment to his physical world. Rappaccini's poison is his ambition; Baglioni's is that of revenge. All these poisons are worse than the physical poison of Beatrice, for theirs are poisons of the soul. The only way to overcome their spiritual poison is through faith. Thus, Rappaccini's daughter leaves them with a moral: have faith, and do not become smothered with the poisons of the limits of ordinary experience. For that ordinary experience is your Fallen Paradise, and to succumb to it is to drown in evil.

Quién tiene la gloria?

by Shawn Deane

Intro to Literature (Spanish)

Martha Chiarella

Assignment: Write a critical analysis of Jorge Luis Borges' *Los dos reyes y los dos laberintos*.

El cuento, "Los dos reyes y los dos laberintos," escrito por Jorge Luis Borges, es muy interesante. Parece muy simple, pero al leerlo se puede notar que hay algo más entre las líneas. El lector puede hacer muchas preguntas intelectuales sobre el contenido del cuento, como: Es el rey rabe en verdad religioso? o Qué significan los dos laberintos para nosotros que vivimos en el mundo de hoy? Es muy difícil contestar preguntas como éstas porque existe la tentación de hacer comparaciones entre los ideales y creencias en el cuento y los ideales y creencias del mundo actual.

En los días antiguos, antes del concepto de solamente un Dios sobre todo, había muchos dioses. Cada grupo de

gente tenía un dios que le ayudaba. El dios de cada grupo escogía un rey para establecer el orden en su reino. (Así, cada vez que el rey hacía algo, era un acto directo del dios.) El rey y el dios tenían una relación muy especial. Cuando el rey tenía un problema, el dios **siempre** le ayudaba. Por ejemplo, si otro rey ofendiera al rey, como el rey babilónico ofendió al rey árabe, el dios le ayudaría a derrotar al otro rey y a su gente para que pudiera tener su dignidad de nuevo.

Cuando el lector sabe la historia, se puede ver que el rey árabe era muy religioso. El tenía mucha fe en Alá (su Dios que sabía y todavía sabe todo). Cuando el rey árabe estaba perdido en el laberinto, él pidió ayuda divina y Alá le enseñó la puerta de la salida. También el lector puede notar que el rey árabe era religioso cuando él destruyó el reino de Babilonia. Alá era más fuerte que el dios de los babilonios y el rey árabe tenía más fe en su Dios, Alá, que el rey babilónico tenía en el suyo. Así los árabes pudieron derrotar a los babilonios sin problemas porque los árabes estaban a favor de Alá.

En el mundo actual, el lector podría decir que el rey árabe no era religioso. Cómo podría ser que un hombre religioso pudiera matar a tanta gente en nombre de un dios? La moral en el mundo actual está metida en los cerebros de las personas y es difícil pensar de otra manera. Pero, si el lector puede ensanchar sus ideas, puede entender el cuento mejor. La gloria sea con el lector que trate de entender el cuento!

Soviet Foreign Policy with Israel

by Michelle Dietrich

Soviet Foreign Policy

Jim Zaffiro

Assignment: Write a research paper on an aspect of Soviet foreign policy of your choice.

Under Gorbachev's regime, the Soviet government has attempted to open new diplomatic doors to countries that were previously considered pariahs. One of the most striking of these is Israel with whom the USSR has not had positive diplomatic contact for at least twenty years. The present Soviet relationship with Israel is a complex one. This relationship has been constrained by Arab disunity and hostility to Israel. However, Moscow seems to be anxious to take part in negotiations in the Middle East to combat the conflicts raging therein. In order to be fully effective in this aim, the Soviets must cultivate and eventually normalize relations with Israel. Only then can the Soviet Union obtain the more influential position which they are presently seeking.

For a clear understanding of the present relationship between the Soviet Union and Israel, and how far they have advanced, the basis of their relationship must be explicated. Initially, Soviet-Israeli relations were of a positive nature. The honeymoon phase in Soviet-Israeli relations was in 1949, as was expressed in Moscow's support for the United Nations Partition Resolution in November 1947, recognition of Israel in May 1948, and support for Israel's admission to the UN in December 1948 and May 1949. In fact, the support the Soviet Union initially showed for Israel was one of the (then) rare areas of agreement between the United States and the USSR in the Third World. Soviet aid to Israel was significant at this time as well—"it was Soviet bloc weapons that enabled Israel to withstand the initial Arab assault in 1948; and it was Soviet bloc weapons to Egypt and Syria (since 1955) that catalyzed an inflationary spiral in the arms race within that subordinate system" (Brecher, 1972).

The Soviet refusal to give Israel economic aid in 1950 was perceived as confirmation of the expected reversion to Soviet hostility. Furthermore, over the years, the treatment of Soviet Jewry was portrayed by Israeli leaders as comparable with the German slaughter of European Jewry (Brecher, 1972). Therefore, the friendly attitude toward Israel lasted only for a few months, for signs of a much cooler, even hostile, approach could be detected already in the autumn of 1948. A progressive deterioration in the relations between the two countries set in after that date, despite Soviet outward support for Israel in such bodies as the UN. Soviet charges against Israel were that "it had not become the democratic and independent state whose creation the USSR had supported. Instead, it had turned out to be a tool of Wall Street, a reactionary, capitalist country, in which the national minority and the 'popular masses' were oppressed and exploited" (Laqueur, 1959). These accusations became gradually more adamant until, in 1952-3, one might almost have gathered that Jews and Jewish organizations (not necessarily Zionist) were among

the most dangerous enemies of the USSR.

These accusations made by the Soviets were, for the most part, propaganda, for Israel followed a policy of non-identification with the major powers during the first years of its existence. However, its relations with the Western powers, especially those with Britain, which had been extremely tense in 1947-8, gradually became normalized (Laqueur, 1959). This evolution can be perceived as a component of the Soviet's withdrawal of support, for it was precisely the "anti-British activities of Zionism" (Laqueur, 1959) that had induced the Soviet leaders to support the establishment of the Jewish state. In addition, there was a gradual improvement in relations between the Arab countries and the USSR; "the center of the anti-Western struggle in the Middle East shifted to Egypt in 1950-1 and it was only natural that the USSR came to support the Arab states against Israel" (Laqueur, 1959).

Not only was Israel's foreign policy condemned by the Soviet Union, but its domestic policies were disapproved of as well: the alleged exploitation of new immigrants and workers in general and the discrimination against the Arab minority in particular. All this despite the fact that Israel was ruled by an all-Labor coalition, some of whose members were long-standing supporters of Soviet policies (Laqueur, 1959). The issue of importance to the Soviets, however, was not the measure of socialist progress inside a country like Israel, but its foreign political alignment; that is, in view of the specific position and geographic distribution of the Jewish people, it was most unlikely that Israel would turn against the West in the same way as the Arabs.

A dramatic break in Soviet diplomatic relations with Israel, which ushered in the tense relations the two countries experienced since, occurred in February 1953 following an explosion on the grounds of the Soviet Mission in Tel Aviv. Official apologies and the disclaimer of bad faith were swept aside. Relations were restored five months later, but tension continued to mount. In the fall of 1955, the Soviet bloc made a deep political penetration into the Middle East through the sale of arms on a large scale to Egypt and Syria. This act ranged the USSR and her allies on the Arab side in the Middle East conflict. Furthermore, whenever necessary, the Soviets used their veto to prevent any Security Council action that would prove to be injurious to their client Arab states, as with the Council's admonition to Egypt in 1954 to discontinue the denial of passage through the Suez Canal to Israeli ships and cargo (Reich, 1987). Early in November 1956, Moscow used serious threats of direct bombing and the dispatch of "volunteers" to deny Israel the gains she received through her victory in the Sinai campaign. A significant issue in these developments for Israel was the flexibility in Soviet policy on emigration of Soviet Jews, highlighted by Premier Kosygin's pledge in a Paris statement in 1966 of the "reunion of families" program which led to a migration of several thousand Jews to Israel in 1965-7 (Brecher, 1972). But even this program was discontinued after the Six Day War in 1967.

During the period of the 1950s, relations between the Soviet Union and Israel did experience a short thaw. In 1954, after the explosion at the Soviet Mission, "diplomatic ties were renewed and for a time became as close as before, if not more so. In many meetings and visits, the Soviet ambassador stressed the necessity of developing closer relations and, generally speaking, made considerable efforts to win friends and influence people"

(Laqueur, 1959). However, the general picture of Soviet-Israeli relations was not as positive as it seemed on the surface. As stated earlier, on a number of occasions in 1954, Soviet representatives in the UN supported the Arab side against Israel which made an extremely unfavorable impression in Israel. While, on the whole, Soviet observers refrained from commenting on internal developments in Israel, attacks on Zionism and on Israel continued in the broadcasts of Radio Warsaw which was then the main propaganda outlet aimed at Jews outside the Soviet bloc (Laqueur, 1959). In sum, then, the violent anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic character of Stalin's last years and the break in diplomatic relations in 1953 restored the historic Jewish image of a hostile Soviet Union. After this break came the massive Soviet-inspired Czech-Egyptian arms deal in the autumn of 1955 and the brutal Bulganin-Khrushchev threats of annihilation of Israel during the Sinai campaign. "During the next decade, Soviet patronage of Israel's Arab enemies increased in intensity and scope with military, economic, diplomatic, and propaganda aid on a massive scale" (Brecher, 1972). Moscow's incitement of Syria and Egypt in the 1967 crisis leading to the Six Day War deepened Israeli mistrust of Soviet intentions.

The Soviet Union's perceived hostility reached its peak in the dire Bulganin threats mentioned earlier concerning intervention and air assault in the early days of November 1956, and continued with the attempts to impose UN sanctions against Israel. Further, Moscow was not only the most powerful promoter of the Arab cause and the principal supplier of arms to Israel's enemies, it also resorted to "vicious language and diabolical threats against a small state" (Brecher, 1972). Therefore, communism in Israel stagnated after 1955 due to the fact that Soviet policy since 1954 had been one of clear and unequivocal support for the Arab countries, whereas its attitude toward Israel was perceived to be quite hostile. For the Arab communists, Soviet support for Nasser and Iraq was certainly no reason for great dejection. In fact, at one time, "in the winter of 1957-8 the feasibility of an 'Algerian' development was discussed in party circles—the establishment of a nucleus of an anti-Israeli guerilla army on Israeli soil" (Laqueur, 1959). Practical considerations were, however, against such a proposal, and the idea was discarded—at least at that time.

The Suez Crisis of 1956 is a good example of Soviet policy toward Israel at that time. There were professions of sympathy with Egypt by such organizations as the World Peace Committee, the Soviet trade unions, Soviet women and youth organizations, and so forth. Such sentiments were perhaps fueled by the anti-Jewish and anti-Israeli sentiments of the Soviet government and also by the legacy of such sentiments left to the Soviet Union by Stalin. Therefore, a harsh line was adopted toward Israel, the Soviet Ambassador in Tel Aviv having been recalled earlier, and the Soviet-Israeli commercial agreement, providing for a Soviet supply of fuel, being cancelled by Moscow. Thus, trade is also an indicator of Soviet-Israeli relations at this time. Initially, trade between Israel and the Soviet Union was mainly limited to a barter deal (Israeli citrus products for Soviet fuel oil). Soviet-Israeli trade fell from \$11.5 million in 1954 to \$8.5 million in 1956 and came to a standstill in 1957 as a result of the Soviet abrogation of the trade agreement with Israel during the Suez War (Laqueur, 1959).

From the preceding, then, one can readily observe the legacy of tension and mistrust which Gorbachev inherited

in regard to Israel. Also, the Soviet desire to continue its relations with other Arab countries, which it cultivated during the 1950s and 1960s, is another complicating factor in improving Soviet-Israeli relations. Before an actual discussion of Soviet-Israeli relations as they are today can take place, however, an examination of the treatment and situation of Soviet Jews is necessary since this would obviously have a bearing on Soviet relations with a self-proclaimed Jewish state. The issues involved in this examination are anti-Semitic sentiments and discrimination in the Soviet Union, as characterized by such groups as Pamyat (Memory), and the issue of Jewish emigration to Israel.

During the Brezhnev era, rising chauvinistic and xenophobic Russian nationalism seemed to have deep roots in the communist party and its leadership. "The fact that the reproduction and widespread distribution of **anti-Jewish** hate literature could take place in the monolithic Soviet totalitarian society testifies to the serious and growing challenge of Russian extremism. After all, duplication machines are strictly controlled and allocated by the authorities in Soviet society" (Freedman, 1984). These anti-Jewish sentiments, however, found their roots in the policies of Joseph Stalin. Originally, only a group of "rootless cosmopolitans" (Laqueur, 1959) were attacked in 1949. However, it soon became apparent that the vast majority of those singled out were Jews; while it was sometimes argued that this rhetoric was not directed against Jews per se, but only against Zionists, the great majority of those victimized as "Zionists" had been active anti-Zionists previously (Laqueur, 1959). Obviously, these developments negatively affected relations between the Soviet Union and Israel, which were already strained at this time.

These patterns of anti-Jewish sentiment were present up to the time in which Gorbachev took power and even now exist in some form. Under Soviet communism before Gorbachev, "although there had been a few instances of benign encouragement of Jewish culture in the Soviet mold, cumulative assaults on Jewish institutions, political and intellectual leaders, books and presses, and on Judaism have made the very survival of Soviet Jewry problematic" (Levin, 1987). As a result of this outlook, many Western Jews have perceived emigration as the only solution to the problem of Soviet Jewish survival. However, this pattern seemed to be changing. As of 1989, Jewish cultural centers had been organized in Moscow and the Baltic republics. Furthermore, for the first time in fifty years Moscow had a rabbinical school—teaching Hebrew, Yiddish, and Jewish history was no longer taboo. In addition, Mr. Yevgeny Primakov was elected at this time—the first Jew since the Stalinist era to hold a position in the Politburo (Economist, 1989).

However, Gorbachev's openness, while benefitting many Jews, has also opened the door to political groups with obvious anti-Semitic overtones. The roots of these groups find their origins in the 1950s and 1960s. In the early 1950s, a vehement Soviet anti-Israel and anti-Zionist drive found parallels in a harsh propaganda drive against Judaism. This drive "featured some of the most vulgar and frightening anti-Semitic books of all time, books which have gone through many printings and have been awarded official prizes" (Levin, 1987). As stated earlier, after 1967, Soviet Middle Eastern policy became more aggressively pro-Arab and anti-Israel, and Soviet rhetoric at that time increasingly linked its crusade against Zionism and Israel

with Judaism and Jewish national identity. However, the possibility existed that one could be anti-Zionist without necessarily being anti-Semitic, but Soviet propaganda at that time seemed, to a large extent, to have blurred that distinction and "Jews were presented in cartoons and caricatures with racial features reminiscent of Nazi propaganda" (Levin, 1987).

Under Gorbachev, however, official discrimination seemed to be silenced. Nevertheless, while this official anti-Semitism was waning, "grass roots" anti-Semitism seemed to be growing, along with the Soviet Union's assorted disillusioned nationalities. This anti-Semitic sentiment has "fed on ancient prejudices and current difficulties—and on the same glasnost that has allowed Soviet Jews a voice. What scares Soviet Jews is the possibility that the situation could turn violent: that failure of perestroika could deepen the frustrations of ordinary people with the Jew once again being the scapegoat" (Economist, 1989). The chief suppliers of unofficial anti-Semitism are the various branches of the Pamyat (Memory) movement. This movement started innocuously in the early 1970s as an association dedicated to the preservation of the Russian cultural heritage. However, this movement has revived some of the Soviet Union's old anti-Semitic prejudices and added some unproven new ones. Pamyat has recycled a notorious, and uncorroborated, theory, the so-called Protocols of the Elders of Zion, a supposed blueprint for Jewish world domination. Furthermore, Pamyat claims that the Jewish Bolsheviks were responsible for killing the Tsar and for many other crimes. A Jewish activist stated that "it is strange that the Russians never get blamed for Lenin being a Russian, while Jews get blamed for Trotsky being a Jew" (Drinian, 1990). Speakers at Pamyat's rallies have called for an end to the supposed dominance of Jews in Soviet public life. Jewish "over-representation," asserted a document written by Mr. Konstantin Smirnov-Ostashvili, should be ended by "not admitting Jews and individuals related to Jews by blood" to universities, scientific academies, or the Communist party. The same document called for banning Judaism and for special protection for authors of "anti-Zionist" works. Some other Pamyat supporters have praised Stalin for his attempted "de-Zionization" which, "unfortunately," he left unfinished (Economist, 1989). Although some Soviet journalists have criticized Pamyat, the lax official attitude toward it so far has caused some Jews to fear a pogrom atmosphere (Levin, 1987). Gorbachev himself has not reacted to Pamyat's threats.

These anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist sentiments are obviously significant for Soviet relations with Israel. The Israeli officials will certainly not ignore the type of actions being taken against the Jewish community in the Soviet Union. Therefore, a normalization of the Jewish position in the Soviet Union will surely be necessary for Soviet-Israeli relations to be reactivated. The situation of Soviet Jews described above is obviously not one which would be conducive to friendly relations between the Jewish state of Israel and the Soviet Union. The problems of Soviet-Israeli relations is further exacerbated by the fact that the USSR is among the largest producers of anti-Semitic materials in the world (Freedman, 1984). The Soviet Union's "campaign of slander, conducted in the mass media and publications, is sensed by many Jews as a threat to their own security in the USSR" (Freedman, 1984).

This discrimination may explain, in part, why so many

Jews in recent years have chosen to leave the Soviet Union. Furthermore, the Soviet regime has seemingly reacted to this emigration by reducing its dependence on Jewish "brain power...Admission of Jews to institutions of higher education has been severely curtailed, and stories abound of serious job and promotion discrimination" (Freedman, 1984). The Soviet leadership has apparently decided that little of value should be given to persons who are, eventually, likely to contribute their skills to Israel and the United States. Obviously, such policies only serve to encourage more emigration, which serves as a catalyst for the perpetuation of the cycle of discrimination and emigration. Numerically, Soviet Jews are a small segment of the Soviet population—under three million (Levin, 1987). However, a significant proportion of that population seem to be either emigrating to Israel or applying for such emigration. In 1987, Soviet officials told American visitors to Moscow that the Soviet Union was considering eliminating some of the obstacles to Jewish emigration and allowing Jews to practice their religion if they stayed in the Soviet Union. Soviet diplomats were also implying at that time that an exchange of consular delegations with Israel—the first since the two countries had broken off diplomatic relations twenty years ago—might be forthcoming (Economist, 1987).

The numbers of Jews allowed to emigrate has risen since Gorbachev has come to power. In January 1980, 3266 individual visas were granted. By June, this figure had shrunk to 1489; in December it plummeted to 969 (Freedman, 1984). These figures would suggest the existence of a determined policy to severely curb the rate of emigration rather than a random or arbitrary practice. This policy may have been a result of anti-Semitic and/or anti-Israeli sentiment present in the Soviet Union at this time. However, in the first eleven months of 1989, 62,505 Soviet Jews had emigrated overall which easily broke the record of 51,333 in the whole of 1979. In November of 1989 alone, 11,168 Jews left the Soviet Union. As of December 1989, some 500,000 Jews had either applied for permission to leave or had documents enabling them to make an application (Economist, 1989).

Therefore, in a gesture to both Israeli and Western sensibilities, Gorbachev has allowed Soviet Jewish emigration to increase, first gradually and then dramatically. While this policy was probably aimed more at Soviet relations with the United States than at relations with Israel, it nevertheless had significance in Israel as well. That is, "all Israeli leaders want to increase (and take credit for increasing) the number of Soviet Jewish emigrants. Israel also wants Soviet assistance in getting more Soviet Jews to go to Israel rather than 'dropping out' and going to the United States; for these reasons, all Israeli leaders have an interest in expanding relations with the Soviet Union" (Duncan, 1990). However, while Gorbachev has increased Soviet Jewish emigration dramatically and upgraded the Soviet-Israeli dialogue since 1986, the Israeli government remains strongly opposed to a Soviet-backed international conference on the Arab-Israeli conflict, or to any process involving the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

While the Israelis are encouraging Jewish emigration for the aforementioned benefits, the Soviets also expect to gain from their new emigration policy. The possibility exists that Gorbachev expects economic gains by easing Jewish emigration. Experts say that if the number of Jewish emigrants rises enough, the United States Congress could

lift some trade restrictions on the Soviet Union, which trend seems to be taking place today (Economist, 1987). A likelier motive, however, is diplomatic. That is, allowing more Jews out of the Soviet Union and edging towards diplomatic relations with Israel could pave the way for Soviet participation in a Middle East peace conference. There is, however, opposition to a more open relationship with Israel. This "opposition to a resumption of relations with Israel and to allowing increased Jewish emigration may be related to opposition to reform" (Irwin, 1987). If so, relations with Israel could become bogged down in light of Gorbachev's increasing difficulties in instituting these reforms and even in sustaining his own power base. In sum, then, evidence seems to suggest a connection, on the one hand, of political and economic relations between the United States and the USSR and Soviet policy toward Jewish emigration to Israel; on the other hand, there seems to be a connection between the division of exit quotas among the various republics and cities and inner policy considerations of the authorities, regardless of the wishes of Jews in certain places to emigrate.

While opposition to reform may be a factor in barring Jewish emigration, an additional item is also significant. That is, mass emigration of Soviet Jews would be a negative occurrence for Gorbachev's reform policies. Jews, many of them professionals or aspiring entrepreneurs, possess the skills perestroika desperately needs to succeed (Economist, 1989). Therefore, the Jews are among the people Gorbachev can least afford to lose. Soviet Jewish emigration may also affect Arab sentiments toward the Soviet Union. "Soviet Jews who migrate to Israel, accustomed to being opposed to the Kremlin, have tended to be hardline supporters of the Knesset's present position on 'security'" (Drinian, 1990). Hence, a question many Arabs must be considering is whether or not the Jews who come to Israel after perestroika would be hostile to Palestinian claims. Many Arabs seem to be apprehensive that the new emigrants will settle in the occupied territory, thereby thwarting efforts to build an independent state there. However, of the 12,000 Soviet Jews who emigrated to Israel in 1989, fewer than 1% of them have settled in the occupied territories (Drinian, 1990).

In sum, one can readily observe that the treatment of Jews in the Soviet Union and Soviet Jewish emigration are contributing factors to an improvement in Soviet-Israeli relations. The easing of emigration policy in the Soviet Union will surely be welcomed by Israel, but may cause problems for Soviet relations with its other Arab clients. In addition, unless the treatment of Jews in the Soviet Union improves, dialogue between the Soviets and Israel may be hampered.

An interesting component which affects Soviet-Israeli relations is the tie the Soviets have to the PLO. "Soviet leadership may have begun to envision the Palestinian movement as a useful tool for weakening or even overthrowing the...pro-Western regime and replacing it with a government more friendly to the USSR" (Freedman, 1978). Then, in February 1970, Yasir Arafat, who had replaced Ahmed Shikeiry as head of the PLO, was invited to Moscow, but the visit remained unemphasized. Since then, the PLO has been given a few official benefits: an embassy in Moscow and continued expressions of support for self-determination (Economist, 1990).

While Moscow has helped arm, train, and encourage the PLO for years, "the Soviet Union was more a camp

follower of the hard-line, radical anti-American Arab regimes it courted. Its attitude toward the PLO has evolved as a function of its perceived need to align itself with the mainstream of the anti-American coalition in the Arab world" (Rubenstein, 1989). Therefore, while the PLO was granted an increasingly central position by Arab leadership, the Soviet Union never agreed to act as the PLO's protector. Moreover, the Soviet Union was under no obligation whatsoever—moral, legal, or military—to assist the PLO.

The Soviet Union's relationship with the PLO is therefore significant more on a clandestine rather than on an official level. The relationship the Soviet Union has with the PLO leadership can either prove to be a "help or a hindrance" to Soviet foreign policy with Israel. That is, the Soviets may be able to persuade the PLO to come to a compromise; on the other hand, the Soviet ties with the PLO may bring negative connotations to its relationship with Israel.

With the rise of Gorbachev to power in the Soviet Union, a warming trend is present in Soviet relations with Israel. Moscow broke off relations with Israel during the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, and the accession of Gorbachev was required to permit contacts to be renewed. In 1985, Shimon Peres—Israel's Prime Minister at the time—embraced Moscow's proposal for an international peace conference on the Middle East. The Soviet's portion of the agreement would have been to resume normal relations with Israel. A year later, in 1986, the Kremlin requested permission to open a consulate in Tel Aviv. Peres' successor, Yitzhak Shamir, countered this request by demanding "open gates" for Soviet Jews who wished to emigrate in addition to Israel's gaining permission to open their own consular mission in Moscow. However, the Soviets summarily rejected both requests. But, in the summer of 1987, Moscow sent an eight-man consular delegation to Israel in effect to establish a diplomatic presence in that Jewish state. Subsequently, the Soviets granted Israel permission to send its own consular delegation to Moscow (Deming, 1988).

Prior to these exchanges, however, there were indications of a Soviet desire to normalize relations. There were some interesting, if inconclusive, moves toward potential changes in the relationship in 1986. "On August 8, 1986, Israeli and Soviet negotiators met in Helsinki, Finland, for the first significant public official contact since the 1967 break in relations. However, the meeting proved shorter than intended and, apparently, achieved no major breakthroughs" (Reich, 1987). In the following month, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and then Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres met at the UN, the highest level meeting of Soviet and Israeli officials since 1967. This meeting did not result in any concrete accomplishments either, but both of these meetings seemed to reflect both sides' desire to pursue a dialogue and these meetings were followed by further contacts.

The rise of Gorbachev to power marked the improvement in Soviet-Israeli relations. Gorbachev's pursuit of an "open" policy both within his own country and with foreign actors found expression in Soviet relations with Israel. "Gorbachev moved immediately to expand the diplomatic dialogue with Israel, sanctioning informal meetings in Paris and Washington between Soviet and Israeli ambassadors in the summer of 1985 and allowing Poland and Hungary interest sections in Israel" (Duncan, 1990). Gorbachev pursued policies and attitudes

which laid the groundwork for more favorable Soviet-Israeli relations.

These efforts paid off in July 1987 when, as stated earlier, a Soviet consular delegation arrived in Tel Aviv, becoming the first official Soviet delegation to visit Israel since the Six Day War in 1967. The arrival of the delegation was a victory of sorts for Soviet policy as Israel had previously linked such a visit to a reciprocal visit by an Israeli delegation or the resumption of full diplomatic relations. Israel's unconditional agreement to the visit (as well as its subsequent agreement to extend the delegation's stay for an additional three months) probably reflected Peres' optimism about improving relations with Moscow and his desire to use this relationship as well as increased Jewish emigration from the USSR to demonstrate the credibility of his claim to be an advocate for peace in the Israeli cabinet. Hence, it seems clear that both the Soviet Union and Israel are becoming increasingly interested in alleviating previous tensions and improving present relations. In fact, the trust that is being cultivated at the present time between the two countries may facilitate negotiations in the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict, as the Soviet Union possesses contacts with both factions.

Relations between the Soviet Union and Israel have continued to advance. In February 1987, Shevardnadze met Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens in Cairo and the two officials agreed to a meeting of experts to exchange information and evaluate the situation in the Middle East. Both parties met again at the UN in September 1989, where a discussion ensued pertaining to the issue of direct flights for Soviet Jewish emigrants to Israel. The Soviet and Israeli consular delegations were, in fact, thereby engaged in substantive dialogue and were being "used as a channel of political communications" (Legvold, 1989). Furthermore, in October 1989, for the first time in eight years, the Soviet Union refused to vote against Israel's membership in the UN (Duncan, 1990).

Obviously, relations between the Soviet Union and Israel have advanced into a new era. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union still seems to construct their policies with Israel in a manner reflecting their anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic sentiments. These sentiments are best summed up in the personage of Soviet Ambassador to Syria Zotov who argued that there was hope of a serious settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict and that Soviet diplomacy must be constructively engaged in achieving it. However, Zotov went on to state that "the situation was deadlocked because 'rightist Zionist circles' in Israel (e.g. the Likud bloc led by Prime Minister Shamir) dismiss a compromise based on land for peace and security. He maintained that political influence must be applied to these 'rightists' and that the restoration of relations at this time would be premature. Such a restoration, he asserted, should be connected naturally to efforts to stimulate a just peace" (Duncan, 1990). Zotov's position remained that of the Soviet government into 1990. Moscow appeared to postpone extensive diplomatic relations until Tel Aviv provided a reciprocal act; that is, progress toward a legitimate negotiating process in which the USSR was involved.

The negotiations process and the atmosphere of those negotiations would seem to be changing under the foreign policy leadership of Shevardnadze. Shevardnadze took advantage of his meeting in September 1989 with Arens to state that "the restoration of diplomatic relations was not the important question; rather, he said, emphasis should

be put on proceeding with negotiations—either through an international conference or the pursuit of positive elements in other proposals" (Duncan, 1990). Considering the adamant opposition of Israeli Prime Minister Shamir to an international conference or to any sort of direct or indirect negotiations with the PLO, progress in this context would appear to be extremely dubious as do the short-term prospects of a resumption of extensive and close Soviet-Israeli diplomatic relations based on such assumptions of PLO involvement.

The preceding discussion suggests that the Soviets are using the normalization of relations with Israel as a type of pretext for obtaining a stronger voice in the peace-keeping process in the Middle East. The Soviet Union is a superpower far less distant from that region than the United States. "While the Soviet Union's ability to act as a spoiler may have ebbed, it has by no means disappeared. Nor can it be expected that the Soviets will lose interest in the area" (Bergus, 1988). Therefore, there seem to be some indicators, in this era of glasnost, that the Soviets may be reexamining past policies in order to gain more leverage in the Middle East. Hence, at a time when the Soviets seemingly desire to alleviate diplomatic negativities, they are making incremental and tentative moves away from the situation as it had been since the Soviet rupture of diplomatic relations with Israel in 1967.

A resumption of Soviet-Israeli relations is a policy change of major proportions and will involve overcoming serious obstacles on both sides; that is, both countries are committed to third-party alliances (i.e. Israel and the United States, Arabs and the Soviet Union) and Soviet uncertainty about possible domestic repercussions from dealing with Israel (i.e. protests from the Muslim community in the Soviet Union who would object to ties with Israel). However, the resumption of normal relations can have some positive consequences as well; that is, facilitate the Soviet Union's long quest for guiding a multi-lateral comprehensive Middle East peace settlement that might appeal to the Israeli government, enable Israel to represent the interests of Soviet Jews more efficiently, and undermine efforts by the rejectionist Arab states to isolate Israel diplomatically.

Moscow has an obvious interest in better relations with Israel. Estrangement from the strongest single nation in the Middle East has kept the Soviet Union on the diplomatic sidelines there. Hence, rapprochement would enhance Moscow's influence regionwide. The advantages are not concentrated in Soviet hands, however. For Israel there seem to be at least two benefits; that is, Moscow might be more inclined to urge moderation on its "radical" clients, Syria in particular; close ties should also facilitate the immigration of Soviet Jews to Israel in greater numbers—though spokesmen for the 165,000 Soviet emigres in Israel expressed fears that a thaw in relations with the Soviet Union would lead Israel to forego the plight of Soviet Jewry (Deming, 1988).

A great deal of evidence suggests that Gorbachev and his new policies are responsible for Soviet attempts to normalize relations with Israel. Gorbachev became the first General Secretary to actively pursue expanded ties with Tel Aviv and to offer concessions to Israel in order to enhance Moscow's regional flexibility and international credibility. These policies, therefore, are closely tied to Gorbachev's overall designs on the Middle East in general. To accomplish the task of possessing greater influence in that region, Gorbachev has courted Israel and attempted to

restore diplomatic relations. However, while Gorbachev's approach thus far has been both coordinated and flexible, these features do not necessarily assume a restoration of relations but rather promise consistency with other policy initiatives. These policy initiatives or objectives include increased influence in the Middle East. Although reference to Israel's aggressive policies continue, "mentions of Zionism or anti-Semitic provocation in connection with Israel have virtually disappeared from the central press since Gorbachev became General Secretary" (Legvold, 1989). Instead, promises were made by the Soviet government, and were carried out, that significant numbers of Soviet Jews would be allowed to emigrate. However, Gorbachev seems to link emigration problems and relations with Israel to overall policy in the Middle East. During a 1985 press conference in Paris, Gorbachev stated that the issue of relations with Israel would be "settled as soon as it was possible to normalize conditions in the Middle East. For us there will be no objections; there will be no obstacles. We realize that Israel has the right to exist, to its sovereignty, and we understand its security concerns" (Irwin, 1987).

Under Gorbachev, the future of Soviet policy toward Israel appears to be tied to Soviet policy toward the Middle East as a whole. This in itself is a change because "Soviet policy has traditionally emphasized bilateral relations with individual states in the several subregions of the Middle East at the expense of an overall approach to the area" (Irwin, 1987). Hence, Soviet policy has not so much manipulated the Arab-Israeli conflict as it has secured a client in each of the area's subregions. Thus, Moscow's moves toward an opening to Israel represents a new direction in Soviet policy toward Israel and a deliberate effort by Gorbachev to broaden Soviet options in the Middle East.

Much of Soviet policy toward Israel and the thaw in relations between the two countries is a result of a Soviet desire for a voice in the negotiating process in terms of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Moscow has long argued that disunity weakens Arab negotiating leverage with Israel. Under Gorbachev, the Soviets have tried, with some success, to encourage and become the recognized ally of a moderate Arab coalition seeking a peaceful resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Soviets have cultivated relations with Arab states, but, until Gorbachev, have largely ignored Israel which seriously damaged their credibility as negotiator. Relations with Israel were pursued to rectify this situation. In April 1987, Gorbachev asserted that the absence of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel "cannot be considered normal." Gorbachev also stressed that the idea of a military solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict was perceived as questionable and that the conflict could only be resolved by political and diplomatic means which was an implicit rejection of Syria's Assad's efforts to attain strategic equality with Israel (Duncan, 1990).

A normalization with Israel could threaten Soviet ties with its Arab allies in that area. For to restore relations without Israeli concessions on the occupied territories would amount to a breach of Soviet commitment to Syria and others. Even a shift in the Soviet position to support West Bank Palestinian autonomy would arouse Arab suspicion that the Soviet Union had abandoned its commitment to a comprehensive settlement that would involve the return of the Golan Heights and the creation of a Palestinian state. "While Jordan and Egypt would

probably welcome a resumption of Soviet-Israeli relations, as well as a compromise settlement, Syria and the PLO would feel threatened" (Irwin, 1987).

Despite the obvious Soviet desire to have increased influence in the Middle East, some argue that "Gorbachev seems to be no more willing than were his predecessors to risk jeopardizing good relations with prime Arab clients in order to advance the prospect of an Arab-Israeli settlement, witness his kid-gloves treatment of Syrian President Assad. Notwithstanding persisting policy differences over Syria's instigation of Palestinian opposition to Yasir Arafat's leadership of the PLO and Syria's policy in Lebanon, Gorbachev has kept the arms tap open. The continued closeness of the two countries is evident in Gorbachev's promise of additional weapons and acceptance of Assad's invitation to visit Syria; in their mutual condemnation of Israel and call for an independent Palestinian state; in their stated non-acceptance of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty; and in their failure in joint communiques to mention UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 as the basis for future negotiations to achieve a comprehensive settlement" (Rubenstein, 1989).

While it is obvious that the Soviet Union will have to tread carefully in its relations with Israel, having to somehow balance these relations with those it shares with its Arab clients, the Soviet Union will still pursue advanced relations. This is so because the Soviet Union can no longer afford to finance an escalation of arms between Syria and Israel and would much rather encourage a peaceful resolution of the conflict there in order to be able to divert resources to its own trouble areas. Therefore, while careful negotiations will be necessary, the Soviets will be quite willing to take part in those negotiations for the reason mentioned above and because such a move would enhance Soviet respectability and credibility in that region and internationally. Thus, "if the Soviets are to play a constructive role in relations with Israel it must be based on something other than Israel-baiting and must involve pressing for concessions from the Arab side" (Foxman, 1988).

The Soviets, however, do not seem to be ardently pressing for Arab concessions, but are rather advocating an Israeli compromise. An article written in *Izvestiya* in 1987 reiterated once again the Soviet official position that "diplomatic relations" could not be restored without a change in "Tel Aviv's aggressive policy in the Near East." The meeting in Helsinki, it stressed, represented "no more" than "contacts at the working level between consular employees of the two countries' foreign ministries on questions concerning Soviet property in Israel, and also Soviet citizens living permanently in that country" (Irwin, 1987).

Perhaps, then, relations with Israel are not as "normalized" as many would like them to be. That is, the Soviets still seem to be on the Arab side of the fence, although the Soviet Union is supporting the moderates in this case instead of the more radical groups who would be unwilling to make concessions in Israel's case. However, as stated earlier, Moscow is still treading carefully so as not to strain its ties with Arab states. For example, the Soviets having agreed to start direct flights between Moscow and Tel Aviv, is now holding back in the face of Arab anger. Furthermore, on January 29, 1990, the deputy Soviet foreign minister told the head of the Israeli consular delegation in Moscow that the exodus of Soviet Jews

should not be used to dispossess Palestinians (Economist, 1990). The direct flights may not be allowed to begin until Israel agrees to negotiate with the PLO, which could mean never. Even the Soviet's permissiveness in the area of Jewish emigration is not viewed positively by Arab states. "In Arab eyes the new Soviet immigrants to Israel represent a powerful shot of adrenalin into the Zionist enemy's bloodstream. They want President Mikhail Gorbachev to stop the Jews from coming" (Economist, 1990). However, Israel obviously disagrees with this policy which places the Soviet Union in a difficult position. Yitzhak Shamir, Likud Prime Minister, declared that a "big Israel" was needed to absorb "a big immigration" (Economist, 1990). By linking the questions of immigration and territory, Mr. Shamir upset the United States, embarrassed Gorbachev, and may have prevented the influx of Soviet Jewry from gathering momentum.

Nevertheless, negotiations between the Soviet Union and Israel have continued despite the inherent difficulties involved. In fact, a positive atmosphere for the further expansion of political, cultural, and economic relations is present in the international communities' desire for a peaceful resolution in the area and by the Soviet Union's support of moderate factions. Furthermore, commercial contacts have begun to develop and tourist exchanges are taking place (Duncan, 1989). The first indication that the Soviet government was rethinking its policy towards Israel was Izvestiya's publishing on May 12, 1989, of a telegram from Israeli President Chaim Herzog on the occasion on the fortieth anniversary of the Allied victory in Europe (Rubenstein, 1989). In printing the Israeli message on the annual memorandum, Moscow gave rare diplomatic affirmation of Israel's right to exist. By the time that (then) Prime Minister Shimon Peres met Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze at the UN in New York in late October, the Soviet-Israeli dialogue had become the object of intense international scrutiny.

At this point, a brief recap of present Soviet relations with Israel will be helpful in putting the aforementioned information into perspective. In 1985, indications of an immanent Soviet restoration of diplomatic relations with Israel and an easing of restrictions on the emigration of Soviet Jews were heard with increasing frequency from Soviet sources and foreign dignitaries who visited Moscow or dealt with Soviet officials abroad. However, both the summit and the party congress came and went with no change. For several months, there was virtual silence. Then, in early April 1986, the Soviets proposed a meeting in Helsinki to discuss consular affairs. Although nothing came of the one-day session, periodic discussions throughout the year that followed produced a low level breakthrough: in July 1987, a Soviet consular delegation arrived in Israel, the first visit by Soviet diplomats in more than twenty years. The ostensible purposes of this delegation were to survey the property of the Russian Orthodox Church and check on the conditions of the Soviet citizens living in Israel; the actual reasons were more political and far-reaching. In late July 1988, rather than risk the nonrenewal of its delegation's visas, Moscow admitted an unofficial Israeli consular delegation. Since then, each side has granted limited extensions.

There are indications of a gradual thaw in Soviet policy toward Israel. First, contacts between Soviet and Israeli officials are continuing as the game of diplomatic "cat and mouse" continues. Second, there has been an increase in Soviet Jewish emigration. Third, virulent, anti-Zionist,

anti-Semitic, and anti-Israeli propaganda has abated. Finally, the gradual improvement in Polish and Hungarian relations with Israel, whose purpose is eventual diplomatic normalization, could have taken place at that time only with Moscow's approval. All of the preceding suggests that Gorbachev wants an international conference, if only to establish the Soviet Union's equality with the United States in the Arab-Israeli arena.

Yet, as stated earlier, a balanced policy toward the Middle East is being attempted by the Soviet Union. For example, Shevardnadze told Israeli Minister of Science and Technology Ezer Weizman that "the status of the Soviet and Israeli 'consular groups' would be 'regulated.' This explicit recognition of consular status constituted an incremental step towards official diplomatic relations. The Soviets simultaneously upgraded the PLO mission in Moscow to embassy status as they continued efforts to maintain a balanced position" (Duncan, 1990). In sum, then, the Soviet Union has long wanted to be accepted into the great power game of negotiating peace in the Middle East. The Israelis, once aloof, now appear to be more approachable. They want to encourage the emigration of Soviet Jews—their "ascent" to the Jewish homeland. The two countries now have an indirect means of diplomacy, and visits have been paid to Moscow by Israel's agriculture minister, Mr. Avraham Katz-Oz, and by the more redoubtable science minister, Mr. Ezer Weizman. In addition, independent-minded Estonia and Georgia have sent cultural delegations on reconnaissance to Israel.

Relations between the Soviet Union and Israel can be characterized as tentative but desirable. The Soviets face considerable difficulties in their attempts to normalize relations with Israel both internationally and domestically. The threat which Soviet relations with Israel poses to the Arab states in the Middle East is considerable. Moscow will be forced to employ considerable finesse in order to maintain diplomatic relations with her Arab clients while simultaneously pursuing relations with Israel, which is a "dirty word" in most Arab states. Domestically, a normalization of relations with Israel may cause difficulties for the Soviet Union in terms of its Muslim population. The international Muslim community has an extraordinary degree of unity. Hence, restoration of ties with Israel, anathema to most Muslims, could spark protests from the Soviet Union's Islamic population.

Nevertheless, the Soviet Union will eventually normalize relations with averting any sort of military escalation involving the Soviet Union vis a vis the United States.

Taking into consideration the events in the Persian Gulf, advances in diplomatic relations may be obstructed for a time, but will probably resume after the conflict there is resolved. The domestic situation within the Soviet Union is more precarious in this context, however. That is, if Gorbachev is overthrown or becomes considerably more conservative in his outlook, relations with Israel will be seriously endangered. Finally, unless the Soviet leadership is able to reconcile its obligations to individual clients using multi-lateral diplomacy and commitments to regional goals, its Middle East policy will be hostage to the goals and behavior of its individual clients.

In conclusion, no country, least of all a superpower such as the Soviet Union, can disregard the constraints and requirements of a changing international environment, one less and less amenable to old formulas and presumptions. In the Soviet case, intellectuals and various members of the foreign policy establishment have known this for some

time, and over the last decade they have slowly created the foundation of a substantially different Soviet approach to international politics. When all these influences converge, especially in the presence of a leader like Gorbachev, great, even revolutionary, departures come more naturally. The international community can only hope that a continuance of Gorbachev's "new thinking" will occur rather than a reversal of this attitude.

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Reflection of the Psalms--Whitman's Invitation

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Whitman Seminar

Mary Stark

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Assignment: Develop an approach that illuminates *Leaves of Grass* and sustain a discussion about your reading.

I can still hear my mother's defense of a dedicated but very average and traditional organist in our church: "She so often plays the old, familiar hymns—they mean so much to me. I can think of all the words of the hymns as she's playing." I have discovered that there is truth behind my mother's statement, not just as it applies to music but to literature as well. As exciting and stimulating as something "new" might be, the familiar and recognizable is often more comfortable and appealing. But I have found that, even when I am unfamiliar with a particular work, I am especially drawn in when, as I read, I am reminded of other works with which I am more intimate. This has been true in my encounter with Whitman. I have often found myself making connections with the Bible: "This sounds like Jesus' advice to the rich young ruler," or "That sounds like a verse from Proverbs." When I make these connections, I begin to look more closely at the passage to make comparisons. I am compelled to interact with Whitman's words. I can't ignore the text—he has drawn me in just as he engages other readers with this invitation:

I myself but write one or two indicative words
for the future,
I but advance a moment only to wheel and hurry
back in the darkness.
I am a man who, sauntering along without fully
stopping, turns a casual look upon you and
then averts his face,
Leaving it to you to prove and define it,
Expecting the main things from you.
("Poets to Come" 1881, 14)

As I fling the "gossamer thread" and hope it catches somewhere ("Noiseless Patient Spider" 1881, 450, In.10), I realize I am not the first to discover the connections between Whitman and the Bible. In writing about Whitman's extensive works, several critics have dealt with the influence of the Bible on the style and ideas expressed by this poet of body and soul. Many images and references can be traced to the New Testament and the "Christ-drama" (Allen, *Biblical Echoes* 302). In addition, structural patterns of Hebraic poetry provide a form for Whitman's expression of pantheism (Allen, *Handbook* 388). Much of that structure is found in the Psalms of the

Old Testament. But structure is not the only element of the Psalms utilized by Whitman. He presents similar themes and imagery as well. One work in particular stands out to me as it demonstrates Whitman's use of the conventions of the Psalms—"Prayer of Columbus." For the experienced reader of the Psalms, a careful (or even hasty) reading of "Prayer of Columbus" (Leaves 1881, 421) immediately suggests or, perhaps more accurately, heralds the influence of the Psalms in theme, structure, and imagery.

Whitman's conformity to the conventions of this form of Hebraic poetry enables him to represent his reality with greater depth of meaning for the reader. Use of religious literary conventions, especially those found in the Bible, would serve to strike a chord in the American people who were grounded in and committed to the Biblical tradition.¹ His awareness of the religious roots of his audience allowed him to involve the reader of his day to the extent that he or she could not remain detached or indifferent (Crawley 47). And the technique is still working—I am proof of that.

In most instances, Whitman's use of the Bible is subtle. Except for obvious references to Christ and related images, Whitman's hints of Biblical structure, theme, and imagery go unnoticed by the reader who is unfamiliar with the Bible. In fact, Whitman may not have been intentional in all his references to Biblical style. In "Prayer of Columbus," however, the similarities are so striking that it would seem he was very intentional in drawing his style from the Psalms. Whatever his intentions, his technique invited me to engage with the text.

"Prayer of Columbus" resembles most closely a Psalm of Lament.² It shares many features with Psalms 42 and 43, actually a single psalm, according to most scholars. (Psalms 42 and 43 can be found in Appendix A.) In both the Psalm, described as an individual lament, and Whitman's poem, there is a distinction between lament and prayer. Lament is described by Craigie in his study of the Psalms as an internal dialogue which expresses sorrow and mourning (328). Its differentiation from prayer may be a key to the division of what was originally one psalm into Psalms 42 and 43 (Craigie 325). Prayer moves from the internal dialogue of lament to an external dialogue with God. In Psalm 42, the psalmist laments his circumstances; in Psalm 43, he turns to God in prayer. This same progression is seen in "Prayer of Columbus." The first seven stanzas bewail the persona's condition and describe his circumstances, past and present. Then, in the eighth stanza, he turns to God and includes him in the dialogue. Like the psalmist, Whitman's persona thanks God for sending light. That light can bring him into God's presence (Craigie 328). As prayer enables praise (Craigie 329), the despair begins to disappear and deliverance is possible.

The progression from lament to prayer relates closely to the themes of both the Psalms of Lament and "Prayer of Columbus."³ The lament itself provides a description of the physical and psychological woes of the persona. Psalms 42 and 43 provide examples of these woes: "My tears have been my meat day and night..." (42:3); "O my God, my soul is cast down within me" (42:6); "As with a sword in my bones, mine enemies reproach me" (42:10). Lines 1-9 of "Prayer of Columbus" also portray the persona in both his physical and mental state. He is "Sore, stiff with many toils, sicken'd and nigh to death / ...venting a heavy heart." His days are filled with woe, and he hopes he "may not live another day." In such a state, there is no rest, and

he "cannot eat or drink or sleep."

The Psalmist moves on to express dismay or confusion that he is being tested by God: "Why hast thou forgotten me?" (42:9); "Why dost thou cast me off?" (43:2). The Psalmist pours out his despair and his lack of confidence, often questioning God's actions and motives. The persona of "Prayer of Columbus" also elaborates on his dismay and confusion. All he has accomplished in his lifetime has been done for God, yet his end is disastrous. He can only guess at the results of his work (In. 59), and he is perplexed (In. 60). The once-confident persona is now apprehensive and doubtful.

This loss of confidence leads Columbus to ask questions as he again reflects the technique of the psalmist. "Is it the prophet's thought I speak, or am I raving? / What do I know of life? what of myself?" (lines 56-57). This brings to mind verse 9 of Psalm 42 as the psalmist asks, "Why hast thou forgotten me? why go I mourning because of the oppression of the enemy?" or the familiar refrain, "Why art thou cast down, O my soul? and why art thou disquieted in me?" (Ps. 42:5, 11; Ps. 43:5). But then the psalmist calls on God and surrenders to Him: "Then will I go unto the altar of God..." (43:4). Columbus also gives up control of his life as he says, "I yield my ships to thee...I will cling fast to Thee, O God..." (lines 50 and 54). Once surrender and acceptance take place, confidence is restored. The psalmist declares, "Yet the Lord will command his lovingkindness in the daytime, and in the night his song shall be with me..." (42:8). "Prayer of Columbus" ends on that same note of confidence:

And these things I see suddenly, what mean they?
As if some miracle, some hand divine unseal'd
my eyes,
Shadowy vast shapes smile through the air and
sky,
And on the distant wave sail countess ships,
And anthems in new tongues I hear saluting me.
(lines 62-66)

The gradual progression from dismay to confidence through the stanzas is related not only to theme but also to structure, another area of similarity Whitman's poem shares with the Psalms. With each succeeding stanza in "Prayer of Columbus," the persona moves on to a slightly different topic. The pause implied by the division between stanzas serves to distinguish the theme of one from another. For example, the first stanza describes Columbus's physical and emotional condition; stanza two states that he cannot go on without God; stanza three affirms the persona's belief that God knows all that he has done, that he has been faithful and has accepted everything as coming from God. Each stanza develops the theme of the poem a little further. While the use of stanzas is not a form "Prayer of Columbus" shares only with the Psalms, the progression of themes through those divisions is similar in both texts.

One of the basic structures within the Psalms, which Whitman reflects in his work, is parallelism: the same idea is expressed more than once in two or more parallel clauses. The words are different but the ideas are the same.⁴ Psalm 42:4 provides an example of parallelism:

...for I had gone with the multitude,
I went with them to the house of God,
with the voice of joy and praise,
with a multitude that kept holyday.

The first line states an idea; each succeeding line expresses the same thought in different words. This "rhythm of sense" (Gunn 32) found in many of the Psalms is also present in Whitman's poem of lament.⁵ Like the Hebrew poet, Whitman uses the parallel structure to give emphasis to his emotions. He repeats ideas in different words to provide more detail, deeper meaning. Lines 22-25 provide an example of his parallelism. The first line expresses the idea he wishes to convey (#) and is followed by three parallel lines (=) which elaborate on that original thought, providing detail and meaning for the reader:

All my emprises have been fill'd with Thee,
= My speculations, plans, begun and carried on
in thoughts of Thee,
= Sailing the deep or journeying the land for
Thee;
= Intentions, purports, aspirations mine, leaving
results to Thee.

Within the system of parallel structure Pasquale Jannacone explains Whitman's method of elaboration. The first line of a group provides a proposition or thesis (#). The following lines then become a "parallelistic unfolding" (=) of that proposition (80). There are examples of this method in "Prayer of Columbus," lines 9-12:

I cannot rest O God...
Til I put forth myself, my prayer, once more
to Thee,
= Breathe, bathe myself once more in Thee,
commune with Thee,
= Report myself once more to thee.

Whitman's proposition or thesis is that the persona cannot rest until he makes contact with God. The following lines provide details about that contact. Another example is found in lines 31-33:

By me and these the work so far accomplish'd,
= By me earth's elder cloy'd and stifled lands
uncloy'd, unloos'd,
= By me the hemispheres rounded and tied, the
unknown to the known.

The first line speaks of the work completed by the persona. The next two lines describe that work. As with many of the Psalms, the poetry of Whitman could be reduced to prose by removing the parallel lines (Moulton 47). The resulting prose from stanzas 2-7 of "Prayer of Columbus" might look like this:

I am too full of woe!...Thou knowest my years
entire, my life...All my emprises have been filled
with thee...O I am sure they really came from
Thee...By me and these the work so far
accomplish'd...The end I know not, it is all in
thee.

But Whitman, like the Psalmist, is seeking to express very

deep emotions. He uses repetition to bring those feelings to the foreground. With each line of parallelism, particularly in lines 9-12, Whitman intensifies the emotion of the poem by providing descriptive details.

Another minor aspect of Whitman's structure of "Prayer of Columbus" is his use of the pronoun "Thee" when he refers to God. The King James English automatically brings to my mind the attitude of reverence since I first read and heard the Psalms in the King James Version of the Bible. That, of course, was the version familiar to the readers Whitman sought to influence. If he were to succeed at all in hinting at the Scriptures in his "New Bible," the formal language was a must. Even with all the other parallels to the Psalms in "Prayer of Columbus," if Whitman had not used "Thee" to refer to God, I might, at least in the beginning, have missed the connection.

Another element of the Psalms reflected in "Prayer of Columbus" is the imagery. The images in the Psalms serve to heighten the feelings expressed by the psalmist and to aid the reader or hearer in feeling the same emotion. Nature is an important source which provides numerous pictures to convey sickness or health, joy or woe, peace or unrest, despair or confidence. Psalms 42 and 43, for example, speak of the thirsty "hart" (42:1), "waves" and "billows" (42:7), a "rock" (42:9), and "light" (43:3). The purity of nature provides a vehicle for the psalmist to vent his unbridled emotions. Many of Whitman's images come from nature as well—they add depth to the emotions he is trying to convey. He is "Pent by the sea and dark rebellious brows" (In. 3); "...the waves buffet me" (In. 54). Those lines, along with line 24 where he refers to the "deep" which the persona has sailed, correspond to Psalm 42:7: "Deep calleth unto deep at the noise of the waterspouts: all thy waves and thy billows are gone over me." The sea has brought each persona, in the psalm and "Prayer of Columbus," to a state of helplessness. The clouds of grief are "already closing in upon me" (In. 48).

Like the psalmist, Whitman uses images that relate to traditional Old Testament worship—the altar and anthems. Such imagery is appropriate because Whitman's message is a spiritual one. But, on another level, his use of familiar elements of worship, like all his imagery, serves to set the stage for reader engagement. Once again, it worked for me.

With the shadow of the Psalms—their imagery, structure, and theme—in the background, or rather, because of that shadow in the background, I became involved with the text of "Prayer of Columbus." I could have stopped with meditating on the Psalms, but Whitman's invitation carried me further. His poem was imbued with new meaning from its religious and historical antecedents. It was like digging into his compost heap and discovering the living organisms—the rich, fertile meaning—in the layers underneath.

The layers of meaning awaiting discovery by the reader can be uncovered by looking at the different personae represented in "Prayer of Columbus." But the reader of the Psalms can uncover various personae, too. In many cases, the poet who composed a psalm did so to provide a vehicle for someone else to use in expressing emotions. There is a difference between the poet and the "I" who prays in the psalm (Mowinckel II.133). The psalmist possessed the essential ability to empathize with another human being. He entered into the situation, the feelings, and the needs of the person for whom he composed the

psalm. That, however, does not detract from the personal element of the Psalms. They were created for use in situations common to everyone. The psalmist had experienced despair and apparent isolation from God. His hopes had been dashed and his confidence destroyed. But he, too, had found a ray of hope after pouring out his heart to God. He was able to express his own personal piety and, at the same time, give voice to the thoughts and feelings of everyone else. The universal emotions spoke for the nation of Israel as well, the "corporate personality" (Mowinckel II. 134-136). These attributes of the psalmist parallel those characteristics Whitman applies to himself. In his introduction to the 1855 edition of *Leaves of Grass* Cowley states that Whitman "...had originally been writing about a not-myself, a representative figure..." (xxxii). In that first edition, Whitman presents himself as "an American, one of the roughs, a kosmos" (48, In. 499). He speaks "for all Americans and indeed for all humanity" (Cowley xxxiii). "Song of Myself" contains numerous examples of his understanding and empathy in life's circumstances, but they are summed up in line 833: "All these I feel or am" (1855, 62). Whitman represents Americans, speaks for them as individuals and as a nation; but he also speaks for himself.

These various personae surface in "Prayer of Columbus." At one level of interpretation, the prayer has been written for Columbus. Though far removed from the explorer in time and location, Whitman has put himself in Columbus' situation and has tried to feel what he must have felt. Whitman was aided by Washington Irving's *Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* in empathizing with the explorer (Blodgett and Bradley, 422-23n). Columbus's "season of darkness" descended on him with his imprisonment after his third voyage, Queen Isabella's death, King Ferdinand's neglect, his own poverty, and physical afflictions (Blodgett and Bradley, 422n). Whitman included this preface to the poem:

It was near the close of his indomitable and pious life—on his last voyage, when nearly 70 years of age—that Columbus, to save his two remaining ships from foundering in the Carribean Sea in a terrible storm, had to run them ashore on the island of Jamaica—where, laid up for a long and miserable year—1503—he was taken very sick, had several relapses, his men revolted, and death seemed daily imminent; though he was eventually rescued, and sent home to Spain to die, unrecognized, neglected and in want... (qtd in Allen, Solitary Singer 458)

Although Whitman is listing facts about Columbus, his ability to empathize, like the psalmist, comes through in "Prayer of Columbus." He takes the suffering Columbus whom he describes as "very sick," and whose "death...[was] imminent" and portrays him as a "batter'd, wreck'd old man...venting a heavy heart...full of woe" (lines 1, 5, 7).

As the reader, I can peel back, or dig through, another layer of meaning when I consider Whitman the poet as the persona. His circumstances provide a deeper insight into the feelings he expresses. Like Columbus, he was in poor physical condition, having suffered a paralytic stroke the year before the poem was written. Four months after his stroke, his mother, perhaps the most important person in his life, died. Those dismaying circumstances were further

complicated by the fact that, having set out with the lofty goal of becoming the American poet, Whitman was sadly disappointed with the lack of positive response to his work—he felt neglected just as Columbus had (Blodgett and Bradley, 421n). By Whitman's own admission, he put a "sort of autobiographical dash" in the poem (Miller, *Corr.* II, 272). Mrs. Anne Gilchrist, a Whitman admirer, was more explicit in her identification of Whitman with Columbus: "You too have sailed over stormy seas to your goal—surrounded with mocking disbelievers—you too have paid the great price of health—our Columbus" (qtd. in Allen, Whitman 149).

At a third level of interpretation, the persona is American after the Civil War. Whitman's beloved nation had attempted to follow a proper course in preserving the Union and abolishing slavery. The nation struggled to reach those goals. America could be compared to Israel, the nation of the Psalms. The people of Israel, as a corporate personality, felt that God had abandoned them, particularly in the exile from their homeland. They found it difficult to understand that God had removed himself so completely from his chosen people. Even after the return to Israel from exile, circumstances were difficult for the people. The nation was not what it had been. Whitman felt that the states of his beloved America, after the terrible ordeal of the Civil War, should have come together as one and accomplished great things. Instead, the country was torn apart, "batter'd, wreck'd" (In. 1), producing nothing of value. Allen quotes Whitman as saying:

....Society, in these States, is canker'd, crude, superstitious and rotten...Never was there, perhaps, more hollowness at heart than at present...our New World democracy...[despite its] materialistic development...is, so far, an almost complete failure in its social aspects... (Solitary Singer 389-390)

The "canker'd, crude" society was suffering from the confusion of reconstruction. Scalawags were still getting into office (Allen, Solitary Singer 390). Whitman's dream of equality had not been realized. His "Prayer of Columbus," placed after the Civil War poems, reflects a test of the American idealism Whitman portrays in "Song of Myself" and other earlier poems. This poem embodies the spirit of the Psalms that lament the woes of the nation.

When I read a psalm considering only the persona of the individual whose feelings the psalmist was expressing, I find meaning there. When I add the persona of the author himself, the meaning is broadened. When I read the psalm in the context of its application to the nation, there is still another layer of meaning. The same is true of Whitman's "Prayer of Columbus." If Columbus is speaking, I take very literally lines 1 and 2, for example, which portray him as "A batter'd, wreck'd old man, / Thrown on this savage shore, far, far from home." In his efforts toward discovery, Columbus was nearly defeated by the sea which earlier offered such great promise. Then the Whitman persona leads me to a slightly different interpretation which adds meaning to the text. He was not involved in an actual shipwreck far from home, but his body has been "batter'd" and "wrecked" by the stroke, and he feels an isolation from his readers that is similar to the isolation that comes from being far from home in a hostile place. Add to that the meaning conveyed by those same lines when the persona becomes America. America has been

bruised and beaten by the horrors of the Civil War and has "landed" in unfamiliar territory with brutal consequences. I can read nearly every line of the poem within those broadening contexts. It has become a familiar way of reading because I have used the same method with the Psalms.

In the process of uncovering layers of meaning in "Prayer of Columbus," I might have determined that Whitman's reflection of the Psalms indicates that, in a time of trouble, Whitman reverted to the traditional concept of religion. This would be a comfortable interpretation for me to adopt. Whitman and I would share a common belief—we could be comrades in that sense. But that interpretation is unlikely. Based on my readings of other poems in *Leaves of Grass*, I recognize that the "newer better worlds" he speaks of in line 60 are, for Whitman, made up of the best of the traditional Judeo-Christian religion and all religions of the world. In "Song of Myself" Whitman refers to the gods who help make up his new religion:

Taking myself the exact dimensions of Jehovah
and laying them away,
Lithographing Kronos and Zeus his son, and
Hercules his grandson,
Buying drafts of Osiris and Isis and Belus and
Brahma and Adonai,
In my portfolio placing Manito loose, and Allah
on a leaf, and the crucifix engraved,
With Odin, and the hideous-faced Mexitli, and
all idols and images,
Honestly taking them all for what they are
worth, and not a cent more...
(lines 1023-1028)

This combination will create a new religion, a "new world." There will be equality because divinity lies within every person:

Counseling every man and woman to become the
fortress, the lord and sovereign, of himself or
herself,
To grow through infinite time finally to be a
supreme God himself or herself,
Acknowledging none greater, now or after death,
than himself or herself.
("While the Schools" 1881, 669, lines 6-8)

And the "anthems" of line 66 of "Prayer of Columbus" are going to be "in new tongues"—no traditional language to proclaim the new religion. And then, too, those anthems will be saluting Whitman (line 66); perhaps they will pay tribute to the divinity in Whitman, but they will not salute the Biblical God: "And nothing, not God, is greater to one than one's-self is" ("Song of Myself" 1855, 82, In. 1264).

But I am not disappointed. Whitman's effective reflection of the Psalms drew me in, and I made meaning of his "Prayer of Columbus." His allusions to the familiar and comfortable poetry of the Bible captured my attention. As Whitman compelled me to engage with the text, he lured me out of my comfort to discover a new interpretation. In my case, he accomplished his goal as stated in "A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads":

But I set out with the intention also of indicating or hinting some point-characteristics which I since see...were bases and object-urgings toward those "Leaves" from the first. The word I myself put primarily for the description of them as they stand at last, is the word Suggestiveness. I round and finish little, if anything; and could not, consistently with my scheme. The reader will always have his or her part to do, just as much as I have had mine. I seek less to state or display any theme or thought, and more to bring you, reader, into the atmosphere of the theme or thought—there to pursue your own flight. (1881, 570, lines 314-322)

His "Suggestiveness" of the Psalms is like the suggestion made to my mother by the organist as she played familiar hymn tunes. My mother got no further than the comfort and meaning of the words which accompanied the music. I, on the other hand, have discovered new meaning in Whitman's "Prayer." I have just landed from pursuing my own flight. Soon I will take off again.

Notes

¹The Psalms have been labelled as the "Bible in Miniature." They contain a distillation of the thought and religion found in the Old Testament and they are quoted extensively in the New Testament (Gunn 23-24). The collection developed over a long period of time, beginning as single poems. Barth, in *Introduction to the Psalms*, suggests that the development of this Old Testament book was like that of a river: small springs and streams feed the brooks and many brooks and small rivers merge with the wide river that finally flows into the sea. This analogy suggests that the composition of the Psalms involved all of Israel (2-3). Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* can also be termed a "Bible in Miniature." He was, in fact, attempting to author a new bible, a distillation of the essence of his new religion. His final edition, like the Psalms, developed over many years. Whitman himself modified *Leaves of Grass* many times, adding and subtracting and moving individual poems within the work. He referred often to the merging of brooks and streams. His work, like the Psalms, "involves" all of America—the people of America provided the foundation for his poems, and, of course, he wants all his readers to be engaged with his poems.

The Psalms are primarily a human creation produced within a religious context. Composed in poetical form, they consist of reflections upon and response to God's manifestations of himself. They also express the knowledge of God based on Israel's covenant relationship with Him. These poems reflect a popular theology which results from that relationship, offering a theology for all to use (Craigie 39-40). Many of these qualities parallel those of *Leaves of Grass*. Whitman's poems are a human creation created in a religious context, the context of a new religion. Whitman reflects upon and responds to the divinity that is in all people, a belief that he declares in his 1855 Preface (15) and "Song of Myself" (83, In. 1274). The theology he espouses is certainly a popular theology. He was creating a new religion for all people which would include the equality and divinity of all.

An alluring characteristic of the Psalms is that they are made up of a "profusion of literary categories" (Barth 15).

Three main categories comprise those Psalms within the Psalter: the Royal Psalms, Psalms of the Community, and Psalms for Individuals. The variety of mood, subject, and occasion is surprising, but it gives the collection a universal or catholic nature and appeal (Driver 368). *Leaves of Grass* reflects primarily the Psalms of the Community and Psalms for Individuals. The Royal Psalms do not coincide quite as closely with Whitman's democratic ideal. His work does, however, share with the Psalms a variety of subject and mood as well as a universal nature.

²These Psalms, perhaps with a greater depth than any others, express the emotions of the soul in relation to God—gratitude, resistance, trust, penitence, obedience, and seasons of darkness (Gunn 53-65). The laments reflecting the psalmist's season of darkness, in particular, represent the real and natural reactions of the Psalmist to the experience of evil and pain (Craigie 41). These lamentations demonstrate the fact that people of faith are not exempt from depression; in fact, the depression experienced by those with little faith is insignificant when compared to the darkness encountered by men of deep faith (Gunn 65). Deep depression was often a result of the changes of life and "no quick and easy remedy" existed (Gunn 66). The depression expressed by Whitman in "Prayer of Columbus" parallels that of the psalmist who is experiencing a "season of darkness."

³Whitman shows this same progression from sadness and uncertainty to renewed confidence and optimism in other works such as "As I Ebb'd with the Ocean of Life" (1881, 254). While he expresses humility and uncertainty in section 2, his optimism returns in section 4: "Ebb, ocean of life, (the flow will return)" (255, In. 51).

⁴There are four kinds of parallelism according to most scholars of Hebrew poetic structure: 1) synonymous, in which the second line enforces the thought of the first by repeating it in a different form; 2) antithetic, in which the thought of the first line is emphasized or confirmed by a contrasting thought in the second line; 3) synthetic, which is merely a parallelism of form, often used to state comparison, reason, consequence, or motive; and 4) climactic, in which the first line is complete in itself and the second line takes words from the first and completes them (Driver 362-363).

⁵The parallel structure found in the Psalms is more prevalent in other poems by Whitman, such as "Song of Myself," than it is in "Prayer of Columbus."

APPENDIX A: Psalms 42 and 43

- 42: 1 As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O god.
2 My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God: when shall I come and appear before God?
3 My tears have been my meat day and night, while they continually say unto me, Where is thy God?
4 When I remember these things, I pour out my soul in me: for I had gone with the multitude, I went with them to the house of God, with the voice of joy and praise, with a multitude that kept holyday.
5 Why art thou cast down, O my soul? and why art thou disquieted in me? hope thou in God: for I shall yet praise him for the help of his countenance.

- 6 O my God, my soul is cast down within me: therefore will I remember thee from the land of Jordan, and of the Hermonites, from the hill Mizar.
7 Deep calleth unto deep at the noise of thy waterspouts: all they waves and thy billows are gone over me.
8 Yet the Lord will command his lovingkindness in the daytime, and in the night his song shall be with me, and my prayer unto the God of my life.
9 I will say unto God my rock, Why hast thou forgotten me? why go I mourning because of the oppression of the enemy?
10 As with a sword in my bones, mine enemies reproach me; while they say daily unto me, Where is thy God?
11 Why art thou cast down, O my soul? and why art thou disquieted within me? hope thou in God: for I shall yet praise him, who is the health of my countenance, and my God.
43: 1 Judge me, O God, and plead my cause against an ungodly nation: O deliver me from the deceitful and unjust man.
2 For thou art the God of my strength: why dost thou cast me off? Why go I mourning because of the oppression of the enemy?
3 O send out thy light and thy truth: let them lead me; let them ring me unto thy holy hill, and to thy tabernacles.
4 Then will I go unto the altar of God, unto God my exceeding joy: yea, upon the harp will I praise thee, O God my God.
—from The Bible, King James Version

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Roman Persecution of the Early Christians

By Brad Holst

Greek and Roman History
Tom Kopacek

Assignment: Write a paper which in some way addresses the issue of the Roman persecution of the early Christians in the period before Constantine. Use the primary and secondary source material in your Kajan anthology, Robert Walker's discussion in his volume, **The Christians as the Romans Saw Them**, and whatever other primary and secondary sources you find relevant.

As the Roman Empire evolved, it extended its influence over vast areas of land and multifarious cultures. Considering the diversity of her constituents, the five century pre-eminence of Rome, in the Mediterranean and beyond, must be recognized as a truly incredible political accomplishment. It has long been acknowledged that the tremendous success which the Romans experienced in holding together an empire consisting of such varied peoples was in great part due to their policy of tolerance towards the 'eccentricities' of their many subjects. From Spain to Armenia, Gaul to Egypt, the subjects of the Roman state were allowed to think and act as they wished—so long as they respected the ultimate sovereignty of the Romans. In other words, the Romans made concessions, but not in the sphere of political power.

Working from the general hypothesis of tolerance, then, many have wondered just why it was that Christians were singled out in the early stages of the Church's development (first 150 years of the common era for this paper) and subjected to Roman persecution. Admittedly, the persecutions of this early stage in the history of Christianity were far from systematic and in no way could be termed pogroms; however, when one considers that in the early second century, "the total number of Christians within the empire was probably less than fifty thousand, an infinitesimal number in a society comprising sixty million" (Wilken, 30), it seems fairly obvious that the Romans must have had some specific rationale for acting at all against such a minute segment of Roman society. The objective of this analysis, therefore, is to show not that the Romans attempted to slow the growth of the early Christian movement, for that is beyond question, but rather that Rome was justified politically in doing so. The extant sources indicate that the early Christian Church—a rapidly expanding grass-roots movement which cut across cultural and national boundaries—was indeed a threat to the political stability of the Roman state.

The followers of Jesus were, in the earliest stages of Christian history, primarily Jewish. Christianity was, indeed, a reform movement from within Judaism which had not disregarded Jewish scripture and symbol but had

rather reinterpreted them. Some of the same themes (i.e. messianism) are encountered in both the Christian and Jewish movements of the Early Roman Empire. Yet the Jews and Christians were at a very early stage perceived as distinct groups by the Romans. One question which must be addressed, then, is: on what was this differing perception (and the treatment which derived from it) based?

Early Christianity had its roots, primarily, in the words and actions of Jesus and Paul. Which of these was the true founder of Christianity remains a topic of debate, but regardless of what side one comes down on, it is clear that Christianity was butting heads with the Romans from its inception. Both Jesus and Paul had overt confrontations with the Romans and were ultimately removed from the public sphere by an act of Rome. Roman sentiments towards Christianity might, therefore, be traced back to these individuals. It might be helpful, then, to begin by gleaning what one can from the Biblical documents about the historical Jesus.

Jesus seems to have been a lower middle class Jew who tended to spend much time with and display great compassion for the lower classes in first century Palestine. Of possible importance for this analysis is the observation that the boundaries of this group which Jesus chose to associate with were extended beyond the traditional Jewish boundaries of family ("who is my mother...") and even nation (Samaritan woman). Furthermore, Jesus' message revolved around an imminent theme which he often referred to as the "kingdom of God"—a concept which appears to have quite revolutionary connotations (i.e. the last will be first and the first last). What one encounters here is a man who apparently identified quite closely with the populous, and vice-versa. No wonder people sought to make him into the Messiah. And no wonder the Romans executed him in a manner reserved for political offenses. Jesus obviously did, if nothing else, offend the Jewish leaders, thereby disturbing the delicate religio-political balance which the Romans were endeavoring to preserve in chronically troublesome Palestine. The Romans had practical political reasons for wanting Jesus dead.

In trying to assess Paul's relationship to the Romans, one must look to the account of his career as found in the Acts of the Apostles. Here one encounters a driven arguer who seems to offend wherever he goes—Greeks in Philippi and Athens, Jews in Thessalonica and Corinth, etc. Implicit in the previous sentence, furthermore, is possibly the most offensive aspect of Paul's (if not the whole Christian movement's) character. Paul strove to proselytize not only Jews but Gentiles as well. The boundary of mutual respect and religious toleration, fundamental to the Roman state, was transgressed when Paul preached "Christ crucified" indiscriminately to the various constituents of the Roman empire. Paul, then, via his confrontational conversion tactics, was also a challenge to the perpetuation of the Pax Romana. He too, therefore, was of necessity effectively removed from the scene by the Romans.

The earliest figures in the rise of Christianity, it seems, had already piled up two strikes for the movement in its relationship with Rome. These must not be disregarded; however, one must still examine the early Christian communities themselves in order to discover what in them was possibly offensive to Rome. For despite the value of the precedents of Jesus and Paul in helping one to understand early Christianity vis-a-vis Rome, history indicates that, in ruling the provinces, the Romans tended

to address each case individually and in a very pragmatic fashion. The object was to preserve the peace. In other words, it does not seem that any sort of 'witch hunt' was instigated, at least at this time, against the Christians. Each instance was handled separately. The source for analyzing the Roman perception of Christians will mainly be Pliny's correspondence with Trajan concerning the Christians he encountered in Pontus early in the second century.

"In his letter to the emperor Trajan, Pliny used two terms to characterize the Christians, 'superstition' (superstitio) and 'political club' (hetaeria)" (Wilken, 32). The first, superstition, might be seen as primarily as a term of condescension. The Romans were traditionally a people who prided themselves on their religion. In the words of Polybius (ca. 150 B.C.), "the quality in which the Roman commonwealth is most distinctly superior is, in my opinion, the nature of their religious convictions" (quoted from Frend, 77). Most foreign ideas concerning religion were termed superstition and thought inferior by the Romans. Christianity was, then, in the eyes of the Romans, undeniably a superstition. The mere fact that the Christians were different, however, does not seem sufficient reason for any direct persecutions of these individuals. The fact that they scorned and criticized the Gods of others (in the spirit of Paul) may have provided some justification in the eyes of Rome for intervening in an attempt to calm this sect down; however, if this was the only reason, surely the exclusiveness of the Jews would have surely been rewarded with persecution as well. It follows from the fact that Trajan instructed Pliny not to seek the Christians out in order to punish them further that it was not on the basis of superstition alone that the Romans found offense with Christianity.

Of greater import to this investigation, perhaps, is the understanding that the Romans had of the tie between the state religion (leader cult and Roman deities) and imperial stability. This relationship is conveyed quite clearly in a statement which Dio Cassius put in the mouth of Maecenas, a contemporary of Augustus: "Those who attempt to distort our religion with strange rites you should abhor and punish not merely for the sake of the gods (for if a man despises these he will not pay honour to any other being), but because such men by bringing in new divinities in the place of old, persuade many to adopt foreign practices from which spring up conspiracies, factions and cabals which are not profitable to monarchy. Do not therefore permit anyone to be an atheist or a sorcerer." The spread of superstitions had political ramifications for the empire. It was true that the Romans tolerated other forms of religiosity in the empire, but only as long as they were clearly no challenge to the state religion which served the political function of reconciling the diversity of East and West under Roman rule.

The terms *superstitio* and *hetaeria*, as applied to the early Christian communities, henceforth begin to overlap. A group which adhered to a superstition, and furthermore, challenged the sovereignty of Rome in its practice of that superstition was indeed a political club of sorts. If the *hetaeria* was constituted of a disproportionate number of people from the lower classes (which early Christianity, in keeping with the precedent of Jesus, apparently was) and, more importantly, was not limited exclusively to any particular ethnic or cultural group, then the threat which it posed in the eyes of Rome was understandably large. Christianity had indeed, as mentioned above, gone far beyond being a Jewish sect by proselytizing Jews and

Gentiles alike. The rapidly expanding Christian movement had a grass-roots character which cut across cultural and national boundaries, thereby threatening the political stability of the Roman state from below. In all this it seems that the Christian communities were being consistent with Jesus and Paul—at least in their encounters with the Romans.

Apparently even the Christians saw themselves in some sort of political light. They had undoubtedly adopted the messianic ideal from the Jews and were expecting Jesus to return soon to usher in the kingdom of God in place of the kingdom of Rome. This somewhat apocalyptic vision provided hope for the oppressed lower class masses who were seeking organizational opportunities at this time in the Roman provinces—one can understand, therefore, why Christianity had considerable success among these people. Messianism also helps to explain the lack of concern for this-worldly politics (i.e. Roman politics) which Tacitus described as "hatred against mankind". Even more indicative, however, of the self-perception of the Christians as being at least in some ways political was the term which they chose to apply to their organization—*ecclesia*. In the Greco-Roman world, *ecclesia* was unequivocally a political term which referred to the popular assembly of a city. The Christians must have known the meaning of the term when they consciously made the decision to refer to themselves as the *ecclesia* of God.

It is time to return, then, to the distinction between the Jews and the Christians which prompted the Romans to deal with these groups separately. First of all, one notices a similarity in the rhetoric used by the Jews who clashed with Rome (in A.D. 64-70 and 132-5) and that of the early Christians. It seems that the messianic language which had earned the Jews trouble with the Romans was now being used by the Christians. The use of this language by either group was obviously threatening to Rome. Yet while the Jews had a basically theocratic outlook, it was different from that of the Christians because it was limited to Palestine. In contrast, the Christian kingdom of God encompassed the entire world. This willingness to recruit the peoples of the entire empire (through proselytizing) for what promised to be a revolutionary new kingdom was undoubtedly more threatening to the Romans. In addition, it seems the early Christians were predominantly lower class citizens (even more so than the Jews) who, in banding together in small groups, further offended the political sensibilities of the Romans. Rome, as one can see in the response of Trajan to Pliny, was paranoid about the threat which any such organization in the provinces posed to Roman rule—"If people assemble for a common purpose, whatever name we give them or whatever reason, they soon turn into a political club (*hetaeria*)" (Wilken, 12). The Christians, it seemed, fit the political club description quite well.

What, then, motivated the Romans to persecute religious sects (especially the Christians) during the Early Empire? One can assume that it was not merely caprice on the part of the pragmatic Roman rulership. Furthermore, it seems that it was not merely Christianity's distinction as a superstition which led to Roman pressure—otherwise the persecution would have been more systematic. Rome perceived Christianity as a political threat. Superstition may have served as a flag which enabled the Romans to identify who was a Christian, but it was the Christian communities' acts, or anticipated acts, as *hetaeria* which

primarily gave impetus to the Roman reaction. Rome had precedents to work from—Jesus, Paul, the Bacchae, the Jews. In the end, then, the Romans had practical political reasons for persecuting the Christians, and they acted on those reasons—not, however, very systematically, possibly because they did not perceive the political threat to be a large one. As the wheels of history rolled on, however, it became quite clear that the threat was large. In retrospect, it seems the failure of the Romans to deal effectively with the rising star of Christianity while it was still low on the horizon eventually led to its rising to such a height that it had to be incorporated into the empire if the empire itself was not to be outshone.

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Hill and Earth and Tree

By Julie Nelson

Tutorial in Travel Writing

Walter Cannon and Keith Ratzlaff

Assignment: Write something that explores your understanding of the cross cultural experience.

I first read of England in James Herriot's *All Creatures Great and Small*. I was twelve or thirteen. Herriot's England was for me the only England, and I held onto images of stone walls and dazzling green horizons and most importantly, amiably quiet farmers. For years I immersed myself in the Yorkshire Dales by reading and rereading Herriot's four books. When the opportunity arose to travel to Yorkshire, it was as though I were being given a rare chance to enter the realm of literature, a world previously existing only in my mind.

But first I had to get there physically. Prior to this, my experience in independent travel had been non-existent. I hadn't even braved the tube alone, but the Herriot weekend had to be done solo, so various arrangements were made, and I found myself, after a narrow escape from the clutches of Victoria Station, seated on a two-tiered English bus in the middle of the night. I'd always imagined riding through the dark English countryside at such a height would be a serene, calming experience — I'd lean dreamily against the window as Simon and Garfunkel hummed in my ear and picturesque hills rolled past. If anything, this journey was to be about the disillusion of reality. The seven hour bus ride was occupied with fits of painful dozing in a smoky, cramped aisle seat next to the most uninteresting man in all of Great Britain.

Arriving in a small foreign village at five o'clock in the morning is a humbling experience. I strolled the abandoned streets of Darlington, England, and for the first time in my life, I experienced what it is to be completely alone. It wasn't unpleasant. Rather, the misty streets and the swirling dark skies seemed to me to be straight off the pages of a Sherlock Holmes mystery.

I was still a long way from James Herriot. My final destination was Thirsk, some thirty obscure miles away. In some ways my adventure started that morning on the rattling local buses of remote Yorkshire. Boarding such a bus, I was to find, meant pleasant, thickly speaking bus drivers, comfortably unassuming locals, and miles of winding beauty, albeit at terrifying speeds. My arrival in the town center of Thirsk was unceremonious. My planning had delivered me without incident smack-dab in the middle of James Herriot's hometown, but that is precisely where any planning stopped. All that was left was improvisation and hopeful guess-work.

When singing the praises of England, I always include the small signs depicting a small cursive white "i" with its distinctive blue background—the sign for tourist information. Countless times I wandered from a train or bus station, without so much as an inkling of an idea which way to turn, and found a trail of blessed blue signs to guide me. Thirsk was no exception. Within five minutes

of arrival, I was being assisted by two elderly men in Thirsk's tiny tourist office. Neither of the men was openly friendly or curious, but somehow their earnest attempts to find me an affordable bed and breakfast were endearing. The men, I later realized, personified the attitudes of the area. They were kind and helpful as well as unassuming and sincere.

The closest B and B was just up Kirkgate road, only six or seven buildings away, but I passed by it completely, overwhelmed by the simple two and three story brick buildings separated by a narrow road and accented by nothing. As dull as this sounds, it was somehow just right, not showy or breathtaking, but solid and assuring, like the men.

Mrs. Dodd's establishment was no exception, nor, for that matter, was Mrs. Dodd. Without fuss or nonsense, she conveyed a calming sense of compassion and earthiness. It was maddening to try to grasp just how she and so many others could be so soft-spoken and aloof and yet make one feel so warm and pleased. My room was small and bright; the bed took up almost all available floor space. Several ceramic knickknacks adorned a shelf over the bed, and had I been anywhere else in the world, I would have taken one as a souvenir.

The greater part of my task still lay ahead of me. I was desperate to remain as discreet and un-American as possible, so asking the first available pedestrian to point me to Herriot's surgery was definitely out. I headed back towards the town center, past an ivy covered building, a meat market, a fish and chips shop and several small tourist shops. After a minimum of searching, I came across a post card of the famous veterinarian surgery, the ivy covered building back on Kirkgate road. With mixed feelings, I hurried back to the street from which I had just come. Ashamed but elated, I at last set eyes on the genuine home of Dr. James Wight (Herriot), veterinarian and writer. It was two doors from my bed and breakfast, and I'd passed it twice before in the last half hour.

Over the course of the weekend, I managed to walk past the surgery a dozen times, and I even sat in Herriot's waiting room before being chased out by a bustling receptionist. My desperation mounted as I contemplated kidnapping a stray cat, maiming it, and returning to the surgery where I would demand immediate medical attention, but my courage failed, and the realization that I would not be meeting Dr. Herriot left me bitter with disappointment.

I made a half-hearted attempt to salvage the weekend by taking an afternoon's stroll through the countryside with Mrs. Dodd's border collie by my side and absolutely nothing on my mind but the land before me. Everyone has magical moments which they relive in their head, moments which require no reworking or enhancement, so dreamily perfect in reality that they stand on their own. This afternoon was one such moment. Fred led me quickly through town, and as I released him on the outskirts into a pasture which must have belonged to someone but for the moment belonged only to its inhabitants, I lived a far-away dream of my childhood. For the next four hours, I was inside a book I'd read a half a dozen times. The grass that I walked on, I had walked on in my mind, years ago. The sheep and the horses and the dogs and the people that crossed my path had once been seen and touched and spoken to by a simple man who had the wisdom and the eloquence to capture them in words and to share them in books to be lived and relived as I now did.

At about two o'clock, I climbed an abrupt fold in the green landscape and sat down. From where I sat, I could see a great deal — a green patchwork of pastureland and stone walls and trees and sheep. I thought about being a kid in Minnesota and reading on long bus rides home and spending infinite afternoons with only my dog and a few acres of hill and earth and tree. And now, to be that same kid, eight years later, sitting in England with a dog named Fred, surrounded by hill and earth and tree... I read from *All Creatures Great and Small* that afternoon, sitting on that

hill. The words were the same as they'd been when I first read the book, and yet each word took on a new and special significance as I sat in the midst of their source of inspiration. In Herriot's own words: "Today the endless patchwork of fields slumbered in the sun, and the air, even on the hill, was heavy with the scents of summer... I couldn't see a living soul; and the peace which I always found in the silence and the emptiness of the moors filled me utterly."

Between Venice & Paris

By Laura Galpin

Tutorial in Travel Writing

Walter Cannon and Keith Ratzlaff

Assignment: Write something that explores your understanding of the cross cultural experience

Relaxation. Finally. After hurrying through the Venice train station searching for the right train, finding out whether we needed reservations or not, finding which part of the train went to Milano, which part goes all the way to Paris, crowding past people in the small passageway of the train with a 38 pound backpack and watching even the sweet leather-faced old women choose to limbo under me rather than squeeze past. Trying to find a coach lacking potential rapists. Then the ritual and painful hauling of my pack far above my head to the luggage rack and then collapse. Breathe. Stretch my neck, take off my boots, stuff my third odorous layer of socks in the boots and stuff the boots under my seat. Prop my feet up just to the right of Niici who is curled up like a small cat in the seat across from me, her gigantic blue pack looming above her on the rack, never quite fitting and looking ready to fall and bash her on the head. Experience tells me it won't.

That part is always the ordeal. Then the train begins to move. It usually excites me, but not tonight, not tonight when I slept in the cold train station last night and spent the day in one of the most magically beautiful cities in the world freezing my ass off and I know that tomorrow I will wake up sore and stiff from sleeping on the train in some ridiculous position.

Two men enter our coach and sit down across from each other. There is one seat between each of us. They are old; they are easily identified as "not dangerous."

Niici and I get our handbags down and begin supper. Today we have no surprises, she is thinking. Bread and cheese again. The bread is hard and it hurts my jaw to chew it, the cheese is soft and warm but I'm beginning to appreciate cheese that way. We wash it down with water that we hope is clean and I pull out a surprise to make us happy—a chocolate bar from Prague that I've been saving. We break it in half and try to eat it slowly but we're both giggling and warm now and the chocolate goes fast. We offer the last bits to the two old men. They decline in German.

"Oh no. They don't speak English," says Niici.

I agree that it's too bad. It's much better to be able to communicate. But then we begin one of our wild conversations—the obnoxious kind that only takes place in the safe confidence of no one being able to understand you. There's something really freeing about that and whenever it happens Niici and I like to use it to our full advantage—being rude to each other and cursing a great deal. After one particularly ribald exchange, the old man to my left begins chuckling softly, trying hard to hold it back until he laughs so hard I think he will cry.

"You...girls!" he says and smiles at me, laughing hard.

"You!" I screech back while Niici howls in

embarrassment, "You DO know English! You...you..." and I sock him in the arm like a buddy that's just told me a dirty joke in a bar and the old man laughs even harder at this. The other fellow looks on in amazement, wearing the contagious smile, but obviously not faking his language barrier.

I can't believe I haven't noticed either of them before this. My people watching skills have been on overkill lately or perhaps I'm just tired, but I notice them now. The English speaking one to my left, who is introducing himself as Claus, is tall, white haired with clear blue eyes. He must be 65 or so. He is finely dressed in a dark business suit and overcoat; he is a handsome man. He has one of those faces that is full of stories. The other man is probably 50—he wears jeans and a short jacket and I notice that his right arm is cut off below the elbow. He has no right hand, but he does have a moustache.

Claus and Niici and I exchange all the usual questions and then Niici fades out. The train is dark and rhythmic tonight and she is very tired.

We sit for awhile, silent in the dark.

"This is your first time out in the world?"

I say yes.

He is looking right in my eyes, even in the dark. "I remember that. How wonderful everything is. How grand and big. You must be very tired."

I say that I am and ask him many questions and he answers them all. He tells me about his time in the army, lonely and proud and waiting for letters, his first rampage on Paris and about one lost night in New York with no money and little English. He has been to China and Japan—he has been to Thailand flocked by children begging for money and I ask for vivid accounts of each and he gives them. I nod and nod and fall in love with him in about two minutes.

He asks me about the farm I live on in Iowa. I say that there is a house that my father built and a pond with fish and a small wood and cows and horses and he is very quiet and serious.

"Heaven," he says. "That is heaven to me. I wish for that, to live in a place like that, in peace until I die. But I still must travel for my job."

He looks away from me.

"My wife died last year and I must travel and keep busy, you know? But that is what I wanted for us. You are very lucky to have such a place." He speaks slowly and accurately and straight to me now. "It is good to see the world, yes? But good to have such a place to come home to."

I want to smile at him but I don't because he doesn't have a home now and I imagine he and his dead wife, young and pretty and I say "Yes. I am lucky."

He laughs a little now; he is embarrassed. "It's easy to talk in the dark on a train, yes?"

I say that it is and then we are silent. Niici is snoring lightly now—she does that sometimes.

I don't like the quiet, so I tell him that my father also has a keg on tap on the porch so he can have a cold beer all the time. He laughs and says that my father is a damn wise man.

A knock comes at the sliding coach door. It is the conductor. He opens the door and flicks on the light, asking for our tickets and passports. Niici sits up and rubs her eyes with her fist like a child; the other man fumbles in his pocket for his ticket. The conductor tells Niici and I that we must go to the other end of the train because the

train is splitting and this car will not stop in Paris. Claus remarks that he had suspected this.

Niici and I gather our things and haul down the backpacks. We strap them on and Niici says good-bye to them and waits in the passageway. I shake Claus's hand, he holds mine tightly and says, "Take care. Take care." he smiles. I turn to the other fellow and reach out to shake his right hand. I have forgotten about the stump and I

shake it. He is pleased and embarrassed and I'm happy that I forgot about it.

We're in the dark passageway, trying to find a sleeping spot until Paris. Niici is weaving—her pack is heavy and she's still half asleep. All I can think is that somewhere, sometime, in Germany or France or Alaska even he will die. He will die wise, unremarkable to most, and alone. I'll never know.

Ballinamallard

by Bradley Dunlap

Tutorial in travel Writing

Walter Cannon and Keith Ratzlaff

Assignment: Write something that explores your understanding of the cross cultural experience.

Uneasily I climbed aboard the Ulsterbus for Enniskillen and sat alone in a window seat. I forced a cool smile at Aunt Sally who was frantically waving good-bye to me as if I were her only son going off to war or something. I could read her lips, "Good-bye, Brad, bye now, luv." Already I couldn't wait for the next two days to be over so I could hurry back to Bill and Sally's and go out pubbing with Ronny and his mates. Tonight I would miss a big night out. Ronny, Allan, Tim and Ian were getting some beers and driving to Superbowl in Belfast and if they didn't meet up with some nice local girls there was always the potential of Tim starting a fight. The last time they went Tim got drunk and hit someone and the coppers had to step in. But I would miss out on any such activity tonight as I would be passing the time a hundred miles away in Ballinamallard at the home of Jean and Dave, longtime friends of my grandparents.

As the bus lurched its way through the hazy grey of central Belfast, I worried about how Dave would look and how I would handle seeing him in person. What would I say? Would he know or even be able to understand me? Did I have to see him? It couldn't be avoided. It was only right. After all, he was my grandfather's closest friend. This was one of those life situations I was just going to have to deal with. Besides, it was his home I would be staying in.

I tried to sort out the story of Dave's accident as told to me by my mother a long time ago. I could only recall that it involved a gun and that he lost his vision and most of his face. I remembered it was a terrible blow to my grandfather when he first heard of it. Jean and Dave had only moved back to Ireland for a few years when it happened. Grandma wondered if Dave might not have tried to take his life. He had always been a very high-strung and hard working man. He made a few bad investments back in the States and, according to Grandma, never got over losing the money. It took a lot of convincing on my grandfather's part to bring Grandma to see him on their last visit home together a few years after the accident. The two couples had done almost everything together in Cedar Rapids and Grandma's memories of Dave were very vivid. After Grandpa died Jean tried to convince Grandma into coming home one last time. But as much as she wanted to see Jean, she couldn't bring herself to see Dave. Complications had since led to Dave losing his legs to infection and she couldn't imagine facing Dave in that condition. After awhile, Jean got a nurse for Dave and came to visit. I remembered my mom crying when she saw Jean again for the first time. I was pretty young when they left Cedar Rapids and my image of Dave had come more from pictures than memories.

The frequent airbrake blasts from the coach had ceased and I suddenly noticed we were now rolling into the bright greens of the Irish countryside. I began to wonder how I

would get by for three days and two nights in a small village of 200 some people with a 75 year-old friend of my grandma. Could I possibly sustain a conversation with her? Just what was I going to do in Ballinamallard? Well it didn't matter because I was on my way. Besides, Grandma and Mom would never forgive me if I didn't go through with this. Twenty minutes into the two hour journey I was fast asleep.

Jean Brien was waiting for me at the bus stop in Enniskillen when the final airbrake blast woke me. She looked about the way that I remembered her from her visit to the States three years earlier. She was plump, very dark manly in build, with a ruddy complexion and very dark thin red lips that were always wet. She had a hint of a mustache and big spaces between her teeth. Sometimes she accidentally spat when she spoke. Despite this, something about Jean was very approachable and warm. She made her way over to me, snatched my bag and smacked a wet kiss on my cheek.

"Ohh it's good to see you, Brad. How're you doin'?"
How's your mum and gran been keeping?"

"Fine Jean. How are you?"

"Oh I'm fine. I wasn't sure if I'd be able to recognize ya but when I saw the handsome big lad I knew it must be you. You've got your mom's smile, you know. Would you care for a drink or something to eat? You must be hungry. Let's grab a quick snack. I thought I'd take you to over the hotel for dinner tonight, O.K.?"

"Sounds good."

Jean took me for a coffee and bismarck and we acquainted ourselves with talk about my studies in London and our opinions on Belfast. Soon Jean was curious about how my grandma was holding up, and how my family was doing. She told me about her sons Dave, Eric and Gary and her first grandchild, David.

After our coffee, we made our way back to the bus stop and to the little brown four-speed that Jean and Gary shared. Jean had bought it for Gary, but he had a company truck to drive to work so she used the car during the day for trips to Enniskillen with Gary's two-year old, David.

Ballinamallard is a 15 minute drive from Enniskillen, and, as we drove along, Jean forgot to shift about six different times, getting caught up in explaining her plans for me over the next two days.

"We're lucky to have such lovely weather because when the weather's nasty there's not alot to do in Fermanagh. The country-side around here is beautiful this time of year. I think I'll take you up to the old Manor House and to the lakes. Your grandad really enjoyed the lakes whenever he came. We can have pie and ice cream in the old fashioned kitchen where I took your mom and dad when they were here..." Jean went on with her extensive and well planned schedule for my stay in Ballinamallard. It all sounded nice and fairly interesting, but the pressing question in my mind was still Dave. Should I ask about him or just wait?

As we made our way into the quaint little village, Jean was quick to point out all the landmarks worth mentioning. "There's Mr. Fisher's house. He owns the company in town that Gary works for. He's been awful good to him. I work with his wife on a lot of charity projects through the church. We've raised over 4,000 pounds for different causes. It keeps me busy. There's our little pub, the one Dave and I used to own, and the hotel, and next door is my church. It's all right here just outside my little door. I've only got to walk two doors to the grocery store and three to the post office. It's very handy

for me with Dave, you know. Here we are. It's not much you know, but we like it."

As we pulled into the little lot behind the house, engine revving wildly, Jean eased my nerves a bit. "Dave's been expecting you. He knows that you're coming and he's been anxious for you to get here. It's after 2:00 and that's when I give him his drink. He'll be hungry. You can say hello but he doesn't like people to be in the room when I feed him. Sometimes he spills a wee bit and he feels embarrassed, see. After you say hello I'll show you your room and you can unpack until I come up to get you, O.K. luv?"

I nodded as we entered the door. I could here a radio tuned in to a BBC talk show. It turned off as the door came shut. Jean whispered, "He may be hard for you to understand, since he's no tongue, you know." Again I nodded in nervous anticipation as Jean announced our arrival.

"Hello Dave. Sorry we're late. I've got someone along for you to meet. You remember Sandra's Brad, he's a big buck now."

"Yessh." I entered the living room where Dave was lying on his back with a quilt over his waist and his hands folded together as if praying. He must have felt me enter as he held out his hands for me and I took them, but without looking directly at him. His firm grip pulled me down for a hug and I understood him to say, "Hello, Brad, God bless you, son."

Jean helped me through some small talk about what we

had been doing and gracefully showed me to my room. "I'll feed this boy now and then we'll go for our dinner in a bit, O.K.?"

That was it. It was over. Not frightening or gruesome or anything. And he wasn't really that hard to understand.

As I was unpacking in the guest room, I noticed an old picture from Cedar Rapids of Jean and Dave outside their house on Memorial Drive. Dave was smiling and wearing a hat, one arm around Jean. They must have been about 35 then.

The next two days with Jean were walks, long talks and stories about the old days in Iowa, snapshots and black and white home movies of my mother as girl, and stories about Grandpa and Dave getting swindled on their first trip to Chicago. Dave threatened to beat some guy up if he didn't refund his money for a pair of two left shoes. Jean told me about the troubles and an account of how she had helped to convict two IRA members in 1977. She told me anecdotes from the fish and chips cafe her and Grandma ran in Cedar Rapids. We laughed alot and called Grandma to tell her about what a great time we were both having. Jean called me her toy boy and told me that the ladies at Wednesday bowles were impressed with my skill at the game. She introduced me to Mr. Fisher and he gave me a personal tour of his company. We were the talk of Ballinamallard. When it came time for me to leave, Jean gave me her Claddagh ring over an Ulster fry and wouldn't take it back. And I wasn't really ready to go.