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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this publication is to present the thinking of graduate and undergraduate students on contemporary issues, particularly those related to modern rhetoric and communication. The first section of this issue consists of articles on such topics as the current status of the Weathermen movement; the sexual revolution in America; a comparison of two approaches to interpersonal communication (the traditional etiquette approach versus modern self-actualization theories); a study of the rhetoric of the English women's suffrage movement; an analysis of the rhetoric of the New South; and implications for communications of the Pentagon papers incident. The second section, initiated in this issue, contains articles pertaining to mass media and the fine arts. Following an introductory article that outlines the scope of the new section, there is an essay on current standards of commercial television and reviews of current books, films, and television programs. The third section, "Critical and Directive Input," consists of interpretations and evaluations of some of the contributions. In this issue, there are critiques of the Weathermen article and a previously published article on women's liberation. (Author/RN)

MOMENTS

in Contemporary Rhetoric and Communication

BEGINNING THIS ISSUE:
A SECTION DEVOTED TO
MASS MEDIA AND THE FINE ARTS

cover photo by Doug Nemanic

Editorial Policy

The central purpose of MOMENTS IN CONTEMPORARY RHETORIC AND COMMUNICATION is to present the thinking of undergraduate and graduate students on contemporary issues. As a study in rhetoric and communication, authors focus upon contemporary social and political actions that convey a message to others. As critics, authors describe, interpret, and evaluate the messages conveyed by these social and political acts.

Philosophically, MOMENTS is committed to the belief that academic journals must focus upon the contemporary situation that confronts all of us in defining and reacting to our symbolic world. In addition, it is believed that students need a forum to present their thoughts and that students are capable of critical, reasoned analyses of the world around them before they obtain any specific degree from an institution of higher education. Moreover, it is believed that rhetorical criticism and communication studies can be an intergral part of the decision-making process and interests of the larger non-academic community. While retaining a commitment to the insightful tools of analysis and standards of the academic world, there is a need to begin to change Otis Walter's descriptive claim that, "The world at large takes no note of the work of the professional rhetorical critic."

MOMENTS is published in the Fall, Winter, Spring and Summer. Publication of articles in MOMENTS is restricted to any undergraduate or graduate college student. However, any reader may submit statements/critical analyses for the "Critical/Directive Input" and "Mass Media and Fine Arts" sections of MOMENTS. As public forums, these sections will stimulate, it is hoped, an interest in the critical, decision-making potential of rhetorical criticism.

Manuscripts are considered for publication on the basis of the above editorial policy and on the basis of the significance, scholarship, and style of the articles. Articles should not exceed 4,000 words. Longer articles are considered for publication but the Editors do feel they have an obligation to represent the thinking of a wide number and variety of students. Statements/critical reviews for the "Critical/Directive Input" and "Mass Media and Fine Arts" sections should not exceed 1,000 words. Authors should consult the MLS Style Sheet in preparing manuscripts and submit academic and/or expertise qualifications with the completed manuscript as well as a return address and telephone number. Manuscripts and correspondence should be sent to: The Student Press, 1129 South Eighth Street, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55404.

MOMENTS
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"To understand guerilla war is not to endorse it; not to understand it is to make it inevitable."
Scanlan's Monthly

Today's Weather

By Barry Irving

When the Weatherman, the militant faction of SDS, walked out of the Chicago SDS National Convention in June of 1969, they were to become the leading militant, radical group in the "cultural-political revolution" in America. They became the "first organized white group to publicly stress the importance of armed struggle in America."[1] The Weather Peoples' ideas and actions were appalling to the nation, but prior to their first communique (issued on May 21, 1970), there had been no "official" statement from the organizational head (Weather Bureau) of the underground group. Their first communique was literally a Declaration of a State of War; a declaration not against another nation-state, but against the United States. It stated that within fourteen days after its issuance an act of violence would be carried out against "a symbol or institution of Amerikan injustice."[2] A few days after the deadline, the headquarters of the New York City police department was bombed -- the Weatherman took credit for the act in their second communication. In effect, this act of violence established Weatherman: "The power structure experienced the anger and frustration of of being outwitted and out-maneuvered in the very place where people assumed they were strongest."[3]

Since the group's inception, an increasing number of bombings or acts of terrorism have occurred within the United States.[4] The Weatherman have claimed responsibility for a good portion of this violence--a violence which is designed to promote and secure the members' deep convictions and efforts to gain world communism. However, violence -- as an independent act -- is often an unclear rhetorical strategy. The target, purpose and accidental injuries may be overshadowed by the act itself. As a result, the Weatherman have sought to explain and justify their acts of violence and to educate the public through communiques. These comminiques are the only "direct" contact with the rest of society they have, because their terrorism has automatically forced them "underground."[5] To date, the Weather Bureau has issued nine communiques; this study will focus upon a rhetorical analysis of five of them. Their first communication is basically a statement of strategy. Number two, three and four are reiterations of the strategies outlined in the first, relating them to specific incidents. Communique number nine, "New Morning--Changing Weather" (December 6, 1970), is an overview of events since the Weatherman were organ-

ized, a critical analysis of those events, recognition of the "military error" and a statement about what can be done (in terms of strategy) in order to correct the "evils" that are befalling the revolution. These five communications rhetorically reflect the ideological changes of the Weathermen.

This analysis of the communiques from the Weatherman Underground is asking, "How has the ideology of the Weatherman developed?" In order to answer this question, the ideological dimensions of the Weatherman's rhetoric is divided into two periods: the first period includes all of the first four communiques; and the second period consists of the ninth underground communication. This analysis will then begin to determine what factors are considered the pollutants of our society and who the Weathermen single out or apply the guilt to for the present condition of our country. A strategy or plan to redeem the society is established, and finally, the act itself occurs in order to purify the the nation. It is then possible to compare the two periods of the Weathermen's rhetoric in order to expose the changes in the ideology of the Weather People.[6]

In the past, a major criticism of the Weathermen--from both outside of and within organizational ranks--has been that they have failed to reach and educate the masses of the people. In one article by four ex-Weathermen, the underground organization is criticized because it:

> "believed that it was necessary to begin armed struggle immediately... Instead of trying to educate and organize the people who did not see this, they wrote them off as enemies of the world revolution.
>
> The Weathermen did not understand that in order to lead people into 'higher levels' of effective revolutionary action it is necessary to instill in them correspondingly 'higher levels' of revolutionary consciousness and understanding."[7]

At the time this article was written, this criticism was valid, but it no longer is. In determining what the shift has been in the ideology of the Weather People, the central thesis developed here is that the Weathermen's idea of leadership and education has changed to one of a higher level of "revolutionary consciousness and understanding."

First Period

The Weathermen have been struggling hard since "birth." Progressive Labor (PL) and the Weatherman, both factions of SDS, went into the Chicago SDS National Convention with differing views on what SDS was and what it should be in the future; polarization resulted. The Weatherman contingency walked out of the convention, and Bernardine Dohrn, one of the founders and spokeswomen for the Weatherman, returned later to explain their position to PL--only to be heckled.[8] In spite of the heckling, the Weatherman had literally stepped out in front of all the action; they took control of SDS.

The name of the organization was taken from a line in Bob Dylan's "Subterranean Homesick Blues" ("You Don't Need A Weatherman To Know Which Way The Wind Blows"). The Weather metaphor which can be used in nearly all phases of the organization, has been used to such an extent; its leaders have aptly christened themselves the Weather Bureau, many have made attempts to forecast the Weather and the Weathermen used the metaphor appropriately in their ninth communique in order to project a change in their ideology.

As growing numbers of people in the United States push for an end to the war shouting, "Bring the troops home!" the Weather People are right in chorus with, "Bring the war home!" For them,

an end to the war is not necessary; it is "Amerika: The Final Front."[9] The Weathermen, clearly, have been and will be attempting to continue the struggle; the streets of "honky Amerika" are the battlefields now, though.

Armed struggle at this time in history is one of the key issues that has made the Weatherman so unique. This was a period of physical shock for the rest of the nation. In order to educate the "shocked" nation to the value of their violence, the communiques outlining their strategies during this period were issued.[10]

Strategy of Pollution

Amerikan imperialism; war and racism are our enemies. It is the system of Amerikan imperialism which is the primary pollutant of our society. It alone has fostered ideas of reform which doesn't work--prisons, police, ROTC and the "Man's Army." War and racism are two other pollutants of this society; not outgrowths of American imperialism, but evils. Although the Weathermen never do state any specific strategy of pollution, their agents are obvious from the very beginning of the first communique: "All over the world, people fighting American imperialism look to Amerika's youth to use our strategic position behind enemy lines to join forces in the destruction of the empire." American imperialism is already "In the air;" it is time for the youth of America to "come alive."

Strategies of Guilt

1. Nixon is to blame. One of the major contributors to pollution is President Nixon; the man probably most directly associated with Amerikan imperialism. The fact that "Nixon invaded Cambodia" is stressed in each of the first three communiques. Guilt has been placed on the Chief Executive for "the attempted genocide against black people." The blame for these racist ideals--promoted by Nixon--and their continuation is placed primarily on him. He has obviously assumed the guilt of any government leaders preceeding him in the making of this imperialistic state.

2. Pigs in this country are guilty. The pigs are the strength of an empire that has committed crimes against the people. Their actions have been cold and heartless--contributing to the growth of the state. "They have murdered...and tortured. They are responsible for... the imprisonment... and the continual brutality against" the oppressed. As presented through the eyes of the Weathermen in their communiques, the police are literally pigs. The crimes they have committed make them guilty --along with Nixon-- of pollution.

3. Attorney General Mitchell is guilty. The Attorney General along with J. Edgar Hoover have cited the Weathermen as outlaws and are the representatives of the state fighting the organization. Mitchell's guilt of pollution has been derived merely because he is on the wrong side. They feel confident that they have a hold on the Attorney General: "to General Mitchell we say: Don't look for us, Dog." Guilt-by-association with the imperialist state also places Nixon's General on the Weathermen's blacklist.

Strategies of Purification

1. Revolutionary violence is the only way. The people of this country have been raised and educated to believe that reform is the best method of changing the state of things, but the Weathermen feel that the only result has been a "frustration" and "impotence" of the younger generation. The kids are the ones who must bring the change; although, not through reform: "the lines are drawn...protest and marches don't do it. Revolution-

ary violence is the only way." if one way hasn't worked for the past generations, the Weathermen refuse to make the same mistake. Instead, they are heading out to "attack with rocks, riots and bombs the greatest killer-pig ever known to man--American imperialism." The idea behind the type of change the Weathermen are seeking, means to seek change now; "kick ass" and don't ask questions. "Now we are at war," they declare. As the Weatherman see it, you believe as they do and fight with them, or you don't and fight against them. In joining together with other revolutionaries for the destruction of imperialism they are escaping from the past: "we will never go back." This way, then, is the only way to change the empire. The struggle must be armed, and it must be now. The revolution is upon America, and according to the Weathermen, it will be a bloody, violent struggle; an open confrontation with the pigs.

2. We are adopting the classic guerrilla strategy of the Viet Cong and the urban guerrilla strategy of the Tupamaros to our own situation. The revolution has gone underground and will use the methods of two of the best known, modern guerrilla forces--the Viet Cong and the Tupamaros. One of the most famous underground manuals on revolution, the Minimanual, written by Carlos Marighella in 1969, provides guerrilla strategies and techniques now employed by the Weathermen. The strategy outlined by the guerrilla is to work from the outside to destroy the system: "The pigs try to look invulnerable, but we keep finding their weaknesses." Not only does such a make it next to impossible for the enemy to detect them, but it is morally and psychologically frustrating to the power structure.

3. They outlaw, we build. What the empire creates, it is up to the revolutionary to destroy. As symbols of Amerikan imperialism find a place to live and grow in the society, it will be the job of the Weathermen to destroy these symbols: "They build a Bank of America, kids burn it down. They outlaw grass, we build a culture of life and music." In effect, they are saying that if something is harmful to the empire, then it can find a home in this revolution. As outlaws, they are to remove the pollutants from society.

4. We are outlaws, we are free. As an underground organization the Weathermen have been declared fugitives but by moving freely in and out of every city they can accomplish their goal. In their second communication, they pointed out their ability to strike "first" because of their freedom: "They guard their buildings and we walk right past their guards. They look for us--we get to them first." It is evident, that it is important to the Weathermen to stay "straight" in order to remain "free and fighting" revolutionaries in an extremely strategic position--"invisible" and "behind enemy lines."

Strategy of Redemption

Guns and grass are united in the youth underground. In building a new culture to replace the old, polluted Amerikan imperialist state, the Weather People have related LSD and marijuana to guns and fighting. If you smoke (grass), you should fight. If you fight, you should smoke--the two go hand-in-hand. In their first communique, Bernardine Dohrn stated:

> "Dope is one of our weapons. The laws against marijuana mean that millions of us are outlaws long before we actually split. Guns and grass are united in the youth underground. Freaks are revolutionaries and revolutionaries are freaks. If you want to find us, this is where we are. In every tribe, commune, dormitory, farmhouse, barracks, townhouse where

kids are making love, smoking dope and loading guns."

The redemption effort is a united effort of types of people who don't normally work together. It is this type of united assault on imperialism that is to make the new system of world communism thrive. "Political power grows out of a gun, a Molotov, a riot, a commune...and from the soul of the people." It is these characteristics on which a new system can be built; the new culture will be pure.

Second Period

As the Weathermen matured, their ideology still reflected the harshness and sternness contained in their theory of armed struggle, as outlined in their earlier communiques: "The future of our struggle is the future of pigs in the streets."[11] The leaders of the organization remained firm and undaunted by the authorities: "Any kind of action that fucks up the pigs' war and helps the people to win is a good kind of action."[12] A wave of bombings and bomb threats hit the United States in 1970 that forced evacuation of scores of public buildings, and the American public, awestruck, sat motionless and waited for news of the next bombing incident. By the end of the year, though, the Weather Bureau paused to reflect on the nine months of activities since the townhouse explosion in New York in which three Weathermen had been killed. The Weather Bureau noticed mistakes in carrying out of Weathermen's activities, and with their ninth communication from the underground, stated bluntly: "The future of our revolution has been changed decisively."[13]

In establishing the organization, they had overlooked inner-conflicts and organized haphazardly: "we didn't know much about each other's person or pasts--our talents, our differences." Contrary to the purpose of earlier communications, they were now taking an inward look at themselves and making self-criticisms. Nothing had changed in relation to the imperialist state; it was still "fucked up" and needed to be changed. But, for the time being, it was more important to the Weathermen to straighten out themselves before they could straighten out the nation.

The sins and pollution of Amerikan imperialism, war and racism have remained as they were earlier in the history of the Weathermen. A new form of pollution which they had overlooked prior to this time was the ignorance of the pain and hurt they were causing their own people. The Weather People had separated themselves from everyone else in the Movement when they had isolated themselves by remaining underground. They wanted "to reject racism and U.S. exploitation of the third world....But it was clear that more had been wrong with our direction than technical inexperience." Affinity groups were having problems together: "Many people in the collective did not want to be involved....But they struggled day and night and eventually, everyone agreed to do their work." Everyone agreed, but some still felt certain actions were wrong. The closed-mindedness of the Weathermen was polluting the organization from within.

In this period, President Nixon, the pigs, and Attorney General Mitchell remain guilty of the pollution of the society, but in looking back at past actions, the Weathermen have discovered that they, too, are to blame for the pollution of the group. Through their ignorance and uncautious movements into society they were to blame for the deaths of the three townhouse victims: "The deaths of three of our friends ended our military conception of what we are doing." After nine months of recklessness, they realized that they had killed their friends be-

cause they "had not dealt with the basic technological considerations of safety. The Weathermen had not considered the future." As a result, in the second period the Weathermen took the blame: "This tendency to consider only bombing or picking up the gun as revolutionary, with the glorification of the heavier the better, we've called the military error."

Prior to this time period in the history of the Weathermen, their ideology lacked a quality of understanding that is necessary in working with, and for, people. In the ninth communique, though, single words reflect this quality which did not show through in any of the earlier communiques. "Tribes at council," "guilt," "fear," "understood," "aware," "change," "love," "trust," "closeness," "support," "intergration," "leadership," and "respect;" the new rhetoric of the Weathmen definitely contains tones of humanism, compassion and understanding--not characteristics of their "old" ideology.

The ninth communique called for a change in the actions of the Weathermen:

> "It is time for the movement to go out into the air, to organize, to risk calling rallies and demonstrations, to convince that mass action against the war and in support of rebellions do make a difference."

Mass actions, which Weathermen in earlier years so vehemently opposed, were now to become a major break through for the organization. They have reached a new level of attempting to be understood, and understanding, in working with the masses in order to have an effective revolution.

With the correction of organizational procedures, the Weathermen will be able to purify themselves before attempting to purify society. They say "grass and organic consciousness-expanding drugs are weapons of the revolution;" no longer are guns and grass united as before.[14] The Weather People's idea of leadership and education has shown a definite shift from earlier communiques; it is now one of a higher level of "revolutionary consciousness and understanding."

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1. Inessa, Victor Camilo, Lilian Jones, and Norman Reed, "It Is Only People's Games That You Got To Dodge," Weatherman, edited by Harold Jacobs (Berkeley, 1970), p. 432.
2. Bernardine Dohrn, "Communique #3 from the Weatherman Underground, Weatherman, p. 510.
3. Jacobs, p. 374.
4. Scanlan's Monthly reported in its January 1971 issue that the number of guerrilla acts of sabotage and terrorism in the United States between 1965 and 1970 have increased significantly from sixteen in 1965 to 236 in 1968. And in 1969 the number jumped to 503. These figures agreed in part with U.S. government information on the same period. But, the figures supplied by the government were considered by Scanlan's to be insufficient.
5. There are two levels of possible rhetorical analysis. One could examine the acts of terrorism themselves for rhetorical implications, or one could examine the rhetoric of justification. Since a more thorough study of ideology can be made with the rhetoric of justification, this is the level of rhetorical analysis used here.

6. Kenneth Burke, The Rhetoric of Religion (Berkeley, 1970).
7. Jacobs, pp. 434-435.
8. Jacobs, pp. 25-27.
9. Jacobs, p. 197.
10. All quotations are from The Berkeley Tribe and San Francisco Good Times as quoted in Jacobs, pp. 509-516.
11. Ibid., p. 339.
12. Ibid., p. 445.
13. All quotations in the second period are from Hundred Flowers, January 1, 1971, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
14. Shortly after the March 1, 1971 bombing of the Capital building in Washington, D.C., a five-page communique was sent to four news services claiming, "We have attacked the Capital," and was signed, "Weather Underground." It is doubtful that this communique was issued by the Weathermen themselves, since it was not signed or thumb-printed by a person associated with Weatherman, as has prviously been done. See: Hundred Flowers, March 27, 1971.

Comments on 'Today's Weather'

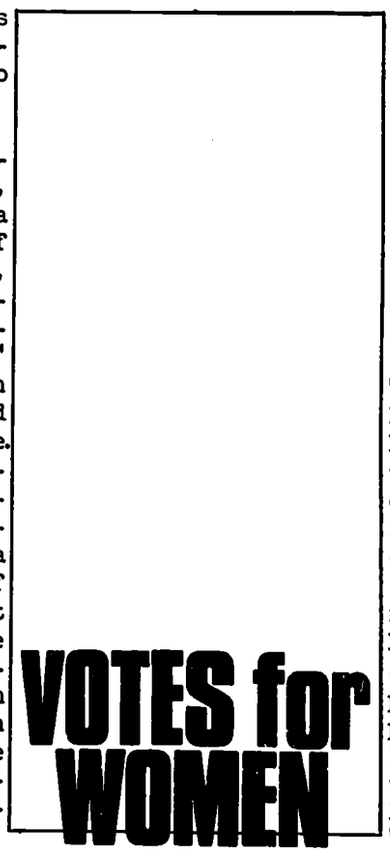
In MOMENTS/Present Tense, pages 75-79 of this issue, Ernest G. Bormann (Professor of Speech-Communication at the University of Minnesota) and Joseph W. Wenzel (Assistant Professor of Speech at the University of Illinois, Urbana) critically review Mr. Irving's analysis of the Weatherman movement. At one point, Professor Bormann notes: "The weatherman with a bomb in one hand and a pointer in the other noting the high pressure ridges seems somehow incongruent." Professor Wenzel observes: "It seems reasonable to suppose that the Weatherman had themselves achieved a level of readiness for revolutionary action which leaves rhetoric behind, which eschews explanation or justification as redundant behavior which merely impedes 'armed struggle.'"

THE RHETORIC OF A RADICAL MOVEMENT By Dan L. Miller

"Once upon a time--say, ten or even five years ago--a Liberated Woman was somebody who had sex before marriage and a job afterward." Or so claims Gloria Steinem, one of the leaders of National Women's Political Caucus in the feature article of the August 16 issue of Newsweek.[1] The advowed purpose of the caucus is to make women full partners in every facet of the American political process.

The growing awareness of the role of the political woman in America has been documented by none other than time honored predictor, George Gallup. In 1969, 54 percent of those questioned said that they would put a qualified woman in the White House. By August of this year, the level of consciousness has risen to 66 percent.[2]

Perhaps with the 12 percent shift of opinion, the time has come for a closer investigation of the Women's Liberation, its rhetoric, and its effectiveness in radicalizing "Adam's daughters." However, such an in depth investigation is beyond the scope of this article. Rather, this author proposes to examine a historically similar movement in the hopes that a fuller understanding of the American movement will be promoted. The movement under consideration here is the English suffrage movement, with the emphasis on Emmeline Pankhurst as the movement's most visible leader.



The suffragette movement of the early 1900's in England generally brings to mind a picture of a gentle, Edwardian skirted ladies placidly paraded in long-suffering lines to petition for rights.[3] However, this image is not universally correct, for the activities of Emmeline Pankhurst were to mark the beginning of a revolution in England that was to prove to be as significant a force for political change as the American Women's Lib. movement may yet achieve.

Anything but demure, the ladies fighting under the calico Pankhurst banner developed processually from carrying petitions to confrontation, to outright guerrilla warfare against men and property.[4] Although the dangers in attempting to describe a dynamic process are obvious, this author has selected a classification system with "stages" as best suited to indicate the types and the powers of the changing rhetoric utilized by the British suffragettes.

The suffrage movement in England appears to have had its origins in much the same fashion as various other movements already studied by rhetoricians, political scientists, sociologists, and related disciplines. First, there must develop a core of individuals who perceive their lot and experience dissatisfaction. In the debate metaphor, this process might be called the recognition of a "need for change." From

this core of dedicated workers, phase one of the movement developed when the advocaters of change attempted to disseminate their feelings and attitudes to others. The function of this stage is obvious. Before a group of like-minded individuals can have any impact they must have a sufficient unity and membership to be perceived as a "minority." Hence, it is this organization of workers and the membership canvas that marked the beginning of the British movement.

Emmeline Pankhurst did not begin her own political career as a radical militant. Rather, she began rather quitely with a small meeting in her own home. On October 10, 1903, largely upon the prompting of her daughter Christable, Emmeline Pankhurst summoned a few friends to her parlor to found the Women's Social and Political Union to campaign for "Votes for Women."

The organization of the Union is clearly a step along the path to radicalization. Mrs. Pankhurst recounts the specific reason for selecting the name of the new organization. "We voted to call our society the Women's Social and Political Union, partly to emphasize its democracy and partly to define its objectives as political rather than propagandist."[5] The political basis of a society of women was a departure from the existing British suffrage organizations.

Phase two is an attempt to gain recognition. It is during this stage that the newly emerging minority attempts to gain at least verbal and necessarily a public recognition of their existence. In this phase of development, it appears typical of the developing movement to use the "establishment" for favors.

While Mrs. Pankhurst and her devoted band of followers early saw the movement as a growing and significant minority, the majority of Edwardian England was not yet ready to confer this mantle of status onto the group. From speaking at Wakes, where in Emmeline's own words "We rivaled in popularity the Salvation Army and even the tooth drawers and patent-medicine peddlers."[6] Mrs. Pankhurst began to court the power structure. Typical of most idealists unaccustomed to the realities of the power structure, her approach might even be termed foolish nisus. She and those friends of her former lawyer-husband in Parliament, urging them to support the vote for women. As might have been predicted, the response she received was minimal at best. She held a few gatherings at her home, but only a few attended.

Realizing that a new strategy was needed to secure the type of recognition that the movement needed, Mrs. Pankhurst went to London where she met daughter Sylvia, and together they began to "lobby" for the vote. According to Sylvia, who was making her debut as a lobbyist, she "knew we had an uphill task before us, but I had no conception of how hard and discouraging it was to be."[7] Although they did succeed in getting one member to champion their cause, they failed to secure the type of recognition they sought.

Despite the failure of the formal approach, the movement did not falter. This time it was Christabel Pankhurst who accomplished what Sylvia and Emmeline's methods could not. Christabel plummeted the movement into the public eye when she, along with Annie Kenney attended a meeting of the Liberty Party in 1905 at the Manchester Free Trade Hall. As Sir Edward Grey, later to become Foreign Secretary, spoke, Christabel rose to ask him if the Liberal government would give the vote to women. As she spoke, a home-made banner was unfurled--a symbol that was to later characterize the movement for the British public. Re-

ceiving no reply, Christabel and Annie persisted in their questions and distractions until they were physically ejected by the steward and handed over to the police.

Edwardian England was shocked. The newspapers, which for years had ignored the women's suffrage movement, bannered the story and subsequent arrest and interment of the ladies. A pattern was set for the future.

Hence, Christabel's "shocking" behavior did accomplish phase two in the movement. She did effectively secure a public recognition of the movement on a national scale. However, it was not the same type of recognition for which Mrs. Pankhurst had hoped. The establishment did not shower the growing minority with favors. Rather, the recognition grew out of confrontation which propelled the movement into phase three and it was this pattern of confrontation which was to characterize the movement for the British public for the remainder of the campaign for votes for women.

At almost every meeting at which a candidate spoke was also attended by women hecklers bearing homemade white banners proclaiming, "Votes for Women." The hecklers were successful: Usually the banners were confiscated, the ladies removed, or even upon occasion, locked in side rooms.

The women achieved one of their purposes: They had drawn attention from all over the land to their cause, and votes for women had become an item on the national agenda. Through confrontation, publicity, and public reaction, the establishment was forced to recognize that there was a growing number of individuals dedicated to the idea of female suffrage.

Phase three of the movement marks the beginnings of planned radical behavior. Through this technique, the ladies were able to give themselves a self-identity separate from other suffrage groups, and by the same techniques of confrontation, they defined the limits of their minority group for the public. Acting rhetorically, the ladies deliberately sought imprisonment to call attention to the injustice of the laws. They spoke in rounds in Parliament, one speaking until arrested and as she was taken away, another taking her place, continuing the address until she too, was removed. They served short terms in jail, and gave fervent speeches upon release. Mrs. Pankhurst established her own identity within the movement by being subjected to physical hardships, and eventually to serving long terms in prison.

In all of this activity, the ladies were striving to gain both an internal as well as external understanding. Internally, they were attempting to demonstrate their unique call to the movement and the sense of duty, at all costs, to see the movement through to its final political goal.

The rhetoric of the movement is enlightening here in the sense that it provides insights concerning the duties of members:

> "In the first place, our members are absolutely single minded: they concentrate all their forces on one object, political equality with men. No member of the WSPU divides her attention between suffrage and other social reforms."[9]

Thus did Mrs. Pankhurst describe members of the WSPU to prospective members. Or later in 1906 to a meeting of Trade Unionists in Downing Street, Mrs. Pankhurst described WSPU members thus:

> "We feel this question (the vote) so keenly that we are prepared to sacrifice for it life itself, or what is perhaps even harder, the means by which we live."[10]

Externally, the ladies were attempting to gain a wider understanding of the reasons for the movement--i.e., the public presentation of their "need." In her autobiography, Mrs. Pankhurst recounts how they went about the task of educating the public:

> "The first thing we did was to enter upon a sensational campaign to arouse the public to the importance of woman suffrage, and to interest it in our plans for forcing the Government's hands. I think we can claim that our success in this regard was instant, and that it had proved permanent. From the very first, in those early London days, when we were few in number and very poor in purse, we made the public aware of the woman suffrage movement as it had never been before."[11]

The rest of the history of the WSPU is one of increasing hostility toward those who refused women the vote. As the actions of the ladies changed, so did their rhetoric. With the increased activism, the women ceased to ask the establishment for favors, and began to demand their rights. From this stance, it was only a short shift into the military metaphor which characterized the substance of the rhetoric of the movement.

Secret militancy replaced the older more spectacular demonstrations as both public and private property was attacked. In a 1912 meeting in Albert Hall, Mrs. Pankhurst voiced the strategy of the WSPU:

> "It has never been, and never will be, the policy of the Women's Society and Political Union to endanger life. We leave that to the enemy. We leave that to men in their warfare. It is not the method of women! ...There is something which Government cares for more than human life: the security of property. It is through property we shall strike the enemy."[12]

The "enemy" appeared to be everywhere. Secret night meetings were held where young women were briefed on attacks and supplied with "weapons." Arson became a tool as country mansons, railway stations, and sporting arenas were burned to the ground. Lloyd George's incomplete new home was bombed. Pictures in national art galleries were slashed, and with the aid of acid, the ladies even burned the legend "Votes for Women" into golfing greens.

Obviously, after voicing a political philosophy with such an emphasis on destructive violence, repression by the establishment increased. The ladies were driven "underground" in an attempt at self-preservation. As a result, the ladies became more adament than ever before as the battle metaphor indicates. In 1912, Mrs. Pankhurst appeared before an Albert Hall meeting, this time in the role of the valiant warrior addressing her forces:

> "I incite this meeting to rebellion! I say to the Government: 'You have not dared to take the leaders of Ulster for their incitement to rebellion. Take me, if you dare: but so long as men rebel and and voters are at liberty, you will not keep me in prison!"[13]

But the government did dare to take her, and in 1913, while on trial, the war metaphor was again voiced:

> "Whatever sentence you pass upon me I shall do what is humanly possible to terminate it. I have no sense of guilt... I feel I have done my duty. I look upon myself as a prisoner of war."[14]

The beginning of World War I marked the end of the active suffragette movement in England. The nation was plunged into danger, and the country seemed to feel the need to pull together. There was little activity in the suffrage movement; their fantasy, their metaphoric expression seemed to lose its power in the face of an even

larger threatened injustice. However, these not quite demure Edwardian ladies had made their point: The nation was aware of the issue. In 1918, Parliament granted women the right to vote.

The study of any movement must attempt to account for process and the dynamics of change. The suffragettes under the leadership of Emmeline Pankhurst did not utilize a stagnant, static rhetoric. Rather, their development as a movement with fairly distinct phases was paralled by the development of different metaphors to express their ideas. Their rhetoric began by asking for the vote, then came the demand, followed closely by the military/martyr metaphor. The final and most radical rhetoric adopted a military metaphor replete with the enemy, the warrior, and the prisoner of war complexes.

It is perhaps too early to draw a distinct or strict analogy between the British "Votes for Women" movement and the American movement centering around Women's Lib. However, certain emerging parallels may be observed from which it might be possible to posit certain predictions for the American ladies. One initial and significant disclaimer needs to be made however, and that is the fact that to date there is little unity within the Women's Lib movement. That is, they have yet to congegrate around a central figure as did the British, and they have yet to polarize around a specific ideological loci. They have, instead, several leaders of national importance and just as many differing "levels of consciousness" as indicated by the rhetoric of the positions they advocate.

Still, strong similarities in terms of techniques, strategies, and development may be observed. It would appear that some women are at phase one of radicalization process. Such rather conservative figures as Congresswoman Shirley Chisolm of New York appear to make more women aware of their needs as a minority group. In a campaign speech titled "Of Course Women Dare" she states:

> "America has been sufficiently sensitized to the answer whether or not black people are willing to fight and die for their rights to make the question itself asinine and superfluous. America is not yet sufficiently aware that such a question applied to women is equally asinine and superfluous."[15]

Is such a position merely propagandistic? Not hardly, because later Congresswoman Chisolm declares that "women have a special contribution to make to help bring order out of chaos..." In short, Shirley is trying to convince other women that they "have special qualities of leadership" and that "women must participate more in the legislative process."[16] Obviously then, like Mrs. Pankhurst's founding of WSPU, Congresswoman Chisom is opting for a political role for women.

But other spokeswomen for the movement are already taking positions typical of phase two of the movement. They appear to be seeking a public recognition by courting the establishment for favors. On the issue of Day Care centers for example, several journals voice the position that these centers should be more extensive, adequately funded and expanded in scope. For example, Louise Gross and Phyllis Mac Ewan enter a plan for officials to consider the centers as "an environment for child raising." This is in contrast to the establishment view which "has been motivated by the 'needs' of the economy rather than by a concern for the welfare of either women or children."[17]

On the other hand, other ladies are already engaged in more radical rhet-

oric in an attempt to gain a wider public recognition. Activities here extend all the way from protests like the one launched against the Miss America contest in November of 1968 to the New York "Congress to Unite Women" to the Redstockings Manifesto issued in mid-1969:

> "We call on all our sisters to unite with us in struggle. We call on all men to give up their male privileges and support women's liberation in the interest of our humanity and their own....This time we are going all the way."[18]

In short, it would appear that some ladies are moving as predicted towards a confrontation tactic which is typical of phase three.

There can be little doubt that some women are already opting for planned radical behavior. In November 1969, The Women's Monthly ran an essay entitled "Women Unite for Revolution" which advocated specific lines of action regarding political power, sex roles, the law, and abortion.

In fact, in an attempt to assist other sisters who take up the cause publically, Sally Medora Wood has written a speaker's manual entitled "Questions I Should Have Answered Better: A Guide to Women Who Dare to Speak Publicly" which advises advocates to anticipate questions and then spells out specific answers to be utilized.

Other ladies have found additional artistic avenues to employ. Poetry published in leaflet form by Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell is perhaps one of the best examples of the radical rhetoric being

> "We are going to stop
> all confinement of women.
>
> WITCH calls down destruction
> on Babylon
> Oppressors:
> the curse of women is on you.
>
> DEATH TO MALE CHAUVINISM."[19]

To date, the American ladies involved in Women's Lib are not as united and at the same levels of awareness which was characteristic of the "Voices for Women" movement. However, individually, some members of the movement have progressed through a period of asking for equality and are now engaged in demanding certain "rights." If history is any guide, unless these demands are listened to honestly and met, the average American male may indeed find that the widely publicized "bra-burners" could prove capable of setting far larger items ablaze.

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1. "Gloria Steinem: A Liberated Woman Despite Beauty, Chic and Success," Newsweek, August 16, 1971, p. 55.
2. Ibid.
3. This picture results in part from the "selective" process inherent in writing any history text; however, it is probably more directly traced to the existence of two non-military suffrage groups in England during this same period. See: David Mitchell, The Fighting Pankhursts (New York, 1967), pp. 701 ff.
4. Dudley Barker, Prominent Edwardians (New York, 1968), p. 37.
5. Emmeline Pankhurst, My Own Story (New York, 1914), p. 37.
6. E. Sylvia Pankhurst, The Life of Emmeline Pankhurst (Boston, 1936), p. 71.
7. E.S. Pankhurst, Suffragette, p. 11.
8. Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle (New York, 1968), p. 251.

9. Emmeline Pankhurst, p. 57.
10. E.S. Pankhust, Life, p. 60.
11. Emmeline Pankhurst, pp. 61-62.
12. E.S. Pankhurst, Life, p. 116.
13. Ibid., p. 117.
14. Ibid., p. 128.
15. Unpublished Campaign Speech, 1970, supplied by office of Congresswoman Shirley Chisom.
16. Ibid.
17. Louise Gross and Phyllis MacEwan, "On Day Care," from WOMEN: A Journal of Liberation, 1970.
18. Leslie B. Tanner, ed., Voices from Women's Liberation (New York, 1970), p. 111.
19. Ibid., p. 123.

GRADUATE STUDENT'S MOTHER GOOSE by Virginia Kidd

There was an old woman
Lived out by the loop
Had far too many children
For an effective small group

She divided them up
Assigned task force interaction
Let each evolve a role
And dealt with them all as abstractions

"The esoteric deviations (necrophilia, zoophilia, coprophilia, non-assaultive fetishism, partialism) are statistically and criminologically insignificant. Cunnilingus is now widely accepted among sexologists as normal precopulative sex play, while transvestitism is rapidly becomming the victim of changing hair and clothing styles which are erasing external differences between male and female. Masterbation, fornication and adultery in twentieth century America are considered 'crimes' only by legislative, judicial and canonical anachronism; and seduction, statutory rape...consensual adolescent sex experimentation, miscengenation, plural marriage (polygamy), and geographical and jurisdictional violations are not, for the purposes of this discussion, considered 'sex crimes'...."
The Introduction to Sex Offenses and Sex Offenders, by Dr. McNamara

SEX AND SEXUALITY-- A Revolutionary Ethic

By James W. Chesebro

Changing conceptions of deviation and the emergence of Women's Liberation, Gay Liberation and more recently Men's Liberation have lead some to conclude that America is now in the midst of a "sexual revolution." Yet, from a functional standpoint, American sexual behavior has not undergone any drastic change since the 1920's. Comparing data collected in 1920 and 1963, Professor Ira. L. Reiss found little change in sexual behavior itself since the 1920's, but he did find that American attitudes about their sexual behavior is drastically changing. A "consolidation process," notes Reiss, is taking place in which "a change in attitudes" is beginning to "match the change in behavior."[1] As sociologists Smigel and Seiden put it: "If there has been a sexual revolution (similar to the 1920's but ideologically different), it is in terms of frankness about sex and freedom to discuss it."[2] Nonetheless, this revolutionary attitude possesses a power equal to the behavioral change of the 1920's. This attitude is creating new perceptions and evaluations of virtually every religious, political, cultural, and economic institution and social process in America.

In this piece, we shall initially identify and describe the sexual revolution that has occurred in America, paying deference to both the behavioral and attitudinal dimensions of the change. However, we shall focus primarily upon the gap that now exists between what people <u>are</u> doing and thinking about sex and what people assume they <u>should</u> be doing and thinking about sex. Typically, sexual ethics are the mechanism which could close this gap for ethical systems ought to be constant re-evaluations which ultimately provide a responsive set of prescriptions relevant to social and human development.[3] Because these ethical systems are generally verbal statements, a rhetorical analysis would seem to be extremely appropriate. Indeed, we shall examine sexual ethics as rhetorical acts--actions designed to convey a message to others. As rhetorical acts, sexual ethics become prescriptive messages designed to provide security and practical guidelines for interpersonal sexual activity and are responsive, hopefully, to the needs of a people in the midst of revolutionary behavioral and attitudal change. Given this perspective, the major argumentative stance adopted here is that most common sexual ethics are unresponsive to people and do not provide the relevant and viable foundation needed for a meaningful sexual ethic. As a result, this analysis concludes by examining a set of messages which most would find extreme. Yet, these extremes do reflect a dimension of the norm, but more important they can function as a valuable source of knowledge--much as Freudian psychology, an extreme, provided a refreshing and valuable perspective for psychologists in its day. In this particular case, the emerging sadomasochist liberation movements are examined for the ethical contributions that they can provide in the construction of a relevant and contemporary sexual ethic.

<u>The Loss of American Virginity</u>

The "sexual revolution," as a rejection of puritan ethics and Victorian morality, occurred in the generation born in the 1900-1909 decade which "came to sexual age during or immediately after World War I."[4] A direct factor contributing to this behavioral revolution was Freud and Breuer's <u>Studies in Hysteria</u>. <u>Studies</u> was published in 1895, but "it was not until after the war that the Freudian gospel began to circulate to a marked extent among the American reading public."[5] <u>Studies</u> popularized psychoanalytic theory, freed individuals from the puritan anxieties about sex, and stimulated the publication of sexual material by sexologists, sociologists,

anthropologists, and psychologists.

Moreover, the change in sexual practices among Americans was influenced by political, economic, technological, cultural and demographic dimensions as well as rates of invention, acculturation, cultural diffusion, and resistence to change. The Industrial Revolution initiated increased social and geographic mobility, the growth of industrial centers (concentrated urban populations), rationality (the loss of religion), the emergence of the nuclear family (social isolation and decreased family size), and increased education.[6] These changes, note Smigel and Seiden, directly affected American sexual mores and practices:

> "As the population moves from small towns and intimate personal relationships to urban centers, old forms of social control breaks down. This disintergration and the accompanying anonymity is speeded by new and faster forms of transportation which further increases the possibilities of anonymity and independence. A rational society affects the individual's world view, and he tends to see his own life in terms of more rational standards. As the extended kinship system dissolves and loses its importance, mate-selection processes become a more personal responsibility, and increase the importance of peer group norms, which take precedence over family norms. In the evolving industrial society, women take a new and larger part in the working world, thereby securing greater independence for themselves and increased equality in male-female relationships. The general increase in education has made possible widespread dissemination of sex information to the public."[7]

In the early 1960's, paralleling and a part of the protest and drop-out movement among young people, sexual attitudes began to align with sexual behavior. This merger of behavior and attitude, essentially among young people, was a step toward authenticity. Although permissiveness (premarital sexual intercourse) had been a recognized and fairly stable feature of American life since the 1920's, by 1968 young Americans began to recognize "permissiveness with affection" as "the favored standard for both males and females."[8] The standard was essentially an individual and personal matter[9] strongly influenced by peer group members[10] in the social context of the American bars or pubs which institutionalized:

> "a system of bringing together like-minded people; they speed the dating process, for they offer this particular group of affluent young people a wide variety of partners to choose from, and they can choose quickly, independently, and frequently."[11]

Sexually, the 1960's were strongly influenced by this step toward authenticity.

Concomitant to authenticity, there was a marked effort to eliminate dehumanized sexual encounters--"the use of prostitutes has diminished,"[12] and sexual gender is considered a less compelling factor in determining personality expectations (sometimes this called the "depolarization of sex roles"[13]). It was in this context that Women's Liberation appeared in 1968, Gay Liberation in 1969 and Men's Liberation in 1970. From the perspective adopted here, these movements are not surprising and, in one sense, could have been predicted.

Sexual Ethics Disappear

The increase in sexual permissiveness was also accompanied by an increase in insecurity. Predictable "rules" governing human sexual relationships were diminished and role expectations were, and continue to be, unclear. Sociologist Charles Winich has been

nble to conclude:

> "Multivalent, amorphous, and depolarized roles might theoretically lead to increased flexibility and options in behavior, but in actuality may tend to invoke uncertainly. Some tolerance of ambiguity is desirable for a healthy personality, but today's environment and culture are ambiguous enough to tax the adaptability of even the healthiest personalities."[14]

It might be expected that durable ethical standards would be readily available for this period of change. Moreover, it might be expected that the elders would provide the leadership and experience needed to identify and impliment these ethical standards. However, as with several other social-political issues,[15] the elders have provided no satisfactory answers. Regardless of their political positions, they have not provided meaningful standards.

From many of the conservative elders, the response is similar to the stance found in the Dutch Catechism:

> "The great guide in these matters, better than hard and fast rules, is the chastity of courtship which is characterized by an intimacy which still keeps a healthy distance from the total surrender of marriage.... As long as the bond has not been confirmed by Church and State, it is not definitive hence, though the young people may have become very intimate, sexual intercourse in such a situation is irresponsible.. ..From all these human reasons, we can deduce God's will and law--that only married people should live together."[16]

Rhetorically, this message is strongly controlled by a religious-moralistic metaphor[17] and indirectly implies returning to the Victorian-puritan system by reversing the evolution of the technocractic society and denying a basic human drive. As the Reiss study indicates, this conventional, conservative wisdom was not, then, even adopted by the elders and the elders would appear to proclaim a principle which they themselves found impossible to sustain as young people. As Smigel and Seiden have aptly noted: "The parent generation is far more conservative than the younger generation--and is apparently more conservative than it was when it was the younger generation."[18]

The advice of the American liberal is likewise unresponsive to the attitudes that already exist. The traditional liberal response is that all sexual behavior ought to be permitted if the relationships exist among "consenting adults in private." Rhetorically, the position is controlled by a legalistic metaphor which necessarily minimizes the overpowering interpersonal issues young people currently face. One is even tempted to suggest that the liberal position is a form of indifference. Yet, because the liberal position is more responsive than the conservative stance, it is appropriate to consider each of the liberal prescriptions in greater detail.

First, the liberal argues that the relationship must be a "consenting" relationship. The concept of "consenting relationship" does preclude force and violent crimes such as rape, but it is not a standard that would affect or alter most relationships. While a minimum standard, the standard is baldly irrelevant to the question raised here. Yet, the standard can become destructive to the extent that it is maximizes "self-reliance." Highly consistent with the liberal stance is a commitment to independent and individual decision-making (cast strategically as "self-reliance). But in terms of sexual ethics, self-reliance fails to provide a <u>social</u> standard or set of guidelines that affect the quality of <u>inter</u>personal relation-

ships.

Second, the liberal argues that the relationship must be an "adult" interaction. The concept of an "adult relationship" is generally defined by legislative or legalistic dictate and generally means sex only at the age of 21 or 18. The definitional category is a direct denial of the biological fact that puberty begins at 13--perhaps earlier now. The concept of an "adult relationship" becomes irrelevant to young people, if not destructive if the law is, in fact, enforced.

Finally, the liberal argues that relationships must occur in "private." The concept of "private relationships" stems from a fear of sex itself and a fear of emotionality--the implication might be phrased somewhat like this: "If you must do it, do it so I can't see you." This fear of publicly proclaimed passions stems from a commitment to rationality and denies the beauty and naturalness of sex as a dimension of the social humanity shared by all people. The stance parallels (may emerge from) the kind of argument made by St. Jerome: "He who too ardently loves his wife is an adulterer." Moreover, the demand that sexual relations be "private" affairs reinforces the schizophrenic personality wherein a person must be one thing in "private" but another in "public." The liberal response has simply, then, not been responsive to many young people.

Likewise, the radical or revolutionary response is unresponsive or more aptly put, "underdeveloped," at this point in time. Standards are only haphazardly evident in the "movement." Negative prescriptions are the most popular. Rules guiding interpersonal sexual behavior ought not be, for example, based upon the sex, sexuality, or sexual preference of a person--the writings of Women's and Gay Liberation are abundant at this point. However, these negative prescriptions do not indicate what ought to be a desirable and functional mode of interaction--in a sense, the negative prescription demands a change without indicating the direction or nature of change sought.

Positive prescriptions are difficult to detect among movement people. At points, for example, there is an implicit assumption that interpersonal sexual behavior ought to be essentially a personal matter. However, the stance seems to be a "hang-over" from liberal ideology and does, in fact, directly deny the radical's quest for "collective" living and community identity and decision-making. Perhaps the clearest positive statements heard have taken the form of slogans: "Make Love, Not War" and "If It Feels Good Do It." The clear indication is that sexual relationships ought to be non-competitive, non-violent, pleasurable, and spontaneous. Initially, however, it ought to be noted that these "prescriptions" are often contradictory in practice and generally would not be explicit enough to be "guidelines" for community interactions. On a broader base, however, these "prescriptions" are intended to provide the foundation for a re-assertion of humanism in a sharing society. Yet, the standards remain too ambiguous. Unanswered questions remain: "Is it enough to treat all people as equals?" "What does it mean to treat someone else as a human being?" "What is the best way to share?" "Do I lose self-control in a humanistic, sharing society?" "May I say that I have a 'wife' or 'lover' in such a system or am I treating a person like a possession in making such a claim?" Put another way: "How would a humanistic, sharing society affect me personally?"

The Great American Denial

The quest for a meaningful set of standards to guide young people today is not easily resolved. However, one

ethical system has recently emerged which may yield important insights for the development of a new sexual ethic. The source of these insights would not be predicted and the source itself may mean that many people are unable to deal with the message itself. But I would argue that the S&M Liberation movement does provide important answers to the questions raised although most would deny the validity of the source and hence the message itself.

At the same time, there can be no denying that sadomasochistic relationships exist. Eight percent of males and five percent of females are regularly engaged in such relationships.[19] Moreover, 20 percent of males and 12 percent of females are sexually aroused by sadomasochistic stories.[20] Packard notes:

> "a surprisingly large number of students--both male and female--report they have participated in pain inflicting activities during acts of intimacy. And I am talking about acts that go beyond pinching and biting."[21]

Clinical Professor of Psychiatry Dr. Leon Salzman notes that sadomasochism is neither unique nor bound to any particular temporal period. As he puts it, there is a "universality and timelessness about sadomasochistic phenomena."[22] Salzman's claim is supported by Professor Ford and Beach's survey of nearly two hundred human societies.[23]

Even if one grants the universality and timelessness of sadomasochistic behavior, the issue is not eliminated by claiming that only a small and atypical minority participates in such activity. Degrees of sadomasochistic activity are common among most people. As Professor of Clinical Psychology at Indiana University Medical Center Eugene Levitt puts it, "Mildly painful stimulation may be relatively normal."[24] Ford and Beach suggest that the association of mild pain with coital activity "is regular and characteristic in many human societies," and further note that "for most people high levels of erotic arousal tend to generate moderately assaultive tendencies."[25]

To the extent that sadomasochism is defined as assault, the phenomenon has clearly affected the American culture itself. George De Coulteray's study of Sadism in the Movies identifies the brawl, wound, firearms, weapons, war, the killer, death (asphixiation, the atom, cataclysm, creamation, crucifixion, crushing, decapitation, electrocution, engulfment, burial, epidemic, mastication, plague, sawing, strangulation, handing), rape, the whip, torture, the slap, spanking, the torture chamber, acid, burning wax, molten lead, boiling oil, sexual assasins, and vampires as common forms of American amusement.[26] Moreover, social psychologists have found that Americans appreciate membership in organizations more if there is punishment associated with joining the organization.[27] Other social psychologists have found that people experiencing great fear prefer others experiencing similar fear rather than calm company,[28] work better if they are deprived,[29] and are more likely to harm the pacificist.[30] When sadomasochism is defined as mental or physical assault, it would appear to be a common cultural behavior in this society.

At the same time, most Americans would deny reality. The denial occurs through verbal denunciations and more commonly through silence. When mentioned, masochism is viewed as a form of passive, suicidal victimization. Sadism is viewed as a form of unleased and uncontrolled passion stemming from a power stance designed to kill another person. Dr. Levitt has attempted to capture the popular mythology associated with sadomasochism:

> "The phenomenon is variously portrayed as associated with obsessive

neurosis, manic-depressive psychosis, paranoia, drug addiction, lack of achievement drive, and political radicalism."[31]

De Coulteray notes that sadism is popularly associated with "gangsters"or with "torturing Nazi-style."[32] Even the radical-revolutionary---theoretically the most open to differences among people--employ "sadism" or "masochism" as the ultimate in derogatory terms. Kate Millett, for example, argues that Mailer and Lawrence employ masculinity as a disguise for "sexual sadism."[33] Americans want to believe that sadomasochist relationships are the most extreme form of social-sexual relationships within this society and the desire has almost created a fantasy in which all agree not to recognize or speak about the subject. The effort succeeded for years but with the advent of S&M Liberation as a movement, that fantasy may come to a rapid halt.

S&M Liberation

Sadomasochistic liberation appeared in the early part of 1971, initially before radical-revolutionary groups. The demands were similar to the demands heard from other oppressed groups. They seek recognition and respect for their existence as people, understanding of their life-styles, equal rights despite differences, the right to define their own identity, and the right to form communities with all rights given any other community. Since their first appearance, these demands have attracted interest. The Village Voice has carried articles dealing with sadomasochist liberation, the popular, "serious and authoritative" magazine Sexual Behavior has devoted a major section of its September 1971 issue to the group, and Ramparts has provided a pictorial analysis of sadomasochism. There is every reason to believe that a great deal more will be heard from and about the group.

In recognizing the birth and apparant importance of S&M Liberation, one is tempted to assess the worth of these particular relationships or to ask if sadomasochism might become a more popular sexual norm. However, it would seem that such questions might be more appropriately addressed by the liberation speakers themselves. The central focus of this analysis is upon the kind of value system advocated by those now association with S&M Liberation and the quest is to determine if these speakers provide an interpersonal model for sexual ethics that may be directly related to we non-sadomasochists.

Initially, it would seem that sadomasochism would be completely antithetical to the development of a sexual ethic grounded in meaningful self-liberation. Yet, Terry Kolb, speaking for "Masochist's Lib," directly deals with such a perspective:

> "Let us clear up certain misconceptions about masochism. Not all forms of suffering are pleasurable to any masochist. We each have our pet ways of enjoying our misery. These ways will vary considerably from one individual to another. No two masochists are alike. We are not really 'passive' either, although that is a favorite word we use. We all want to dictate the terms under which we will be treated. This is a vital fact, very seldom recognized....The conclusion is that there is no inconsistency whatsoever in a masochist wishing to alter the conditions of society so that he is not the really helpless victim of social repression. We desire the same freedoms other people desire and are enraged when forced to assume an inferior status against our will."[34]

Likewise, sadism is not to be equated to oppression or the desire to limit the freedoms of others. P.N. Dedeaux, speaking for "Sade Lib," notes:

"True sadism is a style. It has nothing to do with concentration camps, OAS tortures in Algeria, or shelfloads of novels stacked around Times Square...Swinburne knew that the aesthetic power, and loss of self involved, turns so-called 'sadism' into the most exquisite intensification of true love, and makes of its practioners the most tender of people as well as the most ardent of lovers."[35]

From this initial perspective, it is not clear that S&M relationships can viewed as maximizations of the Freudian "death wish." Pain would not be equated to harm or displeasure. Pain would be equated to pleasure. The Freudian principle that no one seeks death is not overtly denied by the existence of S&M relationships. S&M relationships are efforts to maximize the pleasure associated with living--as with all people. The only difference is that pleasure is derived from selective forms of pain. Dr. Levitt has noted that for, "Most laymen" the "quest for pain" is "inconceivable." Freud himself felt that masochism was "incomprehensible."[36] Perhaps, then, the explanations offered by S&M speakers in May of 1971 provides an important dimension:

"The damage done by the tongue, by saying things in ordinary relationships which have S&M undertones is more damaging than the physical acting out done by consenting S&M. The average sadist is not going to go beyond reasonable bounds because he has a reputation to uphold and sadists are very self-disciplined. You see there is a lot of referring done between S's and M's. Cases where someone is taken home and put in the hospital are rare."[37]

Another spokesman put the point this way:

"S&M isn't cruelty, because it's pleasure for the M. This S&M is just a manification of normal sexual relationships, especially heterosexual ones....When an M indicates he's had enough, the S usually stops unless he's looking for the gas chamber."[38]

Dedeaux attempts to highlight the point by noting that the Marquis de Sade and sadism cannot be equated:

"Sadeanism isn't Sadism, the two forces met head on. But Sade was going in one direction and the true Sadist is going in the other."[39]

This denial of the "death wish" by S&M speakers is highly consistent with the reactions of clinical psychiatrists. Dr. Salzman notes, for example, that:

"Actually masochists may have to experience some pain in order to function successfully, but the goal is eventually to derive pleasure and reward by accepting some pain. The sadist operates in a similar fashion; the inflicting of some pain or humiliation on the accepting partner is to guarantee some bondage or dependency to fulfill more extensive needs beyond the immediate sexual interests."[40]

Dr. Levitt notes that, "It is important to realize that pain per se is not attractive to the masochist and generally not to the sadist."[41] From a sociological perspective, the same conclusions have been reached.[42] For those engaged in S&M, then, there is a clear rejection of death and clearly a desire for pleasure. Although the way in which pleasure is secured may differ, clearly the S&M must be confident of any decision made, must have developed trust between each other--such a relationship would automatically be examined for ethical guidelines especially when other ethical systems seem to avoid such concerns.

Foundations for a Sexual Ethic

S&M relationships provide, then, a pragmatic model wherein a sexual ethic is not a luxary item, but a necessity crucial to the safety, pleasure, happiness and life of the people involved. We could, in extracting the

meaning of this model, turn to the writings of a new school of people now involved in developing new perspectives of interpersonal communication--Carl Rogers, Erich Fromm, and Martin Buber. Yet, the social and pragmatic meaning of these new interpersonal viewpoints is often ambiguous as we are told to develop love for one's self or that affirmation of the self is an internal, individual disclosure process. These messages are important but we often find it helpful to proceed inductively in theory building. The message S&M provides can be important to us, and we may even conclude that the message is more meaningful and credible than we initially expected simply because the life-style commitment is so great.

In defining the foundations for a sexual ethic, it is important to note what that ethic is not as well as what it is. A meaningful sexual ethic, for S&M relationships, is not based upon a desire or quest for a legally sanctioned marriage. As Dedeaux puts it, "Our is the last romanticism....Public exhibition always qualifies fantasy...Our encounters come, indeed, from the depths of the soul and challenge the profoundest sources of the imagination."[43] The meaning of a relationship, then, emerges from self and cannot emerge from a desire to satisfy legal sanction or conventions. Rituals easily become routine. Thus, the ultimate ethic must be governed by interpersonal issues, not restrictions such as "adults only."

Within an interpersonal framework, a sexual ethic is framed first upon the recognition that sexual relationships are also social relationships. While sexual relationships are biological, the "biological release" is not a sufficient justification or foundation for sexual relations with another person: "No good S&M is likely to evolve in a one-night liason. The chances of going out and having a relationship work out perfectly for both partners is very small."[44] The implication is very clear--a sexual ethic would be based upon a conception of sex as a "socio-sexual" relationship which necessarily requires that time and energy be expended. Biologically, we know that a sexual act alters the brain patterns and sets off significant social implications for most people. Although we may squarely deny the advocates of "sexual freedom," a humanistic perspective would demand that we recognize the profound social implications of sexual behavior and frame a sexual ethic within this context admitting that duration and commitment are human characteristics in all social and humane environments.

Second, the relationship requires understanding. As Kolb puts it:

> "The s/m relationship is the most democratic relationship that exists! Yes, democratic! The two consenting partners must work very hard to achieve a compatible relationship because so much depends on relating the fantasies of each partner to the other....A great deal of intuition, ability to improvise, and cooperation is needed."[45]

As one of the New York S&M panelists put it:

> "You don't jump right in on first go-round. You have to gain confidence. If you take someone home and tie him up and he becomes frightened, this is a turn off. S&M should be a way of erotically turning on."[46]

In this context, then, understanding is equality, compatibility, intuition, cooperation, confidence, and erotic. A sexual act should emerge from and reflect this sense of understanding.

Third, the relationships should promote growth and development. Stability is replaced by a commitment to change, to experiment, and to constantly maximize the abilities of the

people involved in the relationship. A relationship is stagnate if the people involved do not become more than they were when they first entered the relationship. As Kolb notes, "a person with a weakly developed imagination cannot become a masochist....I simply wish to make it clear that the form of ecstasy we are into reaches sublime heights."[47] We would expect, then, that a sexual ethic would entail guidelines for mutual change and growth and that a relationship which fails to achieve this objective would require re-consideration for the health of all people involved.

Finally, the relationship should be a "loving" relationship. The concept of a "loving" relationship shifts our attention to a higher level of awareness. Rather than being solely concerned with specific factors (sex as social interaction, understanding or growth) of a relationship, we begin to assess the overall relationship that exists between two or more people. The effort is to secure a set of patterns in the relationship that makes the overall relationship satisfying, exciting (risk-taking), meaningful and kind. Dedeaux, in describing S&M relationships, grapples with this issue by noting that "true love" makes "its practitioners the most ardent of lovers" and that "sex as pure power" embraces a "total love."[48] While not attempting to define "love," yet confident that it does include the three standards mentioned above, we note that it forces us to consider the overall interactions.

Conclusion

We have argued that a meaningful sexual ethic must be based upon a closer unity between sex and social interactions based upon understanding, growth, development, and love. Current sexual ethics avoid these interpersonal issues and would recommend that sexual ethics be guided by legal, religious or moral societal standards. As a result, contemporary social prescriptions are tied to a concern for sexuality, sexual preference, age, the place where the sexual act occurs, and whether a relationship is legally approved by the State and/or Church. The framework does not seem appropriate to the changes this society has experienced. As a result, we have examined the prescriptions guiding the S&M relationship for valuable input in the construction of a new sexual ethic. We have concluded that any social relationship that promotes understanding, growth and love is consistent with the changes we now experience. Other restrictions would seem far less reliable as guidelines. We need, then to change the reality described by S&M speakers. No longer should the speakers be able to claim that, "An S&M relationship requires more trust and more confidence and deeper personal understanding than ordinary relationships."

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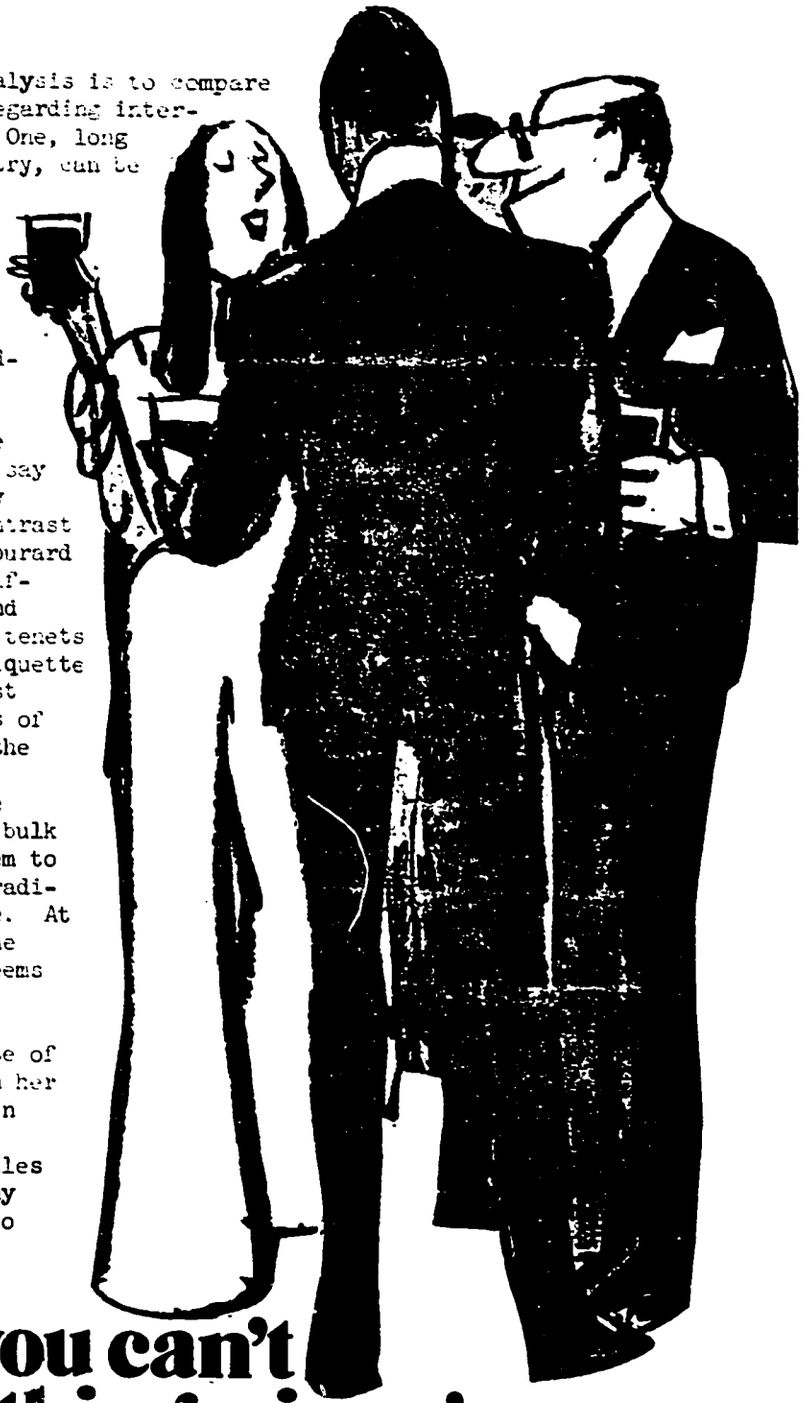
GRADUATE STUDENT'S MOTHER GOOSE by Virginia Kidd

The king was in the counting house
   Counting out his money
The qeen was in the kitchen
   Eating bread and honey
The maid was in the backyard
   Hanging out the clothes
If you neglect the social dimension
   Your whole group goes



'If you can't say something nice...'

EMILY POST vs. CARL ROGERS, et al.

By Virginia Kidd

The objective of this analysis is to compare two schools of thought regarding interpersonal communication. One, long a tradition in this country, can be designated the etiquette school, or more formally, the Emily Post School of Interpersonal Relations. Flying banners of tact, politeness, and selfless consideration of others, it is this philosophy that has immortalized such notable bylaws as, "If you can't say something nice, don't say anything at all." In contrast the Rogers-Fromm-Buber-Jourard School of Congruence, Self-Affirmation, Dialogue, and Transparency has evolved tenets much at odds with the etiquette injunctions. The contrast between the two groups is of great significance, for the Rogers, et al. school is certainly the wave of the present, and yet a large bulk of the populace would seem to adhere strictly to the traditional-conventional style. At least a delineation of the differences in the two seems warranted.

Emily Post set the keynote of the conventional style in her book etiquette (revised in 1969):

> "One of the primary rules for behavior in company applies particularly to

conversation: Try to do and say only that which will be agreeable to others."[1]

This mandate to pleasantry is supported by a myriad of speech texts, all admonishing the reader to tact, calm and keeping the peace. Wilhelmina Hedde and William Brigance in The New American Speech set a list of rules expressing "How to Improve Conversation." These include "Don't talk too much about yourself, give others a chance to talk, don't be dogmatic, and be considerate and tactful."[2] Karl Robinson and Charlotte Lee in Speech in Action suggest:

> A skilled conversationalist can adapt to almost any situation. Adapting is changing your manner, ideas, language, voice or action to fit any situation."[3]

Modern Speech by John Irwin and Majorie Rosenberg continues the tone when it urges the conversationalist to

> 1. Cooperate
> 2. Select topics of mutual interest
> 3. Select pleasant topics. Your ailments and family problems are of little interest to others....To introduce topics...which are highly controversial and apt to stir up heated feelings is in extremely bad taste.[4]

Andrew Weaver, Gladys Borchers and Donald K. Smith echo these behavioral maxims, including on their own list:

> Consider the interests of others
> Be a good listener
> Improve your voice
> Improve your action
> Improve your language
> Find interesting things to say
> Adapt your conversation to each occasion[5]

Such suggestions for communication seem so in line with expected behavioral patterns and so much a part of our cultural heritage that it is somewhat of a shock to realize that a very strong movement in interpersonal communication is denying much of their validity.

The new philosophy of interpersonal communication stems in part from the view of man expressed by Erich Fromm. Central to this concept is the belief that people have a primary obligation to themselves. Fromm sees the conventional view as reflective of an "I" am as you desire me"[6] attitude where persons lose their individual integrity to the "market." Advice to change one's manner to suit each occasion or to belie one's natural feelings in the interest of tact, Fromm sees as a part of the "marketing orientation," where "success largely depends on how one sell's one's personality."[7] Fromm views this response as fundamentally wrong. Using the term "love" to represent the ultimate communication, he writes: "Automans cannot love; they can exchange 'personality packages' and hope for a fair bargain." If interpersonal communication cannot be achieved at a meaningful level by the "marketing approach," what then is the appropriate behavior for producing adequate human relations? Fromm postulates a form of "self-love" as the beginning of the answer:

> "The affirmation of one's own life, happiness, growth, freedom is rooted in one's capacity to love...If an individual is able to love productively, he loves himself too; if he can love only others, he cannot love at all."[9]

He adds:

> "The idea expressed in the Biblical 'Love thy neighbor as thyself' implies that respect for one's own integrity and uniqueness, love for and understanding of one's own self cannot be separated from respect for and love and understanding of another individual."[10]

This firm belief in the importance and affirmation of the self is constant throughout the new interpersonal philosophy. It is no longer proper behavior to "be a good listener" alone.

It is mandantory that one be aware of the self and able to relate this self to others. Such relation is viewed as "honest interaction" of one's "real" self to another's "real" self. It is contrasted with a relationship in which each party forges an image suited to the situation; such interaction is likened to a stage play; the new philosophy would contend that such staged interaction cannot lead to meaningful communication.

Sidney Jourard, a leading empirical researcher in this area, summarizes this point of view in his book The Transparent Self:

> "It is possible to be involved in a social group such as a family or a work setting for years and years, playing one's roles nicely with other members--and never getting to know the persons who are playing the other roles....There is no real self-to-self or person-to-person meeting in such transactions."[11]

Jourard terms genuine revealing of the "person" or the "self" as self-disclosure. He explains:

> "I don't mean anything mysterious by 'self.' All I mean is the person's subjective side--what he thinks, feels, believes, wants, worries about..."[12]

He finds such genuine interaction absolutely vitial, claiming that "no man can come to know himself except as an outcome of disclosing himself to another person"[13] and he stresses his position even more strongly when he speaks of love:

> "Effective loving calls for knowledge of the object. How can I love a person whom I do not know? How can the other person love me if he does not know me?"[14]

For Jourard as for Fromm the self must be affirmed and adequately disclosed for effective interpersonal communication to take place.

The Fromm-Jourard attitude seems in conflict with the more traditional style. One can envision Jourard publishing his studies (including his hypothesis that "self-disclosure is systematically related to mental and possibly to physical health"[15] only to turn to The New American Speech, finding in the section on improving conversation the admonition "Don't talk too much about yourself."[16] His response is predictable.

If the speech texts are upsetting to Jourard, it is equally likely that Carl Rogers is upsetting the proponents of politeness at any cost. Rogers, possibly the most immediately influencial of the authors thus far discussed, is the spokesman for many notions central to the new communication philosophy. One of these is the concept of congruence. It too stems from the belief in the importance of the self. Writing of the counselor-client, he defines his term as occurring when:

> "the counselor is what he is, when in the relationship with his client he is genuine and without "front" or facade, openly being the feelings and attitudes which at that moment are flowing in him."[17]

At another point he adds, "We are dealing with the person himself, and not with a polite...facade."[18] Referring specifically to negative feelings Rogers offers the tentative position that:

> "even with such feelings as these which we all have from time to time it is preferable...to be real than to put up a facade of interest and concern and liking which he does not feel."[19]

Rogers does not speak lightly of his concept of congruence; indeed he terms it "highly important, perhaps the most crucial" of communication conditions he describes.[20]

The Rogerian objective with regard to congruence is not to acheive a cathartic release without regard to others, but rather to face up to internal re-

actions as they occur and share and discuss them as relating individuals. Such a manner of being, Rogers terms trustworthiness. He posits that a person acting in an accepting manner when feeling annoyed is "in the long run to be perceived as inconsistent or untrustworthy."[23] Congruent or trustworthy behavior he sees as fundamental to interpersonal relation.

Jourard offers similar statements concerning communication, terming "real self being" the ultimate state. He suggests that "there can be no real growth of the self [which like Fromm, Jourard regards as highly positive] without real self being." With regard to socially pleasant behavior, Jourard acknowledges the social expectations:

> "An authentic person may not be very 'nice.' In fact, he may seem much 'nicer' socially and appear more mature and healthy when he is not being his real self than when he is his real self."[24]

The standards set up by the new school of interpersonal communication offer no little discrepancy with the conventional mode. Post, for example, offers preventative methods for avoiding any form of conflict, warning:

> "...be careful not to let amiable discussion turn into argument. The tactful person keeps his prejudices to himself, and even when involved in a discussion, he says, "It seems to me" thus and so. One should never say, 'That's not so!'...if he finds another's opinion unreasonable, he tries to find a more pleasant subject as soon as possible."[25] (Emphasis mine)

Hedde and Brigance offer the same line of thought:

> "If someone makes a tactless remark the good conversationalist covers it by carrying on the conversation as if nothing out of place had been said."[26] (Emphasis mine)

Such incongruous behavior is in direct opposition to the Rogerian ideal.

An extension of this notion of congruence is the right of the individual to avoid interaction. The literature indicates a supposition that followers of the new philosophy will be open and accepting; it does not imply, however, that all persons will reach the same level of intimacy or that there is no distinguishing between relationships in the new systems. Indeed, each individual has the right to determine her/his own gift of self to others as such actions honestly reflect internal responses.

The basic assumption underlying treatment of others in the new philosophy is that each "other" is the same as (i.e., has the same rights as) each "self." That means that others have obligations to themselves, including the right and duty to make decisions regarding themselves. The ethical position of persons in interpersonal relations, then, becomes the fostering of conditions under which such obligations can be honored.

The new school even offers terminology distinguishing this recognition of the other from a less aware, more conventional approach. The writing of Martin Buber has been of great significance in the new movement and his descriptions of the "ultimate" communication, which he terms dialogue, have set a standard for interaction. I-Thou is his term for "a living mutual relation" where each person "really has in mind the other or others in their present and particular being;"[27] I-It is "the way one relates to someone or something when one is observing, analyzing, manipulating or using."[28]

From this theoretical ideal, three practical manifestations have developed which have become canons of the new philosophy; responses to communication must be non-judgmental; interaction must be non-manipulative; and

somewhat less significant, exchanges must reflect the "now," the present state of being of the persons involved.

In the area of nonjudgmental communication, the work of Carl Rogers has again been a motivating force:

> "I should like to propose...that the major barrier to mutual interpersonal communication is our very natural tendency to judge, to evaluate, to approve (or disapprove) the statement of the other person or the other group."[29]

Rogers traces the base for his philosophy back to the importance of the other and his/her autonomy:

> "The meaning and value of his [the other's] experience is in the last analysis something which is up to him, and no amount of external judgment can alter this."[30]

The adage against judgmental behavior is both an ethical and a practical one. Ethically, the new philosophy assumes the right of every self to be; it is not incumbent upon anyone to justify his/her existence; it is equally not the right of anyone to measure that existence. Certainly any given individual is expected to offer a natural response to another, but the new school sees a fundamental difference between the implications of "I am angry" (my response) and "You are an idiot" (a judgment). On the practical level, the assertion is that judgmental statements tend to prohibit honest interaction; that once one becomes concerned with being adjudged, the spontaneity of an open interaction is lessened.

The prohibitions against manipulative behavior are even more strigent than those against judgmental responses. Rogers explicitly eliminates any kind of manipulation, even "for the welfare of the state, or the good of the educational institution, or 'for their [the individuals] own good.'"[31] Rogers summarizes non-manipulative interaction: "It respects the other person as a separate individual, and does not possess him."[33] Such is the ethical goal of the new communications.

The final standard of the new school involves relating as one is, not as one has been. Each individual is viewed not as a static thing which can be analyzed, classified and filed away but rather as persons who are continually growing and must be related to in the process of becoming. Jourard writes: "I suspend my concept of my own being...and let my changing being present itself to my experience...."[34] Rogers phrases his position as a question:

> "Can I meet this other individual as a person who is in the process of becoming, or will I be bound by his past and by my past?....If I accept him as a process of becoming then I am doing what I can to confirm or make real his potentialities."[35]

The essential nature of the new interpersonal communication can be summarized in terms of the following: a recognition of the importance of the self, and of the need to affirm the self in public interaction; an extention of this importance into the right of the individual to accurately reflect her/his inner state, even if such state is negative; a recognition of the same rights in the other and an ensuring incumbence upon a participator in interaction to reflect a nonjudgmental, non-manipulative stance with persons acting in their present being.

The question which must be raised at this point concerns the relationship of individuals in these two schools. Certainly persons adhering to both philosophies must meet on frequent occasion; can they accurately give meaning to the interactions which result? J. D. Cardwell, in his book Social Psychology, discusses how meaning is

given to "symbols," a term applied both to words and nonverbal behavior, including one must presume, human expectations:

> "Symbols, then, have no inherent meaning. They acquire their meaning through the process of consensus of the human actors who use them. Were humans not to arrive at consensus as to the meaning of symbols, social interaction...would be impossible. We could neither understand nor anticipate the behavior of others, and they could neither understand nor anticipate ours.[36]

The underlying consensus as to the meaning of specific forms of communication seems to be missing in interaction between persons following the two differing philosophies. As individuals acting within the framework of his/her own assumptions will give certain meaning to behavior; the same behavior, however, may evoke conflicting meaning from her/his compatriot in the other school.

Certain obvious interpretational differences can be immediately identified: the new philosophy discusses the self in terms of "openness" and "sharing;" the etiquette school uses terminology of "selfishness" and "selflessness;" what a polite member of the conventional school calls being "a good listener" is viewed as "closed" and unwilling to share by the new school; the congruent individual is rude by conventional standards while the tactful interactionist is dubbed "phony" in return; what the conventional school places under the heading "positive reinforcement" and "involved concern" the new philosophy catalogues as manipulative behavior; and the new school's non-manipulative, non-judgmental individual is criticized from the etiquette viewpoint as preoccupied with the self and unwilling to get involved. It is easy to envision a hypothetical conversation between members of the two schools. Member A of the etiquette school asks, "Do you need any help in your project?" Member B of the new school replies, "No, I can do it all right by myself." Member A, operating from his convention, assumes that B's response means B does not want to impose but needs encouragement to accept assistance. Appropriate behavior for A is to repeat the offer, even to pressure B to accept help. Member B will of course be taken aback by this response since by her interpretation she has clearly stated her preference already and is now being manipulated by A. It seems apparent that two individuals can hold similar values and strive for equivalent goals and yet find themselves in communication conflict not because they disagree on the kind of relationship they seek but because they interpret differently the behavioral manifestations of the relationship they have.

Both the new philosophy and the conventional school have definite rules of appropriate interaction and give specific meanings to particular modes of behavior. Until each school of throught realizes that the meaning given to behavior is not necessarily the meaning intended or the meaning given by another, misunderstanding seems inevitable. The irony of the situation is that the one commonality between the two philosophies is an attempt to eliminate misunderstanding.

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THE RHETORIC OF THE NEW SOUTH:

A Study in Contrast

By Gerald H. Sanders

On December 21, 1886, Henry W. Grady electrified those in attendance at the annual banquet of the New England Society of New York with an impromptu speech entitled "The New South." This speech heralded a three year period in which Grady was to become known as "the apostle of a New South."[1] As a roving ambassador from a defeated South, fresh from the ravages of the Civil War, he employed a rhetoric of reconciliation aimed primarily at the North.

Eighty-five years later, the South finds itself arising from another defeat and new spokesmen with new rhetoric are once again pleading the South's cause. There are major differences in the 1971 setting as opposed to that faced by Grady in 1886. The defeat this time was in the political arena rather than on the battle field and the appeal of the rhetoric of the New South in 1971 is to the South itself.

Despite a valiant effort by forces led by the redoubtable Senator Richard Russell of Georgia, the South suffered consecutive defeats in the passage of the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, 1964 and 1968 plus the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Massive resistance movements flared up in many sections of the South and the one voice heard above the rest was that of George Corley Wallace, the Governor of Alabama. Wallace was able to crystallize the support of the embittered right-wing conservatives to the extent that he was able to mount a serious bid for the Presidency in 1968.

Following the presidential election of 1968, a new breed of Southern politician emerged, using new appeals that found acceptance among large numbers of Southern constituents. Among these was Jimmy Carter, elected to the Governorship of Georgia in 1970 general elections, proclaiming a platform calling for a new freedom in the

South.

In order to determine the validity of any claim that a new rhetoric is emerging in the South, a critical comparison should be made of speeches delivered by a representative spokesman of both the old and the new types of Southern politicans. Therefore, the speakers chosen for this study are Governor George Wallace of Alabama and Governor Jimmy Carter of Georgia. The two speeches chosen for analysis are the speech delivered by Wallace at the Southeastern Fairgrounds in Atlanta, Georgia on July 4, 1964 and Carter's inaugural address delivered in Atlanta on January 12, 1971.

The remainder of this paper shall be divided into four sections. A brief description of the background and setting of the two speeches is followed by a critical comparison of the treatment of issues by the two speakers and a general discussion of some rhetorical techniques used by Wallace and Carter. In conclusion, mention is given to the implications of this rhetorical analysis.

Wallace's Independence Day speech in Atlanta was chosen for this study because it offers an excellent opportunity to study the typical rhetoric of the contemporary, anti-aggressor rhetoricans of the South. These rhetoricans cloak their Southern bias in verbal thrusts at those who would destroy states' rights and other traditions held dear by the South. Chester, Hodgson and Page described this rhetoric in An American Melodrama:

> "For a century, politicans in the South had learned to talk about states' rights, and constitutionalism, and the Southern way of life, and many another resounding shiboleth, in such a way that everyone knew what was meant."[2]

The setting of Wallace's speech was in the Deep South. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 had been passed and signed into law by President Lyndon Johnson. Earlier in the year, Wallace carried his opposition to this then pending bill to parts of the country outside the South. He had announced his intention to run for the Presidency on an independent ticket. His successes had completely upset the predictions of the professional political prognosticators as he had scored heavily in the primaries of Wisconsin, Indiana, and Maryland. However, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was now law and he concentrated his heavy artillery on this act in his Independence Day Speech. The speech was entitled, "The Civil Rights Bill: Fraud, Sham and Hoax."

Governor Carter's inaugural address was chosen because it is typical of the rhetoric of the newly successful moderate Southern politican. His election followed by four years an unsuccessful attempt by him to attain the same office. He had won a hard fought primary campaign but had soundly defeated his Republican opponent in the general election.

Carter was one of the five moderate governors elected in the South in the 1970 general elections. John West was elected Governor of South Carolina with a pledge to minorities that they would be given "no special status other than full fledged responsibility in a government that is totally color blind."[3] Linwood Holton became the first Republican governor elected in Virginia in nearly a century, pleading that the electorate "Let our goal in Virginia be an aristocracy of ability regardless of race, color or creed."[4] Reubin Askew reflected on his victory over Claude Kirk in the Florida gubernatorial race by saying that his election was a "departure from the custom wherein the person who took a hard racial line always won."[5] Dale Bumpers, newly elected Governor of Arkansas, stated that the election of the

five moderate governors in the South was not a coincidence but that "There has been a cry for new leadership in the South."[6] Therefore, Carter's inaugural speech was delivered in the midst of a change developing in Southern politics.

Governor Wallace, in employing the tactics of the anti-aggressor rhetorican, aimed his attacks at three basic targets: an ever expanding federal government, the United States Supreme Court and Communists. This could be construed as a negative rhetoric. Governor Carter's address employed the positive rhetoric of a politican of the New South by referring to positive methods of solving the problems of illiteracy, law and order, the environment, and the races.

The introduction of these two speeches were similar in that both were patriotic in nature. Wallace began his speech with these words:

> "We come here today in deference to to the memory of those Stalwart patriots who on July 4, 1776, pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor to establish and defend the proposition that governments are created by the people, empowered by the people, derive their just powers from the consent of the people, and must forever remain subservient to the will of the people.
>
> Today, 188 years later, we celebrate the occasion and find inspiration and determination and courage to preserve and protect the great principles of freedom enunciated in the Declaration of Independence."[7]

Carter, a former member of the United States Navy, began his speech with a reference to the presence of the Naval Academy band, saying that he was reminded:

> "of the love of our nation and its goals and ideals. Our country was founded on the premise that government continually derives its power from independent and free men. If it is to survive, confident and courageous citizens must be willing to assume responsibility for the quality of our government at any particular time in history."[8]

Following his introduction, Wallace moved directly into the negative rhetoric of the anti-aggressor rhetorican. In referring to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, he declared that:

> "This bill will live in infamy. To sign it into law at any time is tragic. To do so upon the eve of the celebration of our independence insults the intelligence of the American people.
>
> "It dishonors the memory of the countless thousands of our dead who offered up their very lives in defense of principles which this bill destroys.
>
> "With this assassin's knife and a blackjack in the hand of the federal force-cult, the left-wing liberals will try to force us back into bondage. Bondage to a tyranny more brutal than that imposed by the British Monarchy which claimed power to rule over the lives of our forefathers under sanction of the divine right of kings."

These statements by Wallace formed part of his attack on the ever expanding power of the federal government. In contradistinction, Carter's only reference to interference in state affairs by an outside power was related to a positive statement regarding the cessation of discrimination in Georgia:

> "We Georgians are fully aware of making our own judgments and managing our own affairs. We who are strong or in positions of leadership must realize that the responsibility of making the correct decisions in the future is ours. As Governor, I will never shirk this responsibility."

Though this statement could be interpreted as referring to the federal government, it could also refer to Governor Wallace or any other outside politican who would try to meddle in the affairs of Georgia.

In attacks upon the Supreme Court and its rulings, which Wallace alleges favors Communists and criminals, the Alabama Governor posits that:

> "the chief if not the only beneficiaries in the present Court's rulings, have been lawfully conviced criminals, Communists, atheits, and clients of vociferous left-wing minority groups."

In contrast, Carter's call for law and order positively treats the issue with a call for support of law enforcement officials and justice to all:

> "In Georgia, we are determined that the law shall be enforced. Peace officers must have our appreciation and support.
>
> "Crime and lack of justice are especially cruel to those who are least able to protect themselves. Swift arrest and trial and fair punishment should be expected by those who would break our laws. It is equally important to us that every effort be made to rehabiliate law breakers into useful and productive members of society."

It is in the area of racial discrimination where we find the most basic contrast in the two speeches involved in this study. In an obvious reference to the Supreme Court's upholding the right of minorities to use public accomodations and to purchase property, Wallace charges that:

> "They assert the right to convert a private place of business into a public place of business without the consent of the owner and without compensation to him.
>
> "One justice asserts that the mere licensing of a business by a state is sufficient to convert it into control by the federal judiciary as to its use and disposition.
>
> "Another asserts that the guarantee of equal protection and due process of law cannot be extended to a corporation.
>
> "In one instance, following the edicts of the United States Supreme Court, a state supreme court has ordered and directed a private citizen to sell his home to an individual contrary to the wishes of the owner."

Carter makes his position quite clear on these issues in unequivocal language:

> "I say to you quite frankly that the time for racial discrimination is over. Our people have already made the major and difficult decision. No poor, rural, weak or black person should ever have to bear the additional burden of being deprived of the opportunity of an education, a job or simple justice."

Other references on this issue. particularly in the area of education, are made by both speakers. However, the basic thrust of the rhetoric used is analogous to the above citations.

The rhetorical techniques used by Wallace and Carter were also of a constrasting nature. Wallace's speech was replete with ad hominen attacks against the Supreme Court, the press, government officials, Communists, left-wing groups and the Congress. The speaker attacked Hubert Humphrey and Ralph McGill by name. Carter's speech was characterized by the complete absence of the ad hominem attacks, long the standby of southern politicans. His basic appeal was to the pride of Georgians and to the sense of fair play that he hoped was inherent in all citizens.

The use of god-terms and devil-terms has always been an identifying feature of Wallace's rhetoric. Some of the god-terms used in his Independence Day

speech were: Stalwart patriots, political sovereignty; American people; forefathers; freedom; private property; our form of government; and our children. Among the devil-terms used were: black-robed despots; Communist; left-wing radicals; out-of-state interests; tyranny; and pinknik social engineers.

Though Carter used such god-terms as "truth," "frankness," and "ideals" in reference to responsibility in governmental administration and such devil-terms as "avarice," "selfishness," and "procrastination" in reference to the necessity of preserving the environment, they were all used within a positive context of seeking unified accomplishment for the good of all.

As a general conclusion regarding the rhetoric of the two speakers, it could be said that Wallace used the negative rhetoric of the anti-aggressor rhetorician while Carter used the positive rhetoric of the emerging moderate politician in the South.

To make any final conclusions, at this time, as to the emergence of a new rhetoric in the South would perhaps be premature. After all, Carter and the other moderate Southern governors elected last November have not served their first full year in office. We must not forget that George Wallace was also elected to another term as governor of Alabama. We may not be able to make any conclusion until after the elections of 1974. However, we can surmise that no longer must one preach "segregation now; segregation forever" to get elected to a big political office in the South. This could be the first step toward the real emergence of a rhetoric of the New

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2. Lewis Chester, Godfrey Hodgson and Bruce Page, An American Melodrama (New York: Dell Publishing Company, Inc., 1969), p. 308.
3. Time, May 31, 1971, p. 18.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. This and all following quotations from the Wallace speech are taken from the text as printed in the following source: Floyd W. Matson, ed., Voices of Crisis (New York: The Odyssey Press, Inc., 1967), pp. 178-193.
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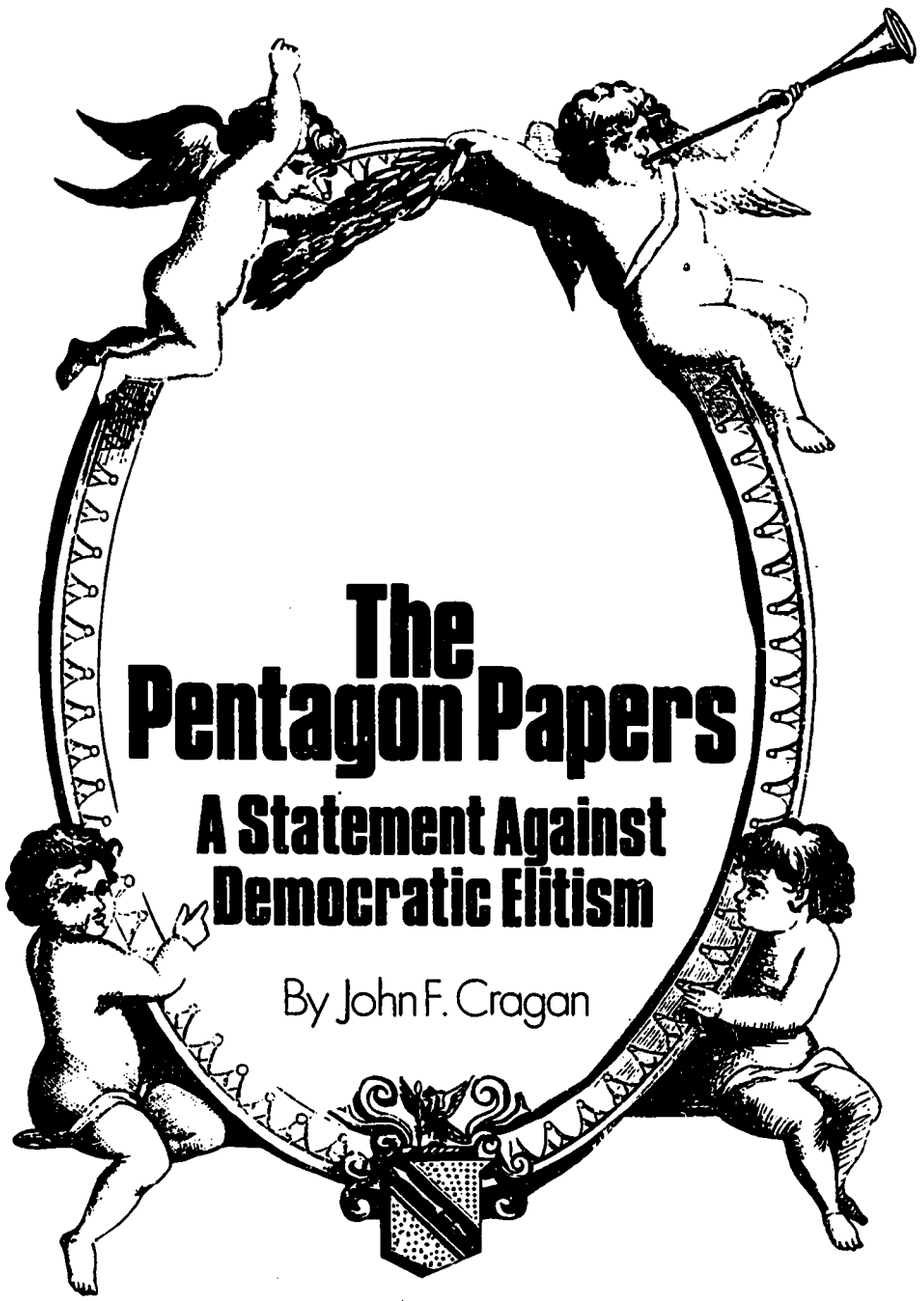

The Pentagon Papers

A Statement Against Democratic Elitism

By John F. Cragan

We, the American Left, in order to form a more perfect government created large federal bureaucracies, that like an atomic explosion contain a half-life of their own. We, the American right, built a military-industrial complex to provide us a margin of saftey which has become the major source of our insecurity. The 1964 rhetoric of the Johnson Administration and the Pentagon Papers laid side-by-side reflect the many faces of Eve that formed the American society. In a self-analysis of our psychosis, we have attempted to assess motive and fix blame. From this therapy session Lyndon Baines Johnson has emerged as the personification of our sick personality. It was through his public flogging that we gained a measure of sanity. Now that our emotions have been vented we should reanalyze the rhetorical tensions that were present in 1964. Hopefully the reexamination will suggest more permanent solutions to our problems.

The impact of the Pentagon Papers is of such magnitude that they demand that our rationality gain control over our passions. This intellectual exercise suggest several theories that might provide rational order to the past and indicate future courses of action. One set of arguments could be labelled "The Congenital Liar Theory." This analysis would argue that the Vietnam tragedy can be explained by the fact that the Johnson Administration was infested with liars. The Pentagon Papers contain ample evidence to support this interpretation.

The Papers reveal rather clearly that Mr. Mc Namara and Mr. Rusk lied to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee during the secret sessions on the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution.[1] The Papers report that for several months prior to the Gulf of Tonkin incident, the U.S. had been raiding the North Vietnamese coastline. The code name for these clandestine raids was "Plan 34A."[2] On August 4th, the night the Maddox was attacked by North Vietnamese gunboats, 34A raids were going on and The Papers specifically state that the captain of the Maddox was informed of these raids and their specific location in advance of General Westmoreland.[3] Furthermore, the Joint Chiefs of Staff had informed Secretary Mc Namara that with the addition of trained sabotage teams and fast PT boats, the raids were becoming increasingly effective.[4]

Now, the story that Mc Namara and Mr. Rusk told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on August 6th wasn't exactly the truth. Secretary Mc Namara described Plan 34A as a South Vietnamese "anti-infiltration operation being conducted by a fleet of coastal patrol boats that the U.S. had helped South Vietnam to organize in 1961."[5] Mr. Ma Namara also stated that the Maddox did not know that the raids were being carried on against the North Vietnamese. When Senator Church asked Mr. Rusk if the United States was aware of the raids, Mr. Rusk responded by saying: "In a larger sense, that is so, but as far as any particular detail is concerned we did not from Washington follow that in great detail."[6]

Later that day, in a news conference, Mr. Mc Namara described the Pentagon's 34A raids as nothing more than a coastal junk patrol which inspected "suspicious incoming junks seeking to deter and prevent the infiltration of both men and material from North Vietnam into South Vietnam."[7]

The cry of a "credibility gap" (the newspaper's code name for The Congenital Liar Theory) is easily supported by a comparison of public statements and the Pentagon Papers, in fact, the major strength of this theory is the abundance of evidence that exists to substantiate it. However, the major weakness of this theory is the course of action it would suggest. If the

problem with the Johnson Administration was merely that it contained a pack of liars, then the solution to our difficulty would be to elect an honest man, one who is pure of heart and soul who would in turn appoint other truth-speaking men to his administration. If we had Mr. Nixon's papers we might discover that we failed in our search in 1968. Furthermore we could well exhaust the populace in our never-ending search for this illusive candidate. As I recall, the rationale of our Founding Fathers in creating the Constitution was based on the notion that this honest creature of truth was nowhere to be found.

Another theory that could be used to assimilate the Vietnam issue is "The Conspiracy Theory." The Conspriacy Theory is an all-time favorite of the American people. In this particular case, the argument would be that a small group (the Conspiracy Theory requires that it be a small group not a large group) of clever reactionaries dragged an unwilling people into this terrible war. They were generally a secretive lot but they were easily recognized by their close resemblance to Dr. Strangelove.

There is, of course, considerable evidence to support this theory: The Papers provide numerous incidents. For example, the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution was drawn up four months before the Tonkin incident.[8] The Pentagon plan which produced the attacks were referred to by Assistant Secretary of Defense McNaughton as the "provocation strategy."[9] Furthermore, this small group of men not only deliberately provoked the North Vietnamese into attacking so that they could justify taking military action to the American people, they waited until after the 1964 elections to carry out their plot. The Pentagon Papers argue that the Johnson Administration was ready to bomb North Vietnam in September of 1964 but that they delayed their action until February of 1965 for tactical reasons.[10] One of the writers of The Papers states that the "President was in the midst of an election campaign in which he was presenting himself as the candidate of reason and restraint as opposed to the quixotic Barry Goldwater."[11]

The New York Times neatly summarizes the case the Pentagon Papers make for the Conspiracy Theory:

> "The segments of the public world--Congress, the news media, the citizenry, even international opinion as a whole--are regarded from within the world of the government insiders as elements to be influenced. The policy memorandums repeatedly discuss ways to move these outside 'audiences' in the desired direction, through such techniques as the controlled release of information and appeals to patriotic stereotypes."[12]

This theory has the same weakness as The Congenital Liar Theory, namely its inability to prevent future Vietnams. If we adopt the theory we would produce a Joe McCarthy witchhunt only instead of purging the Left we would purge the Right. Some astute fellow would produce a list of some 200 known Johnson sympathizers and some ambitious man would get elected to Congress by convicting them. Although advocates of the Conspiracy Theory claim they can tell a conspirator when they see one, (generally by dress, religion or national origin), they never seem to be able to do it until a national calamity is upon us.

The third theory that might be used is the Communication Theory. This theory says that people (senders) are not very clear about what they mean to say and that audiences (receivers) are selective in what they hear. Thus, there are constant communication break downs. In fact, President Johnson used this theory to refute the Congen-

ital Liar Theory and the Conspiracy Theory. In explaining that he was misunderstood (a communication break down) in the 1964 campaign, Johnson stated:

> "They heard us say: 'The most important thing to you is whether we have peace in the world.' But they did not hear us say: 'In order to have peace we must have strength.' They heard us say: 'We are going to keep our hand out.' But they did not hear us say: 'We are going to keep our guard up.' They heard us say: 'We do not want war; we do not believe in rattling our rockets or talking about dropping our bombs.' But they did not hear us say: 'We must always be alert.'"[13]

This theory is also quite popular in academic circles. Professor Connelly, after examining Johnson's public papers and the Pentagon Papers concludes:

> "Johnson's complaint that he was misunderstood in the 1964 campaign should serve as a lesson for all students of rhetoric. A speaker must adapt his rhetoric to the psychology of his receivers. This means not only linking his arguments to those receiver emotions which he feels will arouse action; it means, also, including language designed to reduce ambiguity which may arise due to the selective perception of receivers."[14]

The problem with this theory is the same as the first two, they don't appear until Monday morning. Even if President Nixon learned a lesson from Johnson, the metaphorical nature of language and the pragmatic necessity of politics would prevent him from being perfectly clear.

The final theory in this article is the Phantasy Theory. This theory says that people create and participate in rhetorical dramas.[15] The Phantasy Theory says that we take action like creating bureaucracies or fighting wars on the basis of some phantasy which generally does not differ in sophistication from the old western movies complete with the good guys and the bad guys.

In the case of Vietnam, the theory would argue that the war was an outgrowth of the cold-war phantasy and that the government and its people had participated in it for over two decades. In this drama we are locked in a life and death struggle with the monolithic-communistic bloc which is seeking to enslave the free world.[16]

One important set of characters in this phantasy is the elite corps of intellectuals who direct our foreign policy. They, with the aid of massive bureaucracy, assess the relative merits of intricate diplomatic strategies and military tactics.

The intellectual elite are a necessary part of this phantasy because the average citizen does not have the time or the mental capacity to participate in such high-powered discussions. Besides, the cold-war is a war and the enemy would learn too much if the people debated the issues. It was this sort of phantasizing that promoted Democratic Elitism--the system which is the most logical outgrowth in the cold-war phantasy.[17]

Fortunately, the Pentagon Papers provide a death of evidence to support the intellectual-elite image. The rhetoric of the "inner circle" certainly does not enhance the notion of government by elites. The labels used by the experts for their varying strategies are most revealing. The five major contingency plans that were considered by the Johnson Administration for the resolution of the Vietnam conflict were entitled: "the carrot and the stick approach," "the tit for tat approach," "the full-fast squeeze,"

The two most important military actions during the Johnson Administration were referred to by the Pentagon experts as "piecing arrow" and "rolling thunder."[18]

The analysis behind the label also violates the character sketch of elite thinking. The "carrot and the stick approach," the brainchild of Henry Cabot Lodge,[19] is a good example. The "carrot and the stick approach" involved "sending a secret non-American envoy to Hanoi with an offer of economic aid, such as food imports to relieve the rice shortage in North Vietnam, in return for calling off the Vietcong. If the North Vietnamese did not respond favorably, the stick--unpublicized and unacknowledged air strikes, with unmarked planes--would be applied until they did."[20]

The Papers complete the transformation of the elite from god-figure to devil-figure when they reveal the absence of two critical debates. The reporters from the New York Times note that The Papers contained no discussion of the morality of our actions in Southeast Asia or of the political maneuvering at home. The only restraints were "what the body politic at home will tolerate and the fear of clashing with another major power."[21]

The second missing discussion was the analysis of our basic objectives in Vietnam. From 1950 until mid-1957 there was no re-examination of our Southeast Asian Policy by the elite or the bureaucracy that served them.[22]

The phantasy theory not only demands the debunking of the bad phantasy, it requires that the old phantasy be replaced with a new one. One possible candidate might be labelled Participatory Democracy or the everyman phantasy. It would baffoon the Robert Mc Namaras and the Henry Kissingers and praise the Harry Swartz' and the Tommy Cornsilkers. The basic sagacity of the common man would be brought to life with new scripts for TV programs "All in the Family" or movies like "Joe." The new phantasy would produce a revival of old Gary Cooper and John Wayne movies where the honest but poor dirt-farmer, beset by tyranny, rose in a time of crisis and delivered a simple, inarticulate soliloquy which turned the tide and established a democracy in Yuma.

The most important aspect of the drama would be the vivid depicting of the devil-figure--the technocratic system. The script would call for a polarization between the people who supported the old phantasy and those who were building the new one (different costumes for the systems people and the non-systems people would help distinguish the bad guys from the good guys). As the new phantasy gained in vividness, the people and the government would act out their new roles.

We may still die in an atomic war but at least we will have participated in it.

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5. Ibid., p. 265-266.
6. Ibid., p. 266.

7. Ibid.
8. Ibid., pp. 234-257.
9. Ibid., p. 240.
10. Ibid., p. 310.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., p. xiii.
13. The fulltext appears in Department of State Bulletin, August 15, 1966, p. 226.
14. F. Marlin Connelly, Jr., "Some Questions Concerning Lyndon Johnson's Rhetoric in the 1964 Presidential Campaign," Southern Speech Communication Journal, XXXVII (Fall 1971), 20.
15. For a more complete explanation on the phantasy theory see, Ernest G. Bormann, "Fantasy and the Rhetoric of Motives," unpublished paper, University of Minnesota, May 1970.
16. For a more detailed discussion of the cold-war phantasy see, John F. Cragan, "Johnson, Goldwater and the Cold War Phantasy," Moments in Contemporary Rhetoric and Communication, I (Summer 1971), pp. 9-16.
17. For a critique of Democratic Elitism see, Peter Bachrach, The Theory of Democratic Elitism: A Critique (Boston, 1967). Also see, Theodore J. Lowi, The End of Liberalism (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1969).
18. These labels are used by the experts throughout The Pentagon Papers.
19. The Pentagon Papers, p. 244.
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21. Ibid., p. xv.
22. Ibid., p. xix.

Mass media and the fine arts:

Re-examining the Parameters of Rhetoric

AN INITIAL STATEMENT by an Editor of MOMENTS

This issue of MOMENTS initiates a commitment to critical examinations of the mass media and fine arts. We have choosen to cast this commitment as a permanent and distinct section to appear in each issue of MOMENTS. It is impossible to deal with the full range of media and fine arts in one or two articles or by way of a Special Focus. As a reflection of American culture and dominant American values, the media and fine arts continually change. We hope to deal with these changes as they occur.

This commitment is a departure from the traditional, conventional wisdom within the field of speech-communication. Conventional wisdom would have the rhetorical/communication critic focus upon the great speaker as he addresses a large public audience. Hence, the field is often identified with those critics who would examine the single-speaker/single-audience situations such as the Lincoln-Douglas debates, William Jennings Bryan or Presidential addresses to the nation. Yet, the decision to limit the rhetorical/communication perspective to great speakers stems from limits established by a community of scholars who seem to be less prominent in the discipline since Edwin Black's critique of the discipline in 1965. The emergence of several rhetorics since that critique suggest that the limits of the discipline might easily flow from alternative conceptions and definitions of speech-communication as a discipline.

In initiating this journal, for example, we assumed that the field might easily deal with more than the "great speakers" and that any social-political actions that conveyed a message to others might legitimately fall within the purview of the rhetorical/communication critic. Even if the critics limit the field to only those messages which induce cooperation among others, it would seem that the mass media and fine arts play a crucial role in securing such an objective.

We have, then, re-defined rhetoric and in doing so shifted our attention to the interaction between the message and critic, necessarily minimizing a single message source as a criterion for defining the scope of the discipline. This shift also posits new definitions for the concepts of message and critic. Traditionally, a message is viewed as one distinct item or variable in the communication process. However, we would view the message as a holistic composite of multiple interacting forces--the forces being people, media, social-political envir-

onment, images, moods (relationships to subject material), tones (relationships to different audiences), and pace. It would not be enough to describe each of these items as independent variables for the whole is greater than the sum of the parts and a commitment to interaction theory and a holistic perspective would demand that we examine interactions, not individual components. It is not adequate to claim that we shall continue independent variable analysis for "analytical" or "teaching" purposes. We must develop methods that deal with relationships. We begin such a methodological move when we define message as a holistic concept.

Moreover, as we shift the definition of rhetoric to the message-critic interaction, the concept of critic changes. Traditionally, the ideal critic was "objective"--he was uninvolved, politically and socially indifferent to his material. The impassioned was dismissed with a "he is too close to the problem." It was often recommended that he study a problem in a previous age to secure this point of view. Importing the scientific method into the humanities has extended and justified this point of view. However, we have tended to view the critic as submerged in a social and political environment which controls and conditions his critical choices--the critic's background, interests and ability prevent him from being an "objective observer." Instead he provides a single point of view which we shall view as useful or reject as unuseful. More precisely, the critic's observation becomes meaningful if they allow us to describe, predict, adapt, evaluate or control each of our environments more effectively. Thus, the critic's involvement, biases, and feelings are not the issue. The central issue is whether we have, indeed, gained a valuable insight as a result of examining the critic's piece. We would expect that the critic's reacting in this section would necessarily be "biased"--such would seem to be a necessary characteristic of a critic.

If we were to "summarize" this definition of rhetoric, it would have to be said that we have reacted to flagrantly compelling messages that create an awareness in the particular critic. Thus, we have found it appropriate to examine any medium or fine art that conveys such a message to others. It is, of course, impossible to deny one's heritage and thus we have defined this section by its source, but we are overtly aware that our label emerges from a renewed definition of rhetoric which focuses upon the interaction between message and critic.

This stance is no longer unique in the discipline for clearly a growing number of established scholars have begun to deal with messages from a much broader perspective--nonverbal communication, interpersonal communication, campaigns and movements. The mass media itself is now gaining recognition in the discipline due to the creative analysis of Marshall McLuhan. Moreover, within the field of speech-communication, there is a growing recognition that rhetoric, communication and broadcasting are intimately related. In an effort toward such unity, Wayne Brockriede, for example, spoke of the "Dimensions of the Concept of Rhetoric," and appropriately argued that the field of rhetoric must be viewed as a set of dimensions reflecting "a wide range of possible descriptions and not as expressing dichotomies." Brockriede argues that the subfields of speech-communication "each bear a relationship to each other." Indeed, it does seem pointless to view the communication scholar as pitted against the rhetorical critic or the rhetorical critic as pitted against the broadcasting scholar simply because their objectives, methods, and insights differ. We believe that the

discipline can be enriched when we begin to maximize the relationships that might easily exist among the subfields within speech-communication.

It is from this perspective, that we find a rhetorical/communication analysis of the mass media and fine arts extremely appropriate. These are the major media employed to convey messages to others in this society. Professor Fetherling has noted, for example, that "The generation born after 1945 has failed to produce one significant writer. Instead, its medium of communication is decidely music." We may feel that "significantly promising writers" such as Malcolm X have been produced. Nonetheless, Fetherling's comment is appropriate--music, indeed hair and dress, not to mention film, novels, and non-fiction books do influence us and as critics tempt us to critically examine the messages they convey.

If we grant that these are major media of communication that convey messages to others, the critic is necessarily captivated by what can be said of these media. Variety, for example, notes that the "biggies" of 1971 films were Love Story, Willard, Summer of '42, and Carnal Knowledge. The ranking is intriguing from a critic's viewpoint--the urge to describe, interpret and evaluate the messages conveyed by these films seems self-evident. Moreover, one is also tempted to ask why Carole King's Tapestry has been the number one selling album in America for over half a year: "What message does Tapestry convey to others that so captivates the listeners?" Finally, even if we believe the messages mundane, the critical impulse emerges when one notes that Marcus Welby, Flip Wilson and Here's Lucy are the top three television programs and major communication channels in America. Clearly we come to a critical point of hesitation with these recognitions and we begin to believe that Americans lack a critical dimension in their viewing/listening habits. Yet, we might also begin to feel that the rhetorical/communication critic has done nothing to change this state of affairs. Clearly we must grapple with Otis Walter's descriptive claim, "The world at large takes no note of the work of the professional rhetorical critic." Perhaps the problem lies not with the audience but with the critical choices being made.

By considering the mass media and fine arts as part of rhetoric, we also begin to introduce other insightful methods and issues into the discipline. The concept of "image," for example, has become a critical term in political science, sociology and anthropology and would seem to be of critical importance to rhetoric when the mass media and fine arts are recognized as part of the field. A critic might, for example, examine Marcus Welby in an effort to describe and interpret the images conveyed by the program and then adopt an evaluative stance to determine if those images are meaningful and useful models for Americans. Moreover, when we seriously consider the mass media and fine arts as part of the field, we also begin to introduce issues into the field that would seem extremely appropriate for any communication scholar to consider. A critic might ask how the Federal Communication Commission interprets and controls the "public interest, convenience and necessity" clause of the FCC Act of 1934 (ethics and freedom of speech), how directors select material for broadcasting (organizational and decision-making theory), how a medium limits creativity (structural and motivational studies). In addition, it becomes relevant to ask how advertisements control media ("The Rhetoric of Edward R. Murrow"), how the underground press differs from the establish press (ideological studies), and how the radical-revolutionary would alter the media ("The Rhetoric of the

Underground Film").

From an editorial viewpoint, then, the mass media and fine arts do convey contemporary messages and would necessarily become a part of a journal committed to examining moments in contemporary rhetoric and communication. In developing the critical basis for such examinations, we have, thus, consciously selected the entitlement term "Mass Media and the Fine Arts" because the two concepts in this title seem automatically related. The focus upon the "Mass Media" draws our attention to the scope, significance and effect of these messages. The focus upon the "Fine Arts" draws our attention to the intrinsic standards guiding these messages in their quest for effectiveness or self-fulfillment. "Effect" and "effectiveness" seem to be the relevant and compatible standards which define and guide an examination of the mass media and fine arts. We believe, then, that the "Mass Media and Fine Arts" section warrants the permanent attention we shall give it in subsequent issues of MOMENTS.

The focus of this analysis, then, has been upon the operational definition of rhetoric as a term that delininates the scope of the field of speech-communication. It has been recommended that the parameters controlling the discipline be expanded. Rather than concentrate upon a source-receiver framework in defining the field, it has been recommended that the definition of rhetoric be shifted to a message-critic framework. Certainly such a shift does not resolve all tensions evident in expanding the scope of the term in this fashion. A major tension exists, for example, in the decision made in this issue of MOMENTS. We have chosen to identify this section of the journal by the source of the messages, and there is an implicit reference to particular audience in such an action. Given the definition of rhetoric outlined above, there is no theoretical justification for such an emphasis. I would merely observe that given the present evolution of the field, such a choice is pragmatically justified but does not stem from the message-critic definition of rhetoric offered here although the definition does provide a rationale for articles in this section which assume the primacy of the message-critic relationship in critical analyses.

In this analysis, new definitions have also been offered for the concepts of message and critic. Certainly a host of issues are created by those definitions which have not been resolved here: "How shall we go about examining a message if it becomes such a holistic concept?" Such a question is not resolved here but work currently being done with "fantasy themes," "images," "interpretative metaphors," and "world-views" would directly apply to such issues. Moreover, the concept of the "biased critic" as an ideal raises several issues. While we cannot resolve such concerns here, the methodology of "participant observation" being developed in sociology/anthropology would seem to be directly relevant. It is extremely difficult, at this point in time, to indicate the form that applied, popular rhetorical criticism of this sort might assume, but the analysis offered by Lewis Lapham in his article, "What Movies Try to Sell Us," in the November 1971 issue of Harper's would seem to come extremely close to the kind of criticism we have in mind.

While the stance developed here is best identified as theoretical, certainly methodologies are currently being developed which allow the definition of rhetoric posited here to be viewed as a serious theoretical framework. The decision to relate subfields would seem to force us to reconsider our understanding of the components within the entire field.

J.W.C.

Television: To Serve the Public

By Jon A. Coleman

The Communications Act of 1934 provides that applications for broadcasting licenses are to be granted only if the commission shall find that the "public interest, convenience, and necessity will be served."[1] Further, the Communications Act established the Federal Communications Commission or the F.C.C. under the assumption that "a fundamental premise of the American system of broadcasting is that... [television] is a natural resource belonging to the entire national public..."[2] To serve the public interest is clearly the intent of the F.C.C. statement, but what is the public interest? Since 1934 the F.C.C. and the courts have grappled with the problem of how the public interest is best served. In their consideration they have dealt with many varying aspects of public interest. Because public interest has been explored before does not deter from the necessity to constantly re-examine public interests in light of different times. There are many inconsistencies between F.C.C. policy and its practical application that have not yet been resolved. Many of the problems extant in 1934 still exist today, but in addition since 1934 new definitions have arisen because of the changing nature of the public. The total implication of the 1934 Act were not applied to our pluralistic society, for only recently have we recognized the pluralistic society to be a social fact.[3] We must examine the Act and subsequent qualifications, not as they applied in 1934, but as they apply today after some 37 years of social and political changes.

Is the public being served by television today? The policy statement of the F.C.C. seem an ideal rather than a reality. There are two key words in the F.C.C. policy statement. They are "to serve" and "public." There are too many ways that T.V. does not serve the people and there are very many ways that it could. The potential is there if the broadcasters will only use it.

To serve means to discharge the requirements of an office or duty, or to meet a responsibility. It has already been determined that the responsibility of television is to serve the public interest. Although television operates in a free enterprise system, it is not devoid of social responsibility. But this responsibility has not been met. Every evening the TV viewer is blitzed with variety shows, situation comedies, adventure shows, movies, and many reruns. In a typical

week's evening prime time there were 48 hours of programs devoted to the above, plus five and a half hours of sports specials. Only two hours of network specialis and two hours of local specials were shown.

In 1971 the F.C.C. shortened network prime time from three to two-and-one half hours. The other half-hour was given to local stations in the hope that they would concern themselves with local issues and problems. What have they done with the time? In the same week mentioned above there were five and an half hours of syndicated programs and reruns and only one hour of locally originated shows.[4] Weekdays are devoted to soap operas and game shows. Saturday and Sunday mornings the kids are swamped with cartoons and reruns. With television like this, is TV meeting its social responsibility? The President of the National Association of Broadcasters stated that, "Broadcasting to serve the public interest must have a soul and a conscience...(and) the urge to build character, citizenship and intellectual stature of the people..."[5] Television should promote interest and understanding, teach the great traditions of the past.[6] The F.C.C. has, moreover, noted that, "Presentation of social and political issues is indispensable."[7]

According to these standards, how do The Doris Day Show, My Three Sons, Mannix and Bonanza fare? Do these shows and the others like them teach good citizenship, confront social and political issues, build character? Does the violence of Gunsmoke meet any of these standards? What about the daytime soap operas and game shows? The biggest problem is that these programs are unreal. Not that realism is essential to good television, but when a program which is unrealistic is sold as if it were real, then a problem exists. Studies have shown that children enjoy fantasy more than realism, but what happens when they think the fantasy is real?[8] According to sociologist Dr. Charles Winick a child who has no values to weigh against TV values has a hard time making personal value judgments.[9] The moral and ethical value system we receive over our airways today is of one kind. Television programs sell a materialist, white, middle-class sinless and unattainable life-style. Children must have a frame of reference, but all too often the only standard of comparison is the next channel. All of the messages from TV, both explicit and subliminal contextual messages, and uncritically devoured without dialogue or feedback.[10]

Why Television Has Failed

Why do we have so few programs that serve the public interest? There are several reasons for the failure. First, the TV industry lives under the assumption that they must reach all of the people all of the time. This is inherently impossible. There is no possible way the American public can be reached all at once. The diversity is too great. This is also the reason why programs sell a way of life. They produce what will appeal to the most people and the most people are the American middle-class.

Second, programmers must operate within a cost-profit system. They believe that to produce a program that will be good would cost too much--to produce better shows would cut into profit. Cost dictates that a show must be made to run as long as possible. The longer the run, the higher the profit. A program not directed to mass appeal would not sell and thus supposedly could not be done. Programs done artistically, well-produced and written could be made to reach large enough audiences to be profitable and still be more than the usual sameness. TV must be made to perform as responsibly as it can within the

profit structure,[11] and profit for television is high.[12]

A third reason good public service programming is missing on TV is that stations are afraid of controversy. Real people mean real problems which mean real issues and real controversy. Do TV documentaries and talk shows tackle real problems. They seldom do. Public service programs arouse no tempers and post no solutions. Television commentators skirt issues and are afraid to take a stand. TV must go beyond its journalistic concepts and devote programs to real problem-solving. After a full day of football Sunday, need we more on a Tuesday evening?[13] Do Saturday morning interviews with local businesses, or Community Chest presidents fulfill the requirements of presenting social and political issues? By taking a value stance, TV stations could do more to move people to action and problem-solving than any other media. To question our society is the first step to bettering it.

Finally, TV is afraid of offending the F.C.C. The F.C.C. is in theory responsible to protect the public interest. The F.C.C. is supposed to be non-political but is obviously very susceptible to political pressure. Spiro Agnew's ravings about TV stations and F.C.C. licenses certainly did silence network programming. Seen any more Selling of the Pentagons? Newscasters and analysts have lived forever under a self-imposed censorship. Removal of this fear of losing one's license would do much to improve programming. To serve must mean to give something of value to the people, not just to serve up rotten, mind-decaying shows that sell an unattainable lifestyle.

A Pluralistic Society

Earlier this paper alluded to the fact that the Communication Act of 1934 did not recognize the full implication of its policy in terms of a pluralistic society. What the 1946 Blue Book refers to as minorities is very different from a 1971 conception of the term.[14] But it seems that television is still working in the confines of the old definition. It is now recognized that a pluralistic society is emerging in America.[15] The emergence of minorities did not just recently occur. They have always been present--just not recognized. Richard Hofstadter aptly notes that, "Dissenting minorities were always present," but "they were submerged by the overwhelming realities of industrial growth."[16] Blacks, for example, were never a problem to be considered until the late 1950's. What was once thought to be the great melting pot has not done its melting so well. Recognizing this fact, television must adapt itself to the situation. "Television must render the best practical service to the community it reaches."[17] Since there are communities of minorities that are not restricted by physical boundaries it becomes national television's responsibility to serve these people. A community is not just a city, but should be considered any group of people who share common values and ideas. Our society has probably more diversity of lifestyle and cultural background than most any other in the world. It is clear that to really serve the public, television must serve all the public.

Pragmatic Implications

Who are the people that constitute our pluralistic society? Who are the people who must be served by television? Certainly there is more to the viewing audience than Middle America. Indians, Chicanos, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, women, homosexuals, and atheists are all part of the viewing audience. Each of these groups and many more are a part of the community. If television is to be of the community, then each of

these groups must have some television of, by and for them. The ways in which television has failed and the ways it could serve could be discussed for each minority above. Each has its own problems and each its own solutions. However, an analysis of Black television, as a most obvious example, will help clarify the problem. But remember for each group a similar

In dealing with the concept of "Black" television, initially it is important to note that television owners are ruled by the profit motive and they believe that there is no money in Black television. But shouldn't there be a proportionate number of programs for Blacks in America? Twenty million people is a large minority that has practically no television. Black TV should be written by, directed by, and produced by Blacks. Programming should be controlled by the community and must concern itself with all aspects of Black life. "Unlike other programs featuring Negroes and dramatizing a white writer's concept of Black people. Black programming seeks to frame Black reality in its authentic context of not just Black people looking at, hearing and talking about Black people, but Black people being Black and appropriately telling it like it is."[18] The whole spectrum of the community should be given air time. Black Panthers, Black militants, Black Muslims, and the Black establishment should be part of the programming. The shows must be more than just the interview type. Programming can show what's happening in the community. Black history and culture should be shown to place the Black man in his proper historical perspective. Programs like these would be of value to far more than the Black community. "For the first time in TV history," notes Ebony, "whites have a chance to be the 'shadow audience,' but still may learn more about themselves than than about the Black man."[19] And these shows need not be the cold and dry documentary types, but could be lively, entertaining programs that depict true and exciting history. Could not there be programs dealing with ghetto life and life on a slave plantation just as there are shows like Doris Day and Gunsmoke? Television could be of more practical value for Blacks and other urban dwellers. Programs could be shown on how to get rid of rats, deal with welfare laws and police, fight tenement landlords, or get an abortion. Shows could be educational like Sesame Street, for children, or others for teens and parents.

The only real value television has had for the Black community (a value not intended by the producers) has been to awaken the population to the disparity between Black and White, rich and poor. Television has helped to spawn the Black Revolution. TV must now go beyond awakening to problem solving. Just as there was the need to intergrate public schools for quality education so television must intergrate itself for quality programming.

Many of the ways that television could help minority communities have been outlined, but better service to the people would not be limited to minorities alone. Television could also serve the rest of the country. Programs could expose retail businesses that over charge for their products, help people find jobs, organize child care centers and much more. Good editorial and investigative reporting could help speed actions in solving so many of our social problems. This type of programming could be done on commerical as well as public television. Not all shows would have to be one-half or one hour in length, many could be mere minute spots. But the important thing is that television must use its powerful position to serve all the people. The industry is able, but not so willing.

Theoretical Implications

The First Amendment to the Constitution, which guarantees free speech, might be used by networks and stations to argue that further regulation of the kind and amount of programs recommended here is a violation of their right. Yet, it has been repeatedly established that the F.C.C. has the right to regulate TV. There are only a limited number of stations for all the people. "The right of the public to service is superior to the right of any licensee."[20] Rather than think of the First Amendment protecting the the stations only, it should also be recognized that the "use of all media is a public right guaranteed by the First Amendment."[21]

In the past, free speech by television has only been defined as applying to news, religion and documentaries. But this is far too limited a perspective if we are to adequately deal with our society. It will not do that television gives only a fragmented view of the degradation of our ghettoes, or the ideas of the Black Panther Party. The issue becomes not so much a question of what we take off television (so many programs fail every year that the decision is made automatically), but what we add. And how much we add. By adding different programs with different value systems to television would not mean that television would be imposing these beliefs. Television should not mold society, but should reflect and question it. Television would be upgrading its programming, not because it is taking away something that is accepted by the public, but because TV is adding something the public has never seen. The mass of Middle America will still get substantial worthwhile programs directed to them as outlined earlier, but also a little more. Remember that people "may learn more about themselves" than the other's life-style.

What method could be used to determine the number of programs devoted to minorities? What may not be the best method but certainly would be the fairest would be to have a proportionate number of programs as there are people in that community. To start at this point is necessary; it does not mean that other methods of determining quantity will not be found later. In a nation which has TV directly only to one audience is worth a try.

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1. Section 309a.
2. F.C.C. Network Staff Study to the Network Study Committee, Vol. I., Chapter 3, (Washington, D.C.: United States Government, 1957), p. 4.
3. See the following for more extended treatments of the concept of the "public interest":

a. F.C.C. Study Staff, Vol. I: Within this context, public interest is discussed in terms of concentration of the industry in three networks. Questions raised in this regard: Does this serve the public interest? Is there sufficient opportunity for competition between networks? Are there anti-trust implications? Also discussed is competition between networks and non-network organizations.

b. Report on Chain Broadcasting, F.C.C., May 1941: This report also deals with public interest and the networks.

c. Public Service Responsibility of Broadcast Licensee, F.C.C., March 7, 1946 (The Blue Book): This report deals with substantive requirements of a broadcast licensee. Necessity for sustaining programs, service to non-profit

organizations, program experimentation, discussion of public issues, programs for significant minority tastes and programs inappropriate for commerical sponsorship.

4. "TV Week," Minneapolis Tribune, Minneapolis, Minnesota, October 10, 1971 has been used for all statistics related to televised programs and hours.

5. Leroy Collins, speech to the Oregon State Association of Broadcasters, Portland, Oregon, November 20, 1970. See: Vital Speeches of the Day, December 15, 1970, p. 220.

6. Newton Minow, speech to the Thirty-Ninth Annual Convention of Broadcasters, Washington, D.C., May 9, 1961. See: Vital Speeches of the Day, June 15, 1961, p. 535.

7. F.C.C. Network Staff Study, Chapter 3, p. 7.

8. John Leonard, "Why Not Use TV for a Headstart Program," New York Times Magazine, July 14, 1968, p. 5.

9. Good Housekeeping Magazine, March 1968, p. 193.

10. Leonard, p. 26.

11. Lawrence Pinkham, "Role of Mass Media and TV Ghetto Audience," Current, June 1969, p. 33.

12. Minow, p. 536.

13. "Moore on Tuesday," WCCO Television, Minneapolis, Minnesota, September 14, 1971.

14. In the 1946 Blue Book, it was noted that significant minority tastes and interests must be served. The report refers to the following as programs meeting minority needs: New York Philharmonic Symphony, Orchestra, Of Men and Books, and Columbia Broadcast Symphony.

15. James W. Chesebro, John F. Cragan and Patricia McCullough, "The Small Group Technique of the Radical-Revolutionary: A Synthetic Study of Consciousness Raising," paper to be read at the SCA 1971 Convention in December note: "A fairly wide range of sociologists are beginning to recognize that a pluralistic society can and is emerging. See: Pierre L. Van Ben Berghe, "Dialictic and Functionalism: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis," American Sociological Review, 28 (October 1963), 695-705; and Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1936), p. 2. Supporting analyses are also provided by Don Martindale, Community, Character and Civilization, Studies in Social Behavioralism (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), p. 301; Richard M. Merelman, "The Dramaturgy of Politics," The Sociological Journal of the Midwest Sociological Society, 10 (Spring 1969), 222.

In addition, political scientists are also beginning to recognize that a pluralistic society is emerging. See: Robert E. Lane, Political Ideology (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), 15 and Robert E. Lane, Political Life (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1959), p. 6; and Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1963). An important historical observation is also made by Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform from Bryan to F.D.R. (New York: Random House, Inc., 1955)."

16. Hofstadter, p. 60.

17. Federal Communications Commission v. Sander Bros. Radio Station, 319 vs 470 (1940).

18. Ebony, September 1969, p. 90.

19. Ibid., p. 94.

20. Network Staff Study, Chapter 3, p. 4.

21. Pinkham, p. 34.

The Fiction of Non-fiction

BY DAN L. MILLER

A Review of 'Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee'

BURY MY HEART AT WOUNDED KNEE: AN INDIAN HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN WEST. By Dee Brown. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970. $10.95.

With the thundering of unshod hooves and the quixotically rendered war whoops echoing from between the pages, author Dee Brown attempts to bury the American heart at Wounded Knee. With the assistance of many fine old prints, a rhetorical picture of the "noble savage" is painted with skill, feeling and artistry usually reserved for works of fiction. Yet the Indians of the American West are portrayed on a canvas of expanding American consciousness as perhaps the primordial example of American oppression of a minority group. It is from this perspective that author Brown renetlessly and purposely stalks his prey--the American public--attempting and succeeding in wounding the reader's heart with an almost intolerable guilt.

Viewed rhetorically from a Burkean plane, Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee moves the reader through the phases of the cult of kill. Using the usually dry and dusty chronologically documented method of the historian, Brown intrudes his presence into his work and re-creates history through the joint devices of testimony and omnipresence. Consequently, the reader becomes an active participant in all of the scenes of cruel white acts of extermination as well as the scenes of poetic red oneness with the living forests, the boundless plains, and the soaring mountains. The rhetorical impact of Brown's method is to remove all issues of red injustice from the logical dimension to the psychological where emotions may be stirred with greater effectiveness and facility.

The first plane through which Brown propells his reader is pollution. The initial chapter of this history is a synaps of American treatment of eastern nations before the author narrows his focus to the western tribes. The picture of two clashing hierarchies is boldly presented with alarming lucidity for the Indian perspective to whom "it seemed that these Europeans hated everything in nature." Later, such militarily eminent oppressors like General James ("Star Chief") Carleton are utilized to further clarify the clashing ideologies by citing the Manifest Destiny doctrine which demanded that the Indian forego his homes, traditions, and associations in order to "give way to the insatiable progress of our race." No reader can traverse the pages of this history without feeling a deeply seated sense of ill and wrong done the red culture by the white.

Phase two of the author's method is designed to inflict guilt in the hearts of the American public. Primarily through the process of author selection of material, the reader is led to the realization that his government, his society, and his very concept of advancement be it religious, economic, or social is guilty of the vividly presented scenarios of racial genocide. Scenes like the bayonetting

of innocent children or the "Long Walk of the Navahos" where nearly naked Indians froze to death in their forced march to the Bosque reservation is presented through contemporary testimony of brave American soldiers charged with solving the "Indian problem."

Now that author Brown has polluted the reader and rendered him sufficiently guilty, the next step is the rite of purification. It appears to me that merely wallowing through 445 pages of Indian suffering, sorrow, and sacrifice constitutes such an act. Yet I rather doubt if this is precisely the act that Brown had in mind. Rather, this heavy record of broken treaty after broken treaty is more likely designed to stem the continued attitudunal plunder of the American Indian. In fact, Brown inartistically tells the reader in the introduction that there are reasons for the "poverty, the hopelessness, and the squalor of a modern Indian reservation." Hopefully then, this history is designed to raise individual awareness of these reasons.

Brown lays a heavy burden on the white man in terms of the blame and the measures necessary to effect a cure or purification, but his history is unfulfilling in terms of a redemptive directional impetus. Like too many authors, Brown offers valid criticisms of past and present behavior, but fails to suggest the cost of restoring the balance. The cost of righting the wrongs done to proud names like Sitting Bull, Standing Bear, Little Crow, and Spotted Tail can never be detailed if one accepts the silent innuendo of the once stylistically omnipresent author.

Since this book stops short of the redemption stage, this critic was left with one burning question: Why is this history such a hit? Different answers suggested themselves with various degrees of satisfaction. First, this book has terrific snob appeal. After all, every pretend party ought to include at least one individual who can stop the flow of conversation with a fifteen minute monologue on the trials of Donehogawa (ala a Perils of Pauline perspective of course). Second, those readers who live in their own little "in" (or is it "out") world of the typical rad-liber will perceive this work as a valuable and significant document which establishes a viable parallel to the systematic and planned repression, oppression and regression of society upon helpless and innocent groups like the Black Panthers, Gay Lib, and Spiro Agnewites. In short, it provides this group with yet another tool for self flagelation and reinforcement that society is "boo, bad, nasty, and evil." Finally, this book might merely serve an informative function and provide an adequate solution for those with $10.95 to spare and not the gumption to go out on a Saturday night.

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The Wonderful World of TV

BY AL AUSTIN

A Review of Made-for-TV Movies

It's the year of the made-for-television movie, the "World Premier" 90-minute wonders starring everybody from all the series on that channel.

Those home-grown flicks always start out as one-third of a short story. Guy's just yanking page two out of his typewriter when along comes a network vice president who hasn't cranked out a single movie all week. So he's desparate, and when he spots all those typed words he goes ape: "Hey, Lonnie, great first sentence there, fella. Make a great movie." And off he goes in search of the cast of The Young Lawyers and Jack Webb to direct it and he's in production within the hour. Lonnie never finishes the story. Which is okay. Dangling endings are contemporary. Trouble is, this season even the middles dangle.

One recent example (I'll have to write this down fast; those movies are about as memorable as a favorite son candidate nominating speech) was NBC's Friday night (November 12) offering, "The Harness." Bonanza's Loren Greene played the aging but virile California farmer (they never let these things stray very far from the studio) in the process of being widowered by his dour weak-hearted, super-pious, weasely-domineering wife who kept him shaped up in mind and body to the point of having him wear a back harness so he'd stand up straight and who never let him plant romantic items like sweat peas and strawberries. When along the sunshine in the person of free-spirit Julie Sommars (late of The Governor and J.J.). Julie and her illegitimate son move in to help take care of the Mrs. and the house. And Lorne begins to perk up. All of which appears to scandalize most of the Western Seaboard. The town disapproves of the girl, Green's brother-in-law--partner disapproves of her, the wife disapproves too, of course, but that's of small consequence inasmuch as she passes on practically in mid-disapproval.

So far so good. Alas, that's where page two of Lonnie's script must have ended and our performers had nothing left to do but stand around and try to fill out the remaining hour and a half as best they could. In the end Miss Sommars rides off forever, leaving a ray of her sunshine behind for Greene and the hide-bound town. But not before she has delivered herself of some of the most pompous speeches ever committed to a sound track. Announcing that she loves a guy who's in Soledad prison for "conspiracy to demonstrate" and that she only seduced Greene the night before for his own good and that he's an old creep who ought to adopt her list of values, she warms the cockles of his (and our) heart by declaring, "I still have hope for you."

This particular movie was worth singling out because all the others star Michael Cole, or someone who looks like Michael Cole and acts like Michael Cole, which is to say he doesn't.

It would seem that the main criteria

for getting the part of the young protagonist in this season's television drama are a bland countenance and an ability to suppress emotion. Faced with death and/or dishonor the proper expression is one of having just ordered three hamburgers and now settling down to wait for them to come. I suppose this is considered restraint, a Stanislavskian tour de force meant to show the character's inner strength, as though beneath what looks remarkably like boredom is great torment and as long as the actor feels it it's not necessary to let anyone else know. Cole's partner in the Mod Squad, Clarence Williams III, goes one step further and wears sunglasses and almost never says anything, so that we thrill to a mute actor with immobile features and hidden eyes. I suspect that what it is with Cole and his ilk is not restraint but a simple matter of not being able to act their way out of wet paper bags. And I think Williams III is asleep.

One begins to long for the fascinating over-acting of Rod Steiger or Burt Lancaster.

Or Peter Falk. And therein lies one of the few redeeming names in an otherwise lowest-common-denominated season. Mr. Falk's fumbling detective genius, Columbo on NBC's Wednesday night Mystery Theater series. I'd like to see the plot take a lot more twists in the ninety minutes. I mean Falk hardly has to try. You realize from the moment he first asks the killer for a light that he knows who done it and the one who done it knows he knows, and since the viewer knows, the only thing left is the fun of watching Mr. Falk act. Which is considerable. But it's only once every three weeks. In between there's an awful lot of Michael Cole.

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Fiction, Fantasy, Reality

BY SANDRA E. PURNELL

A Review of 'The Exorcist'

THE EXORCIST. By Wiliam Peter Blatty. New York: Harper & Row, 1971.

The Exorcist is a contemporary drama of man's eternal struggle with the otherworldly forces of good and evil. In its pages, paper thin characters battle in a quasi-heroic fashion with spirits beyond their comprehension and control. The major difficulty with the novel is that the supernatural forces are a bit too far beyond the the comprehension of these superficial human agents, so that what should be a struggle comparable with Ahab's duel with the great white whale becomes a tempest in a teacup. The theme of the novel, however, and its great popular appeal, do tell us something about the proclivities of the American reading public.

Blatty's moral tale goes something like this. An eleven year old child, Regan MacNeil, begins to exhibit peculiar psychotic tendencies: at first it is obscene language, a voice which is unlike her own, lack of control of her bodily processes. Shortly, there are several voices unlike her

own, violent physical attacks on people around her, horrid facial expressions, emaciation and protrusion of the stomach, profuse vomiting and a pervasive stench. The concerned mother, actress Chris MacNeil, takes her daughter to several doctors, then to psychistrists. None of these specialists can diagnose Regan's illness, but a psychiatric clinic report strongly implies that she is possessed by a demon (a rather unscientific thought, which compels them to dismiss her as a patient). Finally, for reasons not wholly clear, Mother, who happens to be an aetheist, calls on Father Damien Karras, a Jesuit attached to Georgetown University, to exorcise the devil from her daughter's soul.

Father Karras, who also happens to be a psychiatrist, does his own examination of the girl and then, convinced, begins to explore seriously the possibility of conducting an exorcism. It happens that the Catholic ritual does contain a procedure for this purpose, little used in recent centuries. His request for permission to conduct the exorcism is granted, but he is not appointed to personally officiate.

Father Lankester Merrin, an internationally famous Catholic scholar, archaeologist and student of ancient religion, is called to conduct the battle with the devil. Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of the novel and one which is largely undeveloped, is the personal history of this priest and his previous encounters with the devil. This assignment comes as no surprise to him or to the devil. They have met before and this is the appointed time and place for their final struggle to the death. Where had they met before? What had been the nature of their previous battles? Who was ahead in points? By what power had this final meeting been appointed? These questions are unfortunately left unanswered. We have a very limited picture of an extremely fascinating character.

The final duel for the girl's soul commences. The young priest assists the aged one. The devil is tenacious and deceptive. He plays one role after another, taunting his age old rival, Father Merrin. It is revealed that the devil, using the girl, has killed a film director. The director's soul has taken up residence in the girl's body, along with the soul of the young priest's recently deceased mother. The old priest, quite to the reader's surprise, dies of a heart attack. This, somehow, does not seem appropriately melodramatic. Perhaps the devil would smite him with a mighty blow. Or accuse him of hidden sins against God and man, causing the priest to die in penance. But for this mighty devil smasher to just up and have a coronary like any other sixty year old man seems unworthy of the weighty subject of this novel. Rising to the situation, the young priest conducts a verbal duel with the devil and finds himself thrown from the bedroom window and crushed to a pulp several stories below--but he smiles rapturously in death. For in death he has triumphed; Regan is freed from the devil and she and her movie-star mother are off to the wilds of Hollywood with hardly a second thought about the dead director, the dead devil smasher, the dead young Jesuit, or even the defeated Prince of Darkness himself. There is hardly an echo to disturb their fairy tale existence.

The real significance of this work of fiction comes to light when we examine the reasons for its popularity. Of course, we can only speculate about the source of its appeal, but on the basis of its subject matter we might make some tentative conclusions.

The era we live in today witnesses the apparent or real collapse of many traditionally sacred institutions: the "church" has been in a period of de-

cline for years; confidence in the wisdom of the state has been eroded by the war in Vietnam and unending domestic problems; even the family is no longer a source of comfort and security. Divorce rates are high. Many other couples remain together in spite of the acknowledged "failure" of their marriages. The younger generation is turning to drugs, resisting participation in the corporate state, searching for new patterns of human interaction and involvement. Myriad social movements have sprung up which attempt to establish or re-establish the unique identity of a group of people: Black Liberation, Gay Liberation, Women's Liberation, Chicano Liberation, etc. The society might be described as going through a gigantic identity crisis. Even President Nixon has noticed that our problems today are not material but spiritual.

A possible interpretation of this problem might be that man cannot, in this era, identify with any significant aspects of the established culture. If man, being a social animal, seeks his substance or essential nature and personal definition through social institutions then we might say that contemporary culture is extremely hostile to his needs. America of the 1970's does not provide a formula for spiritual unification and the transcendence of conflict.

This analytic framework makes the success of Blatty's book susceptible to explanation. Religion or the supernatural has always functioned as a means of transcendence of earthly division, conflict, alienation. Reflecting this idea, Marx called religion the opiate of the masses. Thus, the struggle between supernatural forces portrayed by The Exorcist might be seen to be intriguing to a fearful population searching for some definition or explanation of human life.

In the novel itself, however, the working out of this supernatural conflict between the powers of darkness and of light is not totally satisfactory because both the Christian and Satanic forces are defeated (they destroy each other) and the survivor is the aetheist. Chris MacNeil might be seen to represent modern man, separated totally from the eternal powers, and not converted by this fictional drama to either form of supernaturalism. She and, symbolically, we remain in a state of alienation from God.

For the reader, however, the response might be quite different from that of the surviving protagonist, particularly since she is a cardboard character anyway. The reader might be artistically induced to greater personal attraction to the supernatural, to continue the search for substance or consubstantiation in this direction.

Blatty's novel is not the first nor will it be the last manifestation of our current intrigue with the supernatural. Other contemporary examples include the Jesus people, the Manson cult, the novel and film Rosemary's Baby, the new film The Devils and an intriguing new film titled The Jesus Trip which apparently combines "biker" and religious themes.

In sum, we are facing a period of spiritual re-generation; people are searching for a new and meaningful relationship with a higher power--whether Diabolical or Godly.

Blatty has tapped a major theme of contemporary culture and this accounts, somewhat, for the success of his book. His use of the theme, however, tends to be relatively superficial because the titanic supernatural struggle is rigidly segregated from "everyday life." The devil is right there in the house, but people go on having interminable morning coffee as usual; the actress is concerned with the tangible: the future of her career and

the physical welfare of her daughter. She evades the intangible issue: the eternal struggle between God and the Devil for the possession of Man's soul. Perhaps this is the essential tragedy of the novel and of modern life.

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Fiction, Message and Critic

BY JUDITH WILLIAMS

A Review of 'The Other'

THE OTHER. By Thomas Tryon. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971. $6.95.

Since Rosemary's Baby and Charles Manson's family, we've witnessed an explosion of books, movies and college courses on the black arts. Astrology, spiritualism, poltergeists, and satan worship are now serious business in the U.S. Reasons for the revival of interest in the black arts may be the threat of technological overkill, guilt about Vietnam, a return to the worship of the old gods still with us, or the political-social direction the established church is taking. Thomas Tryon's first novel is another psychological tale of murder and madness with supernatural overtones.

In a small Connecticutt mid-30's town, the once prosperous Perry family is plagued by a series of bizarre events. The men of the household die brutally and mysteriously; a one month old infant is drowned in a wine keg at an annual family memorial dinner; and, a cousin is speared on a pitchfork. The story crackles to a close with the immolation of the psychic Russian grandmother in a giant molotov cocktail. All this and more happens on the 13th summer of the twins, Niles and Holland Perry, identical yet as unalike as two sides of an odd coin. Niles can play a game of transference where he imagines what it's like to be a dragonfly, a rooster, or a sunflower. Holland is guarded, dark, and around whenever violence is committed. Both are dominated by their grandmother and unnaturally solicitious of their deranged, alcoholic mother.

The corruption of children is always a fascinating theme, especially when we suspect a supernatural influence, and Tryon does manage a beautiful reversal not wholly anticipated. But, a kid who wipes out an entire family is a monster whether you call him "possessed" or "schizo." With so many falling bodies, it's hard to take all this psychological terror seriously.

Tryon does, however, create a personal sense of identification with evil, whether called original sin or demon possession. Coupled with the reality of personal acts of intentional evil, is the question of accountability for such violence even when committed by psychologically tormented minors. In this case, the grandmatriarch accepts the responsibility by admitting her failure to stop what she foresaw as a

dangerious game in which part of human will is abdicated to another form. Clearly, Tryon impresses us that the psyche of man need not be limited to the reality of our five senses. When going beyond, it is not always easy to detect evil from good, as reflected in 13 year old twin boys. Tryon succeeds in posing for us a consideration of the source, nature and accountability of personal evil, violent acts, and leaves us to determine if redemption is possible.

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Focus on Film

BY GARY LEWIS SHERMAN

A Review of 'Carnal Knowledge'

Carnal Knowledge is clearly the "yes-but" movie of the year. I liked it, but I wasn't entirely satisfied. Yes, it's brilliant, but under Mike Nichols direction from Jules Feiffer's original screenplay, this grimly purposeful satire about depersonalization and how we use each other sexually as objects is like a neon sign that spells out the soullessness of neon. This movie doesn't just raise the problem, but inadvertantly it becomes part of it. It's as if Playboy Magazine had suddenly seen the error of its ways and now sold its remorse in the same crusading format. What's even more ironical is Playboy's film column ecstatically praising the very movie that so demises its philosophy of life. I've always maintained that the cronies at Playboy who pass themselves off as editors and writers will do anything for a quick buck, and here's proof positive of my suspicion once again.

Carnal Knowledge deals with two students at Amherst College in the late '40s, Sandy (Art Garfunkel) and Jonathan (Jack Nicholson), and traces them through the '50s and '60s right smack into 1971. They grow older but their attitudes remain the same. In regard to love, each is as ignorant and lost as the other. Nicholson's self-assurance and his braggadocio lets him define where they both stand on intimate matters. He seems to have more information about girls, particularly about how you can best maneuver them into giving you what you want. Garfunkel... a shy, earnest boy who might have turned idealistic under nobler influences...is more than prepared to and finally does accept Jonathan as mentor. Sandy totally embraces Jonathan's vision of the male-female game. Of course, no more pathetic model than Jonathan could be found anywhere. It's watching the blinder leading the blind. Sandy doesn't just learn from Jonathan; he embodies him as the perfect emblem mouthpiece of the prevailing vision of the game. The game whose object consists mainly of scoring off lots of women without really caring deeply. Without allowing oneself to be ensnared by any one of them.

The first woman in their lives is Susan (Candice Bergen) who falls in

love with Jonathan but sets up housekeeping with the somewhat innocent and more naive Sandy. She turns out to be the perfect co-ed side for this same game who object is to put out strategically if not equally to both of them. Going with them both, and not really sure which one she wants more, she ends up bedding down with Jonathan first. Soon they're both bedding her down and Jonathan begins to torment himself over the sharing. Now he longs for exclusivity.

By the conspicuous omission of any further reference to her two-timing, we presume that Sandy (Garfunkel) never discovers he's been cuckoled. Cuckoled in advance, no less, by his best friend. This collegiate cuckolding turns out to be crucial, however, considerably more so than Garfunkel's short-lived marriage, crucial by virtue of its never coming up.

The film proceeds mainly by duologues (conversations between the two buddies discussing their women, the man-woman conversations) to show us interchanges snatched from the course of their next twenty-five years. Their work (Sandy becomes a doctor; Jonathan a lawyer) recedes to seem arbitrary...almost peripheral. We come to realize that women pass clear through their lives, leaving no more than an aftertaste. We are shown nothing of their lifes except as it touches on their hungry "love" maneuvers. During a tennis match, Nichols and Guiseppe Rotunno (his director of photography) have so staged their camera as to withhold even a glimpse of the actual tennis match because what counts is not the tennis but the double date. We are focused in on games within games, both devious and blind at the same time. Their lives contain no personal cumulation. Their is nothing solid or sustained apart from the friendship between them.

Yet even their very friendship was contaminated at its source by the secret of Jonathan's betrayal. Not that Feiffer and Nichols do not believe its any insurmountable sin to sneak off with your best friend's girl. Jonathan's cockolding was not an attempt to take anything away from Sandy. The men never touch one another, but at least they can both spend time in the same place. Inside Susan. This theme of friends longing for one another, and their inability to get genuinely together except by sharing the same pussy, typlifies their relationship throughout the film. Through their misplaced mutual envy, each always wanting what the other's got...through their more than intimate confessions.. through their titilation and glee at the prospect of setting each other up or, better yet, swapping...it is both ironic and pathetic that neither can be honest with himself let alone with each other. Therefore, they never make true contact. They continually seek fulfillment from mere fornication. And because neither of them ever learn to understand or appreciate the erotic as a metaphor for one's deeply felt connectedness, each is doomed to fall short of satisfaction forever.

We can be amused by teenage boys during puberty who are unwholesomely preoccupied with carnal knowledge. They can strike us often times as humorous, warm, provoking, and even nostalgic. Sex may mainly afford them nothing but torture, but isn't that what adolescence is all about? And even in the process of growing up half a dozen years more into college, if this confusion still persists, there seems no real cause yet for concern. After all, aren't these years for testing out, for playing the field, and for sowing wild oats? It's easy enough to laugh at all the phony come-ons, the missed and botched connections, the gratuitious intrigues, and graceless and traumatic love play at this age. They can all easily be chalked up to good old experience. However, the popular

mythology, which the good old movies have set up and made us believe by the most handsome and sentimental of lies, leads us to expect affirmative resolution. We expect immaturity to be followed by maturity, failures at love to be followed by a match made in heaven, stormy and futile courtships blossoming into happily-ever-afters. Things are always supposed to and do get better. Jules Feiffer has had the maturity, fortitude, and talent to write a screenplay that not only deflates but destroys this popular American myth. The exact sexual foolishness we find amusing and forgivable in a boy of fifteen is pathetic in a man of thirty, and tragic in a man of forty-five. This is why Carnal Knowledge is so unsettling, so unnerving, so depressing, and finally so sad in spite of all its funniness...so very very sad.

What has always been strongest in Mike Nichols' films is his perfect reconstruction of the walking nightmares people frequently find themselves lost in. Mike Nichols and his screenwriters have had the perfect knack of showing us what's so bad. In his first film, Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?, screenwriter Ernest Lehman and he showed how a husband and wife, needlessly, can turn their home into a poison den. In The Graduate, screenwriters Buck Henry and Calder Willingham and he showed how a promising young man, on the threshold of every reward to which young men are supposed to aspire, can despise the life he's about to inherit. In Catch-22, screenwriter Buck Henry and he showed how a man caught in war, and who is no longer able to depend on his leaders, his friends, his own reason, can be reduced to a fearful crazed helplessness. And now, in Carnal Knowledge cartoonist, playwright, and screenplay writer Jules Feiffer and he have showed how men can pass through their entire lives without ever making any real connection with a woman or for that matter, with another man.

However up until now, Nichols has always made disturbing movies with Martha (Richard Burton and Elizabeth Taylor) embrace at dawn, make up, having got through another long night's journey into day. They emerge with their terrible compromise still intact. In The Graduate, screenwriters Buck Henry and Calder Willingham shift the focus first from Benjamin's (Dustin Hoffman) confusion over his future to confusion over his destructive affair with Mrs. Robinson (Anne Bancroft). Then further shift the film to a mood of anguish turning to a mood of adventure. The distressing questions which the script raised early on in the film get mislaid well before the chase which brings the boy gets girl...loses girl...gets girl back to a rousing finale. In the last few minutes of the film, when we've just about forgotten the impasse Benjamin had reached about his future, Williamham, Henry, and Nichols reassert some echo of that impasse (cul-de-sac). The film's high spirits quaver and fall down a little. Yes, he's snatched his girl from the alter of a disastrous marriage. Yet instead of ending on a note of a jubilant getaway, Nichols has the two of them stare blankly at the camera. A quizzical shot that frames up and asks, "So what happens now? What have we really solved?" In Catch-22 the harrowing and depressing sense of Yossarian's (Alan Arkin) isolation and dislocation is repeatedly interrupted by a Bettle-Baileyish genre of farcial service comedy. Nichols and screenwriter Buck Henry are easing up on the viewer. They dissipate the pressure, and ask us to laugh in ways we've many times been asked to laugh at before. In the end when Yossairan makes his brilliant director of photography David Watkins pull the camera back slowly, further, further, and further into the horizon. In the expanse, we see a platoon marching off the airstrip to drill formation, and on the

soundtrack we hear a triumphant march melody. Yossarian is now only a tiny dot in the center of the screen setting out to sea in a tiny life raft. His escape is the perfect embodiment of futility and absurdity at their ultimate, but nevertheless, his escape is also heroic at the same time. Again the change in mood at the ending undercuts the severity of what has gone on before, but undercuts only slightly.

It's very possible that Mike Nichols didn't really believe an escape existed for any of his characters in any of these three films. Or if indeed there was an escape available, these characters couldn't escape. For when they do escape in the ending moments, nothing is conclusive. There is never a wholehearted spirit of victory, but just an uneasy truce. It is as if some imaginary movieland mogul had demanded the typical happily-ever-afters from him that we all know too well, and Nichols delivered them as asked. Except Nichols has struck a subversive little twist on each one. A subversive twist so subtle that the stupid Hollywood mogul would never get it. In Carnal Knowledge Nichols and Feiffer offer us no reassurance, no resolution, and therefore no subversive final twist. Carnal Knowledge is a film of uncompromised subversion from beginning to end.

Carnal Knowledge has been hailed by the east coast critics and others as Nichol's watershed film for its candor and "right on" approach. These same silly people are now ready to dismiss The Graduate as if his new film were not the social and historical consequence and outgrowth of his earlier one. Also, I've seen far too much silly and undeserving priase for Guiseppe Rotunno's photography. There is no doubt that Nichols has refined his camera style, but he has refined it into stagnancy and not to a cinematically acceptable style. Compared with the brilliant and innovative photography of his previous films (Haskell Wexler did Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?; Robert Surtees did The Graduate; David Watkins did Catch-22) what we have in Carnal Knowledge merely verges on the austere. Watching every shot and angle is like taking a pep pill to Antonioni-Land minus the style and brilliance of Antonioni. Nichols and Guiseppe Rotunno have so overconcentrated on the frame...the overheld shot...as their source of power that it eventually not only overpowers them but deadens their film cinematically. In their use of the camera as a watcher, it has become an obstacle, not an integral participant. All of Nichols' other films have been adapted screenplays (one from a play and two from novels), but none of them had the quality of appearing adapted. Carnal Knowledge, which is from an original screenplay, is stylistically the most stagnant and least filmic of Nichols' four films to date. Every shot and edit is predictable, and the editing totally lacks confidence. I was aware of every cut in the film. Sam O'Steen's film editing looks as if he were editing a movie based on a Neil Simon Broadway play. This is somewhat ironical and disappointing since Mr. O'Steen did such a brilliant job on all of Nichols' previous films.

Some people may claim this film has a simplicity and straightforwardness in style...a filmic style which in the end, I might add, becomes simply zero. One point of brilliance though is Richard Sylbert's production design. Here as in his art direction of Nichols' other three films, everything is perfectly right. Sylbert may never win many Academy Awards--he refuses to design garishly or design out of context of the material he's designing for. His production designs never draw attention to themselves like so many Hollywood hack and rather dubious art directors who seem to be on super inflated ego trips merely to look more

lavish than each other and win more awards.

In a year when we can view works by brilliant stylists and innovative directors such as Robert Altman and Bernardo Bertolucci, Mike Nichols basically still remains a director who essentially looks for things to do instead of being a director who essentially has things he wants to do. This, to me, is why he is not (and possibly never will be) an artist of the cinema. He is a competent gifted director, and that is all.

Other Films Worth Seeing

* Bed and Board
* Claire's Knee
* The Clowns
* The Conformist
* Death in Venice
* Desperate Characters
* Klute
* Little Murders
* McCabe and Mrs. Miller
* Summer of 42
* Taking Off
* The Touch

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Poems

BY R.W. LELAND

two
in
def
in
it
ely
dis
tant
stars
shimmering for a moment
as though our candle
caught in a gust of wind
catching the beat of our intent
and the rhythmic heaving of our breath
flickered for a moment
brighter than the rest
tightened for one last thrust
and then gave way
to a flood
(of darkness)

these leaves
they are mine
for you

take them
crumple them
in your tiniest
most feeling
hand of hands

take them
for they are
pain to me now
and rub away
their memory

press them
until the last
dusty dream
of yesterday
falls from their sky

hold them
until the essence
that was
and the spring
that always
always is
is no more

Meditations of Summer

I

Whether to prefer the wretched wings of arrogance,
The vacant cross, the mute migration of meaning
From what mattered to mutterings of nothingness;
Or whether to prefer the spinsters of disenchantment,
The half entangled autumn reverting to a day of summer,
The putting off of things as they are or as they should have been;
Turning from the final denegration to the aggregate anatomy of anxiety,
The text of philosophy, the manuel of religion, the rubric of desire.
It comes to this: One day brighter than the rest
For which the future looks to have lost its fortune;
Forgets the bloom, the flower, the seed, the purpose.
It comes to this: One day of blazing sun
Flowering into a night of remembrance,
Then a morning for which no sun blazes
Nor any night presumes to recollect,
This and a dull sorrow lasting into silence,
A hiatus of the spirit, a gagging of god.

II

It is different with defiance:
The silver bowl into which is poured
The essence of life's water;
Onto which is broken one flower
Petal by fragrant petal;
Belief in the water's ability to sustain:
Weight over essence,
Beauty beyond submergence.

Yes, but the sorrows of summer,
Orpheus looking back at Eurydice,
Think of the longing and the losing
And the agony between them.
But this is not defiance;
This is their desire defeated:
Estrangement under a pallid sky,
The scent of lilacs lapsing away,
The half remembered twilight
The moon not shining,
The desparate misconstruing of stars
Into a consoling constellation.

In this garden, which is ours alone
The walls are high beyond the reach of yesterday,
Beyond the merely mortal touch of time.
I do not know what it is about this garden
Which opens the rose to silence
Or shuts the sun to essence

I only know that this seldom deeper
(And only by your touch) Me
Forgets and welcomes the you of your warmth.

So this is my body, my blood, my being.
The rest is in the forgetting
And the now too tranquil twilight
Tipping those wings and these breasts
Into a sanctuary of sleep.

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Critical & directive input:

MOMENTS/past tense

To survive as an open system, MOMENTS requires evaluative as well as creative input. The function of "MOMENTS/Past Tense" is to provide an opportunity for critical assessments and reactions to articles which have appeared in MOMENTS.

'Other established journals have never touched on this subject'

While I found Moments (Vol. 1, No. 2) for the most part an impressive student effort, I also am included to question some of the choices made in this issue. The range of articles and the contributions in the Special Focus showed a healthy spirit of diversity, openness and relevance.

However, to find "Women's Liberation, The Radical Lesbian and Rhetorical Choices," Jill Johnston's call to joyous lesbianism, followed by the future tense ramblings of an aspiring e. e. cummings gay libber, one begins to question whether the focus of this journal is on Rhetoric and Communication or Homosexuality.

It is perhaps noteworthy that QJS and the other established journals have never (to my knowledge) touched on this subject. Given the over-kill in your last issue, perhaps we will appropriately hear no more.

David Herrick
Chicago, Illinois

Focus on the Rhetoric of Women's Liberation--A review

The Fall 1971 issue of Moments featured a special focus on the "Rhetoric of Women's Liberation." Certainly, this is a significant contemporary issue that demands the attention of our professional journals. The Editors are to be commended for their attempt to provide a critical response to the rhetoric of women's liberation. Nevertheless, their effort fell short of presenting a significant statement. The journal contained five essays on women's liberation, but these, in my judgment, did not establish a "focus." Indeed, the issues raised by the contributors often seemed peripheral. The result was a felt difficulty in terms of being able to determine or judge the rhetorical impact of the movement from a reading of these essays. This is not to say that the individual articles were unclear; rather, that the essays as a whole did not form a composite picture.

As a male, I can appreciate the Editor's hesitancy to provide an overview to the focus. However, in an attempt to avoid chauvinism, the Editors were remiss in their duties. I believe this action, coupled with the diversity of the essays, allowed the focus to serve only as an abberation of women's liberation.

Sandra Purnell's rhetorical analysis of J. Johnson's, "On a Clear Day You Can See Your Mother" was the most insightful essay. In this criticism, Purnell demonstrates her control of the Burkean Method. She adroitly utilizes this approach to draw out the important insight that J. Johnson's rhetoric on this occasion was appropriate to the goals of the movement. Nevertheless, a more lasting criticism appears in order. Purnell is to be complimented on her unassuming application of the model. It was refreshing to see this critical tool applied without the method dominating the analysis.

The focus also presented two attitude surveys: Virginia Kidd's study of the male pronoun as generic, and Joan Locke's study of women's reactions to lesbianism in the movement. Both studies attempted to provide empirical confirmation for points which would seem to be commonly held. Though I'm not objecting to the conclusions drawn, the studies, from a viewpoint of design, sample, and control constitute little more than pilot research. However, rather than belabor the weaknesses of "pencil and paper" tests to assess attitudes, I feel it more insightful to analyze the underlying assumptions of both studies.

Kidd seems to believe that "verbal indicators" are a cause, not a sign of the problem. However, her essay provides no justification for this assumption. Indeed, it could well be argued that as long as the male maintains a dominate position in our culture, changing labels would constitute nothing more than an exercise in nomenclature. Indeed, even the use of "her" to replace "he" as the generic may still produce "male" images on the part of the subjects.

Similarly, Locke demonstrates that her subjects (ten middle-class, moderate income women) react on a semantic differential to a statement that women's liberation is synonomous with lesbianism. However, the specific nature of the reaction (if you wish, attitude shift) is unclear. Furthermore, in the absence of a longitudinal design, it is difficult to assess whether or not an attitude shift truly occurred.

The final two essays were Marlene Fine's "Women's Liberation: A Rhetorical Problem," and Patricia McCullough's "Germaine Greer: A Call to Joyous Liberation." Fine's argument seems to be that the "feminine mystique" is such a salient image in the minds of all women that the rhetorical image of a "liberated woman" is not sufficient to overcome it. Of course, this argument seems crucial to the potential success of the liberation movement. However, despite the criticalness of this argument, little support is presented in the essay to demonstrate either the superiority of the feminine mystique or the inferiority of the image of the liberated woman. In the absence of such support, the view that the dominance of one image precludes the other from having a chance seems naive.

McCullough's essay is primarily a review of Germaine Greer's The Female Eunuch. Although I found the review to be enlightening, I had difficulty perceiving what McCullough's broader purpose might be. Indeed, McCullough seemed to take neither the position of rhetorical critic nor advocate of women's liberation. Consequently, the function of this essay in the rhetorical focus on women's liberation seemed unclear.

Overall, the basic strengths of Moment's focus on Women's Liberation can be summarized as follows: First, the act itself (namely, that five articles were devoted to this subject); second, the articles were all authored by women; and third, Sandra Purnell's

essay on the rhetoric of Jill Johnson.

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MOMENTS/present tense The function of MOMENTS/Present Tense is to provide critical assessments of articles which appear in the same issue of MOMENTS. The focus of this section, then, is on immediate feedback to critical analyses by students. Selected scholars in the discipline are asked to devote their time and energy to these critical evaluations.

A Review of Barry Irving's 'Today's Weather'

Barry Irving's clearly written and interesting essay on Weatherman rhetoric is designed to answer the question, "How has the ideology of the Weatherman developed?" The author implies that an analysis of the movement's rhetoric is a way to get at the evolution of its ideology.

The strength of Irving's essay, which is based on the material in the communiques of the Weatherman underground, lies in its clear, complete and well-written summary of what the author calls the "First Period" of the rhetoric based on the first four of nine messages issued by the Weather Bureau. Less strong is the way Irving develops the summary of the ninth communique which illustrates what he calls the "Second Period."

From the summary of the first four communiques I get a clear picture of a rhetoric which views all the world's troubles as caused by outsiders. I learn much of the style in which the rhetoricans of the movement declare war, attribute guilt, and map out revolutionary tactics. I find the summary of the ninth communique more difficult to follow and somewhat ambiguous.

My impression is that the major shift of emphasis from the first to the second period is that of moving from total preoccupation with the guilt of outsiders to some internal criticism. The last communique apparently deals directly with the inevitable struggles for leadership, the conflicts over future tactics, and the division into cliques and factions within the organization. In terms of goals and strategy, however, the essay presents only the abstract assertion that the second period is aimed at reaching "a higher level of 'revolutionary consciousness and understanding.'" I am curious, for example, as to whether or not the author anticipates that the bombings will continue as a result of the change in rhetoric and ideology.

Indeed, the notion of getting at ideology by criticizing the rhetoric is bothersome. Irving never defines what he means by ideology. Sometimes I get the impression that what some call ideology, others refer to as rhetoric. At any rate, analysis of the two periods needs to be more clearly presented in terms of comparison and contrast if an ideology is to be revealed.

The summary of the ninth communique

suggests that a rhetorical analysis may be a way to decipher the internal dynamics of the Weatherman. Emerging from the previous conflicts and divisions of the old SDS, the new group had a coherent and consistent rhetoric hammered out in the battles at the Chicago Convention. Apparently the consensus lasted through at least the first four communiques (the paper is moot on the four middle communiques). Subsequently struggles for leadership and control caused new factions to emerge and the ninth communique revealed the nature of these divisions. Some of the participants lost out in the discussions and left the movement for the author quotes an article by four "ex-Weatherman" members who subsequently criticized the group.

The essay is rich with hints as to how more criticism of the rhetoric might make for a greater understanding of the "revolutionary consciousness." While Irving uses the Burkean labels of pollution, guilt, purification, and redemption, he does not bring the psychology of conversion to bear upon the materials in an explanatory way. Burke's labels resemble the old evangelical Christian categories used to account for the psychological fact of conversion to a "new birth." Burke's categories, thus, invite application to such questions as, "What happens to the demonstrated persuasive effectiveness of the conviction, abasement, salvation pattern when it shifts from focusing on the sins (pollution) of the people who are insiders to the sins of the outsiders?" "What was the power of the argument about Amerika, imperialism, racism, and the guilt of Nixon for Mitchell for the potential convert to the Weatherman? What was the force of the argument on those already converted?

With the falling out of grace of some of the already converted, one might argue that the cohesive forces of the rhetoric of the first period was less than that required to hold a revolutionary movement together. Is the development of the rhetoric of the ninth communique an indication that within the general framework of a polluted society the Weatherman is now shifting the conversion machine to focus on its own sins? If so, what is the likely effect of the change of focus on the potential for gaining new converts and of keeping the level of commitment of those already converted?

The best critical work in the paper comes with Irving's analysis of the analogy of the Weatherman. Stemming from a line in a song, the fantasy spreads out to include divisions of the organization (weather bureau) and forms a controlling analogy to structure the organization's image and identity. Perhaps little more can be expected in the framework of a brief paper but I think the topic deserves more extensive treatment. What does the analogy of weather forecasting, weathermen, winds of change, storms, tranquil periods, do for the movement? Why the figure of natural forces with man only a forecaster, an observer, as nature controls events? My first impression is that the fantasy of the weatherman has strong media implications. After all, the weatherman follows the heavy news of direct shots of disaster and war with a relatively light touch about rain or sunshine. The weatherman with a bomb in one hand and a pointer in the other noting the high pressure ridges seems somehow incongruent. Am I right? Is the whole movement a victim of an accidential selection of a fantasy theme relating to "You Don't Need A Weatherman To Know Which Way The Wind Blows?" that chained out during some of the long and intensive group meetings that lead up to the formation of the weatherman faction? Or is the weatherman analogy, indeed, a useful and powerful rhetorical force for cohesion?

In extending some of the hints in the

essay and suggesting how one might explore some of their possible implications, I do not mean to diminish the usefulness of the descriptions of the content of the underground communiques presented in the essay. A critic has every right to confine himself largely to description of the rhetoric. The article presents a clear and useful description of an important body of rhetoric in contemporary society and deserves to be read on those terms.

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'Today's Weather'-- A Critique

To begin with the virtues of the piece, let me commend the writer of "Today's Weather" for attempting to analyze the ongoing process of communication from the Weathermen, rather than fixing on some static features of their messages. The interaction of this revolutionary group with its adversaries and adherents over time is bound to effect changes in the group's perception of its roles and strategies, and Mr. Irving has attempted to identify and account for some of those changes as reflected in the messages emanating from Weatherman. The paper illustrates an important, but often neglected mode of rhetorical analysis, namely, the study of messages in order to learn something about the nature and development of the source. Especially when the source is a group as mysterious, and for some at least, as terrifying as the Weathermen, such a focus of inquiry becomes much more important than the usual tenuous speculation about effects. Although it is certainly not the only approach, this focus on message as illuminating source should be an especially fruitful one for the study of the rhetoric of revolutionary movements.

As a study of the changing ideology of Weatherman, "Today's Weather" is a reasonable beginning, but only a beginning. One hopes that, given more time and space, the author will continue his investigation in order to make full use of the materials available for deeper analysis. My subsequent comments should be taken not so much as pointing to shortcomings of the article, but rather as suggestions for pursuing the same line of critical analysis.

In the first place, the author is led astray, I believe, by a misperception of the nature of the messages which make up the first four communiques. He says that "the Weatherman have sought to explain and justify their acts of violence and to educate the public through communiques." The first four communiques, however, cannot fairly be considered as education, explanation, or justification. What, then, is their real character? And what can they tell us about Weatherman? The four communiques consist largely of slogans and catch phrases which have become commonplaces of the revolutionary vocabulary. One searches them in vain for any sort of "argument." Doubtless they serve some rhetorical function, but it is more expressive than justificatory. One clue to the reason for the lack of explanation or justification in these messages appears in the quoted article by four ex-Weathermen who criticize the group for entering into armed struggle prematurely, before the public had been educated to "revolutionary consciousness." It seems reasonable to suppose that the Weathermen had themselves achieved a level of readiness for revolutionary action which leaves rhetoric behind, which

eschews explanation or justification as redundant behavior which merely impedes "armed struggle."

Recognizing the limitations of the messages in what Mr. Irving has called the "first period" need not deter one from attempting to analyze the ideology of Weatherman at that time. For although the communiques consist largely of sloganeering, the slogans and epithets reflect an ideology which was well worked out over a period of time before the communiques appeared. The task for the critic is to find and analyze the documents of an earlier period which will illuminate the ideology which lies behind the slogans. A fair amount of material for that purpose is available in Jacob's book, in such position papers as "You Don't Need A Weatherman To Know Which Way The Wind Blows," and more is probably accessible in the many underground publications of that early period. Through such materials the substance of the first period ideology can be studied more fruitfully.

A second aspect of the article which might be refined through further analysis is the delineation of rhetorical strategies. After reading the first four communiques, I cannot agree with Mr. Irving that "pollution" is a leading strategic theme, for neither that term, nor related ones, appear in the four messages. This may be merely a quibble about words, after all, for I have my own preference for a term which roughly synthesizes several lines of attack. It is "corruption," and seems to be neatly juxtaposed to to the themes of purification and redemption. I wonder if that juxtaposition of leading themes might not be examined further as a major rhetorical strategy. Perhaps it is the dominant idea which gives unity to the many strands of thought which seem, on the surface, to be hastily thrown together in each communique: "we are together with blacks and revolutionaries everywhere," "we can outwit the pigs," "grass and guns are united," etc. By seeking such a unifying strategic theme, the critic may illumine the diverse bits and pieces of the Weatherman appeal, and may relate them more precisely to the developed ideology.

In the jump from the fourth Weatherman communique to the ninth, one cannot help wondering what came between. Why are communiques five through eight neglected? Do they contain mere repetition, or do they forecast the changes to come? In any case, some brief account of them would give the reader more confidence in Mr. Irving's

There seems to be no question that communique number nine marks a distinct change in Weatherman thinking. Yet the nature and significance of that change could be clarified by a more systematic account. Precisely which features of the original ideology are altered, and which remain the same? And does the final message explain the reasons for the change? Are there explicit references to events other than the "military error" which have forced a rethinking of positions? It would be especially helpful to have ideology outlined explicitly for the sake of comparison with the ninth communique.

Finally, I would suggest that better evidence is needed to support the observation that "the new rhetoric of the Weathermen definitely contains tones of humanism, compassion and understanding." It may be true, but the invocation of single words, "love," "trust," etc., is not very compelling evidence.

If the Weathermen can maintain their organization while pursuing the program suggested in communique number nine, we may expect them to enter into a new stage of communication marked by explanation and justification. We may

hope that young critics like Mr. Irving, and older ones too, will continue their efforts to help us understand revolutionary rhetoric.

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MOMENTS/future tense

The function of MOMENTS/Future Tense is to provide contemporary rhetorical statements that are compelling, rich and unique in content and style but which have not been substantively examined in the field of speech-communication so far. All readers are encouraged to submit statements for this area.

Paganism is Alive and Well

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Pagans are concerned, not with life after death but with life after birth. To us the purpose of life is, in the words of Erich Fromm: "To become what we potentially are." Our basic precept, expressed in the phrase "Thou art God," affirms that each man is his own divinity, ultimately free, ultimately responsible. Responsible for his life, his actions, and his salvation (defined however he wishes). We reject utterly the concept of original sin and inherent human evil. To us, the only sin is hypocrisy; the only evil is anti-life. The basic "commandments" of the Church of All Worlds are: Know Yourself; Accept Yourself: Love Yourself; Believe in Yourself; Be True to Yourself. These are set forth as a guide towards becoming more fully Human and self-actualizing, which is regarded as necessary before one can hope to function fully with his brothers and fellow creatures. Herein is the essence of Neo-Paganism.

Originally the term "Pagan" was applied by the official, sanctioned, institutionalized religions of the West to refer to any of the unorthodox "underground" religions of their time (especially their competitors and predecessors). The word in Latin meant "peasant," as the celebrations of life were usually conducted in the wilderness by the country folk, who lived close to the timeless cycles of nature. Pagan religions of the past have included the Dionysians and Eleusians, the Druids, Magi and Witches, the Maenads and Mithraites, and the Adamites, Oneidans and Transcendentalists in Western culture, while many Eastern and so-called "primitive" re-

ligions, especially those of the American Indians, are essentially Pagan in nature. All the great seasonal festivals are of Pagan origin such as Yule, Easter, Mayday, Midsummer and Halloween, to name but a few. Contemporary Neo-Paganism in the US includes the Church of All Worlds, Feraferia, The Church of the Awakening, Psychedelic Venus Church, Wicca and various Witchcraft Covens, The Omniune Church, Universal Life Church, The Discordian Society, and many others. Increasing numbers of these are joining together in a sort of ecumenical movement, a Neo-Pagan alliance called the Council of Themis.

Institutionalized religions are obligated by their very nature to support society. We support the individual. Where establishment churches feel duty bound to either explain or deny the unknown, we can simply accept it as but yet unknown. Since we are not committed to "revealed truth," we do not mind boat-rockers. We can laugh at ourselves as well as others, we can delight in absurdity, and we can poach on sacred cows. Pagans believe that each individual must work out his or her own faith by which to live. Consequently we are a "free" church with no creeds or dogma. The only guides for Pagans in our faith are reason, conscience, imagination, and experience. We congregate for stimulation, growth, self-expression, life-celebration, friendship, love and responsible environmental action.

The Church of All Worlds is dedicated to the celebration of life, the maximal actualization of Human potential, and the realization of ultimate individual freedom and personal responsibility in harmonious eco-psychic relationship with the total Biosphere of Holy Earth.

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