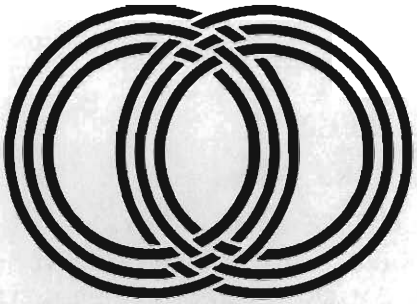
DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT



DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

is an independent quarterly established to express Mormon culture and to examine the relevance of religion to secular life. It is edited by Latter-day Saints who wish to bring their faith into dialogue with the larger stream of Judeo-Christian thought and with human experience as a whole and to foster artistic and scholarly achievement based on their cultural heritage. The journal encourages a variety of viewpoints; although every effort is made to ensure accurate scholarship and responsible judgment, the views expressed are those of the individual authors and are not necessarily those of the Mormon Church or of the editors.

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Allen Bishop, "Every Man That Will Not Take His Sword . . . ," "Blessed Are the Peacemakers," and "In Memory of Our God," 8″×12″ pen and wash, 1984. A resident of Sandy, Utah, Allen received his B.A. from the University of Utah in 1978 and his MFA from the University of Denver in 1982. 10, 17, 26

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DIALOGUE welcomes articles, essays, poetry, fiction, selections for Notes and Comments, and art. Manuscripts must be sent in triplicate, accompanied by return postage, and should be prepared according to the *Chicago Manual of Style* including doublespacing all block quotations and notes. Send manuscripts to DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT, 202 West 300 North, Salt Lake City, 84103.

LETTERS

Better than Grist

Gene Sessions grossly misjudged Paul Toscano's *Gospel Letters to a Mormon Missionary* in his most recent Brief Notices. His treatment is reminiscent of a teenage boy in the back row making flippant jokes about a genuinely insightful and inspirational sacrament talk. *Gospel Letters* deserves far better than to be grist for Sessions' humor mill.

Had Sessions actually read the book, he would have known that it is indisputably not "old-hat in content." Casual thinkers like Sessions may wrongly assume that, because many of the central issues of Mormonism lie just beneath the surface of discourse, they are well understood or boring. Such issues come to life under the scrutiny of Toscano's critical, yet faithful, eye. It is a lamentably rare combination.

As in any book, especially a first effort, there is some chaff, and concision is not among *Gospel Letters'* virtues. But these are peccadilloes compared to its sometimes stunning insights.

For example, *Gospel Letters* defines redemption: we "exchange the slavery of our sins and our self-righteousness for the freedom of his merits and his true righteousness" (p. 19). It explains in detail spiritual rebirth and why without it commandment-keeping is futile: "It would be like trying to grow up before being born" (p. 32). It warns against goal-setting: "Goal-setting is not a scriptural concept, but rather a recent, secular invention to help motivate people who have not accepted . . . the powers of the Holy Ghost" (pp. 78–79). It defines man's fallen nature: "This present subjection to the law of entropy, of spiritual and physical decay and deterioration" (p. 93). And it identifies divine limits on the use of priesthood authority: "God has forbidden its use to cover our sins. We do this whenever we use the priesthood to shield ourselves from criticism or rebuke. No one is immune from reproof, regardless of his authority or rank" (p. 111).

Most importantly, the book sees at the heart of Mormonism the only power that can keep its extremities alive: Christianity. It concludes, appropriately, with a temple-inspired poem beautifully expressing the culmination of the Christian life.

The one thing a column like Brief Notices can do is to flag the occasional significant book. Sessions was unfortunately so busy amusing himself with his "coveted Elsie" that he entirely missed this one.

J. Frederic Voros, Jr.
Salt Lake City, Utah

Heads Up!

There is an absolutely terrifying attitude abroad in the Church today that suggests if "inspirational" preaching or writing is trivial, boring, old asinine, insipid, or all of the above, then it is somehow the fault of the listener or the reader. I like much better the idea of a member of the First Presidency in a less complacent era of the Restoration who said, "If you would preach the people to sleep and to hell, then you are asleep and dead. . . . How can the body be kept awake and healthy when the head is asleep and dead?" (Gene A. Sessions, *Mormon Thunder: A Documentary History of Jedediah Morgan Grant* [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982], pp. 222–23).

The only way Mormonism will ever get off its current "plateau" is for it to find

its way back to that earlier concept. Until then, it will continue to lose the fight, both for the teenagers on the back row at church and for millions of others. The human soul hungers and thirsts for truth and wisdom delivered with power. To paraphrase that same early leader, you might put all the spirit in the "inspirational" tripe that comes out of the Mormon book market into the eye of a needle and there would be as much room in it as there would be for a bullfrog in the Atlantic Ocean (ibid., p. 222).

Gene A. Sessions
Bountiful, Utah

Update on UT

Marcellus S. Snow's article in the August 1984 issue has been well received by those in the Church's Frankfurt Area Office, myself included, who were involved in the retranslation of the German Triple Combination and the introduction of the Einheitsübersetzung (Uniform Translation, hereafter UT).

The author is apparently unaware of a circular letter (13 January 1984) from Elder Robert D. Hales, Executive Administrator, to all stake, mission and district presidents, bishops, and branch presidents in the German language area. It is explained therein that designating the UT as the "official Church Bible" means that the Church, in its publications, will use the UT for Bible quotations and references. The members, however, are free to use any Bible version they want. It may even be helpful to use several Bible versions at the same time, so as to arrive at a better understanding of passages variously translated (interpreted). The official status of the UT is not meant to denote a special sacredness (cf. 8th Article of Faith). Finally, the letter tells the users of the UT to be aware of the fact that footnotes, explanatory introductions, and other peripheral material are not necessarily in compliance with Church doctrine.

The author remarks correctly that no mention is made anywhere of apocrypha appearing in the UT. We have been in contact with the Katholische Bibelanstalt to see whether editions without the apocrypha or placing them as a separate section between the Old and the New Testament could be published. They told us that this may not be realized before the entire Old Testament receives the "ecumenical recognition" from the Protestant churches that they so far have given the Psalms and the New Testament only. Although D&C Section 91 ought to be clear enough on the apocrypha that no further guideline need be given to the members, it remains unfortunate that these apocrypha are hard to identify in the UT.

Poul Stolp
Frankfurt, Germany

Pre-Birth Demographics

The Committee on Celestial Demographics ("'In the Heavens Are Parents Single': Report No. 1," Spring 1984) based its fine work on the stated assumption that all children who die before the age of eight become exalted, a conservative and generally accepted LDS principle. The disturbing celestial kingdom sex ratio projected from the logical consequences of the doctrine can be brightened considerably (from the male perspective) by the implications of a second conservative principle: human life begins at conception.

This idea is wholeheartedly embraced by doctrinally (and politically) conservative Mormons in discussions of abortion. Its implication is that miscarriages at any stage of gestation represent the end of a soul's mortality, as surely as does death in infancy or adulthood. Surely these spirits are as innocent and deserving of automatic exaltation as young children. (Although various General Authorities have volunteered their speculations on the destiny of stillborn or miscarried souls, official Church policy remains tactfully uncommitted.)

Published estimates of the frequency of spontaneous abortion range from 10 to 25 percent of all pregnancies. (The estimate

increases as we become able to detect pregnancies and, hence, their terminations earlier). All studies I have seen have found a greater number of female abortuses (the technical, though rather unappealing, term) than male; reliable sex ratios as low as 82:100 (male:female) have been reported (Henri Leridon and Joëlle Boué, "La Mortalité Intra-Utérine d'Origine Chromosomique," *Population* 26 (1):113–33).

The committee assumes that 70 billion people have been born. Using, say, a 20 percent spontaneous abortion rate, we have another 17.5 billion souls to account for. Assuming, say, an 85:100 sex ratio among these, we find here 1.4 billion more females than males. This certainly would dent that formidable excess of 1.7 billion males caused by childhood deaths, ease the worries of some of my male Special Interest friends, reduce the pressure on our missionaries to convert females, and allow me to feel justified in not eternally sharing my wife (my reward for thinking up this idea).

I submit this concept to the distinguished committee for further investigation.

Robert J. Woolley
Macomb, Illinois

Loyal and Honest

Again and again I enjoy your editions, especially those that loyally but quite honestly pick up questions sensitive for Mormonism, like "Isaiah Updated" (including the reactions provoked therewith), the relationship between faith and science, McMurrin's interview, etc. I most enjoy that DIALOGUE is coming out on time again.

Heinz Platzer
Vienna, Austria

Foster Biases

I read with interest Lawrence Foster's article in regard to the Tanners. While I appreciate his scholarly ability, it is also apparent that his entire critique is predicated on the acceptance of a specific presuppositional bias. If this foundational bias is true, then much of what follows in his article is valid and sound. A weakness of his article, however, is that it appears to flounder on a shoal of unproven assumptions. For example, in theology he favors a rather Hegelian notion of truth. Winfried Corduan nicely summarizes this Hegelian view of truth: "There is no guarantee of truth beyond the fact that an idea may be consistent with the outcome of the dialectical process; there is no objective, ontological truth. The pure transcendental method can speak only to the subjective appropriation of truth, not to truth itself.... The system demands that, depending on which stage of consciousness has been attained, something may be true at one time and false at another." ("Transcendentalism: Hegel" in Norman L. Geisler, ed. *Biblical Errancy, An Analysis of its Philosophical Roots* [Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1981], p. 98).

Foster's epistemological predilection in this regard is patent when he refers with muted sarcasm to the Tanner's understanding of truth as eternal and unchanging. It is most apparent also when he writes of Mormonism not as a belief system which corresponds to what is ontologically, factually true, but rather as a belief system "creatively combining seemingly opposed elements into a compelling new synthesis" (p. 60). Here is a rejection of truth as static, or eternally unchanging, in favor of the thesis-antithesis-synthesis dialectic.

I hope, then, that I may be excused for being confessedly confounded when on the one hand Foster praises Mormonism for its understanding of truth as a fairly fluid entity, while on the other hand he decries the Tanners for violating ethical standards when they published the Clayton material. It must be plain that such an appeal on his part presupposes a rather static concept in regard to scholarly ethics. Now if it is narrow-minded of the Tanners to expect that the truth will remain constant in regard to the position of the Mormon Church

on blacks and the priesthood (and one might add here polygamy, monotheism, revealed scripture, etc.) then surely it is narrow-minded of Foster to expect that truth will remain constant in regard to the content of scholarly ethics. Perhaps, in other words, just as it is "no longer true" that blacks should be denied the priesthood, perhaps it is also "no longer true" that it is unethical to photocopy and distribute a scholar's work without his permission. I am, in fact, surprised that Foster would not regard this as a creative new synthesis in regard to the ethics of scholarship.

Perhaps the pervasive assumption throughout Foster's critique is that an anthropocentric naturalistic methodology is the only valid source of knowledge. Foster, it would seem, reflects his post-Kantian cultural milieu, in which skepticism is assumed in regard to the noumenal. His argument is not so much over the truth status of specific issues, but rather *that* the Tanners assume objective truth in regard to metaphysical issues is possible. Their position he labels "fundamentalist" primarily because they do not share his post-Kantian skepticism. Thus, he speaks in a rather belittling way of "fundamentalists" who may question naturalistic evolutionary theories in science as well as theology. Rather than deal with issues and evidence in science and theology, he is apparently content to attach the label "fundamentalist" to the theologically conservative, and imply a rhetorical guilt by association. Required reading by all at this point is J. I. Packer, *Fundamentalism and the Word of God* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdman's, 1977).

That this bias has affected his scholarship is evident in the fact that he appears totally unaware of the high caliber of scholarship available from conservative evangelical intellectuals which does not share his methodological bias in the areas of science and theology (for example, see C. F. Henry's masterful six-volume series *God, Revelation and Authority* [Waco, Tex.: Word Books, Publisher, 1976]).

The significant point is that due to presuppositional bias, Foster allows only social-historical issues to be determinative. The Tanners are evaluated from a literary, psycho-social, historical perspective. Since metaphysical considerations must for him necessarily be beclouded in polite skepticism, they are not allowed to be genuine factors to consider in regard to the Tanners. For example, he complains that they should not have balked when the Church "courageously" eliminated its anti-black policies. Now, since it is the issue of the policy change which is to be determined, it is certainly begging the question to predicate "courageous" of it before the fact. Nevertheless, it is entirely possible that what is socially-historically courageous is at the same time metaphysically disastrous. Since Foster presupposes metaphysical skepticism, the issue is settled for him in advance. The Tanners, however, are not so epistemologically parochial.

Flannery O'Connor provides perhaps the best concluding comment on the sort of obtunded epistemological perspective manifested in Foster's article. She writes of the Catholic novelist in the South: "I think he will feel a good deal more kinship with backwoods prophets and shouting fundamentalists than he will with those politer elements for whom the supernatural is an embarrassment and for whom religion has become a department of sociology or culture or personality development." ("The Catholic Novelist in the Protestant South," *Mystery and Manners: Occasional Prose* [New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1969]).

Ron McCamy
Calabasas, California

Clear, Vivid . . . Let's Hear It!

As a long-time reader of DIALOGUE, I have appreciated its varied articles for many years. Occasionally, I am dismayed by the unnecessarily complex language some writers choose to use, which tends to

camouflage their meaning and make for unnecessarily dull reading. They seem to forget that their primary purpose should be one of communication. This is still accomplished by clarity and vividness of speech or writing.

Please believe me, clear, vivid, rich language is still appreciated, even in the academic world. As a humorous example of what overly complex speech can do (and fail to do), I recommend "The Gettysburg Address for Professors," written by an MIT professor for his colleagues and printed in *A Treasury of American Folk Humor*, ed. James N. Tidwell (New York: Crown Publishers, 1956), p. 176. The first sentence is: "Eight and seven-tenths decades ago the pioneer workers in this continental area implemented a new group based on an ideology of free boundaries and initial conditions of equality."

One additional suggestion: how about more articles on the arts, more poetry, and other literature?

Dixie Partridge
Richland, Washington

Common Ground?

Scholars who write about Jerald Tanner put him down by saying he doesn't write in a scholarly way ("uneducated") or by saying his attacks on the Church serve some inner need (he's "frustrated"). At least Lawrence Foster (Spring 1983) gave him credit for being a great historical detective.

I would like to add this perspective: It's difficult to argue with someone unless there exists some common ground. Tanner and true-believer Mormons share such a ground: the assumption that the gospel was the same yesterday, today, and forever. True believers think it *is* of that nature, and Tanner thinks it *should be*. So whenever he digs up something devastating from an age of differing orthodoxy, both parties take the item as evidence of Mormonism's falsity.

The true believer is devastated by the item itself, not by what Tanner says about it. For example, when Tanner reveals that one of Brigham Young's apostles believed Jesus was only a mortal man, both the true believer and Tanner regard the fact of the apostle's disbelief as destructive of a testimony.

Both parties suffer from a myopic historical perspective. As E. E. Erickson pointed out in his dissertation years ago, the measures of Mormon orthodoxy have changed over the years. In general, at first, the orthodox was a person who followed Joseph Smith; later, it was a person who helped Brother Brigham colonize the desert; only after that did doctrinal consent become important. I would add to Erickson's categories our age of participation, where our orthodoxy is judged by our number of Church-related appointments with beliefs inferred from that participation. Abandoning our monolithic view of an unchanging Church will not only reduce Tanner's ability to shock true believers, it will also remove Tanner's benchmark for claiming "apostasy."

Joseph H. Jeppson
Woodside, California

Southern Idaho Summer

Michael R. Collings

I was six.
I wheeled Grandpa's milk cans out
to wait like patient soldiers for the cheese truck.
I strutted in a new red and blue
corduroy cowboy suit.

(Korea was over.)

I raided raspberries,
squishing succulence on my tongue.
I slaughtered alfalfa-straw snakes in overgrown fields.
I rode stick horses at full gallop
across the log bridge, risking tumbles
into nettles and polliwog-slime.

(Viet Nam was yet to begin.)

I fished for six-inch whoppers.
I slept-out on rusty springs,
waking when a 1940s Ford or Chevy
or Nash crunched the gravelled road.
I stared at stars, not yet myopic enough
to need glasses.

(Sputnik was an engineer's conception.)

I rode with Grandpa to deliver eggs,
flats of eggs on the back seat,
warm-stuffy, gray seat-pile in front,
a green translucent spinner on the steering wheel.
Four hours to Burley and back —
a ninety-mile trip.

(The moon rose untouched.)

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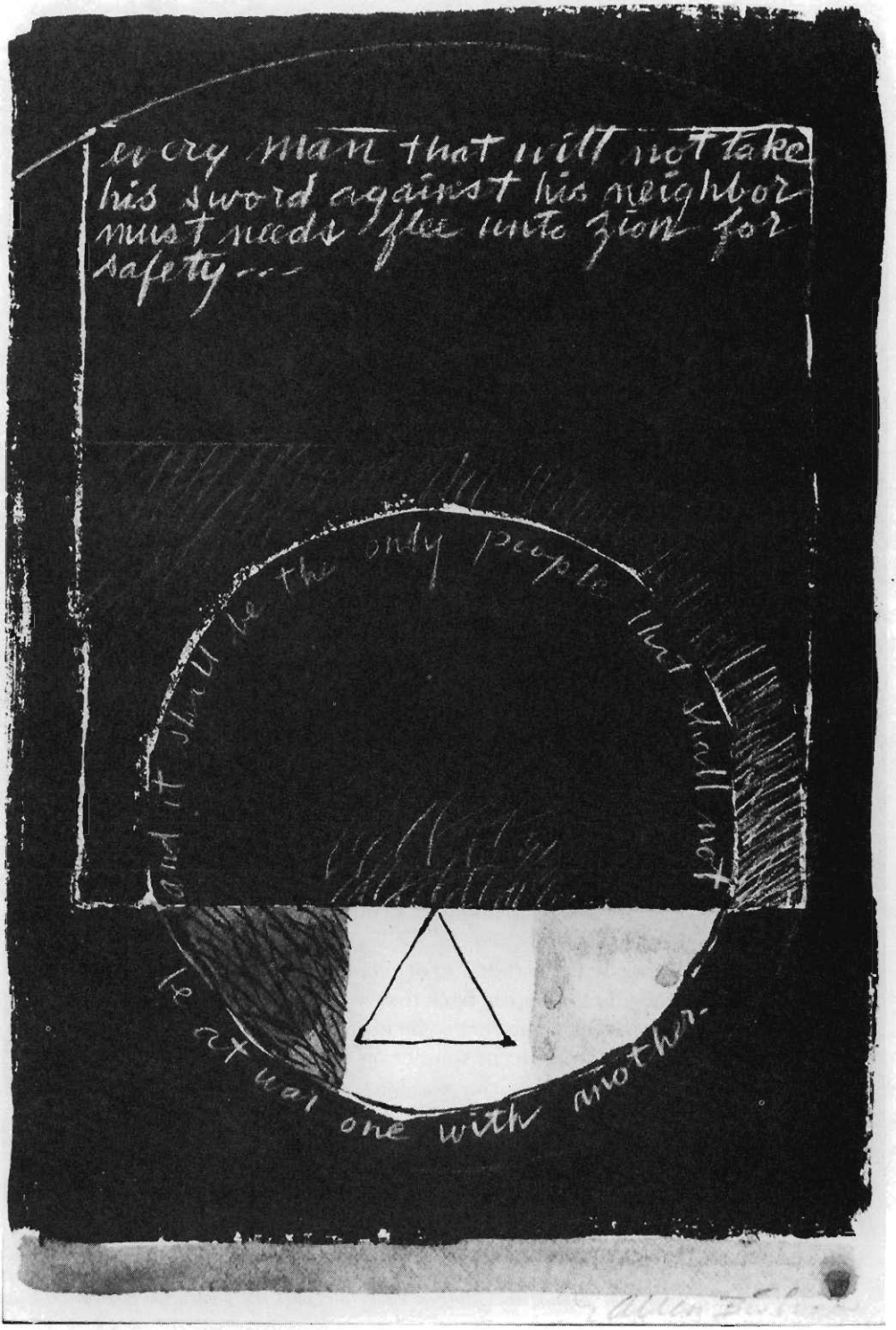
every man that will not take his sword against his neighbor must needs flee into Zion for safety---
and it shall be the only people that shall not be at war one with another.

The Mormon Church and the Spanish-American War: An End to Selective Pacifism

D. Michael Quinn

The impact of the Spanish-American War on the people of the American West has been overshadowed by its profound effect upon the American nation as a world power. A little-known sidelight to the war is the influence that it exerted upon the Mormons. For a half century the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon) had maintained its right to participate or not participate in any given conflict, the discretionary power resting with the current prophet. This position, which can be called "selective pacifism," was derived from Mormon theology and was inseparable from the Mormon "Kingdom of God," one of the most powerful theocratic autonomies in nineteenth-century America. When the Mormon Church was forced by the federal government to abandon polygamy in 1890, it lost some of its political and social power. Another significant step in the disintegration of that power was the elimination in 1898 of selective pacifism, a practice that was abandoned following an internal conflict in the church over Mormon participation in the Spanish-American War.

The Mormon theological aspects of pacifism were first discussed by Joseph Smith, Jr.[1] Claiming to have had communion with the deity as early as 1820, Smith asserted that his canonical writings and pronouncements were equal, if

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[1] For general studies of pacifism, see Roland H. Bainton, *Christian Attitudes toward War and Peace* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1960); Peter Brock *Pacifism in the United States from the Colonial Era to the First World War* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1968); Merle Curti, *Peace or War: The American Struggle, 1636–1936* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1936); George H. C. Macgregor, *The New Testament Basis of Pacifism and the Relevance of an Impossible Ideal* (Nyack, N.Y.: Fellowship Publications, 1960); Peter Mayer, ed., *The Pacifist Conscience* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1966); and John A. Rohr, *Prophets without Honor: Public Policy and the Selective Conscientious Objector* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1971).

not superior, to the authority of the Bible. His first production of new scriptures was the Book of Mormon, published in 1830 as a translation of the writings of pre-Columbian residents of America. His own revelations were published in 1835 as the Doctrine and Covenants of the Latter Day Saints. During Smith's lifetime, these two volumes, together with the Bible, continued the canon of Mormon theology and were the basis of nineteenth-century Mormon attitudes toward war and peace.[2]

The Book of Mormon, first of all, dispenses with the traditional cleavage between the Old and New Testaments concerning war. The warlike Jehovah and the pacifistic Christ are represented as the same individual; commands to kill and exhortations to peace are uttered by the same divine being. The heroes of the book are involved in successive wars of defense against aggressors for which they are specifically absolved of wrong-doing. In the accounts of the valor of these defenders (especially with reference to the warriors called Sons of Helaman), there seems to be an enthusiasm for militarism. (1 Ne. 19:7–10; Alma 43:46–47; 46:11–21, 30–31; 53:18–22; 56:10–11.)

Along with these examples of militarism, however, there are also evidences of pacifism in the Book of Mormon. One group refuses to participate in one of these "defensive" wars and even allows itself to be massacred. Its members seem to feel their spiritual welfare precludes shedding the blood of their enemies. Although the dominant segment of the community has to jeopardize itself to defend these pacifists, praise rather than condemnation is given to the noncombatants who paid to their protectors a large amount of money to defray the military costs deriving from their nonparticipation. (Alma 24:1–22; 27:21–30.) Toward the end of the narrative one of the generals of the army refuses to lead his people into battle because of his disgust at their motives for war and atrocities they commit. His position is not condemned in the book but emerges as one deserving commendation (Morm. 3:11, 16; Moro. 9:9–10.) These two examples significantly contrast with isolated instances in which men who refused to defend the community are executed because they sought to subvert it in favor of the enemy.[3] Conscientious pacifism is as much an accepted practice within the Book of Mormon narrative as is militarism.

The foundations of Mormonism's theological position on war and pacifism were further defined in revelations announced by Joseph Smith. With the admonition to "renounce war and proclaim peace," an 1833 pronouncement assures the Latter-day Saints that God will protect them and fight their battles. Individuals and their families are instructed to endure attacks from enemies until the fourth assault. At the fourth attack, retaliation in kind is authorized, but the revelation promises that continued forebearance will bring God's blessing upon the individual and generations of his descendants. In reference to war, the document states, "And again, this is the law that I gave unto mine

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[2] This article will focus primarily upon the question of Mormon participation in war, rather than upon the more diffuse question of violence on the Mormon frontier.

[3] Alma 46:53; 62:9–11. Commenting on the fate of these men as described in the narrative, Mormon historian Hugh Nibley writes: "These were no pacifists or draft-evaders, but were [insurgents] armed to the teeth. . . ." *BYU Studies* 14 (Autumn 1973): 122.

ancients, that they should not go out unto battle against any nation, kindred, tongue, or people, *save I the Lord, command them*" (D&C 98:12–16, 22–38). The document further specifies that after the fourth attack by an enemy nation, the people are justified in going to war.

This early pronouncement by Joseph Smith presupposes three essentials concerning Mormon participation in war. First, the decision of participation or nonparticipation in war is independent of the prerogatives of secular government. The authority of secular government is conspicuous by its absence in this document. Second, this policy statement on war assumes that divine injunctions for war and peace will be conveyed through the Mormon prophet, God's spokesman on earth, rather than by any secular leader. Third, the document presupposes that in matters of war and peace the Mormon community will give absolute obedience to the commands of the prophet, irrespective of the decisions of governmental authority, either local or national.

Thus, as early as 1833 the Mormon *Weltanschauung* implied a theocratic community independent of secular government. Moreover, in 1831 another of Smith's revelations had affirmed: "And it shall come to pass, among the wicked, that every man that will not take his sword against his neighbor must needs flee unto Zion [the central habitation of the Latter-day Saints] for safety" (D&C 45:68–69). The Mormon community was intended to be a haven for those seeking to avoid participation in national wars. It was not until 1844, the year of his death, that Joseph Smith actually organized the Mormon community as a theocratic commonwealth with a prophet-king, a governing political body ("Council of Fifty"), and a grand design to establish a Mormon state within a state.[4] In these early revelations on war Smith presaged the establishment of Mormon theocratic prerogatives.

The developing tradition of the church during Smith's administration mirrored his theological dualism with respect to war. When the Mormons in Jackson County, Missouri, were mobbed by anti-Mormons in 1833, they suffered without retaliating. Smith, however, in 1834 organized a military company, "Zion's Camp," which he led a thousand miles from Ohio to Missouri to win back Mormon losses by force if necessary. Upon reaching Missouri, Smith faced a suicidal confrontation with the Missourians. Recognizing that the kingdom of God would not be advanced through a Thermopylae, he became conciliatory with the anti-Mormons and the company returned to Ohio without bloodshed.[5] In 1836, the church organ, *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*, carried an editorial arguing at length in favor of defensive war by

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[4] The standard reference on the political kingdom is Klaus J. Hansen, *Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History* (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University Press, 1967). The standard work on the economic aspects of the Mormon kingdom is Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958).

[5] *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, Brigham H. Roberts, ed., 2nd ed., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1970), 1:36–40; Paul Bailey, *The Armies of God* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1968), pp. 8–29. Bailey's book is a popularized survey of nineteenth-century Mormon militarism.

threatened communities, implying the Mormons had that right. Yet during the same month Smith issued a letter stating that the Mormons "would suffer their rights to be taken from them before shedding blood." [6] In 1836 the Mormons did exactly that, allowing themselves to be peacefully expelled from Clay County, Missouri, where they had fled from the mobs in Jackson County. Depending upon whether nonviolence or armed resistance was most advantageous, the contradiction in the two official statements would presumably be resolved according to the needs of the latter-day kingdom.

Two years later in Caldwell County, Missouri, Mormon ambivalence concerning war was brought into a sharp and disastrous focus. On 4 July 1838, Smith's first counselor in the church, Sidney Rigdon, delivered a sermon in which he stated that the Mormons would annihilate their enemies in the event of anti-Mormon attacks. Joseph Smith himself allegedly made some inflammatory remarks during this period, proclaiming himself as a modern Mohammed and threatening holy war under the motto: "Joseph Smith or the Sword." After two expulsions, this hyperbole was intended to intimidate the Mormons' enemies; instead it enraged them. The Mormons were marshaled for defense in a county militia under the control of Church leaders. In addition, a secret guerrilla organization of reprisal, the "Danites," had been organized by some prominent Mormons. A fracas on election day ignited anti-Mormons and Mormons into open hostilities. Suffering murder, rape, and pillage, most Mormons chose to flee their enemies rather than fight. The Danites, however, waged guerrilla reprisals against the non-Mormons, and virtual civil war resulted. By this time the Mormon militia and anti-Mormon militia were in open confrontation. A Mormon apostle, David W. Patten, was killed at the so-called Battle of Crooked River, and seventeen Mormons were murdered at Haun's Mill by a company of the Missouri militia. Encircled by anti-Mormon forces at the Mormon settlement of Far West, Smith and other leaders of the church were betrayed to the mercy of their enemies. Far West became the scene of wholesale rape, brutality, and destruction by the anti-Mormon militia, while Joseph Smith and other church leaders narrowly escaped summary execution. Smith officially repudiated the Danites, and excommunicated one of the Danite leaders. The Mormons were expelled from Missouri, and Smith languished for six months in prison.[7]

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[6] *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 2 (July 1836): 337–40. The article was authored by Warren A. Cowdery, subsequently the editor of the publication. James R. Clark, ed., *Messages of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 5 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965–71) 1:77.

[7] For sources concerning the difficulties of the Mormons in Missouri, see *Document Containing the Correspondence, Orders &c in Relation to the Disturbances with the Mormons; and the Evidence Given before the Hon. Austin A. King, Judge of the Fifth Judicial Circuit of the State of Missouri . . .* (Fayette, Mo.: Missouri General Assembly, 1841); Brigham H. Roberts, *The Missouri Persecutions* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, 1900); Warren Jennings, "The City in the Garden: Social Conflict in Jackson County, Missouri," in *The Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History*, eds. F. Mark McKiernan, Alma R. Blair, Paul M. Edwards (Lawrence, Kans.: Coronado Press, 1973), pp. 99–119; F. Mark McKiernan, "Mormonism on the Defensive: Far West, 1838–1839," in *Restoration Movement*, pp. 121–40; John Corrill, *Brief History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day*

Ambivalence with respect to war continued at the next haven for the Mormons in Illinois. Draining a swamp land on the Mississippi, the Mormons erected the city of Nauvoo. Joseph Smith became lieutenant general of the Nauvoo Legion, which by 1844 may have had as many as four thousand men in its ranks. Aside from the pomp and spectacle of this Mormon army, its existence (though legal) bespoke disturbing implications of the prerogatives assumed by Joseph Smith as the commander-in-chief, mayor of Nauvoo, and in 1844 candidate for the U.S. presidency. Smith's designs pointed westward rather than eastward, however, and by 1844 he had already decided the Mormons would have to go into the unsettled West for their protection. In June 1844, Smith, after being charged with the destruction of a printing press used by Mormon dissenters who opposed polygamy, voluntarily surrendered himself to the custody of unsympathetic officials. He did so even though it appears he was convinced that by so doing he would be murdered. When a mob entered his prison cell to kill him, he fired upon them with a pistol he had obtained for his last defense. His successor, Brigham Young, wisely chose not to use the Nauvoo Legion for a retributive attack which the mobs feared would follow the assassination of the prophet. Living in fear of his own life, Young carried a bowie knife for self-protection at Nauvoo, yet he had nightmares about the possibility of killing an assailant.[8] Rather than test the ability of the Nauvoo Legion to protect the Mormons in their own city, Young negotiated a truce, and in 1846 led the Mormons in an orderly retreat into the wilderness.

As the Mormons were preparing to leave United States territory for the Great Basin, in Mexican territory, the Mexican War developed. Young had

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Saints (commonly called Mormons) Including an Account of the Author of Leaving the Church (St. Louis: By the Author, 1839); Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet*, 2nd ed. rev. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971), pp. 208–40; Reed C. Durham, Jr., "The Election Day Battle at Gallatin," *BYU Studies* 13 (Autumn 1972): 36–61; Richard Hofstadter and Michael Wallace, ed., *American Violence: A Documentary History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), pp. 301–4; and Roberts, *History of the Church* 3:41–340 (esp. p. 167n). Joseph Smith's responsibility for organizing and promoting the Danites is still a question subject to analysis. In addition to the testimony on the Danites found in *Documents containing the Correspondence . . .*, assertions concerning the Danites can be found in Jerald Tanner, ed., *The Reed Peck Manuscript: An Important Document Written in 1839, Concerning the Mormon War in Missouri and the Danite Band* (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm, [1965]); Harold Schindler, *Orrin Porter Rockwell, Man of God, Son of Thunder* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1966); and John D. Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled* (St. Louis, Mo.: Bryan, Brand & Co., 1877), pp. 57–85. Evidence that Joseph Smith and the highest leaders of the Church had only transitory association with the Danites is indicated in Corrill, *Brief History*, pp. 31–32. Moreover, the personal journal of Luman Andros Shirtliff, a member of the Danites in Missouri, records his mistrust of such high Mormon ecclesiastics as John Taylor, because they were not privy to the secret oaths of the Danite organization. Lyman Andros Shirtliff, Journal (Oct. 1838), 1:125, Historical Department Archives, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah; hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives. In the minds of some Danites, however, there was no distinction between the Danites and the official Mormon militia. See Albert P. Rockwood to unknown, 29 Oct. 1838, Albert P. Rockwood Papers, Beinecke Library, Yale University.

[8] *History of the Church*, 6:555, 618. The bowie knife incident is related in Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 12 Sept. 1857, LDS Church Archives. Reference to Young's nightmares about shedding blood is in John D. Lee, Diary, 17 March 1846, Church Archives.

sent an ambassador to President James K. Polk, volunteering 2,000 Mormon men to enlist and form an expeditionary force which would precede the Mormon emigrants into the Great Basin and the American Northwest. Now that the war had begun, this regiment of Mormons would liberate Mexican territory for the American government, and the Mormon pioneers would occupy it. The entire operation would be conducted, according to Young's design, in a region of Mexican territory which was devoid of Mexican troops and which, therefore, did not require Mormon soldiers to engage in actual warfare.

The canniness of this scheme was not unnoticed by Polk, who countered the offer with the proposal that only 500 men be enlisted to march along the present U.S.-Mexican border to California, engaging the enemy where necessary. This not only destroyed Young's hope of having a government-employed vanguard of Mormons along the pioneer route, but it also put the Mormon volunteers in the position of possibly having to fight Mexican forces. Having made the original offer of volunteers, Young could hardly refuse Polk's counterproposal, but he promised the volunteers in the Mormon Battalion that they would not have to shed blood in military engagements. His prediction was fulfilled.[9]

Young complied with the counteroffer and persuaded the Mormons to enlist for the economic benefits. Nevertheless, incensed that Polk had not only frustrated his plans but had also put the Mormon volunteers in jeopardy, Young began to intimate that the whole idea had been foisted upon him by Polk as a plot to injure the Mormons.[10] Despite Young's disappointment, the battalion brought cash in excess of $50,000 to the common fund of the church.[11] The Mormon Battalion did not fulfill Brigham Young's anticipations for a military expedition of Mormon explorers and pioneers, but it represented a willingness to give limited support to a military effort in order to benefit the larger needs of the Mormon kingdom. Ironically, in later years the Mormon Battalion would be cited as an example of patriotic response to the nation's wartime needs.

Although Brigham Young continually sought peaceful relations with the native Americans in the Great Basin, he did not oppose Mormons defending themselves against Indians. Young's policy was to educate the Indians, proselyte them, and have Mormon missionaries marry Indian women. When Indian wars occurred, Young sought for cessation of hostilities without punitive retribution. During the first decades of Utah's territorial period, the Mormons

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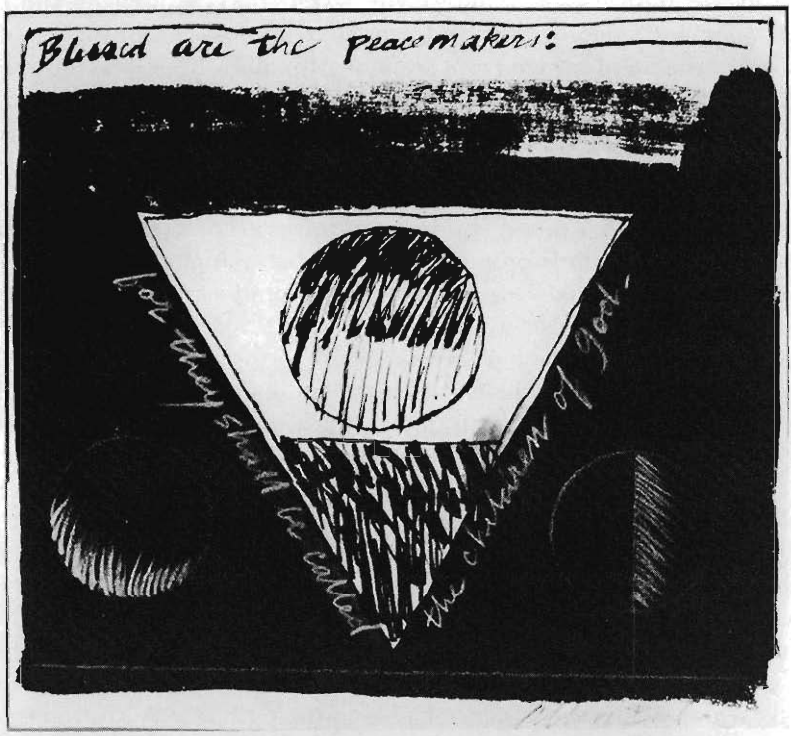
[9] Brigham H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), 3:66–76; Eugene E. Campbell, "A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in California, 1846–1946" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1952), pp. 76–82. See also the revisionist essay by W. Ray Luce, "The Mormon Battalion: A Historical Accident?" *Utah Historical Quarterly* 42 (Winter, 1974): 27–38.

[10] Brigham Young made this accusation immediately after the arrival of the first Mormons in the Salt Lake Valley. Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 28 July 1847, LDS Church Archives. He also repeated this charge 13 September 1857. *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool and London, England: Latter-day Saints Book Depot, 1854–86), 5:235.

[11] Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, p. 21.



maintained a strong military stance, requiring all men between 18 and 45 years of age to serve in the territorial militia, the Nauvoo Legion, while boys 14 to 16 years old served in the "Juvenile Rifles," and men between 45 and 75 years of age comprised the "Silver Greys." [12] This reinforced the popular image of Mormonism as a militaristic religion.

Moreover, in early Utah, Mormon rhetoric often threatened destruction upon the enemies of the church, especially during the first decade of Utah's settlement. But like the bombast of Rigdon in Missouri, it was primarily literary metaphor.[13] Some isolated Mormons in the southern settlements of Utah took

[12] For an account of Mormon relations with the Indians during the overland trail experience, see William Clayton, *William Clayton's Journal,* Lawrence Clayton, ed. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press, 1921), pp. 44–45, 80–81, 86–87, 104, 181–82; Roberts, *Comprehensive History,* 4:33–51; Ralph Hansen, "Administrative History of the Nauvoo Legion in Utah" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1954), pp. 10, 23; Lawrence G. Coates, "A History of Indian Education by the Mormons, 1830–1900" (Ph.D. diss., Ball State University, 1969), pp. 70–221.

[13] Mormon hyperbolic threats were common prior to 1858. See *Journal of Discourses,* 2:186 (discourse delivered by Brigham Young 15 Feb. 1855); 2:311 (discourse delivered by Young 8 July 1855); 5:110 (discourse delivered by George A. Smith 2 Aug. 1855). Contemporaries of Brigham Young and many current historians accept the hyperbole of Brigham Young and other leaders at face value, which is exactly what Young intended. In his public sermons and in conversations with non-Mormons, Young generally adopted a bellicose stance, threatening destruction upon apostates and gentile armies. In his private conversations with trusted associates, however, Young revealed an abhorrence of war and bloodshed. (Lee, Diary, 17 March 1846; Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 15 April 1856, 26 Feb. 1858, LDS

the rhetoric seriously in 1857 during the war hysteria caused by the unannounced march of federal troops on Utah. The result was Mormon participation in the massacre of an emigrant train at Mountain Meadows, an incident which horrified Brigham Young when he learned of it.[14] After that awesome and much celebrated tragedy, the inflammatory rhetoric and threats virtually ceased as Mormon leaders became aware of the unforeseen outcome of their primitive psychological warfare.

When the Utah expedition was ordered to the territory in 1857 by President James Buchanan to suppress a presumed but actually nonexistent rebellion, the Mormons feared extermination and could easily have resorted to bloodshed. Instead, however, they obeyed Young's order to follow a scorched earth policy and not to fight. When members of the Nauvoo Legion burned federal supply trains to aid the war of attrition against the army, they did so without his knowledge or authorization. When confrontation finally seemed imminent, he adopted the "Sebastopol plan," which had recently attracted world sympathy in the Crimea: he ordered a general evacuation and a burning of Mormon settlements in preparation for still another pacifistic hegira into the wilderness. In 1858, peaceful settlement of the difficulties ended the strangely nonviolent "Utah War." [15]

The events of 1857 seem to have been a turning point in the attitudes of the Mormon leaders toward violence and war. Inflammatory rhetoric had contributed to the paranoia which pressed some Mormons into committing a massacre, whereas passive resistance had won the right of the Mormons to the land they had conquered. At the close of this bloodless conflict, Young furiously condemned all war: "Our traditions have been such that we are not apt to look upon war between two nations as murder; but suppose that one family should rise up against another and begin to slay them, would they not be taken up and tried for murder? Then why not nations that rise up and slay each other in a scientific way be equally guilty of murder." [16] War for any reason became anathema to him.[17]

Church Archives). By threatening destruction, Brigham Young hoped to intimidate enemies of the Mormon kingdom. When rhetoric failed, Young withdrew pacifistically, as he did in Missouri, Nauvoo, and in the Utah War. The sensationalistic claims of Mormon vengeance in Utah can be found in William A. Hickman, *Brigham's Destroying Angel: Being the Life Confession and Startling Disclosures of the Notorious Bill Hickman, The Danite Chief of Utah* (New York: G. A. Crofutt, 1872). Hickman claimed his crimes were committed with the sanction of Church leaders, but, as early as 1859, they were privately repudiating him and his claims. Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 31 Aug. 1859.

[14] The standard work on this subject is Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, rev. ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970); see also Hofstadter and Wallace, *American Violence*, pp. 316–20.

[15] Norman F. Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict, 1850–1859* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1960), pp. 119–203. Young in 1859 referred to his opposition to the burning of the supply wagons. LDS Historian's Office Journal, ms., 4 Oct. 1859, LDS Church Archives.

[16] *Journal of Discourses*, 7:137 (discourse delivered on 18 Dec. 1859).

[17] Some writers have suggested that Brigham Young did not hesitate to have the Utah militia forcibly suppress the schismatic Morrisites of Utah in 1862 in the so-called Morrisite

When the American Civil War began, Young kept the Mormons and Utah with the Union but declined to involve them in the conflict. With theocratic aplomb, ex-Governor Young granted Lincoln's request for men to guard the mail routes in the territory but sourly commented that "all this does not prove any loyalty to political tyrants." [18] Young regarded the Civil War as insane, criminal, and tragic.

> I care for the North and the South and if I had sufficient power with the Lord, I would save every inocent man, woman and child from being slaughtered in this unnatural and almost universal destruction of life and property. I pray that the Lord Almighty will so order it that all those who thirst for the blood of their fellowmen may be found in the front ranks that they may be cut off speedily and the war come to an end, that the innocent may escape.[19]

Aside from pacifistic motivations, Young was unwilling to involve Mormons in a conflict which would not benefit the Mormon kingdom.

Young's successor, John Taylor, continued a pacifist theme and argued that even though wars and bloodshed were inevitably going to plague all nations, "these things are with the people and with God. It is not for us." When these wars occur, he argued, the role of the Latter-day Saints should be to preach the gospel and establish a haven of peace to which the people may escape from the warring nations. Questions of national interest were clearly secondary to the welfare of the Latter-day Saints. Therefore, Mormon leaders consistently preached against participation in national wars, and scoffed at the folly of European wars.[20]

Peace again ended for the Mormons when the federal campaign against Mormon polygamists began in the 1880s. Ill feeling ran high on both sides of the conflict between the Mormons and federal authority, and on at least two

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War. See Nels Anderson, *Desert Saints: The Mormon Frontier in Utah* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), pp. 223–24. The Morrisite War has yet to be adequately examined, but several factors should be considered before alleging that Brigham Young and the Mormons suppressed this schismatic group by force of arms. First, Young was not the governor of Utah in 1862 and the militia was not under his direction; second, the non-Mormon chief justice of Utah, John F. Kinney, authorized the arrest of the Morrisite leaders for criminal activities and also authorized the use of a military force to arrest them; and, third, the federally-appointed secretary of state of Utah and acting-governor, a non-Mormon named Frank Fuller, ordered the militia to arrest the Morrisite leaders, by force if necessary. See Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Utah* (San Francisco: History Company, 1890), pp. 615–20; Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, 1892–1904), 2:48–57; M. Hamlin Cannon, "The Morrisite War," *American West*, 7 (Nov., 1970): 5–9, 62.

[18] *Journal of Discourses*, 10:107 (discourse delivered 8 March 1863).

[19] Ibid., 10:272 (discourses delivered 6 Oct. 1863).

[20] Ibid., 19:305–6 (discourse delivered 8 April 1878). One scholar has suggested that the pacifistic reputation of the Mormons was sufficient to make Utah a refuge during the Civil War for deserters from both sides of the conflict. See Robert Joseph Dwyer, *The Gentile Comes to Utah: A Study in Religious and Social Conflict (1862–1890)* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1941), p. 7. The present writer is also aware of European Mormons, who deserted their nation's armies or fled conscription and emigrated to Utah during the nineteenth century. A thorough demographic study, however, will be necessary to determine to what extent Utah was regarded as and actually became a pacifist refuge during the nineteenth century.

occasions unarmed polygamists were gunned down by federal deputies.[21] Undoubtedly recognizing the possibility of violence during the federal campaign against polygamy, Mormon apostle Franklin D. Richards told the church membership that, unlike God's people of ancient times, the Latter-day Saints were not authorized to shed blood. Citing the example of King David, whom God did not permit to build the ancient temple because "he had been too much a man of war," the apostle urged the Saints to keep themselves free from such evils and thereby remain worthy to build modern temples.[22]

Although nineteenth-century Mormonism has been regarded as primarily bellicose and militaristic by some authors,[23] Mormon theology and activities had clearly reflected both militarism and pacifism.[24] To some extent, the military spirit had been active throughout the nineteenth century and was a legitimate part of the Mormon heritage of Zion's Camp, the so-called Danites, the Nauvoo Legion, the Mormon Battalion, the Utah War, and Utah's Indian wars. Underlying these external manifestations, however, had been a pacifistic undercurrent which had subdued the demonstrations of militarism. The passive endurance by most Mormons of the Missouri depredations, the surrender of Joseph Smith to his enemies at Nauvoo, the nonviolent departure from Nauvoo, the scorched-earth resistance during the Utah War, the willingness to flee Utah rather than resort to force of arms, and the nonviolent resistance to the federal campaign against polygamy were all part of the pacifistic tradition of Mormonism.

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[21] Roberts, *Comprehensive History*, 6:116–17, 162–63.

[22] *Journal of Discourses*, 23:107–8 (discourse delivered on 8 April 1882).

[23] Bailey, *The Armies of God*, pp. 1–2.

[24] This duality is alluded to in Gaylen L. Caldwell's "Mormon Conceptions of Individual Rights and Political Obligation" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1952), p. 183, and in Robert Jeffrey Stott, "Mormonism and War" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1974). The ambivalence on warfare and pacifism has enabled Mormon polemicists to approach pacifism from both unsympathetic and sympathetic viewpoints. Mormon political conservative Jerreld L. Newquist, in his compilation, *Prophets, Principles and National Survival* (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1964), pp. 468–87, uses quotes from twentieth-century LDS leaders to emphasize the importance of American isolation from foreign wars and the importance of defensive warfare by Americans. Representing an ultra-conservative political viewpoint among Mormons, Richard Vetterli's *The Constitution by a Thread* (Salt Lake City: Paramount Publishers, 1967), pp. 99, 106, 248–98, aligns pacifism with communist conspiracy and demonstrates a positive enthusiasm for militarism as an alternative for Mormons. A doctrinal analysis of the Mormon position on war by Hyrum L. Andrus, "War and the Saints," appears on pages 246–68 of Richard Vetterli's *The Challenge and the Choice* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1969). Andrus's essay acknowledges the Mormon predilection for peace, but devotes most of its attention to Mormon militaristic justification consonant with Vetterli's emphasis against pacifism, against military disarmament, and for military response to subversives and foreign enemies. In contrast to all of the above, Gordon C. Thomasson's *War, Conscription, Conscience and Mormonism* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Mormon Heritage, 1971), presents a collection of official and unofficial statements against war which indicate that pacifism is a legitimate alternative for Mormons. Implicit in Thomasson's potpourri is an effort to justify contemporary resistance against the Vietnam war by Latter-day Saints. All of these writers overlook or disregard the complexity of the Mormon position on war and pacifism, although Thomasson does acknowledge that he is providing only an alternative Mormon viewpoint.

Beyond the external manifestations were two ideological premises which reinforced selective pacifism. First, there was a theological framework which, although allowing for defensive warfare, extolled pacifism as the highest good. More significant was the Mormon attitude that national matters were subordinate to the welfare and progress of the Kingdom of God. This philosophy was the basis for the Mormon policy of selective pacifism. If passively enduring the onslaughts of mobs or armies would benefit the kingdom, then the Mormons would do so. If it was not to the advantage of the Mormon kingdom to engage in a national conflict (as in the American Civil War), then the Mormons remained aloof. If militarism was to the advantage of the Mormon kingdom in a particular situation, then the Mormon prophet called upon the Latter-day Saints to take up arms in defense of the kingdom. As a state-within-a-state, the Mormon community's response to war had assumed that these prerogatives would always be open to the prophet. This ambivalent heritage presented a complex matrix upon which the Mormons had to draw for their reactions to the Spanish-American War.

When the United States moved toward war with Spain in 1898, Utah had been a state in the Union barely two years. Repeated efforts to obtain statehood had been made by Utahns since the conclusion of the Mexican War. Six proposed state constitutions (1849, 1856, 1862, 1872, 1882, 1887) had been submitted to Congress with petitions for statehood, only to be rejected or tabled indefinitely. The Mormons were unpopular: their political and economic domination of the West alarmed federal officials, and their practice of plural marriage outraged the sensibilities of the nation.

Lacking the sovereignty of statehood, the Mormons of Utah Territory (established by the Compromise of 1850) found their prerogatives successively undermined by the federal government. The territorial court system was restructured to eliminate Mormons from the judiciary; legislation was enacted which prevented Mormon polygamists from serving on juries, voting, or holding public office; Mormon immigrants were denied entry to the United States merely because of their belief in polygamy; alien Mormons in Utah were denied naturalization by federal judges on the same grounds; and the common law protections preventing a wife from testifying against her husband were denied to wives of polygamists. In 1887 the LDS church was disincorporated by federal law, its properties and monies were confiscated, and numerous Mormon leaders were jailed for practicing polygamy.[25]

In 1890, the United States Supreme Court gave approbation to the extremes of the anti-polygamy crusade by upholding the constitutionality of legislation which denied all rights of citizenship merely because of membership in the Mormon Church.[26] Faced with such severe sanctions, LDS President Wil-

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[25] See Gustive O. Larson, *The "Americanization" of Utah for Statehood* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1971). The federal "raid" against polygamists was accomplished through liberal interpretations by federal appointees of the anti-polygamy Edmunds Act of 1882. The economic attack against the LDS Church was accomplished through the Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887.

[26] *Davis v. Beason*, 133 U.S. 333 (1890).

ford Woodruff announced in September 1890 that polygamy should cease among the Mormons. The public abandonment of polygamy and the dissolution of the Mormon political party, "the People's Party," the following year contributed to an "Era of Good Feeling" among the Mormons, their gentile neighbors in Utah, and the federal government.

As the political, economic, religious, and social relations in Utah began to reflect the norms of American society, Congress became responsive to Utah's long efforts for statehood. Amnesties were granted by the U.S. President to polygamists in 1893 and 1894, and an enabling act was issued which prepared the way for Utah's statehood. Utah adopted its seventh proposed constitution in 1895 and gained statehood in 1896. Two years later the United States was verging on war with Spain. Now a state in the Union, Utah was unable to maintain the aloofness characteristic of its position during the Civil War. Utahns, and therefore the predominant church in Utah, were inextricably involved in the nation's commitments.

The conflict with Spain centered on Spain's rule over Cuba. The efforts of the Cubans to revolt against the Spanish rule in 1868–78 and 1895–98 were generally approved by Americans. Stories of Spanish atrocities in Cuba were exaggerated and even fabricated by the yellow journalism of Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst in the 1890s. Moreover, the nationalistic fervor to compete with the European powers in territorial expansion and world power found many Americans advocating that the nation enter the imperialistic competition of the turn of the century. American sentiment, already bellicose, was inflamed when the U.S. battleship *Maine* was blown up in Havana Harbor 15 February 1898. Official as well as public sentiment in America held that the Spanish had deliberately destroyed the ship in retaliation for America's pro-Cuban stance. Diplomatic relations between the two nations progressively deteriorated while war hysteria in the U.S. mushroomed. Finally, in April 1898, Congress declared that a state of war existed between the United States and Spain.[27]

Officially, Utah was in the forefront of the clamor for war. On 8 February 1898, Utah's Senator Frank J. Cannon, son of the first counselor of the LDS presidency, introduced a resolution in the U.S. Senate in which he stated that, if Spain refused to grant the independence of Cuba on or before March 4, "the Government of the United States will on that date recognize the belligerency of the Cuban patriots and *will within ninety days thereafter assert the independence* of the Republic of Cuba." This was a week before the *Maine* was destroyed. On 29 March 1898, nearly a month before war was declared, Utah's Senator Joseph L. Rawlins introduced a resolution declaring war on

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[27] For general studies of the Spanish-American War, see Jack Cameron Dierks, *A Leap to Arms: The Cuban Campaign of 1898* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1970); Philip S. Foner, *The Spanish-Cuban-American War and the Birth of American Imperialism*, 2 vols. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972); H. Wayne Morgan, *William McKinley and His America* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1963); and Richard H. Titherington, *A History of the Spanish-American War of 1898* (1901; reprint ed., Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1971).

Spain, and on April 5, he urged the Senate to declare war without waiting for President William McKinley to request it.[28]

Despite the bellicose pronouncements of Utah's senators in Congress, the position of the Mormon Church tended toward restraint in the developing crisis with Spain. On February 16, an editorial in the church organ, the *Deseret Evening News*, praised the "chivalrous" aid which the Spanish officials in Havana gave to the wounded Americans on the *Maine*. Concerning the cries of Spanish responsibility for the incident, the editorial continued, "There can, of course, be no suspicion that the Spanish officials are in any way responsible for the destruction of the ship." The day following, however, the editorial reflected greater willingness to acknowledge Spanish responsibility for the explosion. As the national war fever increased, the *Deseret News* returned to its original position, affirming on March 28 that neither the Spanish government nor officials in Cuba were responsible for the incident.[29] While the press of the nation was feeding the fires of war fever, the Mormon press was taking a more cautious position.

With respect to the war fever itself, the Mormon position tended to regard the rise of militarism in the United States with concern. In an editorial entitled "The Age of Militarism," the *Deseret News* criticized German and, by implication, American militarism. The editorial reasoned that the rise of one national military power would cause an inevitable chain of militaristic reactions by the other world powers, resulting finally in one war after another.[30] Two days later, at the conference of the Salt Lake Stake of Utah, Joseph M. Tanner, president of Utah Agricultural College at Logan, criticized America's war spirit and the falsification of the news by the popular press.[31] He was followed by Joseph F. Smith, second counselor in the LDS first presidency: "Pres. Smith followed deploring the spirit of war that is abroad in the land. He said if it were not for war we would be burdened with the pension list; that costs our nation Millions of dollars." [32] The suspicion of national militarism reflected one aspect of the previous Mormon tradition.

The imminence of war with Spain was shown in the addresses given to the annual general conference of the LDS church in Salt Lake City, April 6–8 and 10, 1898. On April 7, several LDS authorities specifically referred to the war situation. Apostle Matthias F. Cowley introduced the subject by saying that, in the eschatological wars of nations, the people declining to shed blood must

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[28] Emphasis added. *Cong. Rec.*, 55 Cong., 2 sess. (1898), 1534, 3293; "Journal History of the Church," 5 April 1898, p. 2, LDS Church Archives.

[29] *Deseret Evening News*, 16–17 Feb. and 28 March 1898.

[30] Ibid., 10 March 1898.

[31] Ibid., 14 March 1898.

[32] Angus M. Cannon, Journal, 12 March 1898, LDS Church Archives. Cannon recorded that officials of the *Deseret Evening News* "refused to publish anything of what Pres. Smith said." This was apparently to avoid criticism of him by the non-Mormon community. The above excerpt from Cannon's journal is apparently the only recorded account of Smith's antagonistic statements about war on this occasion. See *Deseret Evening News*, 14 March 1898.

flee to Zion for safety and peace. Apostle Brigham Young, Jr., followed with the comment that, in order to be a haven of peace for those who decline to shed blood, Zion must be separate from the pollution of the world. He was followed by a lesser Mormon official, Brigham H. Roberts, who cited the present war spirit as fulfillment of prophecy and, referring to the preceding remarks of Young, quoted from the *Doctrine and Covenants*, beginning, "Abide ye in the liberty wherewith ye are made free; entangle not yourselves in sin, but let your hands be clean until the Lord come" (D&C 88:86). Apostle John Henry Smith indicated that the Saints abhorred war but were loyal to the nation. Although Apostle Francis M. Lyman introduced the possibility of engaging in war, he affirmed, "The last thing for Christians to ever do is to fight for peace." [33] During the first three days of the conference, Mormon dualism on the issue of war was implicit in the discourses of the authorities, but there was no sharp demarcation between the viewpoints. Most significant is the fact that virtually every pacifistic sentiment was aligned with the welfare of the Mormon kingdom.

After the U.S. War Department on April 10 announced its decision to call for 80,000 men from the militia, war had not only become more imminent, but the possibility of Mormons engaging in it had become a reality. The problem was reflected in a sharper division of attitude which appeared in the final afternoon session of the LDS general conference on April 10.

Sixteen years earlier Apostle Franklin D. Richards had cautioned the Mormons against shedding blood in war and he now returned to the theme. Stressing the necessity to remain at peace and offer a haven for those who flee war, he added: "Nations are ready to go to war and anxious for the opportunity. It seems as if the spirit of war had gone forth until great men who pose as patriots, and would like to be considered statesmen, are ready and clamoring for war. Latter-day Saints have always taught the principles of peace and good will." [34] Now that the War Department had called upon the state militias, his remarks approached an overt encouragement for Mormon pacifism in a U.S. war. Moreover, his slur against surrogate patriot-statesmen struck not only against the nation's leaders, but also against the activities of Utah's two senators, one of whom was the son of George Q. Cannon, first counselor to the president of the church.

When George Q. Cannon began the concluding discourse of the conference, his remarks were stated as a direct response to those of Richards: "The remarks which have been made by Brother Franklin D. Richards concerning the position the inhabitants of the earth are in, and *particularly our position*, and his reference to the revelation that was read the other day concerning the necessity there would be for those who desired peace to flee to Zion, suggests the reading of some promises and predictions that the Lord has made concerning this land." [35] Cannon continued with quotes from the Book of

[33] *Conference Report* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1898), pp. 9, 24–28, 31, 56, 58–59.

[34] Ibid., pp. 81–82.

[35] Ibid., pp. 83–88; italics added.

Mormon concerning the western hemisphere: that it would be a land of liberty, having no kings, and being fortified by God against its enemies. After commenting on the previous willingness of Mormons to die for their religion, he added: "We should be equally willing, if it should be necessary, to lay down our lives for our country, for its institutions, for the preservation of this liberty that these glorious blessings and privileges shall be preserved to all mankind, and especially to those with whom we are immediately connected." [36]

Although his remarks fell short of an official rebuke of Richards, they constituted a repudiation of the suggestion that Mormons refuse to participate in the impending war. The Mormon tradition of ambivalence concerning war had resulted in an observable cleavage within the hierarchy concerning the advisability of supporting an American war in 1898. In response to the pacifistic inclinations of his associates in the hierarchy, George Q. Cannon, known to his contemporaries as the "Mormon Premier," [37] had clearly become the advocate of the militaristic side of the Mormon tradition.

The editorials of the *Deseret News* (whose editor was John Q. Cannon, a son of George Q. Cannon) had already assumed Mormon participation if war occurred. As early as March 9, an editorial had stated: "The demand now is not only peace, but peace with honor." [38] After giving a grisly description of the inhumanity of war, the editorial of March 31 nevertheless affirmed that, "If our glorious Union shall become involved in war, she will never number, in all her armies, a truer, braver, or better soldier than the Mormon recruit." With respect to the question of religious pacifism, John Q. Cannon's editorial of April 18 amplified his father's position with the argument that "a robust common sense" refuted the idea that Christianity precluded war.[39] As the nation moved more definitely toward war in 1898, it received the support of the Mormon Church through President Cannon, and his sons in Congress and on the staff of the *Deseret News*.

The reaction of the people of Salt Lake City to the departure of the troops from Fort Douglas was also supportive of the impending war effort. The 24th Infantry, comprised of Negro soldiers, had been stationed in Salt Lake City since October 1896. When the troops marched to the train depot on April 20, 1898, the populace wildly cheered them.

> The scene that was presented at the depot while the troops were boarding the trains has seldom been equalled in its manifestation of popular feeling and enthusiasm in the intermountain region. A vast and dense mass of humanity packed the depot grounds, and wave after wave of thunderous cheering rose from it while the soldiers

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[36] Mark W. Cannon, "The Mormon Issue in Congress, 1872–1882, Drawing on the Experience of Territorial Delegate George Q. Cannon" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1960), p. 4.

[37] *Deseret Evening News*, 9 March 1898.

[38] The character of war was described in these terms: "War means a sudden and awful death to many men; the maiming and mangling of many more; the ravishing of pure women; the murder of innocent children." Ibid., 31 March 1898.

[39] Ibid., 18 April 1898.

were entering the cars. Such a show of patriotism was glorious and inspiring in the highest degree.[40]

Although of a different race, and virtual strangers to Utah, the troops elicited the spontaneous enthusiasm for military parades and soldiers' departures which was characteristic of the rest of the nation in 1898.

The enthusiasm was not universal in Utah, however. Apostle Brigham Young, Jr., had long felt contempt for American motives in the war crisis. As early as February 22, he had written in his private journal: "The excitement over the destruction of the 'Main.' It seems to me that Americans are determined to provoke a war with Spain. I know it is to sell papers, hence I think it wicked to lie the people into an excitement of perfect frenzy for war." [41] Despite his distaste for the situation, Young had remained silent, and his remarks at the general conference had been far more tentative than the open pacifism of Richards. The gentle rebuke by George Q. Cannon at the closing of the LDS conference had apparently discouraged Richards, Cowley, and perhaps others of the hierarchy from pursuing their pacifistic inclinations. And so it was that Brigham Young, Jr., alone began a campaign against the participation of Mormons in the Spanish-American War.

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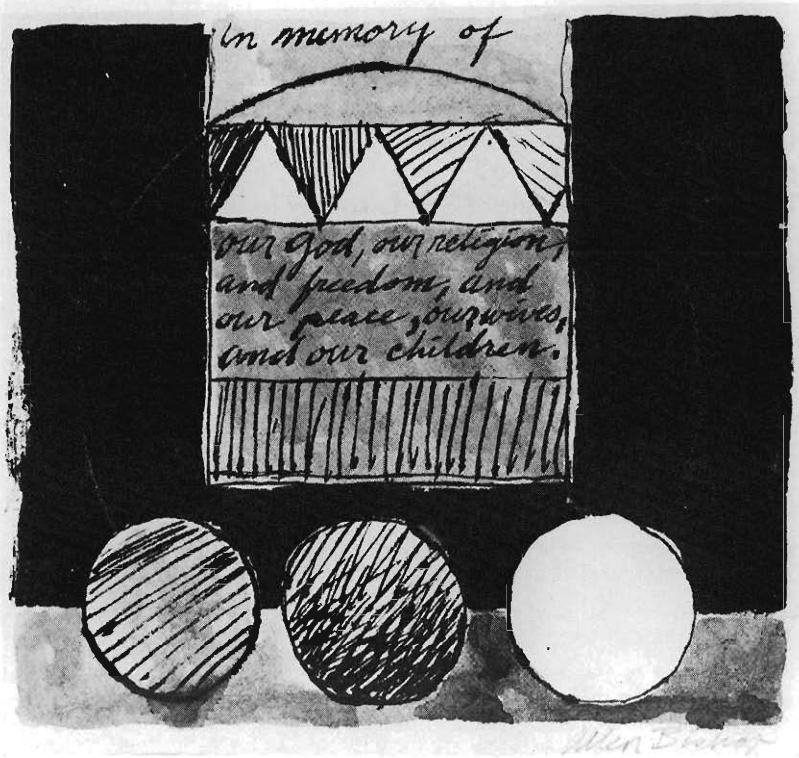
[40] Ibid., 20 April 1898; see also "Journal History," 19–20 April 1898.

[41] Brigham Young, Jr., Journal, 22 Feb. 1898, LDS Church Archives. Punctuation corrected in all excerpts.



Apparently the outburst of enthusiasm at the military parade of troops caused Young to assert his opposition to the war. At a meeting of the LDS presidency and apostles on April 21, the very day Congress later declared the war had begun, he directly challenged the advocates of Mormon participation in the war. His journal reads as follows: "Meeting of Council at 11 a.m. Temple. Pres. Cannon remarked to me this morning that 'Our young men might distinguish themselves in this war.' 'Yes, they would undoubtedly extinguish themselves. If I knew of any young men who wanted to go to this war, I would call them on a mission to preach the gospel of peace.' Our mission is to preach and to save souls." In the next few days following this encounter, Young's antiwar sentiment increased. During this time he discussed his views with others and apparently gave private counsel to young men not to enlist.[42]

His resistance to the war reached a climax on Sunday, 24 April 1898, when he preached a public sermon in the Salt Lake Tabernacle. The previous day McKinley had called for 125,000 volunteers for the war, and Young directed part of his remarks to that issue:

> It is wrong for us to think of sending our young men to Cuba to fight in the present conflict. The fact that they would go from these lofty mountains into the malarial swamps of the South would make them much more liable to catch fevers and perish than volunteers from almost any other part of the country. *There are other ways in which we can show our patriotism than by sending our sons to fight for our country at this crisis.* The United States needs money with which to prosecute this war, and it will be far better for us to subscribe to this $50,000,000 bond issue than to send volunteers to perish miserably and uselessly in the swamps of the Southern coast.[43]

Thus, a Mormon apostle was publicly urging Mormons to refuse to fight in a popular war of their nation.

The reaction to his remarks was immediate. The non-Mormon press accused him of cowardice, treason, and conduct worthy only of "a mischief-maker and sneak."[44] Prominent gentiles and Mormons alike heaped verbal abuse on him, but the most telling criticism came from members of his own family.[45] His brother Willard Young and nephew Richard W. Young were both graduates of West Point, with commissions in the Utah militia. They appealed to the president of the LDS Church, Wilford Woodruff, saying that Brigham Young, Jr.'s discourse was "diametrically opposed to the views they entertained and the mission in which they expected to be engaged." Young insisted that he was not disloyal to the government but was merely opposing

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[42] Ibid., 22–23 April 1898.

[43] *Salt Lake Tribune*, 13 March 1907; italics added. An official verbatim transcript of this discourse does not seem to be available. Apostle Young indicated that his remarks had been misinterpreted in the summary published in the *Salt Lake Herald*, 25 April 1898, but the sentiments in this later quotation from the *Tribune* correspond with those in his journals, the summary of his remarks in the Journal History, 24 April 1898, and in his defense before the LDS First Presidency. See Journal History, 25 April 1898.

[44] *Salt Lake Tribune*, 26 April 1898.

[45] Young, Journal, 25 April 1898; Cannon, Journal, 26 April 1898.

the national spirit of war. Anxious that something be done to ameliorate the situation, Woodruff had John Q. Cannon write an editorial in the *Deseret News* concerning the enlistments for the war. Titled "No Disloyalty Here," the editorial was an effort to counterbalance Young's remarks.[46]

The following day, Brigham Young, Jr., his brother, and nephew were summoned before President Woodruff and George Q. Cannon, at which time the apostle was chastised for speaking without authorization and was told not to oppose the enlistment of Mormon volunteers.[47] Upon the conclusion of this meeting, Brigham Young, Jr., ceased his open campaign against the Spanish-American War. It had lasted less than a week.

The end of vocal resistance to the war did not quiet Young's inner dissatisfaction with the participation of Mormons in a national war. On April 28, the LDS presidency issued a proclamation encouraging Mormons to enlist, at which time Young reflected: "It suits me all right and now that the First P[residency] have spoken we know what to do. It is an unrighteous Cause in my opinion, and Americans have gone wild with a blood thirsty spirit which will bring disaster, I fear." Despite his feelings about the war, he steadfastly refused to preach what the LDS president had chosen to "interdict." The reflections of his private journal, however, indicate his hostility toward Mormon participation in the war: "News from Cuba is stirring the hearts of the people. There is no public demonstration when a good soul dies perfectly in bed . . . but when men are killed in battle dying in the supreme effort of their lives to destroy their follow men, the whole people go wild, shouting honor and glory to our brave defenders, be they aggressor or contrarywise." [48] Officially silenced, Brigham Young, Jr., accepted the situation Cassandra-like. Three of his cousins died in the war.

Such opposition to the Spanish-American War was not uncommon in the United States at the time, even though this was one of America's most popular wars.[49] On the same day that Apostle Young delivered his anti-war sermon in the Salt Lake Tabernacle, a Roman Catholic bishop in St. Louis declared the war an unnecessary conflict and a blot on the national character. He also was criticized by members of his own church.[50] In Utah, several LDS General Authorities had concurred with the philosophy upon which Young had based his antiwar campaign. Even after Apostle Young had been repudiated by the LDS First Presidency, some Mormons continued to treasure his remarks against the war as the higher view. Prominent among those who opposed Mormon participation in this American war was Angus M. Cannon, president of the

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[46] *Deseret Evening News*, 25 April 1898.

[47] Young, Journal, 25 April 1898, Journal History, 25–26 April 1898.

[48] Young, Journal, 28 April, 4 May, and 2 July 1898.

[49] Robert L. Beisner, *Twelve Against Empire: The Anti-Imperialists, 1898–1900* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968); Harold U. Faulkner, *Politics, Reform and Expansion, 1890–1900* (New York: Harper, 1959), p. 223; Julius W. Pratt, "American Business and the Spanish-American War," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 14 (May 1934): 163–291.

[50] *Salt Lake Tribune*, 26 April 1898.

prestigious Salt Lake stake of the church and brother of George Q. Cannon.[51] All of the Mormon leaders on both sides of the debate were asserting arguments derived from the conflicting Mormon tradition concerning war. The divergence in 1898 not only split the Mormon hierarchy but also such prominent Mormon families as the Youngs and Cannons.

The division within the Mormon Church about participating in the war of 1898 was more complex than might appear on the surface. First of all, the three national wars of Mormonism's nineteenth century experience were not defensive wars. The Mexican and Spanish-American Wars were expansionist rather than defensive, and the Civil War resulted from efforts to prevent the splitting of the Union. Had the war of 1898 been an indisputable act of national defense against an aggressor, it is probable that no Mormon would have opposed it. As for Brigham Young, Jr., he disliked American war motives in 1898, was appalled by yellow journalism and war fever, and mourned the senseless loss of life and the disorientation of values caused by war. His opponents in 1898, George Q. Cannon and other advocates of Mormon support of the war, seemed to have shared these feelings.

The controversy was also not simply a contest between Mormon pacifists and militarists. The central pacifist in this struggle, Brigham Young, Jr., had been capable of intense militarism when he learned in 1891 that the government might confiscate the Mormon temples in Utah: "I would rather fight if it is the Lord's will than submit longer to these curses who disgrace the Gov. they represent. If it were in my power I would stand by those Temples and kill the first hound from the President of the U.S.A. down to the dasterdly U.S. Marshals from Franks down to Pratt before they should desecrate those sacred buildings." [52]

Moreover, the central militarist in the 1898 controversy, George Q. Cannon, as late as 1881 had publicly rejoiced in the fact that the Mormons had been able to remain aloof from direct participation in the Civil War.[53] The dichotomy in the respective expressions of Young and Cannon represents the selective pacifism characteristic of nineteenth-century Mormonism. To Young and the other Mormon pacifists of 1898, the central issue was clear: the Mormon kingdom could not be benefited by sending its promising young men to die in a conflict to enhance the national interest. The Mormons who opposed Young believed that by giving their political and military allegiance to the national government, rather than to the Mormon kingdom, they would benefit the larger interests of the ecclesiastical part of that kingdom.

According to one recent scholar, the pacifism of the Quakers and other religious groups was not significantly affected by the Spanish-American War.[54] For the Mormon Church, however, the Spanish-American War was a crucial event in its tradition of selective pacifism, which had been tied narrowly to the

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[51] Young, Journal, 29 April 1898.

[52] Ibid., 25 Feb. 1891.

[53] *Journal of Discourses*, 23:104–5 (discourse delivered 20 Nov. 1881).

[54] Brock, *Pacifism in the United States*, p. 886.

immediate welfare of the Mormon community. Faced with the possible destruction of their church over the issue of plural marriage, the Mormons in 1890 had capitulated to the sovereignty of federal authority. From that surrender Utah had obtained statehood and the Mormon Church had gained the privilege of existing peacefully within the federal domain. The Mormons could not maintain that relationship with the federal government and still insist upon the LDS prophet's right to determine what wars of the nation they would or would not support as combatants. Total pacifism was an alternative, but it was incompatible with the ambivalent tradition in Mormonism concerning war. The Mormon pacifists of 1898 were still arguing for the prerogatives of the Mormon community against those of the national government, still insisting on the right of selective pacifism. The argument failed because it lacked political reality.

The surrender of selective pacifism was spearheaded by George Q. Cannon, a Latter-day Saint whose nationalistic orientation and political realism had developed during ten years in Congress as Utah's delegate (1872–82). Supporting the Spanish-American War became the Mormon Church's opportunity to soften the previous twenty years' defiance of federal authority concerning polygamy. To Cannon, Woodruff, and other Mormon leaders, the Mormon community benefited most from surrendering such special prerogatives as selective pacifism.[55] That loss inevitably eroded the political kingdom of God while allowing its ecclesiastical counterpart, the LDS church, greater security in a previously hostile world. After 1898, individual Mormons might do as they wished, but the Mormon church, recognizing national authority as supreme, would no longer claim the right to determine when and where Mormons would fight and die.

[55] LDS President Wilford Woodruff apparently felt it would be dangerous for the Church if it failed to support the war. One researcher, basing his study on materials in the Church Archives as well as upon interviews with members of the Young family, said that when Woodruff silenced Brigham, Jr., "President Woodruff felt that it would be inappropriate for the Church not to support the Government 'in the present crisis,' and that the young men of the Church should be ready to serve when called upon." Louis Paul Murray, "The Life of Brigadier General Richard W. Young" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1959), p. 92. For details of the service of Utahns in the conflict, see A. Prestiss, *The History of the Utah Volunteers in the Spanish American War and in the Philippine Islands* (Salt Lake City: W. F. Ford, 1900).

Mythology and Nuclear Strategy

Ira Chernus

Nearly everyone talks about nuclear weapons and our nation's nuclear policies and strategies. Yet very few of us understand even the most elementary vocabulary of the subject. Why should terms like "counterforce" and "countervalue," "first strike policy" and "first use policy" be so foreign to us when they are kindergarten-level words to Pentagon planners and government decision-makers?

The obvious answer lies in what psychiatrist Robert J. Lifton calls "psychic numbing." [1] When we try to grasp the true scope and import of the nuclear arms race, we are almost immediately overwhelmed. There is nothing in our experience that even begins to touch the necessary scale of annihilation. We know about the deaths of individuals, of whole societies, even of immense empires. But how can we possibly comprehend the death of the human species, much less the entire planetary biosphere?

So our minds go blank. They simply shut down and refuse to attempt to grasp the issues involved. We become numb; and we find ourselves leaving it to the "experts," comforting ourselves with the assumption that it's all too complicated for us anyway. Why bother to learn all those technical terms? What good would it do?

Lifton's theory of psychic numbing is certainly invaluable in explaining our attitudes toward the nuclear issue. But I think that it only gives us half the

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[1] Lifton first developed his theory of "psychic numbing" in his study of Hiroshima survivors, *Death in Life* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1967). It is developed most fully in his *The Broken Connection* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1979). For a good summary, see Section I of Robert Jay Lifton and Richard Falk, *Indefensible Weapons* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1982).

picture. It tells us why we don't think very much about the nuclear threat darkening our horizon. As a historian of religion, I have been led to look at the other half of the picture: What happens when we do think about nuclear war? My answer, in brief, is that we mythologize.

To illustrate this point, let us look briefly at the major options for nuclear strategy that have governed our national policy. For the first decade or more of the nuclear age, the new weapons had little impact on our basic approach to war. Most Americans continued to view war in their traditional way, as a battle of total good against total evil. Historians of religion know this as a variation on a mythic theme of nearly universal distribution: the heroic warrior prepares to slay the evil monster. Since the monster will show no pity, the warrior must arm himself with a magic weapon. While the heroic warrior must be willing to suffer and perhaps even die, he knows that he will rise again and triumph in the end, for he has right, truth, and the invincible weapon on his side.

This mythic scenario has never vanished from American consciousness — or at least unconsciousness — and it has flourished again in recent years. It became more difficult to sustain when the monster, in the form of a demonic red bear, obtained the same magic weapon for himself. In the late '50s and early '60s, necessity became the mother of a new strategic policy — deterrence. Deterrence, as understood in the public mind, is also a variation on a widespread mythic theme. The bombs which had been a lethal weapon now became a magic shield, an inviolable wall guaranteeing peace and security. As long as the wall stayed high enough, those within its sheltering confines could look forward confidently to a restoration of Camelot, if not of the Garden of Eden itself.

Of course the demonic red bear also loudly proclaimed that his sword had been transformed into an equally inviolable wall. And somehow the idea spread abroad that no wall was high enough unless it was higher than the enemy's wall. So the conversion from war-fighting myth to deterrence myth did nothing to slow down the arms race. Indeed, the arms race accelerated rapidly during the 1960s.

Recent interpretations of American nuclear policy suggest a new explanation for this puzzling phenomenon. While the government has publicly proclaimed its goal to be simply deterring a Soviet attack on the United States, these interpretations claim that privately it has used its nuclear arsenal to deter any Soviet foreign policy moves of which it disapproves. The potential for nonnuclear Soviet intervention in Vietnam, the Middle East, Iran, and elsewhere has been forestalled, in our government's view, by the intimidating size of our nuclear arsenal and our willingness to use it.

If these interpretations are substantially correct, then we must reckon with a third mythic theme. For it seems that deterrence is not simply a retreat into inviolable, womb-like safety. It also reflects a desire to keep the monster penned up in his lair while we are free to dominate events around the world. One sees here a wish to become omnipotent, lords of the political universe. That human beings aspire for divine powers is, of course, a mythic theme known throughout the world. But it may have special meanings in our own cultural situation.

Both the United States and the USSR are historically rooted in Christian monotheism and in monarchies claiming to embody the one God's power on earth. In both countries, revolutions rejected much of these traditions. But while visible branches can be lopped off, subterranean psychic roots stubbornly remain. Although these revolutions posited the value of human freedom above religious institutions, they did not erase the assumption that a single power might — perhaps should — rule over all. Nor did they erase the image of the man who was God. In some subtle ways, freedom may have become equated with the omnipotence of divinity placed in the hands of mere mortals. So it may not be surprising that our president at this writing is so openly enamored of apocalyptic politics. But I suspect that previous presidents and Soviet party chairmen dreamed much the same dreams, though they had the tact and good sense to keep them private.

Elements of the apocalyptic mythos are not confined to this third scenario, however. The key themes of the apocalyptic tradition are also the common thread running through all three strategic options we have just surveyed: a mythic dualism articulated in political terms, a universal struggle between the forces of order and the forces of chaos, hope for a permanent victory over the chaos-monster, and trust in a superhuman power to achieve this victory. With such a unified vision at the core of all three strategies, it is understandable that the public is not very interested in distinguishing among them.

For I suspect that when we pay attention to the nuclear weapons issue, what we see and hear and feel are overwhelmingly mythic and symbolic images. These images are so compelling and appealing and satisfying, albeit largely in unconscious ways, that we find no reason to look any further. The examples I have offered from the realm of nuclear strategy are only a small fraction of the endless stream of myth, symbol, and fantasy images that flow from the bomb. Once you start wandering through the labyrinth of nuclear thoughts and feelings, you find new images turning up around every corner. If you are a historian of religion, most of them look surprisingly familiar, and their appeal is not too difficult to decipher.

So psychic numbing is only half the story. It tells us why we fail to face the nuclear issue. The mythic approach tells us what happens when we do face the issue: We are fascinated, deeply moved, and somehow fulfilled in ways which we only dimly perceive or understand. Numbing and mythologizing thus reinforce each other, and the upshot of this secret alliance is political paralysis. Immobilized from both sides, we fail to dismantle the trap which we ourselves have made.

Is it simply an unhappy coincidence that numbing and mythologizing happen to foster the same results? I don't think so. As I have tried to formulate a theoretical model for understanding the nuclear dilemma, I have been drawn to explore the manifold logical and psychological connections between these two phenomena. One direction that I see as fruitful for future research begins with Lifton's understanding of the roots of psychic numbing. He claims that numbing reflects a breakdown in the formative process of inner mental imagery. A numbed mind loses touch with its own resources for experiencing

the mythic dimension. Hence it is confined to the literal level of truth as its only access to truth.

The same could be said, I believe, for a numbed society. If one asks whether the tyranny of literalism in our time is effect or cause of psychic numbing, the answer, no doubt, is, "Both." The declining power of myth and symbol in modern Western culture has not erased our desire for them, however. If anything, it has increased our appetite, as hunger always will. Yet where can we go for publicly shared mythic experience? Defining all meaningful truth as empirical literal truth, we have relegated the traditional media of myth — art, literature, dance, even film and TV, which could be mythic media par excellence — to the realm of "mere entertainment" and thus unreality.

But myth is not truly compelling or satisfying unless it can be lived out as an integral part of the real world. Myth is, ideally, a vehicle for containing and expressing our deepest and most genuine experiences. When we live within a mythic structure as part of our real lives, we can feel the joys and sorrows of life with an intensity that would otherwise be overwhelming. Mere entertainment is a lifeless substitute, a one-dimensional caricature of myth that limits, rather than enhances, our capacity to feel, and thereby helps to keep us numb.

So while the conscious mind accepts, and even acclaims, its mythless modernity, the unconscious still searches for a mythic dimension in the reality of things. Well, what could be more mythically appealing than an epic struggle for supremacy between the world's two mightiest powers? Only one thing: a struggle in which the continued existence of the species itself hangs in the balance. And we have both! Aren't we lucky?

I believe that, on some unseen ground floor of the psyche, we do feel lucky, for we have a profoundly mythic foundation to our collective lives. The irony, though, is that we are too numbed to experience it in any conscious way as myth. Consciously, we label it as literal reality and deny its mythic meaning. Unconsciously, having trained ourselves to see all myths on the rather banal level of entertainment, we perceive nuclear myths in much the same way. So a movie actor turned president can proclaim a Star Wars scenario as the next step in nuclear strategy, and no one blinks an eye. The line between politics and theater, TV news and soap opera, was crossed long ago.

I would submit that the mythologies of nuclear war and nuclear weapons, as we experience them, are pseudomyths. They are built of mythic themes and structures, but they fail to communicate the rich multi-dimensional truths and depths of feeling that genuine myths embody. For a society bereft of all other myths, however, these myths have immense appeal because they are the best we have. Conjuring up age-old images of heroic warriors, omnipotent god-men, the end of the world, the rebirth in fire, and so on, they touch, however lightly, our need for such images, when nothing else does. So they seem to appease our hunger for myth, and we are satisfied with them, seeking nothing further. Indeed, we cling desperately to them, for they are the stuff of which our world-view is built. We live by these schematized pictures of the world, and we may very well die by them. For the history of religion teaches us with ample lessons that people are often willing to die rather than give up their most cherished beliefs.

The model I am exploring, then, is one of psychic numbing and mythologizing which foster each other in a vicious psychological circle. Because nuclear myths are mere caricatures of true myth, they are unable to break through our numbing. But because they pass for true myth, they allow us to feel comfortable in our numbing. The more our numbing grows, the more committed we are to defining all truth as literal truth. Seeing our nuclear myths as literal truth — denying that they are myths — we become even more firmly immobilized and numb. So we feel a more desperate need for myths, no matter how superficial; hence we immerse ourselves more deeply in our nuclear myths, and the cycle begins all over again.

Can this circle be broken? I don't know. I suspect that we don't have enough time. But if there is any chance to break it, the place to start is with awareness of our need for myth. Once we understand the nuclear arms race as part of a search for viable public myths, we are on the way to breaking out of the trap of pseudomyths held as literal facts. We take a step back from the whole issue, see it in a new and wider perspective, and thus see alternatives that we previously obscured.

When we perceive politics as myth, we begin to make contact with that "formative zone" of our minds which Lifton claims is the key to overcoming psychic numbing. Doing so, we realize that it is neither feasible nor desirable to call for a demythologizing of the nuclear issue. An awareness of the mythic dimension should rather stimulate a remythologizing — a search for new myths and images that can lead us away from the brink of annihilation. We need not look very far for these myths. In surveying the prevailing approaches to strategy, we have discovered the enduring appeal of some fundamental mythic themes and scenarios, which we cannot expect to abolish. But we have also discovered how malleable and open-ended these themes are, how easily these skeletons take on new flesh.

We cannot abandon our dream of becoming heroic warriors and vanquishing the evil monster forever. But we can learn that the monster is not another group of human beings who happen to speak a different language or butter their bread on a different side. This doesn't mean that we transform the world overnight, wake up the next morning, and make friends with the Russians. Certainly there will be rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union for some time to come.

But the problem is essentially one of myth, and myths are hierarchical in our minds. That is, we hold many myths simultaneously, myths which are the source of our values and actions. But some take precedence over others. So I would suggest not that we eliminate the myth of "us against the Russians" altogether, but that we demote it a peg or two and put in its place, as our controlling myth, "us against the nuclear weapons." "Us" then becomes Americans, Russians, and all people of the world. For in the nuclear age, there truly is no longer an "us" or "them" in human society. We are all "us" and either we all survive together, or we all perish together.

The demonic monster today is the network of nuclear weapons blanketing the earth and turning it into one enormous bomb. Like the hero of old, we

must be willing to face the monster head on. Yet we need not feel like the young David, taking on Goliath by himself or Judith walking with her maid into Holofernes' camp. Rather we can take as inspiration the ancient stories telling of those who banded together to brave mortal peril. Like the crew of Odysseus, the knights of King Arthur, or the three hundred men of Gideon, we too can find strength in numbers. Each of these stories reminds us, though, that the monster may prevail unless some individual steps forth to lead the fight against it. Today, in an age notoriously bereft of heroes yet faced with the greatest peril ever, who among us can afford the luxury of waiting for someone else to step forth?

These stories remind us, too, that facing the monster means quite literally looking at its true visage, in the fullness of its terror. Today we need new images of nuclear annihilation, images more radically grotesque and horrifying than anything we have permitted ourselves thus far. These new images are themselves a crucial force for breaking through our psychic numbing. But we will not be able to endure them unless they are coupled with a myth of survival and renewal. So we recall that the dream of permanent security behind inviolable walls is also a universally appealing motif. We still yearn to return to the sheltering glades of Eden, to rebuild the ramparts of Rome, to construct the New Jerusalem. Our task now is to envision those walls fashioned not out of bombs but out of mutual agreements to ban omnicidal weapons. Appeals to reason alone will not achieve this goal. It must be powerfully depicted in myth and symbol.

The struggle for nuclear disarmament can itself become the source of a new and immensely potent mythic drama. It can embody for us a truth which is of the essence of myth: that death is a part of life which can be accepted precisely because it is not the whole. Precisely because it is only a part, death need not swallow up the whole. But only when it is accepted as a part can it be prevented from swallowing up the whole. A love of life alone, no matter how passionate, will not save us in the nuclear age. We must learn once again to reach down to the deepest heart of the mind, the place from which we can love the whole cycle of life and death together. Perhaps by living out both nuclear death and nonnuclear rebirth in mythic imagination, we can touch this deepest heart and avert a world-wide death which would also be the death of all rebirth.

Some Reflections on the American Catholic Bishops' Peace Pastoral

John F. Kane

For more than three years now, the American Catholic Bishops' pastoral letter on war and peace has been the subject of extensive comment. Most of this comment has, with good reason, focused on the bishops' specific discussion of the ethics of nuclear threat. Comment has focused, in other words, primarily on the letter's specific judgments about the possession and use of nuclear weapons and on the general call for movement toward nuclear disarmament. Yet there has also been another, broader type of comment concerning the significance of the letter for the future of the Catholic Church in America and, even more broadly, concerning its possible significance for our country as a whole.

The bishops themselves call attention in a variety of ways to this larger context of discussion. Indeed the global crisis to which we have been brought by the nuclear arms race — what the bishops, quoting the Second Vatican Council, refer to in the opening sentence of their letter as "a moment of supreme crisis facing the whole human race" (#1) — is itself but one of the most terrible manifestations of a deeper and more complex and equally global crisis in our received political and religious traditions. Thus, however important the specific ethical discussions of nuclear policy, it would seem that we will not actually begin to move from under the shadow of the nuclear threat without a broader and deeper renewal of the ethical (and thus the political and religious) life of our people. What, then, might be the significance of the pastoral letter for such renewal in the life of the American Catholic community and for the possible renewal of that broader vision of American life which Robert

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Bellah has, aptly I believe, called our civil religion?[1] What might be its potential for refocusing American identity and purpose at this fateful time in American and world history?

Of course, such a focus on the pastoral's possible broader significance may well be exaggerated. It may, indeed, be an empty fantasy, given the mad momentum of the arms race and the continual degeneration of American public life into the irrational pursuit of corporate power and profit, on the one hand, and the despairing pursuit of private pleasure, on the other. Yet such a reading is at least consistent with the explicit purposes given by the bishops themselves. For their intention clearly is not simply to make specific judgments about nuclear weapons, but to speak words of both hope and challenge (#2) to their church and to the nation as a whole, and to call for that "moral about-face" (#333) without which the specific judgments about nuclear weapons would be quite ineffectual. They see their letter as "a contribution to a wider effort meant to call Catholics and all members of our political community to dialogue and specific decisions" (#6) and they urge that we as a people "have the courage to believe in the bright future [of] a world freed from the bondage of war [and thus] able to make genuine human progress" — "not a perfect world but a better one" — and to believe in a God who wills such a world for us (#336–37).

That such broader intentions are involved in the bishops' "challenge of peace" has been underlined recently by the appointment of Cardinal Joseph Bernadin of Chicago to chair the bishops' national pro-life committee. He also chaired the committee which drafted the pastoral letter. In his new capacity he has quite deliberately, in a number of major public addresses, called for both church and nation to develop a "consistent ethic of life" which would not only bring together peace and pro-life movements, but would include such related "life" issues as opposition to capital punishment, struggle against poverty and world hunger, and commitment to racial and economic justice.[2]

Thus the "new moment" the bishops speak of (#126) which provides a context for their letter is not simply a critical moment in the arms race brought about above all by growing world-wide awareness that the real and present danger is global nuclear suicide, but more broadly a moment of crisis in the life of the American Catholic Church and in the life of the nation, and a moment of opportunity (however remote) for that refocusing and renewal without which the possibility for a reversal of the arms race may well be irretrievably lost.

Of course, the idea of a crisis in American culture can be (and has been) discussed in a variety of ways — in terms, for instance, of the after-effects of Vietnam, or in terms of the development of post-industrial technology, or as an

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[1] Robert Bellah, *Beyond Belief* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), pp. 168–93.

[2] Joseph Bernadin, "Cardinal Bernadin's Call for a Consistent Ethic of Life," *Origins* 13 (29 Dec. 1983): 491–94. See also his "Enlarging the Dialogue on a Consistent Ethic of Life," *Origins* 13 (5 April 1984): 705, 707–9.

aspect of the multi-national thrust of contemporary capitalism. Yet perhaps the deepest cause of the contemporary crisis, as already indicated, is the gradual erosion of a shared sense of the good previously mediated through national institutions and history — a collective national myth which gave meaning and purpose to action by providing a transcendent standard for direction and judgment. This "civil religion," nurtured by the various particular religious traditions yet shared across confessional lines, is foundational for maintaining political ideals which restrain the raw exercise of power and focus collective effort in the pursuit of liberty, justice, and peace for all. Yet recently Robert Bellah, with disturbing insight, has described the breaking of the covenant of civil religion, its reduction to mere ideological legitimation for the exercise of power and the pursuit of narrowly partisan or chauvinistic interests, or its increasing irrelevance for a narcissistic and forgetful generation whose leaders have generally been unable or unwilling to attempt the needed reappropriation of received traditions in a new, global, and increasingly fragile world situation.[3]

At root, of course, for all of its historic particularity, the American civil religion depended upon and mediated the deeper classical traditions of Western reason and revelation. Thus the crisis of American civil religion is fundamentally but one instance of the undermining of received traditions of good in that broad upheaval of life and consciousness typically referred to simply as modernity. It is a story that has been told often, initially as a tale of victory, but increasingly with a sense of loss and even dread.

Alasdair MacIntyre, for instance, has recently characterized the dominant pattern of modern life as "bureaucratic individualism" — the end product of a process whereby critical or relativizing rationality has gradually pervaded all aspects of human life, public and private.[4] All language of good, of ends, has as a result been transformed into the language of values (which are sharply distinguished from facts), into matters of free and fundamentally private individual choice. Reason finally tells us nothing of ends. Its domain is technique or expertise about means. Thus, the only end that can be publicly agreed upon is freedom itself, or, more accurately, the pursuit of means (or power) for the exercise of freedom. For MacIntyre, then, the basic role models for modern American culture are the manager and the therapist — those experts in the manipulation of means in the public and private spheres respectively who quite explicitly disavow any claim to the knowledge of ends. Thus, too, the essence of modern political life has become administration — not public debate about the common good, but the organization of expertise which in theory serves the ends of contractually related, free individuals, but which in practice typically serves the ends of the most powerful. More concretely, the end of corporate power has become, quite literally, the endless pursuit of power

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[3] Robert Bellah, "American Civil Religion in the 70's," in Russell E. Richey and Donald G. Jones, eds., *American Civil Religion* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974); and his *The Broken Covenant: American Civil Religion in a Time of Trial* (New York: Seabury, 1975).

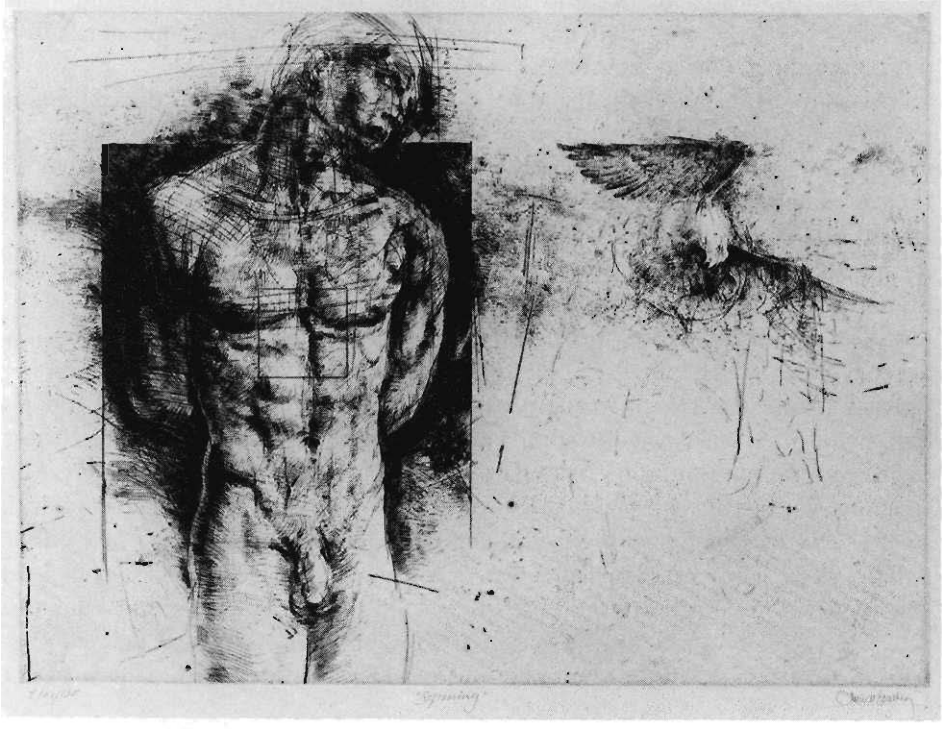
[4] Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1981), pp. 22–34.

or means, profit itself being at once the most abstract and the most endless form of means.[5]

Religion does not disappear in such a culture of "bureaucratic individualism." In fact it may flourish, but in strikingly diminished form. Far from serving to nurture even a faint memory of public good, religion becomes essenentially privitized as one of the many forms of therapy available in the marketplace of values. This privitization of religion occurs in both the more liberal churches (where the content of belief has often been quite explicitly transformed into the language of self-fulfillment) and in the supposedly more conservative sects where doctrinal fundamentalism provides a type of separate peace typically quite compatible with the public patterns of corporate power.

The pursuit of knowledge is likewise transformed by the dominant separation of rationality from consideration of good. This becomes disturbingly con-

[5] George Grant, "Some Comments on Ideology," photocopy of typescript in possession of the author.



crete for those of us engaged in academic pursuits when we experience the mental paralysis which has characterized recent efforts to recover a core curriculum. Despite all the hue and cry of "back to basics," the academic community's inability to grapple intelligently with fundamental questions about what knowledge is good (and what knowledge is good for) leads almost inevitably to some sort of (usually tacit) agreement that core or fundamental knowledge is really determined by the interests of established departments and tenured faculty (and even more fundamentally by the interests of the corporations which they serve). Such an arrangement works, moreover, because there is even more widely shared agreement between faculty and students that all knowledge is essentially something that is simply "there" for the free use or rejection of the private individual — unless, of course, as usually happens, that individual's freedom is constrained by the more powerful but equally irrational "choices" of the corporations.

The ironies here are, I suspect, especially poignant for those of us engaged in the study of religions which have typically made claims to some knowledge of human good. We have, endlessly it would once again seem, amassed more and more knowledge about such claims and about their mediation throughout religious history. Yet despite periodic and by now almost ritualized discussions about the need to move our study from the merely descriptive to the normative, we fundamentally find ourselves unable to tell our students and ourselves what such knowledge is good for except in the reductionistic language of value and private choice.

This rather cryptic description of the predicament of modern rationality and freedom as the endless pursuit of means would almost seem a comic absurdity were it not for a growing awareness of the tragic consequences of our seeming inability to recover any publicly shared and politically effective ideal of common good. The massive corporate penetration of Third World countries in the name of a form of "development" which is essentially unrelated to (which is to say, only accidentally related to) the basic human needs of one-quarter to one-half of the world's population is, of course, one such tragic consequence. But the endless pursuit of nuclear over-kill is, for most of us in the First World, the clearer and more frightening example of the pursuit of means which have lost all relation to any sane human ends. It is monstrous in the most literal sense of that word. It is a warning, perhaps of that "Second Coming" envisioned by Yeats some fifty years ago when "the center cannot hold" and "mere anarchy is loosed upon the world," when "the best lack all conviction while the worst are full of passionate intensity."

And yet, however broadly true this picture of crisis, the full reality of our situation seems at once both more complex and more hopeful. Perhaps, as Bellah's fellow sociologist John Coleman suggests, "American civil religion is not dead." Perhaps the recent and "awful puncturing of the American dream" and the "painful confrontation with . . . national breakdown and failure" has "planted some seeds of hope." [6] Perhaps, to give but one example, the vitality

[6] John A. Coleman, *An American Strategic Theology* (New York: Paulist Press, 1982), pp. 119, 118.

of one million people marching joyfully into New York's Central Park to protest the nuclear madness is indicative both of an enduring memory of common good and of the emergence of that memory in new forms responsive to the crises of our times. Perhaps the breaking of older forms of civil religion opens the possibility of the type of transformed reappropriation of our traditions called for by both Bellah and Coleman. And, once again, perhaps recent changes in American Catholicism, symbolized above all by the quite startling appearance of the peace pastoral, are indicative of one major source for that transformation and reappropriation.

To be sure, American Catholicism has not escaped the general crisis of American culture.[7] Indeed the dominant agenda or strategy of the American Catholic community since the great immigrations of the last century tended to support the increasing privitization of American religion. The history is not unambiguous. The immigrant church's maintenance of strong doctrinal and ethical traditions (above all through the development of the Catholic school system) did indeed contribute indirectly but substantially to the American civil religion. At times, too, when specific issues directly involved large Catholic interests, as in the labor struggles during the earlier decades of this century, Catholic presence and influence contributed to the national ideal of a fundamentally just economic order. Yet the rigid, almost ghetto-like character of the immigrant church and its predominant concern with gaining access and acceptance in American life led overall to an essentially sectarian style of Christian life characterized by carefully compartmentalized religious experiences and ethical norms generally compatible with the increasing secularization of public life.

Ironically, the ultimate success of the immigrant church's agenda, symbolized above all by the Kennedy presidency, only served to emphasize the broad compatibility of American Catholicism with the dominant forms of American culture and with the continuing erosion of the public, civil religion. In fact, during the mid-'60s and through the '70s, the successful entrance of American Catholics into the mainstream of American life merged with such initially liberalizing effects of the reforms of the second Vatican Council as the loosening of church structures and greater emphasis on freedom in matters of belief and ethics. The process of privitization within American Catholicism seemed all but assured. Today younger Catholics know little of their traditions and tend to view their religious life (insofar as they still profess such a life) as a matter of picking and choosing belief and practice simply according to personal need.

Yet once again, this is not the whole picture. For if the years since the Second Vatican Council have seen breakdown and drift in the once seemingly impregnable fortress of ghetto Catholicism, they have also seen the gradual emergence of a new agenda, an agenda which, I believe, represents the fuller significance of the renewal set in motion by the council and which has only

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[7] Ibid., pp. 155–83; David J. O'Brien, *The Renewal of American Catholicism* (New York: Paulist Press, 1972).

now, with the peace pastoral, come to center stage in the life of the American Catholic Church. The "event" of this pastoral letter (the three-year process of open debate which saw the transformation and, in broad terms, the politicization of so many members of the hierarchy) is not simply, as one journalist called it, "the most significant event in the American Catholic Church . . . since the Second Vatican Council." [8] It may well be "the most significant event in the American Catholic Church . . . since Lord Baltimore's contingent of Catholics disembarked on Maryland's shores in 1634." [9] Above all, however, it is (or could be) the full arrival of the impact of the council into the mainstream of American Catholicism in much the same way the 1968 conference of South American bishops in Medellin, Colombia, represented the radically transforming impact of the council on Central and South American Catholicism.

Some brief remarks about this "full significance of the Second Vatican Council" will help to clarify the new agenda of American Catholicism and its significance for the possible renewal of American civil religion. Perhaps the simplest way to suggest the character and dimensions of the turning point which the council represents for Roman Catholicism is by recourse to the idea of a paradigm shift which Thomas Kuhn used to describe the nature of major scientific revolutions. Vatican II represents such a paradigm shift — a comprehensive refocusing of the meaning of *church* which sheds new light on various aspects of the life of the church and has made possible a creative reappropriation of those aspects of church life alongside new developments. The general character of this paradigm shift has been described in various ways: as a move from church as a refuge from the world to church as a community with a distinctly world vocation, or, similarly, as a move from a basically vertical (or heaven-centered) orientation to a fundamentally horizontal (or kingdom-centered) orientation. Perhaps most illuminating is the suggestion of a "Copernican revolution" which has replaced the previously church-centered understanding of Christianity with a world-centered understanding, one which sees the church in the world to serve, in dialogue and cooperation with others, the realization of the kingdom.[10]

The new paradigm was given articulation above all in the Vatican Council's *Constitution on the Church in the Modern World*, arguably the most important document of the council and the document which the bishops quite clearly and explicitly credit as the primary modern source for their pastoral letter (#7). As Brian Hehir, principal staff author of the bishops' letter, notes, the constitution "took the whole social idea in ministry and brought it very close to the center of what the church is all about." [11] What is new here and in the whole series of social encyclicals and statements from John XXIII's *Peace on Earth* to John Paul II's recent *On Human Labor* (and in the various ministries and movements corresponding to such teachings) is not the fact of

[8] Jim Castelli, *The Bishops and the Bomb* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983), p. 180.

[9] Vincent Yzermans, "Op Ed Page," *New York Times*, 14 Nov. 1981.

[10] Richard McBrien, *Do We Need the Church?* (New York: Harper and Row, 1969).

[11] Castelli, *Bishops and the Bomb*, p. 20.

social teaching or of concern for peace and justice, but their location. What is new is the understanding that such concern is not simply one consequence of the gospel, but very much at the heart of the gospel — not one among many ministries of the church, but the central task and mission of the church. As the bishops stress in the conclusion of their letter, the task of peacemaking is not simply the avoidance of overt conflict but the continual building of world order in anticipation and partial realization of the kingdom. It "is not an optional commitment. It is a requirement of our faith" (#333).

It perhaps does not need to be stressed that this assertion of a worldly vocation is not a return to the feudal ideal of Christendom or to more recent efforts in Europe and South America to capitalize on Catholic majorities through the establishment of ruling Christian Democratic parties. Vatican II explicitly embraced the American ideal of a separation of church and state; and it is clear that John Paul II, in his recent efforts to move church personnel out of direct political involvement, is concerned to maintain that separation. Rather the assertion of a worldly vocation is made in a context where Catholicism recognizes that it (and Christianity as a whole) will remain a minority, but a minority called to struggle with others, in terms set by the particularities of a given nation or region, for the justice and peace of the kingdom.

This is clearly how the American bishops understand their role and the purpose of their pastoral letter. They see themselves as moral teachers who speak with two different kinds of authority and with two differing yet compatible languages (those of faith and moral reason) to two different yet overlapping audiences (the American Catholic community and the wider political community of the nation). They call the Catholic community, not to become another special interest group, but to become above all a community of conscience which will engage the conscience of the nation in the struggle for peace and justice. They issue this call in the name of both specifically religious and more broadly moral principles. These principles, in part or in whole, are (or at least could be) recognized and affirmed in the wider political community. In other words, they are (or at least could be) part of a renewal of the nation's civil religion.

Of course the suggestion that the American Catholic community could contribute, from its own renewed sense of vision and practice, to the possible recovery of American civil religion is in no way a claim that Catholicism has some special or privileged contribution to make to that recovery. There are, to be sure, particular strengths in the Catholic tradition which might prove important in the present context — its international contacts and sympathies, for instance, and its traditional refusal to separate faith and reason along with its almost naive faith in the idea of objective principles and truths, or, as Robert Bellah has recently urged, its hierarchical or "church" (as distinct from sect) structures which, however much in need of reform, nonetheless at times (as in the present instance of the pastoral letter) provide a powerful resource for resistance to pervasive privitization.[12] Interestingly enough, it seems that Prot-

[12] Robert Bellah, "Religion and Power in America Today," *Commonweal* 109 (3 Dec. 1982): 650–55.

estant scholars, because of their own struggle with the undertow of this pervasive environment, have taken the lead in urging Catholics to be mindful of the importance of such aspects of their heritage. Yet the civil religion will not be renewed from any one source. Its roots in this country are deeply Protestant, but its renewal today depends upon contributions from many sources. At best, a renewed American Catholicism might make a significant contribution to that broader renewal and thus to the urgent task of moving the nation in the direction of disarmament and peace.

Yet even the hope for such a contribution may be illusory. The claim that the pastoral letter represents a new agenda for American Catholicism, however accurate, provides no assurance that that agenda will be taken seriously, even by many of the bishops themselves and by the large numbers of increasingly "liberated" Catholics for whom religion has become at best a comforting therapy. The shift of paradigm and agenda has been suggested in theology and theory. It is yet a long way from realization in practice.

The bishops' call for the development of a "community of conscience" focused on "a consistent ethic of life" needs to find its response in the development within Catholicism and elsewhere of specific strategies and structures to embody such renewal. What is needed is a specifically North American counterpart, for instance, to the Basic Christian Community movement which has, at least in part, revolutionized Latin American Catholicism.[13] The character of such strategies and structures seems anything but clear, even while it seems quite clear that strong elements both in and out of American Catholicism will mightily resist such developments. The dream of a renewed Catholicism contributing to a renewed American civil religion in the quest for global peace and justice may prove a fantasy. With their letter, however, the bishops have at least opened the door to its realization. The spirit, like the wind, it is said, blows where it will (John 3:8). How people and nations respond is yet another matter.

[13] This is the thesis of Coleman's *An American Strategic Theology.*

The Ethics of Deterrence

Paul Bock

"May a nation threaten what it may never do? May it possess what it may never use?"

These questions, raised in the Catholic bishops' pastoral letter, state concisely the ethical dilemma with which Christians in various lands have struggled ever since the development of nuclear weapons. This paper will examine some German and Dutch Protestant documents that deal with the issue and then analyze the American Catholic bishops' pastoral letter. Some correlations will be made between these documents from the two sides of the Atlantic and from different confessions.

In the Evangelical Church in Germany there was an intense debate in the late '50s and '60s regarding the placing of nuclear weapons on German soil. The argument nearly tore the churches apart. In that battle the lines were drawn, to a large extent, between leaders in the Confessing Church or Barthian tradition who opposed the possession of nuclear weapons, and other church leaders who drew upon Luther's Two Kingdom theory and supported the maintenance of these weapons.

Karl Barth, a twentieth-century Swiss Reformed or Calvinist theologian, was instrumental in articulating the faith of the Protestants who opposed Hitler (i.e., the people who came to be known as the Confessing Church). Calvinists traditionally have made more direct applications of Christianity to politics than Lutherans have. Luther's Two Kingdom theory — that the Kingdom of God and the kingdoms of the world coexist, but separately — applied Christianity more directly to personal ethics than to social ethics, and allowed a certain degree of autonomy to the state.

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The Confessing Church leaders, arguing from the belief in the lordship of Christ over all of life, insisted that the possession of nuclear weapons was totally incompatible with the Christian faith; to possess such instruments of destruction was a violation of God's creation. They did not argue as pacifists. They acknowledged the right of the state to have military and police forces. However, they argued that atomic weapons do not enable the state to assure justice and peace but only bring about the destruction of people within the land being protected as well as in other lands.

An eloquent exponent of the pro-nuclear weapons side was Helmut Thielecke. He argued that in a fallen world one cannot follow utopian schemes. Who knows if unilateral disarmament will prevent war? It may actually increase its likelihood. The Christian faith does not provide precise answers to political problems.

Near the end of that controversial period a document appeared which did provide a meeting ground and which has exerted a strong influence on religious peace statements in Germany ever since. Known as the "Heidelberg Theses," it was prepared in 1959 by the Atomic Commission of the Evangelical Research Center in Heidelberg.[1] Led by the noted atomic physicist Carl Friedrich von Weizacker, the commission drew upon a principle known in physics as complementarity to state that there is a place within Christianity for participants in the army as well as for conscientious objectors, for those who want multilateral disarmament as well as for those who want unilateral disarmament. According to the commission, the positions are complementary: one group is seeking to prevent capitulation to violence, the other is seeking to prevent capitulation to a dictatorial power. They share one aim: to prevent nuclear war and to establish conditions for peace. The meaning of complementarity was further clarified in Thesis 11:

> In an extremely dubious way, nuclear weapons do still keep a realm open within which people such as objectors to arms can enjoy civic freedom and live out their convictions without being punished for it. And the latter, as we believe, help in a hidden way to keep a spiritual realm open within which new decisions may become possible; who knows how quickly the defence of freedom, which is always threatened by lies, might not turn into naked cynicism without them.

While affirming that a nuclear war could not possibly fulfill the conditions of a just war, the commision stated in Thesis 8 that "the church must recognize that participation in the effort to secure peace in freedom through the possession of atomic weapons is at present a still viable Christian mode of procedure." It acknowledged the great risks in this approach, the need to avoid using the weapons, and the need to view their possession as a temporary measure. It thought in terms of a grace period during which steps should be taken toward establishing peaceful multilateral disarmament. Thus, in the future,

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[1] These theses appear in print in English on page 76–87 of the booklet, "The Preservation, Promotion and Renewal of Peace," available from the Kirchenkanzlei der EKD, Herrenhauser Strasse 2A, D-3000 Hannover 21, West Germany. They appear in print in German in Erwin Wilkens, *Christliche Ethik und Sicherheitspolitik* (Frankfurt: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1982), pp. 237–47.

possessing nuclear weapons would not necessarily be viewed as an option for Christians, but for the time being, deterrence is justified.

In Holland, the synod of the Dutch Reformed Church issued a significant statement on atomic weapons in 1962.[2] While it asserted that Christians would not be able to answer to their consciences if they participated in a nuclear war, even if they did so on state command, the statement was ambiguous about the possession of nuclear weapons. It viewed their abolishment as impossible and placed hope in the possibility of overcoming the atmosphere of mistrust in the ministry of reconciliation, in the strengthening of the international order, and in a change of human mentality. Implicit here was also a kind of grace period. A definite stand on possessing these weapons was postponed in the hope that world conditions may improve.

In the late '60s and early '70s, the issue of disarmament was not in the center of attention, but in the late '70s and early '80s it came again to the fore. This time the churches in Holland took a more radical stand than before. For them the grace period was over. World conditions had gotten worse instead of better. Efforts to disarm had not stopped the proliferation of weapons. Furthermore, weapons were becoming more precise and more dangerous. There was talk of a limited nuclear war and first-strike weapons. The Dutch churches arrived at a new position. They called for a nuclear-free world, beginning in Holland. They viewed not only use of atomic weapons but also their possession as evil. In 1980, the Dutch Reformed Synod issued this statement:

> Religious freedom and freedom of speech are among the essential achievements of our society, for which we are thankful. We have no illusions about political systems from which we wish to remain free and which we fear. But as believers we can say: we can live with our Lord no matter what the political system may be. In no case does the defence of our freedoms justify basing our security on the possible destruction of everything dear to us and to our opponents and on an assault on the creation.[3]

At the same time, the debate raged again in Germany. A variety of peace groups, influenced by Dutch Christians and by their own leaders, argued that the grace period was over and that the time had come when nations should live without nuclear weapons. The peace groups received support from veterans of the early battle of the '50s, among them Professor Helmut Gollwitzer. His statement "Die Christen und die Atomwaffen," originally published in 1957, was reissued in 1981 with a postscript added.[4] In the postscript Gollwitzer stated that what he had written earlier had even greater validity in the 1980s than it had in the 1950s and added, "More and more Christians recognize that they must either believe as Christians or gain security through such threats of destruction, but not both at the same time." He claimed that service for peace with weapons was no longer as valid as service without weapons, that the

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[2] Laurens Hogebrink, "Hope against Hope in the Nuclear Age," *The Ecumenical Review* 33 (July 1981): 250.

[3] Ibid., p. 251.

[4] Helmut Gollwitzer, *Die Christen und die Atomwaffen* (Junchen: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1981), p. 52.

grace period had not been used constructively and had run out. German churches, he urged, must follow the example of the Dutch church which affirmed that it was time "to get rid of atomic weapons in the world, beginning with us, here and now."

As the influence of Dutch thinking was felt in Germany and as the arguments of Gollwitzer and others expressed in the '50s were being reasserted in the late '70s and early '80s, there was, of course, a strong reaction against them. One of the manifestations of this reaction was the emergence in 1980 of a new organization called Securing the Peace. It put great stress on the obligation to preserve the values of democracy by maintaining a strength equal to that of the Eastern bloc and affirmed that peace can be assured only with adequate security. Reacting against the organization, Live without Armaments, this group suggested that a call to abolish arms might encourage war rather than deter it. Weakening one side encourages the other side to engage in aggressive behavior. The commandment "thou shalt not kill" implies a duty to protect life, and one of the functions of the state is to protect human lives from enemies in and out of a country. Its statement recognizes that the basic problems of the world will not be settled by military actions but by creative political action. It maintains, however, that, in the meantime, a balance of military power, including nuclear power, is necessary to assure security.[5]

In November 1981 the Evangelical Church in Germany issued a study paper on "The Preservation, Promotion, and Renewal of Peace." [6] It did not take a definite stand on the nuclear arms issue, but it did recognize the need for groups within the church to listen to each other even if they disagree on the question of armaments, to work together in political action, and to lay the social and political foundations for peace in prayer and study. For some people it was a disappointment; for others it was all that could be expected of an official church body. A major church calling itself, a "Volkskirche" in a country crucial to NATO finds it more difficult to take a far-out stand than a church in a small country less crucial to the NATO defense. Furthermore, the groundwork for a radical statement had not been laid in Germany to the degree that it had been in Holland.

The study paper notes that the Heidelberg Theses of 1959 view the possibility of Christian support for possession of atomic arms as only tentative, insisting that during the grace period steps must be taken to reduce the necessity for nuclear weapons. It points to the growing number of Christians in Germany who believe that the grace period has run out and that the arguments for possession of atomic arms are no longer valid. It acknowledges that many people are looking to the church to take such a stand. It suggests that the church needs to express penitence for not having done enough to create conditions for peace during the past two decades and points to the urgent need for more effective political action. It recognizes that many people oppose the NATO decision of 1979 and expresses understanding for those who take this view. It also

[5] "The Preservation, Promotion and Renewal of Peace," pp. 40–41.

[6] Ibid.

points out the ambiguity of the situation which prevents a clear-cut stand by the church. "Neither atomic armaments nor the abstention from atomic armaments assure peace. Both options are filled with great risks that are difficult to weigh against each other." In the past two decades no significant progress has been made toward a peaceful world order that can operate without a balance of terror. "Thus," says the paper, "even today, 22 years after the Heidelberg Theses, the church must recognize that the participation in the effort to secure peace in freedom through the possession of atomic weapons is at present a still viable Christian mode of procedure" (p. 58).

The paper sees no way to resolve the debate over military strategy which divides Christians. Instead, it calls for intensive efforts to use political means for creating a world situation in which meaningful negotiations are possible, also suggesting that the idea of taking calculated one-sided steps toward disarmament deserves careful consideration.

The Evangelical Church in Germany is made up of Lutheran, Reformed, and United (Lutheran and Reformed) bodies, the smallest being the Federation of Reformed Churches. In 1981 the Reformed group took a position quite different from that of the rest of the Evangelical Church in Germany. It declared that the possession of nuclear weapons is incompatible with the Christian faith.

Is the grace period over? Has the time passed when a Christian can work for peace while endorsing the possession of nuclear weapons? For the official Dutch Reformed Church, for the pacifist-oriented unofficial peace groups in Germany, and for the Federation of Reformed Churches the answer is yes. For the official Evangelical Church in Germany and for the conservative unofficial peace groups in Germany the answer is no.

The agonizing debate will continue. Christians in Europe will continue to struggle with the crucial question: "How much longer can a Christian affirm that a nuclear war cannot be a just war, and at the same time rely for his or her security upon the possession of weapons of mass destruction?

The same question has been confronted in the United States, and in the past few years very directly by the American Catholic bishops. Debates similar to those in Europe took place in preparation of the pastoral letter "The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and our Response." [7]

Prior to the preparation of the letter, the basic question about the ethics of deterrence was raised in the pastoral letter "To Live in Jesus Christ," issued by the bishops in 1976. It said, "As possessors of a vast nuclear arsenal, we must also be aware that not only is it wrong to attack civilian populations, but it is also wrong to threaten to attack them as part of a strategy of deterrence." [8] Reference was made to this letter by Cardinal John Krol in his significant testi-

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[7] One of the places where the pastoral letter can be found is in "The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response," *Catholics and Nuclear War*, Philip Murnion, ed. (New York: Crossroad, 1983), pp. 245–338.

[8] Thomas Shannon, *What Are They Saying About Peace and War?* (New York: Paulist Press, 1983), p. 37.

mony on the SALT II Treaty given before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1976. The cardinal said,

> The moral judgement of this statement is that not only the *use* of nuclear weapons but also the *declared intent* to use them in our deterrence policy is wrong. This explains the Catholic dissatisfaction with nuclear deterrence and the urgency of the Catholic demand that the nuclear arms race be reversed. It is of the utmost importance that negotiations proceed to meaningful and continued reduction in nuclear stockpiles, and eventually to the phasing out altogether of nuclear deterrence and the threat of mutually assured destruction.
>
> As long as there is hope of this occurring, Catholic moral teaching is willing, while negotiations proceed, to tolerate the possession of nuclear weapons for deterrence as the lesser of two evils. If that hope were to disappear, the moral attitude of the Catholic Church would almost certainly have to shift to one of uncompromising condemnation of both use and possession of such weapons.[9]

Here, as in the European documents, there is the suggestion of a grace period. If certain steps are taken, deterrence can be tolerated as the lesser of two evils. But there is also a threat. If such steps are not taken, the church may change its position and oppose both the use and the possession of atomic weapons.

The 1976 statement and the Krol testimony contributed much to the thinking of the bishops on the ad hoc committee which worked on the recent pastoral letter. One of the issues debated was how much of Krol's testimony should be used in the pastoral letter. Whereas all of the drafts included some of his testimony, the second draft included much more of it, including the "lesser of the two evils" statement and the explicit threat that the Catholic Church would have to shift its position if the above-mentioned conditions were not met. These two statements did not appear in the final draft.

One can understand why the explicit threat may have been dropped from the final draft. The implications of declaring that in the future the church may oppose the possession of nuclear weapons are great in regard to discipline and pastoral care within the Catholic Church. They were spelled out by John Deedy, a Catholic writer:

> What if the hierarchy as a body condemned nuclear weapons as immoral? Would young Catholic men and women then be morally free to serve in the Armed Forces? And what of Catholics already in the service, a number placed by one source as 40% of those in uniform? Would they be expected by the bishops to lay down their arms, or fight only with conventional weapons? What of Catholic officers who fly bombers or work on nuclear submarines? Would they be expected to resign their commissions and quit the service?
>
> The questions are not irrelevant, for the responses affect everyone — the national family, and friend and foe around the world.[10]

Nevertheless, there is an implicit threat in the final document. Stating that deterrence is tolerable only if certain conditions are met implies that there may come a time when it may no longer be viewed as tolerable. The pastoral letter states:

> In preparing this letter we have tried, through a number of sources, to determine as precisely as possible the factual character of U.S. deterrence strategy. Two ques-

[9] Ibid., pp. 41–42.

[10] John Deedy, "Crosiers into Plowshares," *Theology Today*, July 1982, p. 172.

tions have particularly concerned us: 1) the targeting doctrine and strategic plans for the use of the deterrent, particularly their impact on civilian casualties; and 2) the relationship of deterrence strategy and nuclear war-fighting capability to the likelihood that war will in fact be prevented.[11]

Reflecting upon the questions, the bishops arrived at a strictly conditioned moral acceptance of nuclear deterrence but declared, "We cannot consider it adequate as a long-term basis for peace."

The bishops developed criteria for judging deterrence and on this basis made these specific evaluations:

1. If nuclear deterrence exists only to prevent the *use* of nuclear weapons by others, then proposals to go beyond this to planning for prolonged periods of repeated nuclear strikes and counter-strikes, or "prevailing" in nuclear war, are not acceptable. They encourage notions that nuclear war can be engaged in with tolerable human and moral consequences. Rather, we must continually say NO to the idea of nuclear war.

2. If nuclear deterrence is our goal, "sufficiency" to deter is an adequate strategy; the quest for nuclear superiority must be rejected.

3. Nuclear deterrence should be used as a step on the way toward progressive disarmament. Each proposed addition to our strategic system or change in strategic doctrine must be assessed precisely in light of whether it will render steps toward "progressive disarmament" more or less likely.[12]

The document exhibits a sense of urgency and makes reference to something like a grace period. "There is an urgent moral and political responsibility to use the 'peace of a sort' we have as a framework to move toward authentic peace through nuclear arms control reductions and disarmament." [13]

In further applications of the criteria, the document makes a number of specific recommendations as to what can and cannot be supported.

In developing the idea of a strictly conditional moral acceptance of nuclear deterrence, the bishops were very much influenced by statements of the second Vatican Council and of the Pope. Vatican statements are quite clear in denouncing the bombing of cities and in calling for multilateral disarmament. They are, however, less precise on the question of possessing nuclear weapons for deterrence. For instance, Vatican II stated, "Whatever one may think of this form of deterrent, people are convinced that the arms race, which quite a few countries have entered, is no infallible way of maintaining real peace among nations." [14]

It was not easy for the bishops to follow papal teaching because of a difference in emphasis in some of the papel addresses. In a speech at Coventry Cathedral in Great Britain on 30 May 1982, Pope John Paul II said, "Today, the scale and horror of modern warfare — whether nuclear or not — makes it totally unacceptable as a means of settling differences between nations. War

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[11] "The Challenge of Peace," no. 177.

[12] Ibid., no. 188.

[13] Ibid., no. 189.

[14] "The Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World," no. 81, Walter M. Abbott, *The Documents of Vatican II* (New York: The America Press, 1966), p. 295.

should belong to the tragic past, to history; it should find no place in humanity's agenda for the future." [15]

However, in his message to the United Nations Second Special Session on Disarmament, there is a different emphasis: "In current conditions, 'deterrence' based on balance, certainly not an end in itself but as a step on the way toward a more progressive disarmament, may still be judged morally acceptable. Nonetheless, in order to ensure peace, it is indispensable not to be satisfied with this minimum which is always susceptible to the real danger of explosion." [16]

It appears that the United Nations address was more influential on the bishops' pastoral letter, especially on the final draft. The letter spells out the conditions under which deterrence could be morally acceptable as well as those under which it would not be acceptable.

Looking now at the documents on both sides of the Atlantic, we can make some correlations.

1. All of them contain the concept of a grace period. It is presumably difficult to tell whether deterrence retards or hastens war, but it is viewed as an option for a period of time. But that time has to be used for lessening of international tensions.

The idea of a grace period was used by the Europeans long before it was used by the American Catholic bishops. It was voiced already in the late '50s and early '60s; and some people, especially in Holland, are saying that the grace period is over. The conditions for tolerating deterrence have not been fulfilled. The time has run out.

2. All documents demonstrate an awareness of the ambiguity of the situation. Deterrence provides a balance of power, a mutual threat, a kind of stability. Yet it is a potential source of nuclear war. The Christian faith provides a perspective but it does not determine when the dangers of deterrence outweigh the potential benefits. This calls for careful calculation — and even then there is uncertainty. On the one hand, most documents recognize the right of nations to defend themselves. On the other hand, they recognize that certain defensive policies can be destructive for the defenders as well as for their opponents. A German document expresses it clearly: "Neither atomic armaments nor the abstention from atomic armaments assure peace. Both options are filled with great risks that are difficult to weigh against each other." [17]

3. In the discussions, multilateralists debate with unilateralists. The American Catholic bishops see dangers of destabilization in any truly unilateral proposal for disarmament. Their intention is to reinforce the nuclear threshold in the deterrence theory and practice in language that cannot be coopted by

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[15] John Paul II, Homily at Coventry Cathedral, 30 May 1982, in *Origins* 12 (1982): 55.

[16] John Paul II, "Message at U.N. Special Session 1982," no. 3 quoted in "The Challenge of Peace," no. 173.

[17] "The Preservation, Promotion and Renewal of Peace," p. 58.

either the advocates of unilateral disarmament or the partisans of a "limited" nuclear war. The official German document exhibits the same caution.

Unilateralism is strongest in Holland. One might argue that a small country can take such a stand more readily than a large and strategically important country such as West Germany, which is on the front line of the Iron Curtain and at the heart of the NATO defense, and certainly more readily than a country like the United States, one of the two superpowers. Were a major church body in the United States to take a unilateral position, it would be a matter of great consequence. Yet the Catholic bishops' letter does not rule out that possibility in the future.

4. Establishing a grace period for improvement in the international situation demands the setting of criteria regarding expectations during that period. These criteria are more clearly stated in the Catholic bishops' letter than in the European documents. The bishops' letter labels as unacceptable policies which increase the likelihood of use of atomic weapons, seek nuclear superiority, retard disarmament, or intend actions in violation of the just war theory (e.g., the bombing of civilian population). The European documents call for steps toward disarmament and for relaxation of international tension.

5. Yet on both sides of the Atlantic, churches face the problem of stating clearly the conditions under which they will no longer support deterrence or will consider the grace period as ended. In Europe the grace period has lasted over thirty years. To the Dutch, it is over. To the Germans — at least officially — this is not self-evident. Yet their criteria are quite similar. One wonders now if the American Catholic bishops, even with their clearer set of criteria, will be able to determine when the grace period is over, when support of deterrence must be withheld. It is highly unlikely that all of the criteria will be fulfilled in the coming years.

Can one assume that the failure to fulfill the criteria will lead the Catholic bishops to take a different stance, or will the Americans, like the Germans, be unable to change their stance when it comes to a show-down? Will they again have to say, "We need stability before we can denounce the possession of weapons"? These are very real questions. One can see why the explicit threat of the Krol testimony was withdrawn from the final form of the pastoral letter. But did this take the teeth out of the document? Some think that it did.

The ambiguity of ethical reflection is clearly revealed in the deterrence dilemma. There is, though, no escape from wrestling with it.

The Magnitude of the Nuclear Arms Race

Kent E. Robson

From primitive rocks and clubs to the present nuclear arsenals, the history of warfare is characterized by the dramatic increase in the number of civilians killed in each war and by scale changes in our ability to do harm to each other. All of the explosives used in World War I amount to an estimated 1 million tons.[1] Those explosives killed 8 million people with a substantially increased percentage of civilian deaths over previous wars. In World War II, 3 million tons of explosives were used with 50 million people killed. But in World War II, *four times* as many civilians were killed as soldiers.

We now have 18,000 million tons of explosive capacity in the arsenals of the world — 6,000 times all of the explosive capability of World War II.[2]

The World Health Organization has provided a baseline estimate of what would happen if 5,000 megatons, less than one-third of the total megatonnage in the world, were exploded: 1.1 billion people would be killed outright and another 1.1 would eventually die of burns.[3] In addition, recent studies into the "nuclear winter" effect indicate that temperatures would drop to below −10 degrees F., that all crops and animals would die of radioactivity and starvation, and that the radioactive clouds of dust and smoke and debris would spread to the southern hemisphere as well.[4] Such a 5,000-megaton nuclear exchange has the capability of virtually destroying humankind. Computer-simulated meteo-

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[1] Lester G. Paldy, NSF/AAAS Chautauqua short course on "Science, Technology and Arms Control," Salt Lake City, Utah, 11–12 Nov. 1982.

[2] James Geier, "A Map of Megatons," 348 North Street, Burlington, Vermont, 05401. See also Ruth Leger Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures 1983* (Arlington, Va.: World Priorities, 1983), p. 18.

[3] Carl Sagan, "The Nuclear Winter," *Parade Magazine*, 30 Oct. 1983.

[4] Ibid.

rological models indicate that even a 100-megaton exchange would generate cold and dark almost as severe as the 5000-megaton case. Even 100 megatons is thirty-three times the explosives used in World War II. Soviet scientists agree on these effects of a major nuclear exchange between the United States and the Soviet Union.[5]

If we look at strategic warheads instead of total amounts of megatonnage, the situation is equally discouraging. According to the Center for Defense Information, in September 1983 the United States possessed 10,173 strategic nuclear warheads, the Soviet Union, 7,742. On each side these warheads are deployed on land, sea, and air:

USA 10,173 warheads		USSR 7,742 warheads	
Sea	50%	Land	73%
Land	22%	Sea	22%
Air	28%	Air	5%

Sea missiles are on submarines, land missiles are intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) in hardened silos, and air missiles are deployed on bombers. Clearly the USSR, with 73 percent of its missiles in known locations, is much more susceptible to a first-strike attack than is the United States. Over half of the US missile force is on submarines which are currently invulnerable to detection, a situation estimated as likely to prevail for at least twenty years. As a result, the Soviets never know where these missiles are and could not hit them in a first strike.

It is also apparent that the Soviet Union has a very small bomber force. Because they are kept on the ground, they also are vulnerable to a preemptive first-strike attack. In contrast the United States' B-52 bombers are kept on ready alert with a substantial percentage in the air at all times. Many people complain that the American bomber force is obsolete; however, the B-52s currently flying are G and H models that have been upgraded with latest radar guidance and even stealth technology.[6] The American chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, when asked if he would be willing to trade Soviet submarines for our submarines, answered "No!" Would he trade Soviet bombers for American bombers? "Absolutely not!" Would he trade the Soviet ICBM force for ours? Again "No!" [7]

The bomb dropped on Hiroshima weighed approximately five tons and yielded 15,000 tons of explosive capability. Weapons have since increased in efficiency approximately 150 times so that the current per-weapon yield is substantially higher and the warheads are so small that one of them could be carried in a suitcase.

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[5] Richard P. Turco, Owen B. Toon, Thomas P. Ackerman, James B. Pollack, and Carl Sagan, "The Climatic Effects of Nuclear War," *Scientific American* 251 (Aug. 1984): 33–43.

[6] "Stealth technology" involves the use of both special materials and radar confusion devices which has the result of making an airplane "invisible" to radar detection.

[7] Paldy, "Science, Technology and Arms Control"; and Richard Arvin, USU Convocations, 10 Feb. 1983.

The total number of warheads — strategic (between continents), theater (such as Europe), and tactical (battlefield) — in the arsenals of the world today amount to over 50,000 warheads — 96 percent in the United States and USSR. There are currently five nuclear powers in the world: the United States, United Kingdom, France, USSR, and China. Fifty-four countries, however, have nuclear reactors, each of which produces 500 pounds of weapons-grade plutonium per year which has the potential of making 7,000 bombs a year.[8]

Current United States plans call for deploying 17,000 new nuclear warheads in the next decade, while retiring 6,000.[9] This means that in ten years the USA would have over 21,000 strategic warheads. There are now fifteen major weapons planned or currently under deployment. They include the Pershing II missile, the ground-launched cruise missile (GLCM), the air-launched missile (ALCM), the submarine-launched cruise missile (SLCM), the MX missile, the Trident submarines, the neutron bomb, the B-1 bomber, and the stealth bomber along with new warheads and guidance systems for some of our current missiles. To support these new weapon systems, the defense budget during the past fiscal year, including amounts carried over from other fiscal years amounted to 274.1 billion dollars or over $1,200 for every man, woman, and child in the United States. The MX alone costs approximately $400 per family in the United States.

These statistics document an awesome potential in two countries to destroy all human life, a truly sobering possibility. There is strong tendency to believe that the issue is so big and complex that only scientists or government officials with access to secret briefing papers could truly understand the dimensions of the nuclear arms race. This is false! Perhaps no information in the world is as widely and frequently leaked as data on the nuclear arms race. Publications, spy satellites, and other monitoring devices provide a constant flow of updated information.

Here is a simple exercise. Obtain a copy of *Soviet Military Power* from the Department of Defense.[10] This slick publication gives a current breakdown of the entire Soviet military establishment with photographs, charts, and color diagrams. Also order the Soviet *Whence the Threat to Peace*, 2nd edition.[11] This exact counterpart of *Soviet Military Power*, also has colored photographs, slick reproductions, charts, and tables. A neutral, independent source is the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, supported by the Swedish government, which annually publishes a *SIPRI Yearbook*, chronicling the nuclear arms race around the world. A shortened version of the *SIPRI*

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[8] Ruth Leger Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures 1982* (Arlington, Va.: World Priorities, 1983), p. 10.

[9] *The Defense Monitor*, 12, no. 7 (1983), p. 5. This can be obtained from the Center for Defense Information, 303 Capitol Gallery West, 600 Maryland Avenue SW, Washington, DC 20024.

[10] 3rd ed. April 1984. Obtain from Superintendent of Documents, US Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, cost $4.

[11] Military Publishing House, Moscow 1982. Obtain from the Russian Embassy, 1125 16th Street NW, Washington, DC 20036, no cost.

Yearbook is *The Arms Race and Arms Control.*[12] Another excellent publication is *World Military and Social Expenditures 1983* by Ruth Leger Sivard.[13] *Scientific American* has also printed a series of extremely interesting and informative articles on the nuclear arms race.[14] I especially recommend the November 1982 issue for its table of weapons, ranges, weapon yields, delivery systems, and warheads. Making such a survey should have two effects: you will realize that the basic data is well-known and well-understood and you will be able to ascertain the basic correctness of the assessment. Next time someone tells you that "only the experts understand this issue," you should take exception.

In the early 1960s, the United States estimated that 400 warheads would be entirely adequate to kill over 100 million Soviet citizens and destroy at least 70 per cent of the industrial capacity of the Soviet Union. We now have over twenty-four times that number of warheads. For years we have been working on the concept of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD). This concept is that if the Soviets hit us, we could counter with such a devastating blow that there would be no advantage to their initial attack. The MIRVing of our warheads, that is, putting multiple independently targeted reentry vehicles on each missile, means that we would be able to hit Russian silos with several warheads, possibly destroying their force in place before it could be fired. The Soviets lag only about five years behind us in installing the same technology, and the level of threat is thus increased to a higher plane.

The most recent hope for a totally safe defense is the so-called "star wars" effort. The April 1984 report entitled, "Space Based Missile Defense" published by members of a study panel for the Union of Concerned Scientists, indicates that this approach is also a security chimera.[15] Missiles would need to be intercepted during the "boost phase" when they are emitting a brilliant flame and before their multiple warheads are released. Intercept weapons of the highest velocity would be necessary. Candidates are "directed energy weapons" such as laser beams or particle beams. The lasers can be divided into three types: chemical lasers that emit infrared light, excimer lasers that emit ultra-violet light, and a laser pumped by a nuclear explosion that emits X-rays. Unfortunately the X-rays cannot penetrate the atmosphere and are not considered a viable ballistics missile defense weapon. Particle-beam weapons are also not feasible in the foreseeable future. Thousands of chemical laser battle

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[12] Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, SIPRI, 1982, obtainable in the US from Oelgeschlager, Gunn & Hain, Inc., 1278 Mass. Ave., Harvard Square, Cambridge, Mass. 02138, cost $8.95.

[13] Obtainable from World Priorities, Box 25140, Washington, DC 20007, cost $4.

[14] Examples include "The Verification of a Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban" by Lynn R. Sykes and Jack F. Evernden, Oct. 1982; "A Bilateral Nuclear-Weapon Freeze" by Randall Forsberg, Nov. 1982; "Bilateral Negotiations and the Arms Race" by Herbert F. York, Oct. 1983; "The Uncertainties of a Preemptive Nuclear Attack" by Matthew Bun and Kosta Tsipis, Nov. 1983; "Launch Under Attack" by John Steinbruner, Jan. 1984; " 'No First Use' of Nuclear Weapons" by K. Gottfried, H. W. Kendall and J. M. Lee, March 1984; "The Climatic Effects of Nuclear War," by Turco et al., Aug. 1984.

[15] The Union of Concerned Scientists, 1384 Mass. Ave., Cambridge, MA 02238.

stations in low orbits would be required to give adequate coverage to the Soviet silo fields. Excimer lasers on the ground would have to be reflected by thousands of orbiting mirrors that would require power plants costing in the billions of dollars.[16]

All of these technologies seem relatively easy to circumvent presently. One technique would be to use cruise missiles which never leave the atmosphere or submarines. Other "depressed trajectory" missiles could be developed in a new technological phase of the arms race escalation. In addition, ICBMs could be fitted with more powerful engines so that the boosters would burn out quickly inside the atmosphere and the amount of time available to intercept them would be diminished. Cheap decoys could be thrown into orbit from fake silos to overwhelm boost phase interceptors. The mirrors or space stations necessary to mount such a ballistics missile defense are extremely vulnerable to anti-satellite weapons. In addition, numerous other countermeasures make a "star wars" defense virtually unattainable. The costs of attempting to mount such a defense, just for the research and development portion would have eight components, according to Dr. Richard Delauer, Under Secretary of Defense for Research and Engineering, "every single one . . . equivalent to or greater than the Manhattan project." [17]

In short, there is and can be no security in technological escalation and the continuing build-up of nuclear weapons. Eighty per cent of all technological innovations have been initiated by the United States and most have been replicated on Soviet weapons within five to ten years.

Under the International Conventions of warfare — the Hague Convention of 1907 and the Geneva Conventions of 1929 and 1949 — there can be no aggressive war, there must be proportionality in warfare, and warfare should distinguish between combatants and noncombatants, that is, between soldiers and civilians. Even World War II demonstrated that distinguishing between combatants and noncombatants was an impossibility. MAD strategy aims at destroying cities, civilians, and nonmilitary targets. According to the International Conventions of Warfare, such a strategy is therefore morally and humanly deplorable. The "nuclear winter" phenomenon suggests that no strategy will produce anything but losers in nuclear war.

The argument is made that our nuclear build-up is a credible deterrent to war. What does or will deter aggressiveness on one side? Will one weapon deter the Soviets? Will a massive buildup of weapons? What are the intentions of those who possess these weapons? How can these intentions be estimated? The logic of deterrence might be tested by the observation that Finland has had a policy of neutrality with their next-door neighbors, the Soviets, since World War II. Finland has no nuclear retaliatory capability, but Finland's policy has been to deter aggression by good relations and negotiations with the

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[16] See "Reagan's Star Wars," and excerpt from the Union of Concerned Scientists report entitled "Space-based Missile Defense" in *The New York Review of Books*, 26 April 1984.

[17] Ibid.

Soviets. It is hard to claim that the *only* reason that we have not had nuclear war is because of our massive nuclear weapons.

Another argument is that only the free world is threatened for we are peace-loving peoples and the Soviets are aggressors. A visit to the Soviet Union, however, easily uncovers intense fear on the part of the Soviet people of our threatening rhetoric, our aggressive strategic weapons build-up, and our massive expenditures. After visiting the Soviet Union many times in the previous twenty-five years, I now sense a fear more intense than ever. Over and over, the Soviets remind us that we are the only nation on earth to have used nuclear weapons on people. Their present feeling is that our president wants and intends nuclear warfare. As a result, the people are fearful, the government is angry, and USA-USSR relations are extremely poor.

What can be done to defuse this threatening situation? The only options in my view, for both strategic and moral reasons, are agreements to reduce the threat while gaining a better estimation of the Soviets so that our own estimate of their intentions will be more accurate and responsible. Gary Browning's "The Russian Chimera," *Sunstone* 7 (Nov.–Dec. 1982): 18–24, makes a notable and detailed contribution.

A careful review of the Arms Control Agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union over many years reveals that the Soviet record of keeping the provisions is as good as our own. Those who argue that we cannot trust the Soviets and must insist on verifiability are generally not aware of the sophistication of spy satellites and other monitoring devices. They are also generally not aware that the Soviets during the Carter Administration agreed to black-box monitors on Soviet soil as well as on-site inspectors at weapon testing sites. And they are almost never aware the United States decided it would be too dangerous to allow Russian on-site inspectors into the country and scuttled the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Negotiations that were mandated to go forward by the Limited Test Ban Treaty previously signed.

It seems mandatory to me that we pursue this Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. Neither side likes to deploy weapons that have not been tested and, over time, even deployed weapons are less reliable without such tests. In addition, "star wars" negotiations need to go forward immediately. Such projects appear to violate existing treaties between the US and USSR, they are extremely expensive, and they provide no reliable hope for increased security. Negotiations to reduce the levels of every kind of nuclear weapons need to be pursued vigorously. Now they are not being pursued at all! Threatening new deployments on both sides only aggravate the political situation. A mutually verifiable bilateral freeze on further testing could also prevent tests that could lead to depressed trajectory weapons which could circumvent any "star wars" defense after all — now the likely next level of technological escalation. Like the MIRVs of the past, they also destabilize extremely quickly.

These strategies and weapons by their very nature violate the international conventions of warfare. They are therefore inherently illegal and immoral in their anticipated use.

The Enduring Paradox: Mormon Attitudes Toward War and Peace

Pierre Blais

In recent years the subject of war and peace has taken renewed significance for American Latter-day Saints. The announcement by the First Presidency against the basing of the MX missile system in Utah came as a surprise to many and made us aware of how seriously they consider the present arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union.[1] Several Latter-day Saint authors have addressed the issue of war and peace in recent months. Steven Hildreth traced the history of official Church pronouncements on war and peace and offered the conclusion that the Church has consistently condemned militarism and war while advocating the use of patient restraint and negotiation as the viable approach to conflict resolution.[2] In a similar vein, Eugene England described what he calls the LDS theology of peace from the point of view of the scriptures and statements by leading Church authorities.[3] Gary Browning, a Russian specialist, wrote of the images held respectively by Americans and Russians and of the danger of letting these images replace reality in our mutual dealings.[4] The backlash from his article in subsequent Letters to the Editor demonstrated how accurate and misunderstood was his thesis.[5] Edwin B. Firmage, a respected jurist, gave a useful history of the devel-

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[1] "First Presidency Statement on Basing of the MX Missile," The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: 5 May 1981), *Ensign* 11 (June 1981): 76.

[2] Steven A. Hildreth, "The First Presidency Statement on MX in Perspective," *BYU Studies* 22 (Spring 1982): 215–25.

[3] Eugene England, "Can Nations Love Their Enemies? — An LDS Theology of Peace," *Sunstone* (Nov./Dec. 1982): 49–56.

[4] Gary L. Browning, "The Nuclear Knot in Diplomatic Ties," *BYU Today*, May 1983, 3–6.

[5] Letters to the editor, *BYU Today*, Aug. p. 4, and Oct. 1983, p. 5.

opment of law in the settlement of international disputes and warned against justifying aggression on the basis of divine appointment. Thus by accurately depicting the historical context of holy and just wars, he effectively destroyed any spiritual rationale we might entertain for waging recent wars.[6] In an unsettling paper, Ronald W. Walker reported the debates and pronouncements by leading LDS apostles and prophets surrounding every major conflict since the early days of the Church, revealing an unsteady attitude toward war and even a retreat into apathy in modern times toward the issue of individual conscience vs. social duty.[7] Stephen L. Tanner illustrated how war as a metaphor permeates our theology and, if improperly understood, may generate martial attitudes.[8] President Marion G. Romney reminds us in a recent article entitled "The Price of Peace" that peace in the world can only be attained after everyone has gained "spiritual peace"; until then every effort is doomed to failure and is not worth pursuing.[9] The editors of a popular Mormon magazine published in their June/July 1984 issue an article entitled "LDS in the Military: Blessed are the Peacemakers," which described the role of the military in such terms as "peacemakers," "warriors for peace," and "gospel missionaries," perhaps reflecting a prevalently positive attitude toward the military in the LDS community.[10]

While recent writings on Mormons in war and peace reveal a wide range of opinion, Mormon attitudes have been largely neglected except for mention by Browning and Tanner. Although the following essay is largely impressionistic, it is the fruit of over twelve years of membership in the Church. A good part of this time was spent reflecting upon the role of the Church in a war-torn world. My concern for peace arose out of my own combat experience in Vietnam where scenes of atrocity committed by American comrades indelibly imprinted themselves on my mind. Since then I have come to realize that these men were only partially culpable. War creates its own crude logic and makes such deeds permissible. I am convinced that the Vietnam war is a reflection, though an exaggerated one, of patterns discernible in other wars fought by the United States.

For some time I have felt that some of the most cherished ideas held by Latter-day Saints on the subject of war and peace are misleading and even dangerous. While none of these ideas are, nor should be, taught as gospel principles, they are sufficiently close corollaries to be confused with such principles. While there is a stated LDS theology of peace, it is overshadowed by the pre-

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[6] Edwin B. Firmage, "Allegiance and Stewardship: Holy War, Just War, and the Mormon Tradition in the Nuclear Age, DIALOGUE 16 (Spring 1983): 47–61.

[7] Ronald W. Walker, "Sheaves, Bucklers, and the State: Mormon Leaders Respond to the Dilemmas of War," *Sunstone* 7 (July/Aug. 1982): 43–56.

[8] Stephen L. Tanner, "We Are All Enlisted: War as a Metaphor," *Sunstone* 7 (July/Aug. 1982): 27–31.

[9] Marion G. Romney, "The Price of Peace," *Ensign* 13 (Oct. 1983): 3–7.

[10] Jo Ann Jolley, "LDS in the Military: Blessed are the Peacemakers," *This People*, 5 (June/July 1984): 66–73.

vailing American Latter-day Saint nonchalance toward peace combined with positive concepts of war which are firmly embedded as attitudes.

Latter-day Saint conservatism has identified Mormonism for at least a generation with Republicanism. Probably a majority hold conservative views on defense and foreign policy matters. Although I am aware of no survey data, my impressions are that Latter-day Saints tend to give overwhelming priority to ideological explanations in international relations, omitting the more revealing domestic and socio-economic context of many brutal regimes with which the United States finds itself aligned.

The result of this lack of awareness on domestic and foreign affairs, compounded with the general malleableness of the Mormon community in its response to authority is a set of dangerous attitudes. They are reflected in an enthusiastic support of almost every government dictate that does not adversely affect Mormons. This mind-set can be easily manipulated by unscrupulous politicians who invoke such principles as self-reliance, a strong military, America's divine appointment as protector of the free world, the protection of individual freedoms and democratic institutions, the intrinsic goodness of America, and the wickedness of the enemy.

Many Latter-day Saints, in giving consent to those principles, also assent to the whole conservative package on foreign policy. This package includes a strong reluctance to participate in summit talks with the Soviet Union, a general willingness to ascribe every wrongdoing around the globe to Soviet intentions (thus extending almost every conflict into an East-West confrontation), covert action for the overthrow of Nicaragua's government, the Vietnamization of El Salvador, arms sales to the world, intrusions into the Middle East for economic reasons, indifference to human rights, and the additional deployment of nuclear weapons to Western Europe. In addition, these same unscrupulous politicians may foster the insidious idea that a nuclear war can be containable, survivable, or even winnable, consequently increasing its likelihood. Through its support of conservative causes, the LDS community readily embraces this set of warlike attitudes. An important contributing factor to this peculiarly Mormon mind-set is allegiance to authority. Most Latter-day Saints view authority with a certain awe and tend to regard it as divinely approved, an attitude which fosters uncritical obedience. To many LDS indeed "obedience is the first law of heaven." Neither dissent nor discussion are encouraged in the LDS community. Conservative politicians have found to their advantage that uncritical obedience to spiritual authority transfers smoothly to temporal authority. Such obedience, of course, seriously erodes the democratic spirit and makes it possible for an authority figure to declare war without fear of encountering much resistance from the LDS community. The lessons of the 1960s and early '70s, whereby the credibility and the authority of presidents and high government officials were seriously undermined, seem to have been completely lost on most Latter-day Saints.

As a further reinforcement, many Mormons believe that obedient servants will not be held accountable for the mistakes of their leaders. Unfortunately, it is precisely this attitude which has made it possible for a Holocaust or a

My Lai to take place. When taken to absurd extremes, this belief makes it a sin to disobey, and history provides the instructive example of young Helmut Huebner, to show the working out of this thesis. His posthumous reinstatement into the Church is only vaguely reassuring. In group dynamics, psychiatrist Scott Peck asserts, most individuals regress to the level of children. One aspect of this regression is the phenomenon of dependency upon the leader. When the capacity of self-judgment is given up in highly authoritarian structures the potential for group evil is much greater.[11] Atrocities committed at Jonestown, My Lai, and Mountain Meadows were, in the final analysis, the result of individuals failing to make for themselves the correct moral choices.

The general disassociation of Church members from invalid government policies such as the war in Vietnam, our government's support for the *contras* and for mining the harbors of Nicaragua is disquieting. It is difficult to see in this attitude anything but abject complacency and selfishness, the kind displayed by Germany's middle classes during the interwar years. This is an attitude which borders on complicity. Unswerving obedience can only be fostered by reassurances that individuals will not be held accountable for their leaders' mistakes. It enables one to "pass the buck" all the way up the chain of command. Leaders are often unaware of what goes on several echelons below them; and by the time they discover such abuses as My Lai, it is often too late. Should leaders bear full responsibility for these abuses? By altogether refusing to confront the issue of individual accountability and individual conscience in times of war, Mormons evidence a kind of facile thinking which thrives on simplistic solutions to very difficult moral problems.

Patriotism, a noble love of one's homeland, can easily be perverted into uncritical support of government leaders, stereotyping of "the enemy," and justification of war. Patriotic appeals are traditionally made by demagogues, as well as legitimate politicians, to rally support for their policies. It is not unusual to see politicians on both sides of an issue denounce each other for being "unpatriotic."

Martial tradition holds the sacrifice of one's self for one's country as the highest patriotic duty. Unfortunately, this has been extended to include acts of aggression as well as self-defense. Thus, in the Vietnam war Americans were called to defeat nationalist insurgents 10,000 miles from United States shores in the name of patriotism. A valid and on-going debate is the degree to which patriotism is compatible with a gospel that transcends national and cultural boundaries.

Belief in the intrinsic goodness of America pervades LDS thinking. This common belief, which is to be distinguished from a belief in America's prophetic destiny, a principle supported by LDS scriptures, endows every major foreign policy deed committed by America with a special aura of goodness in the eyes of many Latter-day Saints. It literally enables America to get away with murder. Apostle Mark E. Petersen once affirmed to a military audience that America's flag is God's flag and wrote a version of American history show-

[11] M. Scott Peck, *People of the Lie* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983), pp. 220ff.

ing that the hand of God had directed the major governmental and cultural decisions.[12] Through such writings, the author appears to be trying to instill in Latter-day Saints respect and love of country, together with a sense of participation in a grand apotheosis. Unfortunately, these writings also whitewash the dispossession of the Indians, the slave trade, the numerous wars conducted by the United States against Mexico, Central American, and Caribbean nations for the building of empire, the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and most recently the war in Vietnam, a country no larger than the state of California in which was dropped as much as three times the entire bomb tonnage delivered in all of World War II. After Hiroshima, J. Reuben Clark uttered the following words:

> Then as the crowning savagery of war, we Americans wiped out hundreds of thousands of civilian population with the atom bomb in Japan, few if any of the ordinary civilians being any more responsible for the war than were we and perhaps most of them no more aiding Japan in the war than we were aiding America. Military men are now saying that the Atom Bomb was a mistake. It was more than that: it was a world tragedy. Thus we have lost all that we gained during the years from Grotius (1625) to 1912. And the worst of this Atomic Bomb tragedy is not that not only did the people of the United States not rise up in protest against this savagery, not only did it not shock us to read of this wholesale destruction of men, women, and children, and cripples, but that it actually drew from the nation at large a general approval of this fiendish butchery.[13]

The belief in a special mission led by America must be understood in its proper context. It must not become a cloak for past and future crimes. The words of Isaiah may apply equally well to America today as they did to Israel's enemies when he wrote them:

> Woe, O destroyer never destroyed,
> O traitor never betrayed!
> When you finish destroying, you will be destroyed;
> When wearied with betraying, you will be betrayed.
> (New American Bible, Isa. 33:1).

Closely associated with jingoistic patriotism is the view held by many Mormons that the conflict between the United States and Russia is an eschatological struggle between the forces of good and evil. Many LDS authors and even some Church authorities have propagated this Protestant fundamentalist idea in some form or another.[14] There have been witch hunts at Brigham Young

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[12] Mark E. Petersen, "The Church in America," LDS Church Military Committee pamphlet (1970), p. 8; available from the LDS Church Distribution Center, order no. FA-279; *The Great Prologue* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1975), pp. 5–6.

[13] J. Reuben Clark, *Conference Report*, 5 Oct. 1946, p. 89. For a discussion of Clark's view of America's mission, see *J. Reuben Clark, Jr., Diplomat and Statesman*, Ray C. Hillam, ed. (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1973), pp. 207–10.

[14] Bruce R. McConkie, for example, calls communism "one of the major divisions of the church of the devil." *Mormon Doctrine*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966), pp. 151–52. Another writer calls America "the Lord's Base of Operations" in the war against sin and communism. Jerreld L. Newquist, *Prophets, Principles and National Survival* (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1964), pp. 61–63. Although to my knowledge no one writer has stated that military force should be used against communism, the groundwork has been

University, for example, where students and staff alike were subjected to harassment and forced resignations for discussing Marxism as an academic subject.[15]

While I do not intend to defend Marxism as an economic system, it is important to understand the attraction felt by many developing nations toward Marxist ideology. Marxism-Leninism views conflicts between developed and underdeveloped nations as the internationalization of the class struggle. In their pursuit of raw materials and overseas markets, the capitalist nations of the world acquired colonies and built empires. Colonization permitted the exploitation of native labor and raw materials, often under brutal conditions. The outcome was the impoverishment and the dependency of the colonies on their conquerors. Starting with the American Revolution, then spreading to South and Central America, to the Philippines at the end of the nineteenth century and to the rest of Asia and Africa in the twentieth century, wars of decolonization shook much of the world. Nationalism, not communism, has been the major agent for change in our times. In the process of ridding themselves of imperialistic rule, several developing nations have adopted a Marxist orientation in their government because Marxism-Leninism offered a theoretical framework as well as a process for struggles of national liberation against the exploitation of their former colonizers. This has been the case with Mao Tse Tung, Fidel Castro, and Ho Chi Minh, for example.

Capitalism has been far from beneficial for much of the Third World. George III was benevolent compared to Diem, Marcos, Somoza, and the juntas of Guatemala and El Salvador. Revolutions against such oppressors usually received no assistance from the United States who, to "protect its interests," has frequently fomented counterrevolutions, coups, assassination plots, and even wars to install and protect regimes more closely allied to itself.[16] In many cases,

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sufficiently established to support leaders who advocate the use of force and who, like President Reagan, seem to believe the fundamentalist notion that an Armageddon between the U.S. and the forces of evil, the Soviet Union, is inevitable. See the thought-provoking essay "Does Reagan Expect a Nuclear Armageddon?" in the Outlook section of the *Washington Post*, Sunday, 8 April 1984, pp. C1, C4.

[15] Robert Gottlieb and Peter Wiley, *America's Saints: The Rise of Mormon Power* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1984), pp. 232–33. My personal recollections include public and private discussions on the Wilkinson spy ring with BYU faculty, such as professors Lee Farnsworth and Ray Hillam, Dept. of Government, and Annette Horiuchi, Dept. of Asian and Slavic Languages, 1978.

[16] There is evidence of CIA involvement, for example, in the overthrow of Mossaddeq's government in Iran, 1954; the plot to assassinate Lumumba in Congo, 1960. "Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders — An Interim Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with respect to Intelligence Activities," the United States Senate, Report No. 94–465 Washington, D.C.: U.S. Printing Office, 1975 pp. 19ff; eight plots to assassinate Castro in Cuba, 1960–65 (ibid., 71ff); Rafael Trujillo, the Dominican Republic, 1961 (ibid., 191ff); the overthrow of president Ngo Dinh Diem, South Vietnam, 1963 (ibid., 217ff); the assassination of General Schneider in Chile, 1970 (ibid., 270ff); and the overthrow of President Arbenz, Guatemala (Walter Lafeber, *Inevitable Revolutions: the United States in Central America* [New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1983], p. 9. Lafeber also documents the following U.S. wars of intervention in Central America: Guatemala (111–126); Honduras (9, 42–46, 261–65); Nicaragua (11, 16, 46–49, 65–69); Panama (32); Costa Rica (57–58, 100–102); El Salvador (173–74, 205). The history of the Vietnam war is documented in Stanley Karnow, *Vietnam: A History* (New York: The Viking

this meant supporting right-wing military dictatorships. In its zeal for victory over communism, the United States thus often achieved the very thing it sought to prevent — totalitarianism.

Many Americans still continue to view the world as bipolar, divided between spheres of interest carved out by Russia and the United States. This Cold War legacy inhibits us from objectively assessing the context of many recent wars, from Vietnam to El Salvador. Unless we seek to understand each of these conflicts on a case-by-case basis, our ideological fervor could lead us into yet further tragedies.

The strong tradition of anti-intellectualism in American thought is compounded by Mormon tradition. The American Revolution, although it was mainly the work of intellectuals, has been interpreted as a grass roots movement. Because of the democratic ideal of equality, Americans have traditionally been suspicious of elites and have been reluctant to admit that theirs is a highly stratified society. A strong emphasis on self-reliance, ingenuity, and free enterprise encouraged bypassing the traditional ladders to success in older societies— a good family background and a good education. The self-containedness of the LDS world view discourages interest in things outside the purview of Mormonism, thus stimulating provincialism and chauvinism among members. Many members perceive a certain disapproval by other members and Church leaders of sources of knowledge other than those officially approved by the Church. This perception results in a self-imposed censorship of essential sources of information on world affairs, such as books on current events, serious publications, participation in conferences, symposia, films, and the like. There exists in members a fear of criticism by peers or by Church authorities which is accompanied by the need to explain any inquiry into sources other than Church approved in terms of gospel doctrine, as if it were a sin to keep informed for the mere sake of keeping informed.

Americans have, though not necessarily more than other imperialistic nations with the same opportunities, persistently attempted to export their values and institutions to foreign countries. Perhaps nowhere else has this been more evident than in our foreign policy. Free elections, free enterprise, dollar diplomacy, democracy, etc., have long been trumpeted as "the American Way," a sort of "mission civilisatrice." Some countries have created a semblance of democratic institutions, principally for United States domestic consumption. An example is the referendum, held by President Diem in South Vietnam in

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Press, 1983. See especially the report of the Tonkin Gulf incident which led to the now infamous resolution of the same name (366–373; also pp. 22, 344–45, 358, 360–63, 374–76, 491). For the account of one of the participants in the incident, see "I Saw Us Invent the Pretext for Our Vietnam War" by Admiral James Stockdale (USN-Ret.) in the *Washington Post*, Sunday, 7 Oct. 1984, p. D1. Other views on the beginnings of U.S. involvement in Vietnam by historians, statesmen, ex-CIA personnel, policymakers, journalists, military personnel, Vietnamese from both sides of the conflict, are documented in Harrison E. Salisbury, ed., *Vietnam Reconsidered, Lessons from a War* (New York: Harper & Row, 1984). On El Salvador, Raymond Bonner, a former correspondent for the New York *Times*, recently described the Reagan administration's cover-up of the conduct of U.S. policy in El Salvador in *Weakness and Deceit — U.S. Policy in El Salvador* (New York: Times Books, 1984).

1956, which was rigged with the help of Americans.[17] Another is the elections held in El Salvador in March 1982, which gave Major D'Aubuisson the majority in the Constituent Assembly. The country's notorious security forces had kept a close watch over the elections, spelling certain doom for those who either did not show up or voted "incorrectly." [18]

Neither capitalism nor free enterprise promise much in Third World countries whose populations barely survive above the starvation level and whose wealth is siphoned off by a minute percentage of the population. The feudalistic nations of Central America have a poor record of fostering free enterprise and private ownership. The recent land reform in El Salvador ended after right-wing death squads had killed thousands of peasants who had received land. Not that land reform or other such measures are not laudable. Unfortunately, dictators share neither wealth nor power.

While certain values or institutions do not export well, others should. I see universal principles in the American Declaration of Independence and in the Bill of Rights: justice, the right to overthrow tyranny, the right to self-determination, and the basic dignity of the human being. Argentines who survived the "dirty little war" in which perhaps as many as 30,000 of their compatriots disappeared or were killed, took heart during their darkest hour from U.S. condemnations of such deeds. However, when the chips were down and national interests were at stake, Carter compromised with the military dictators of Nicaragua and El Salvador in the late 1970s. Had he been consistent, Carter would have been forced to disavow dictators of America's own making, thus allowing revolutions to occur sooner. The Reagan administration's record on international human rights has not perceptibly risen above its almost immediate attempt to resume arms sales to the murderous dictatorships of Chile and Argentina.[19]

Revolution, a most American institution, has been one that Americans have been reluctant to export. Justly proud of having achieved independence, the United States has denied it to others, especially when it stood in the way of United States expansionism. Latter-day Saints generally understand the Monroe Doctrine as a benevolent enunciation protecting the Western Hemisphere from European interference. Central Americans, however, have seen the United States use it to establish a system of dependency in Central America which makes Washington the final arbiter of those nations' destinies. The implications of this system are profound. According to dependency theorists, this system has been responsible for misshaping those nations' history "until revolution appears to be the only instrument that can break the hammerlock held by the local oligarchy and foreign capitalists." [20]

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[17] Karnow, *Vietnam, A History*, p. 223.

[18] Lafeber, *Inevitable Revolutions*, pp. 286–87.

[19] Letter to the editor, *The Washington Post* (30 Dec. 1983): A-16. The author, Michael D. Barnes (D-Md.), is Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs.

[20] Lafeber, *Inevitable Revolutions*, p. 17.

As a State Department officer, J. Reuben Clark wrote the Clark Memorandum on the Monroe Doctrine, which sought to clarify the Monroe Doctrine's role in inter-American affairs, particularly in light of the doctrine's infamous applications, the Roosevelt and Wilson Corollaries. The memorandum denounced the Roosevelt Corollary but it also justified unilateral intervention in Latin America for the purpose of "self-preservation." [21] The interpretation of what constituted self-preservation was left solely to the United States. U.S. Ambassador to Panama Ambler Moss remarked in 1980 that "what we see in Central America today would not be much different if Fidel Castro and the Soviet Union did not exist." [22]

Cynics in and out of government who define power in terms of a nation's interests have decried the use of ethics in international relations. Perhaps we had better look again at some of the equitable pacts and treaties of the past which enhanced national prestige as well. The Congress of Vienna of 1815 permitted victor and vanquished alike an equal voice in their own destiny. The Marshall Plan enabled a broken Europe to rebuild. The peace treaty with Japan, following seven years of one of the most benign and enlightened administrations ever by conqueror over conquered, made it possible for two former deadly enemies to trust, respect, and cooperate with each other. Gandhi, through nonviolence, inspired a nation of 400 million to liberate itself from British rule. Ethics and values do have a place in international relations. If applied wisely, they may be the most potent factor for a successful and enduring relationship between the United States and the Third World. Rather than try to export traditional "home grown" institutions such as free elections, capitalism, and free media, our first priority should be to proclaim human dignity, compassion for the oppressed, and the right of peoples to be free from tyranny even if this means rebellion, as well as their right to self-determination. Such belated endorsement of universal aspirations by the United States would certainly improve its current image abroad and enhance national prestige.

Another evidence of "Americana" in Mormon culture is the prevalence of conspiracy theories. The Book of Mormon describes secret societies and pacts that led to the downfall of nations and prophesies their reappearance in the latter days. Some Mormon authors have undertaken to expose these modern-day counterparts of the Gadianton robbers.

One such writer and lecturer, Cleon Skousen, has become a kind of cultural hero of the ultra right by perpetuating suspicions held by his former boss, J. Edgar Hoover, on less than circumstantial evidence. By continuing the character assassination campaigns started by Hoover against Martin Luther King, for example, Skousen has fanned the flames of racial hatred. With his own brainchild, the Freemen Institute, Skousen attacked the Panama Canal Treaty,[23] one of the most remarkable achievements of the Carter presidency.

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[21] Ibid., p. 80; Hillam, ed., *J. Reuben Clark*, p. 223–24.

[22] Lafeber, *Inevitable Revolutions*, p. 5.

[23] *The Freeman Digest*, 5 (15 Aug. 1977), an issue consisting entirely of interviews and statements by Senators Orrin Hatch (R-Utah), Jesse Helms (R-North Carolina) and Strom Thurmond (R-South Carolina), all of whom opposed the Panama Canal Treaty.

It defused a volatile situation in the Canal Zone, which had a high probability of developing into another war in the area.

The damage done by Skousen is profound. Rather than educate the Mormon public, he has often done just the opposite. He has stirred up enmity, suspicion, and divisiveness among Latter-day Saints.[24] Hatred of an ideology can easily translate into hatred of those who espouse the ideology. Hatred can be the unifying agent of any mass movement. It often assumes the form of scapegoating. Such unreasonable hatreds are "an expression of a desperate effort to suppress our awareness of our own inadequacy, worthlessness, guilt and other shortcomings of the self. Self-hatred is . . . transmuted into hatred of others." [25] The theory that everything is the result of a plot is what the late historian Richard Hofstadter called "the paranoid style in American politics." Hofstadter aptly described the cost of this affliction: "We are all sufferers from history, but the paranoid is a double sufferer, since he is afflicted not only by the real world, but by his fantasies as well." [26]

Racist theories are intertwined with the charter myths of American history. The idea of America's prophetic destiny, such a charter myth, is found among the pilgrim fathers who saw themselves as latter-day Israelites promised a new Canaan. The myth empowered the pilgrims to break Indian treaties and seize Indian lands. Similar myths were at the basis of the slave trade, first with the Arabs, then with the Portuguese, and finally with the English.[27]

Racial charter myths played a significant role in our foreign relations. Many U.S. military ventures were directed at poorer nations whose people were racially different. For a variety of reasons and at times on numerous occasions, the United States invaded Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, the Philippines, Santo Domingo, and Vietnam. It subordinated Hawaii, Guam, and Okinawa. It dominated the economies of Honduras, El Salvador, Costa Rica, and Guatemala. An underlying characteristic of all these ventures has been the belief that Americans would bring the light of civilization and democratic institutions to these benighted peoples,[28] thus puzzling Americans when the almost invariable result has been a legacy of hatred and bitterness.

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[24] DIALOGUE 6 (Autumn-Winter 1971): 99–116 held an illuminating "roundtable review" on Skousen's work *The Naked Capitalist* (Salt Lake City: by author, 1970) in which professors Louis Midgley and Carroll Quigley detected several misinterpretations, false inferences, and pure inventions in Skousen's book, which was supposed to be a commentary on Quigley's own book *Tragedy and Hope* (New York: Macmillan, 1966). Illuminatingly, during Skousen's rebuttal, he insisted that he read Quigley better than Quigley read himself and compounded his earlier distortions with new ones. Midgley denounced Skousen for promoting cultist agitation and spreading divisiveness among the Saints (p. 108, 116).

[25] Eric Hoffer, *The True Believer — Thoughts on the Nature of Mass Movements* (New York: Harper & Row, 1951), p. 88.

[26] Richard Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965), p. 40.

[27] Ronald Sanders, *Lost Tribes and Promised Lands: The Origins of American Racism* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1978).

[28] During the height of the Philippines campaign, Senator Beveridge (R-Indiana) gave a speech before Congress on 9 Jan. 1900, in which he gave the myth its classic name, "The White Man's Burden." The speech was racist and imperialistic. Americans, as Anglo-Saxons,

Since the idea of a racial hierarchy is deeply rooted in Mormon belief, charter myths which justify the conquest and domination of other peoples are particularly seductive. Latter-day Saints have become imbued with the Protestant idea that wealth and prosperity somehow mirror spirituality.[29] Emphasis upon worldly success, as measured by the high prestige given the Marriotts, the attention spent on the MBA program at BYU, and the business background of many General Authorities,[30] for example, creates a Mormon mind-set in conflict with Christ's teachings on compassion for the poor and the oppressed. When American Church leaders come into contact with the poor and the oppressed of Latin America, this mind-set may foster apathy and help create alliances with oppressive power structures. Church leaders with a business background on assignment in Latin America might be unable to comprehend the misery and suffering brought about by structural and systemic inequities. Ex-banker Robert Wells, for example, during his term as area supervisor for the Church in South America, called the CIA-sponsored coup that toppled the democratically-elected government of Chile in 1973 an act that "served the purpose of the Lord," and called the dictator Augusto Pinochet "one of the great leaders of Latin America." [31] Rex Carlisle, assistant to the mission president, later declared that the Lord had played a part in the overthrow of Allende's government.[32]

When family members of guerilla leader Julio Cesar Macias, an inactive Mormon, were killed in Guatemala, their deaths were reportedly brought about by information supplied by high-ranking American Church officials.[33]

Journalists Gottlieb and Wiley assert that rubber industrialist J. F. O'Donnell, a key Church figure in Central America, was suspected by a number of Central American Mormons to have worked closely with the U.S. ambassador to help overthrow Jacobo Arbenz, president-elect of Guatemala, in 1954.[34] Guatemala is notorious for having one of the world's worst records on human rights since 1954. "In Central America," BYU history professor Lamond Tullis told Robert Gottlieb in a 1982 interview, "our church might be on the losing side of history." [35]

In conclusion, over the past several decades, Latter-day Saints have become increasingly aligned with jingoistic and self-serving conservative policies. Faced with possible cultural and social ostracism against keeping informed, most Latter-day Saints prefer giving their unquestioning assent to authority, spiritual

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are to be their brothers' keepers over the world. Asians are not capable of self-government, being of a different race than that of English-speaking peoples of Teutonic background.

[29] Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958).

[30] Gottlieb and Wiley, *America's Saints*, Ch. 4.

[31] Ibid., p. 145.

[32] Ibid., p. 146.

[33] Ibid., p. 148.

[34] Ibid., p. 149.

[35] Ibid., p. 151.

and temporal, despite its damage to the democratic spirit which demands an informed citizenry.

Although much of the rhetoric used by conservatives appears to reflect cherished Mormon beliefs, a Christian perspective asks how we can participate in Nicaragua's invasion, supply arms to often repressive regimes, and allow our prosperity to rest upon the military-industrial complex, an enterprise Spencer W. Kimball has denounced as reliance upon "the arm of flesh." [36]

Americans and Latter-day Saints have denied others the right to revolt against tyranny. For Mormons, the American revolution is seen as a unique and almost sacred event in history, which should not be interpreted as a pattern for others to follow, even when circumstances warrant it. On one hand, this belief prevents endorsing anarchy and terror; on the other it effectively shuts off the Mormon experience from that part of humanity who yearns to be free from institutionalized terror. The distortion of Mormon beliefs into attitudes supporting nationalism and the use of force are a form of self-deception and intellectual laziness. We must also be careful to avoid perverting the LDS concept of "chosenness" and a sense of participation in America's prophetic destiny into narcissism or pride. Narcissism and laziness, psychiatrist Scott Peck warns, may lead to evil, the evil of unwitting destruction of life and spirit.[37]

It is ironic that Mormons, an outcast and repressed group in the nineteenth century, have taken sides with their former oppressors, no longer sharing in the sufferings and the humiliation of the oppressed. Gottlieb and Wiley describe what they term "the Great Accommodation" the integration of the Mormon community into the larger, dominant American culture.[38] From my perspective as a former Canadian, American Mormons subsume under the LDS religion the religion of American nationalism with its pantheon of saints (the founding fathers), its demons (communists), and its priesthood (government of the United States, presidency, and the Republican Party). This would remain a rather quaint and innocuous attitude if Latter-day Saints did not attempt to sanctify deeds committed under an aggressive United States foreign policy. The question must be asked: Isn't the attempt to justify war in the name of the Prince of Peace slightly blasphemous? Should we not be peacemakers — forgiving, conciliatory and loving? I sense that the Jewish Diaspora, the persecution of early Christians, the Holocaust, the extinction of the Nephites, and the Missouri period in Mormon history all point to some important lessons: In spite of Mormons' "chosenness," we may not be spared a similar fate ourselves, unless we seek to humble ourselves and comprehend the suffering of others. In a modern rendition of the parable of the Good Samaratan, which role would Mormons now take?

This analysis of LDS attitudes on war and peace with specific references to American foreign policy does not discuss the real threat posed by the Soviet Union. The brutal repressions and aggressions conducted by the Soviets at

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[36] Spencer W. Kimball, "The False Gods We Worship," *Ensign* 6 (June 1976): 6.

[37] Peck, *People of the Lie*, Ch. 2.

[38] *American Saints*, p. 49.

home and abroad are amply documented. However, in its conflict with the Russians, America has aligned itself with brutal dictatorships, endorsing terrorism, torture, and genocide. The American CIA apes the Soviet KGB in its methods. The military-industrial complex in both countries wields enormous power. In many ways our two nations have become alike.

Let us hope that Latter-day Saints will recognize and abandon their bellicose ideas and attitudes. A clear Mormon voice for peace could benefit a troubled world.

Thoughts of a Modern Centurion

Uwe Drews

I was born and raised in Bremen, a city in northwest Germany, in a middle-class family. At age fifteen, I became interested in politics, joined a neo-orthodox communistic "cell group" at high school, and absorbed Marxist philosophy with a passion. Thousands of young Germans were experiencing the same passion in the late 1960s to create a new society dominated by peace and justice. In 1968, riots at the universities signaled a strong resistance to the establishment and an opposition party outside Parliament was founded by some radicals.

In 1970, I was in crisis. I discovered that the people I most wanted to help were not experiencing peace and justice but hate and despair. With despair of my own, I abandoned the idea of changing society by pressure and revolution. Instead, I began exploring ways of changing individual members of that society. Part of my search was a religious quest.

One day I encountered two missionaries of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints when they were tracting in my neighborhood. After three weeks of investigation and a tough internal struggle, I gained a testimony that God really existed and that the historical Jesus of Nazareth was not only a social reformer ahead of his time but the son of God. I became a member of the Church in 1972, the only member in my Protestant family to do so.

I attended the University of Bonn; and in 1975, I joined the armed forces of Germany as a volunteer where I am now an officer. My choice of a profession is unusual but not unique for a Latter-day Saint. About a hundred German members, including perhaps forty draftees, are currently serving in the armed forces. Among them are the branch presidents of Wuerzburg and Heide and high councilors from Hanover and Munich stakes. Still, it is not a popular

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UWE DREWS, a convert to the Church, holds master's degrees in adult education, theology, and psychotherapy from the University of the Federal Armed Forces and University of Hamburg. He is serving in the Federal armed forces of Germany as a company commander of a basic training company near the inner German border in Hessia and is an Institute teacher in the Kassel Branch.

choice and I have been forced to think deeply about my religious and civic commitments as peace movements in Europe have gained intensity and momentum.

Since the late 1970s and in the face of growing NATO concerns, the Soviets have built up a force of SS 20 intermediate-range missiles, each with three warheads, each ten times more powerful than the bomb that destroyed Hiroshima. Two-thirds of these are aimed at Western Europe. West German chancellor Helmut Schmidt voiced his worries in a landmark address in London in October 1977, pointing out that the alliance had no system comparable to the SS 20. He called for parity in such missiles because the two superpowers were agreeing in the SALT negotiations to parity at the strategic or intercontinental nuclear level. At the end of 1979, NATO adopted a "two-track" policy, negotiating with the Soviets to limit deployments of SS 20 missiles in Europe and simultaneously making plans for new NATO deployments of Pershing II and Cruise missiles, beginning December 1983.

Anti-nuclear groups in West Germany organized, reorganized, and intensified their activities. Millions of men, women, and children began participating in demonstrations and marches. September 1983 marked the beginning of Germany's *heisser Herbst*, hot autumn. Politicians and pundits anxiously predicted riot-caused deaths as a result of these massive protests.

No one died, fortunately, despite some spectacular brawls between demonstrators and the police. The first of the new generation of atomic weapons were stationed within the Federal Republic, frustrating the first main goal of the peace movement. Nevertheless, they have channeled their efforts into picketing and blockading U.S. bases, holding demonstration marches, sponsoring public lectures to inform Germany's citizens on the dangers of a nuclear war in Western Europe, and organizing boycotts against the numerous nuclear energy plants. This "hot autumn" was not a seasonal phenomenon.

This explosive public discussion about nuclear weapons, disarmament, and aims of the arising "peace movement" did not stop at the church doors, and German Latter-day Saints struggled to find their own positions on the issue. These efforts were both helped and handicapped by the lack of an official Church statement comparable to the pastoral letter for Catholics which spells out the moral and ethical implications of modern peace endeavors, produced by West Germany's Catholic bishops in April 1983.

The appearance of this letter suddenly sharpened the focus on religious aspects of the peace question. Members reported their confusion and even embarrassment when colleagues and neighbors asked them for their opinions "as a Mormon." Although many of them had personal opinions, they did not know what the "Mormon" opinion was. Several approached me, knowing I was serving in the army. Occasionally the topic came up in Sunday School classes, but in most cases, nobody answered. In one ward, the bishop and many members decided to join with several anti-nuclear groups for a peace demonstration. All the churches of the city had been invited to participate and the bishop felt that it would be appropriate to have the ward represented. He asked the stake president for clearance a month in advance. After three weeks

of hesitation, the stake president forbade participation, then only days before the meeting was to occur. I also heard reports that several ward and branch sacrament meetings heard talks on the subject but that the priesthood leaders firmly squelched any follow-up and rebuked those who had spoken, fearing that any topic with political potentiality would create dissension.

Nearly every week, a letter comes, asking for my opinion on the subject. Most of them say that they have talked to a bishop or stake president, but that these leaders have not been able to give them any information. The Church has no official position; no guidance in the handbook or article in an official magazine seems to point a direction. Only two articles on military services have been translated in German, both as part of the seminary program. "This is your choice," they say, or "The Church has no position." The implication clearly left in the members' minds is not that they are free to come to their own conclusions, but that any conclusion is somehow suspect because it is not approved by the Church. Lack of an official position does not open the door for a variety of personal positions but instead makes any position at all questionable.

The discussion was spurred by the active number of groups in the peace movement, all of them vigorous. A diversity of opinions arose among the German Mormons, and the local priesthood leaders tried to keep the meetings aloof from these discussions, sometimes in vain. The wide variety of opinions within the movement made this decision especially difficult.

To elucidate this it is necessary to explain the broad structure of the divergent groups of the peace movement.

Most of them can be associated with one of the three approaches: the leftists, the Christians, and those offering an alternative ideology.

Within the peace movement in general, communists loyal to Moscow comprise the largest and most active grouping, but the leftist banner also includes conscientious objectors as well as several other organizations. Led largely by active members of communistic parties, they moved quickly and received a lion's share of the early publicity, giving the total peace movement a reputation of being communist-led and/or -inspired.

The Christians may be characterized as the most enthusiastic pacifist faction within the peace movement, at least partly in an effort to counter this reputation. Their most important principles, such as non-violence and civil disobedience, have influenced both the other main camps. Among the Protestants, four initiative groups have been formed: *Christen fuer die Abruestung* (Christians for Disarmament), *Aktion "Ohne Ruestung Leben"* (The "Life Without Arms" effort), *Frieden schaffen ohne Waffen* ("Create Peace Without Weapons"), and *Sicherung des Friedens* (Securing the Peace).

Securing the Peace must be regarded as a counter-movement to Life Without Arms since it argues that peace must be secured by military means. Among its leaders are strategy-researcher and former general Wolf Graf von Baudissin (Count Baudissin) and political scientist Kurt Sontheimer, both very influential in Germany today.

Catholic Christians have organized themselves within "Pax Christi," the worldwide peace effort founded in France in 1944. They participate actively

in the peace movement with the dual demands of "Disarmament and Security." Also, the German Catholic youth organization BDKJ (*Bund deutscher katholischer Jugend*, Alliance of German Catholic Youth) makes repeated appeals to the public.

An interdenominational initiative, *Schritte zur Abruestung* (Steps toward Disarmament), composed mainly of peace scholars, journalists, and ministers, entered the discussion in significant numbers in May 1981, centering on the basic concepts of "Pax Christi."

The third column of the peace movement is comprised of the so-called *alternatives*. This diverse set of groups has become a significant force, unified mainly by its position of a morally superior consciousness from which they radically criticize technical progress, denounce modern patterns of consumption, and practice a counter life-style of, for example, living in the country and eating no processed foods. A unified subset is the "Greens," an ecologically oriented political party that has, since its organization in 1980, become the fourth largest party in the West German parliament after the Christian Democrats, Social Democrats, and Liberals. All these alternative groups strongly reject the use of nuclear energy and the construction of nuclear power plants and are committed to oppose with all nonviolent means the stationing of new nuclear weapons on German soil.

All three broad movements unite in questioning NATO's basic premise of deterrence and, failing that, a willingness to use nuclear weapons first to stop even conventional Soviet aggression. All urge a doctrinal shift away from nuclear weapons toward nonnuclear means of defense. Most members of these movements also demand nonviolent means of resolving conflict since they are conscientious objectors. The Federal Republic currently requires fifteen months of compulsory military service from all male citizens, although those who obtain conscientious-objector status may complete so-called *Ersatzdienst*, or alternate service, in the social sector — for example, in hospitals or homes for the elderly. Members of the peace movement call their *Ersatzdienst* "peace service" and denounce military service in the armed forces as "war service."

An open confession of fear of nuclear war characterizes the peace movement, coupled with an appeal to emotion which deliberately counters the "technocratic rationalism" of the military, security agencies, and government bureaucracies. Such tactics lead to typically spontaneous drives and activities, rather than long-range plans and careful preparation. Some of its own people worry, consequently, about burnout and boredom; but the peace movement has been politically active longer than its opponents had hoped and has achieved a significant place in the political spectrum. A survey in September 1983 showed that 65 percent of German citizens were opposed to the stationing of additional American missiles in their country,[1] a change of 25 percent since 1980. This figure would probably be about the same now.

Germany, the boundary between East and West, has been a divided nation since 12 September 1944, when representatives of the United States of Amer-

[1] *Das Parlament*, 31 March 1984, p. 2.

ica, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain agreed on the demarcation line between the future occupation zones of the Western powers and the USSR. That line today forms the 950-mile border between the German states, defying geographical, historical, and economical logic.

Thus, members of the Church in West Germany live with the daily reality of the Iron Curtain. Many have relatives in the German Democratic Republic. The experiences of Nazi fascism and World War II left still-deep scars. Many older members who survived these years are convinced that any kind of militarism is unrighteous. Some totally reject militarism in any form and try to influence the young men to become conscientious objectors — in their view, the only real choice for a Mormon Christian. When I joined the Army, five other young men in the ward were contemplating the same action. Local priesthood leaders were sufficiently influential that the other four changed their minds. One elders' quorum president refused to shake hands with me after he heard of my decision. Since that time, I have felt the reservation of some members even when I have served in a stake presidency or on a high council. I have heard criticism of the "rough, military atmosphere" I create — possibly a fair criticism!

I am sympathetic with these members who have had the experiences which led to such aggressive pacifism. I am not convinced, however, when they argue that since Germany began two world wars, we can never take up arms again although the United States is apparently free to. The situations are not, in my mind, so completely different.

Their aggressive pacifism is underscored by the destruction of explicit patriotism as a result of the way the Third Reich corrupted the German love of homeland. As a result of their Church membership, many German members feel a certain bond with the United States, but it does not necessary include harmony on political issues and is far from a universal sentiment in any case.

LDS peace proponents are still searching for a direction. There is no official Church position on this matter, and local priesthood leaders hesitate to take a stand. Vigorous debates on both sides can be supported from the scriptures. More contemporary counsel from General Authorities is unavailable because the majority of members lack sufficient knowledge of English to read statements on modern war and advice to servicemen.

An exception is the First Presidency statement on the basing of the MX missiles, 5 May 1981, particularly the second paragraph: "First, by way of general observation we repeat our warnings against the terrifying arms race in which the nations of the earth are presently engaged. We deplore in particular the building of vast arsenals of nuclear weaponry. We are advised that there is already enough such weaponry to destroy in large measure our civilization, with consequent suffering and misery of incalculable extent." This statement has circulated widely in unofficial translation, and many members apply it to the German situation without considering its suitability.

A majority of members avoid many of the questions by not being politically active. A few belong to the Social Democratic party, presumably as a result of

their antipathy towards the Catholic Church, which supplies most of the members of the Christian Democrats. Many young or intellectual Mormons are becoming increasingly sympathetic to the Greens, seeing in their party platform a genuine alternative to environmental pollution and other pressing ecological problems. However, most draw back at the Greens's ideological affinity to socialism. Among the older members, the CDU certainly demands the most respect, although the Liberals also list a small number of Latter-day Saints among their ranks. Most Mormons in Germany try to define peace in terms of the gospel, without reference to political structure. Many believe that the present situation cannot be changed and accept unavoidable war as a sign of the last days. Engaging in open opposition on the nuclear question is most frequently criticized as inappropriate and even baffling behavior.

Although official Church meetings avoid such discussions, they still take place (especially on the question of rearmament) privately. It is probably the single most-discussed topic at gatherings of Latter-day Saint college students. Yet no "Mormon" position seems to be developing — in part at least because of the lack of a medium of their own where this subject can be discussed.

Because of my profession, I have wrestled with many of these questions, perhaps more urgently than some. The first question, "Can a Christian be a soldier?" is deceptively simple. The soldier's work is frequently mentioned, both in the Old and the New Testament, with no hint that it is in itself either dishonorable or unlawful. Soldiers as a group are not, for instance, denounced as are the money changers of the temple (John 2:16). When soldiers came to John the Baptist for advice, he said, "Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely; and be content with your wages" (Luke 3:14). He did not suggest they should leave the army; in fact he implied that they should continue to draw their wages as soldiers, but without complaint. It is also remarkable that the four centurions mentioned in the New Testament are all commended in one way or another (Luke 7:9; 23:47; Acts 10:2; 27:43). The centurion at Capernaum is praised for his faith; and the centurion Cornelius was honored to the extent that in his home the first gentile community was founded. There is no suggestion that these two men of faith were to give up their army careers.

Of course, the scriptures can provide precedents without providing detailed answers to specific modern questions. They do not speak specifically of nuclear weapons, which, since 1945, have changed the nature of warfare to make any war in any nation the possible means of ending human life on the globe, even threatening the existence of our planet, or, even on a lesser scale, triggering major and irreversible ecological and genetic changes. The nuclear threat may begin as a political or technological question, but it transcends religious, cultural, and national boundaries. No answer can be satisfactory which fails to consider its moral and religious dimensions.

The nuclear age began almost four decades ago, but the safe and stable system of deterrence in past years is now viewed with moral and political skepticism. A prominent member of the peace movement in Germany, Carl Friedrich von Weizsaecker, compared our situation with that of a mountaineer who suddenly wishes to be in the valley. His wish does not change his situation.

What he has to do is climb down very carefully, a process requiring a great deal of time and patience.

Keeping the peace in our age is a moral and political imperative. But peace is not just the absence of war, nor can it be achieved solely by maintaining a balance of power between enemies. For religious people, peace implies a relationship with God which entails forgiveness and reconciliation. Peace must be constructed on a basis of basic human values like truth, justice, freedom, and love.

One may claim that war has settled some things, many of great importance. It was by war that Lot was saved from the Babylonians. War gave the land of Canaan to the Israelites, and war took it away from them. War established the Roman Empire, giving a century or more of peace as complete as the West has ever seen. War prevented the Saracens from completely dominating Europe. War achieved the American independence and definitely put an end to slavery.

On the other hand, many deeply sincere individuals, keenly aware of the evils of the world, believe strongly that they are best defending peace by refusing to bear arms. Others advocate "active nonviolence" to render ineffective any oppression attempted by force of arms. From the earliest days of the Christian church, some members have committed themselves to nonviolent lifestyles on the basis of their understanding that the gospel of Jesus prohibits all killing. This Christian vision is not passive about injustice and the rights of others. It rather affirms and exemplifies what it means to resist injustice by nonviolent means.

All these options are open to individuals. But a government threatened by armed aggression, whether just or unjust, *must* defend its people. It may not choose nonviolence as long as even a minority of its citizens require defense.

Today, the scale and horror of modern warfare make it totally unacceptable as a means of settling differences between nations. It becomes increasingly difficult to use any kind of armed force, however limited initially in intention and in destructive power, without facing the possibility of escalation to broader, or even total, war. We must, as a political reality as well as a moral imperative, search for methods by which both individuals and nations may defend themselves without using violence. We must refuse to legitimize the idea of nuclear war.

Deterrence is not an adequate long-term strategy. It is a transitional strategy, justifiable only in conjunction with resolute determination to pursue arms control and disarmament. The arms race is a dangerous act of aggression which does not provide the security it promises.

It has long been NATO policy that nuclear weapons, especially so-called tactical nuclear weapons, would likely be used if NATO forces in Europe seemed to be in danger of losing a conflict with conventional weapons. The United States still has the responsibility to protect allied nations from either a conventional or nuclear attack. Especially in Europe, deterrence of nuclear attack may require stationing nuclear weapons for a time, even though their possession and deployment must be subject to rigid restrictions. The need to

defend against a conventional attack in Europe imposes the political and moral burden of developing adequate, alternative modes of defense to the present reliance on nuclear weapons. NATO has to move rapidly toward a "no first use" policy but while simultaneously developing an adequate alternative defense posture.

Building peace within and among nations is the work of many individuals and institutions. We, as Christians and especially as Latter-day Saints, can give an example in our own lives by establishing that kind of peace which Berthold of Regensburg, a most famous preacher in the Middle Ages declared, is peace with God, peace with ourselves, and peace with our neighbors. For "God has not given us the spirit of fear; but of power, and of love, and of a sound mind" (2 Tim. 1:7).


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Making Sense of the Senseless: An Irish Education

Claudia W. Harris

NOVEMBER 1982:

I'm out of breath. This past month I've passed both my written and oral exams and presented my prospectus. Now nothing stands in the way of my trip to Ireland except earning the money. But why is what I'm doing so very difficult for others to understand? I'm simply interested in the relationship between theater and politics. Perhaps I confuse people because I define theater in the broadest possible terms, not just plays performed on the stage or even in the street but as also including those scenarios we write for ourselves and perform for others to create a particular dramatic effect. I define politics broadly, as well, and include any behavior with a decidedly political aim.

Which brings me to the Irish. Naturally dramatic and overwhelmingly political, they seem to invite a study of theater as politics and politics as theater. Is there really, as I suspect, a literary renaissance developing in Northern Ireland, much like the one in turn-of-the-century Dublin? And if there is, what does that say about art growing out of conflict? Are Irish artists still involved politically as they have been in the past? And what role does theater play in all this?

I hope going there helps me define the interrelationship of theater to politics in a useful way. I want to explore, among other things, the theatrical quality to the hunger strikes and the accompanying pageant-like funerals. Often the

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CLAUDIA W. HARRIS briefly pursued her interest in theater at BYU but, still a first-quarter freshman, was cast as a professor's wife, then promptly married her co-star, Chet, who has since, as the script seemed to dictate, become a professor. Leaving her first love, Mount Timpanogos, she has followed her husband to Idaho, Samoa, Minnesota, and now Georgia, picking up on the way, incidentally, three children and other valuable adventures. Where she caught the Irish passion she does not know, but it refuses to wane even though she's now in the throes of writing her dissertation on Northern Ireland. A Ph.D. candidate in the Graduate Institute of Liberal Arts, Emory University, she is also a writing consultant for government agencies. Honesty dictates that she admit the letters used in this essay were edited, but to cure long-windedness not to change content.

subject of dramatic literature, the hunger strike has also been a frequent political means. It is an ancient practice used by the Irish to shame their enemies. When Terrance MacSwiney, the Lord Mayor of Cork, died in Brixton Prison in 1920 after seventy-five days of fasting, Yeats rewrote the end of his 1904 play *The King's Threshold* so that the fasting poet dies on that threshold. Is this a case of life imitating art, then art imitating life?

JULY 1983:

I'm in the hospital. Here I've survived everything this year, even my son's wedding, and I couldn't walk out of the Federal Building without breaking my ankle. I'm scheduled to leave for Ireland in less than five weeks; all my plans seemed to crumble before my eyes. But I hopped over to the car, drove myself to the emergency room, and waited for the verdict. The doctor told me I'd still be hurting in two months which is, I suppose, ambiguous enough for me to go ahead.

AUGUST 1983:

The Aer Lingus tickets have arrived. What surprises me is that even after anticipating this trip to Ireland for several years and planning it seriously for the past year I am not now overjoyed at the prospect. But then I have never been totally on my own for longer than a week in my entire life. In some ways, I feel bereft. Just imagining being gone from everyone I know for four months makes me quake. I also feel somewhat desperate. I must in a relatively short time gather information from diverse individuals whose existence seems quite removed from my own. Since I am often fearful of new experiences and have no way of knowing how I will respond to this particular situation, my hesitation is no doubt understandable, though curious. I have told almost anyone who would listen about going. Was it a hedge against faintheartedness? Was I simply trying to make it impossible not to go?

I'm not sleeping. It's not the pain from my ankle. I have finally admitted to myself that I'm afraid. Funny! To anyone who has expressed fear for my safety, I've given the rational response: statistically I'm safer in Northern Ireland than I am in Atlanta. But that London *Sunday Times* picture of a Belfast street still haunts me. On the left, nine soldiers in riot gear crouch next to a building with their backs to the camera. Bricks are strewn all over the street. The disposition of the crowd in the distance is not clear. But in the center of the picture are two mature women walking hand in hand toward the camera, past the soldiers and barricades, talking animatedly and swinging their purses. I could see myself on that street. When I showed Chet the picture, concern crept into his voice for the first time, "Are you going to be in situations like that?" I answered, "I hope so." Which was less than candid. I've written my will after all these years of procrastination.

I'm sleeping soundly again. Once I identified what was bothering me, I gave myself permission to come back down to Dublin if Belfast is too frighten-

ing. My committee would accept a dissertation which did not focus on Northern Ireland. Besides, going there was my own idea which gives me ultimate control. I'm trying to be flexible about everything except not going. After all, the tickets are in the drawer, the money is in the bank, my schedule is cleared. It's being on my own for that long and my ankle that gives me pause.

But my ankle might be a blessing in disguise. I could easily have put my foot up on a pillow and chosen a new topic which required relatively safe library research. But I've never considered that alternative nor delaying my departure. Apparently I'm determined to take Ireland any way I can, even on crutches.

SEPTEMBER 1983:

Dublin is more charming than I expected. I feel comfortable and at the same time alien. I'm surprised at how easily I've adjusted to busses and money and phones and accents. And I needn't have worried about being alone because I haven't felt lonely since I got on Aer Lingus in New York. In fact, I would almost welcome the feeling.

There's an urgency here among Church members to know and believe that I haven't felt in meetings for a long time. The buildings look like any Church structure, and the members could fit in very well in the Atlanta Ward — until they open their mouths. The accents are obvious, of course, but there's also a definite increase in verbal ability. Testimony meetings are quite enthusiastic. One man bore stirring testimony to the gifts of the Spirit; he said that after he received the Holy Ghost he was not only then able to write poetry but playscripts as well. Now am I wrong in thinking his testimony might be uniquely Irish?

When I announce that I'm researching the relationship between theater and politics in the North, all sorts of people seem quite delighted to share their strong opinions with me. Everyone talks politics. There are so many Northerners living in Dublin it's easier than I anticipated. I limp around much of the day shaking my head in wonder at each new conquest — whether it's lunch in the Dail (parliament) with a politician or cocoa in a tea room with a poet or club orange late at night in a pub with a revolutionary. My audacity scares my landlady a little; she thinks I'm fearless. I smile when she scolds me for taking risks because so far, despite my earlier dread, I have felt no fear; but then, I'm still in Dublin.

My meeting with Ulick O'Connor was typical of many. He's a poet and playwright and something of a TV personality. At the beginning in the coffee shop he was perfunctory and businesslike but it was fun watching him warm up. When he found out that I was interested in the hunger strikes, he told me he'd written a poem about them. He took my gold pen and wrote the three stanzas in my notebook, talking as he wrote. Then he recited the poem and explained a couple of slang terms. At one point, he stood up and looked over a divider. I thought he was expecting someone, but no. He was making sure there weren't any British spies around. Now that sounds crazy, but the news has

just broken here about several spies, some who have been at organizational meetings he's attended. Sometimes I feel as if I'm on the front lines and I haven't gone North yet. He said he was concerned that if they saw me with him I might be implicated. These gallant Irishmen!

There seems to be ready consensus in Dublin that Britain is responsible for Irish problems both North and South. That came through clearly when I toured Kilmainham Jail. To see the names of Irish revolutionaries above cell doors and to hear the recitation of the struggle moved me to tears. I do feel curiously patriotic; a couple of times I've caught myself purposely keeping quiet on the street or in shops and wondering if I could pass for Irish. But despite this game, I'm asking tough questions and spotting biases easier.

Contrary to my experience in Atlanta, people here seem to grasp instantly what I'm trying to do. They readily supply me with instances of life in Ireland becoming theater. And I must say, I'm pleasantly surprised. I didn't expect the dramatic aspects of life to be so pervasive or so self-conscious. In fact, my thesis now seems rather inevitable. Irishmen don't find it remarkable, either. Ted Smyth, the press officer for the New Ireland Forum laughed when he learned I was researching the relationship between theater and politics. "What's the difference?" he asked. When I replied, "That's my thesis," he said, "It's a good thesis."

Getting the press pass was an inspired move. I've managed to get in places as a journalist that would have been closed to an academic. Attending sessions of the New Ireland Forum open to the press has been my single most useful activity in Dublin. Forty-two representatives from the four nationalist parties of Ireland, North and South, are meeting to hammer out a consensus solution to the crisis in the North. These parties, dedicated to constitutional politics rather than violence, represent eighty percent of the inhabitants of the entire island. But the idea that these bitter political opponents could achieve consensus on anything seems incredible. And as if the situation were not dramatic enough, the setting for the forum is Dublin Castle — that symbol of British imperialistic rule. But the plush meeting-room is in no way reminiscent of the castle dungeon which imprisoned so many Irishmen. The five Waterford chandeliers hanging below skylights dispel any gloom and cast a purely Irish tone.

The form of the meetings matches the dignity of the room. The debate is seldom explosive, unlike the style of other political assemblies on the island. Nearly 300 position papers have been submitted to the forum, most coming unsolicited from individuals and groups of all persuasions. And then they question formally many of the writers. But even when Northern Unionists present their starkly contrasting views, the dignity is maintained. And yet, paranoia is rife. When I talk to the participants, they are all ready to accuse the other groups of wanting to undermine the goal of the forum. For them to arrive at a solution to a problem which has eluded successful compromise for 600 years seems impossible.

But the problem itself is elusive. Observing the New Ireland Forum has taught me how complex the situation in the North is. I'm very suspicious now

of anyone who gives me simple solutions, such as "Brits out!" Even what to call the place becomes an issue. Northern Ireland is not recognized officially as a political entity by the majority on this island; in fact, the North is included under the Southern constitution. And knowing what to call the participants is even more difficult. Whether Protestant or Catholic, unionist or nationalist, loyalist or republican, or even British or Irish — any of these efforts to categorize also polarizes. The population in the North doesn't fall into these neat categories. The usual practice of identifying two distinct warring populations only describes the extremes and alienates the majority. Many Northern residents now reject all labels as being inappropriate descriptions, but still they frequently use Catholic or Protestant to indicate background or culture not religion. How did I ever choose to study a place I can't appropriately designate with a problem I can't clearly identify and with participants I can't adequately name?

The only negative aspect of being here is my broken ankle. Even having my wallet stolen seemed to fit the texture of Dublin, and I've survived the loss. I now have an Irish driver's license which makes me feel more a part of the place. But when I hurt as I do nearly all the time, I begin to question what I'm getting. Impressions, biases. It's all so amorphous. I guess the choice was coming and being miserable but stimulated or staying home and being miserable but frustrated and disappointed as well. Not much choice. Coming was really all I could do. But sometimes I've been physically ill, not from the pain but from the effort it takes.

But my ankle is really the only hitch. Things have worked so smoothly in my favor I know I can't take full credit for making it happen. Just being in Dublin in late September means theater seems like the city's main focus. Even John McEnroe's rather stormy visit didn't eclipse the twenty-fifth annual Dublin Theatre Festival. During these two weeks, forty-two productions have been staged in eighteen venues. Although the term *venue* implies the festival use of several spaces not designed as theaters, there are nonetheless, fifteen theaters in the city center, some tucked away in alleys or residential neighborhoods. Other productions have been held in the mayor's home, churches, and even a pub. More than 150 outdoor performances and productions at universities and clubs, although not part of the official festival, have added to the overwhelmingly theatrical atmosphere. Luncheon and late-night theater have made it possible for me to see three productions a day. That and the festival's generosity — free passes to anything I wanted to see. I concentrated on theater from and about the North. This festival has always been the main audience for new Irish plays and has given me a chance to see the work of theater companies from throughout the island.

I am genuinely surprised to see how well I'm able to play this role — not exactly pushy but clearly not the secure role I play at home. Frankly, I have thrived. I feel more in control and even more outgoing toward life. I really set myself up for a good time. My work is reading newspapers, seeing plays, talking to interesting people, and even writing here in my room with my toasty gas heater on and hot chocolate to drink. What a life!

But enough of comfort; it's time to go North. I am beginning to feel ready, even anxious, to go.

OCTOBER 1983:

Now that I'm comfortably settled in Belfast, I'm amused that I hesitated. I delayed my departure twice, partly because Dublin is such a seductive place. So many doors were open it was hard to turn away, especially since I was inundated daily with the war news. On the train to Belfast I unfolded my map of Ireland and laid it on the seat next to me, just as I would spread it out on my bed in Dublin as I'd read the reports of the conflict — the jail breaks, killings, bombings. I followed the map now because I wanted to know the moment the train passed over the border. I felt tingly from excitement. I laugh about that first crossing now. After ten crossings, I know that the only readily discernible difference is that the roads in the North are better. I felt good about my time in Dublin: I'd interviewed thirty-two people and seen thirty-one plays, thanks in part to the Dublin Theatre Festival. But I hated to start over again making those initial contacts, those endless phone calls. I'll probably never again be able to pass a phone booth without thinking I need to call someone about something. I figure it takes at least ten calls to make one appointment.

So pulling into the new train station (the old one is bombed out), I wondered how I'd be able to continue the pace. I felt as if I were running after something but would never catch it, or even know clearly what I was chasing. And yet, I kept on running. Then at other times, I felt as if I were trying to take a drink from a firehose. And yet, sputtering and engulfed, I continued somehow to be ready for more.

Riding in the taxi from the station through the barricaded downtown and up the bombed-out Springfield Road, I was struck by the ugliness of the city. There was no instant recognition here as in Dublin. I felt no comfortable sense of place. These were alien surroundings, even if the taxi driver did try to kiss me and wouldn't give me back enough change. I had chosen to board on the worst side of town on what they call the peaceline. Belfast is masterful at euphemisms — *peaceline* for warline, *troubles* for war. I lived in no-man's land between the Catholic sections of Falls and Turf Lodge and the Protestant Shankill. That decision proved to be one of my best. Had I stayed in the proffered lodgings by Queen's University in Stranmillis, I would have missed the daily confrontation with the essential paradox of Belfast. I have never felt warmer, more taken care of, more cordially received anywhere. And yet, the road blocks, the searches, the tanks, and military personnel all are a constant reminder that this is a war zone. The headlines scream daily of atrocities and they do not lie: the day I arrived the courthouse was blown up in Omagh and a policeman was blown up in Derry. But the quality of my life has never been better.

I did not feel warmth initially. My first time downtown after being searched three times in fifteen minutes and getting abrupt answers to questions and being unable to find an open restroom (most are closed for fear of bombers), I felt overwhelmingly discouraged. The cursory nature of the searches was far

from comforting. Anyone who wanted to carry a bomb past the barricades could easily do it. The searches seemed more like harrassment than protection; they were reminders of war but did not prevent war-like acts. Rather than abandon my goal after an unpleasant morning, however, I persisted and went to Queen's University. I'm glad I did.

After only three days in Belfast, I was in the faculty lounge after a playwright's presentation to the English Society meeting at Queens. I observed myself talking to these people and drinking my inevitable club orange and realized that I had been accepted, befriended. It seemed so much easier than it would have been in America. Here I was in a room with poets, playwrights, producers, directors, professors, politicians, reporters, and critics who seemed genuinely interested in me and my research.

The intimacy of Belfast continues to delight me. To be called by name in a shop and reminded we'd met at a party, or to be hailed from a theater balcony by actresses I'd interviewed, or to be recognized at a play by a member of the audience as having been at the BBC that day, or to be seated in a restaurant next to writers I'd wanted to meet, or to be approached at the Crown Court by a journalist who had acted in a community theater production I'd attended, all seem to belie a city of 360,000. The contrast between what I felt that first morning and what I felt after only three days in Belfast was incredible; I had felt alone enough to want to go home for the first time since I'd been in Ireland, and now I wanted to stay a long time and come back again whenever I could.

Nothing irritates them more here than for the media to focus only on the conflict, so I suspected, at first, that the treatment I was getting was reserved for journalists. But I do not believe I was treated specially. There is a warmth, call it Northern hospitality, that they also experience as the fundamental quality of their lives. I felt it among the rich and the poor, among artists, businessmen, politicians, policemen, and paramilitary. They did not seem to see it as paradoxical that warmth could coexist with violence. In fact, when I brought up the issue they would laugh, especially those who knew I came from Atlanta. How could *I* talk about murder and mayhem! When I tried to explain that what went on in Atlanta was either crimes for gain or crimes of passion, they would deplore our situation: "But that's awful, people dying for no purpose!"

If I had expected to find the good guys wearing white hats and the bad in black, I was soon disabused. There really are no villains here although the society is so polarized that people are convinced there are. I have often wished that everyone in the North could have experienced all the diverse and often warring groups as I have. I do believe that what is missing is a recognition of the opponent's underlying humanity. Since I know their capacity for warmth, I want them to reach out to their enemies as they've reached out to me. A Protestant learned I'd walked along Falls Road and asked me, "Didn't you feel the evil there?" Several days later a Catholic expressed surprise that I'd ventured down Shankill Road and said, "Didn't you feel the evil there?"

I had decided before I came to Ireland to listen to anyone who would talk to me, but apparently that's unique. Most people who come here talk to one

side. Northerners themselves usually only talk to those who agree with them. And anytime things begin to look better, new violence widens the rift. To say there are no villains needs explanation. One of the chilling things for me was knowing that a person I was talking to, who was being reasonable and warm and witty, actually condoned killing and had even participated in the violence. Somehow I would have expected to dislike people whose values are so different from my own. At those times, when I pull back from a spontaneous expression of my own warmth, I feel most like an alien. But I persist. Everyone I talk to gives me two or three more names of people I must see. I figure if I stayed long enough I could meet everyone in Ireland. I leave the house at nine in the morning and return close to midnight. The crush of ideas and experiences and personalities often threatens to overpower me. I left my crutches in Dublin but I'm still limping and exhausted. Here I am, trying to understand what I am coming to believe can only be understood not solved. But my own human hopefulness cries out for more.

The Church is a bright spot in the North. It seems to be one of the few institutions that is bridging the gap, that is even working. I'm pleased that at least we have been able to unite Ireland ecclesiastically; since last spring there is only one LDS mission on the island. But the unity is not perfect. Despite the obvious love and caring in the Church, we have Protestant Mormons and Catholic Mormons. Members are very aware of cultural roots, and political divisions sometimes divide the Church. The Derry branch often meets in a hotel on the Protestant Waterside because of the repeated vandalism the building on the Catholic Bogside has suffered. Bombs have been planted on cars in the parking lot, not randomly, but because members who were formerly in the security forces are now on a paramilitary deathlist. But one Saturday when the branch president and his wife came to work around the building and practice the organ and found feces spread on the walls, benches, and carpets, they decided to board up the building for a time. On the next day they met in the building which they'd cleaned late into the night. Somehow word of the desecration had spread, and members they hadn't seen for years came to help. But now they meet each Sunday on one side or the other of the River Foyle. When the meeting is on the Bogside, some members don't feel they can safely attend. But when it's on the Waterside, others don't feel they can come. They fear for their lives. And a thriving congregation of 200 has dwindled to 20.

Attending Ian Paisley's Memorial Free Presbyterian Church was a stark contrast, although my landlady thought the IRA was going to plant a bomb on her car outside the church. There were 400 present, mostly old and female, but the huge church still seemed empty. Paisley stood all in black in his fortress-like pulpit. Surely here was a villain. I had read his pronouncements and abhorred his politics; I was fully prepared to dislike him intensely. I'm glad his subject was not politics because I could get past my own prejudices and listen carefully to how he, as another Christian, viewed the world. He really does believe that environment has more to do with a person's sinning than willfulness. The picture Paisley paints is of a siege; a person must guard against every evil influence — be it a wife, a child, a neighbor. There didn't seem to

be any room to reach out in love or forgiveness. He orchestrated his performance, capitalizing on every nuance of voice and emotion. I found him loud and brash but also pitiful. As his stories accumulated, a picture of an evil, fearful world grew. I understand now why he fears popery, as he calls Catholicism. If the world really is as he describes, then any belief contrary to his own threatens him. If life is a siege, there is no room for compromise. So even Paisley I found to be human. I pity him for the world he has constructed around himself; I pity others that he has induced to enter his world. But no one approached him that night. No one even raised his hand to accept Paisley's Christ.

People here react variously to the conflict. Many try to ignore it entirely, going on with their lives in whatever fashion possible. As long as a friend or neighbor or family member is not killed or maimed, that works for many. Some talk about the conflict and deplore the killing but lead lives essentially divorced from any involvement. They emphasize the quality of their lives, not the disjunction. Others express their dissatisfaction in peaceful ways. They work in community centers, in education, in labor movements, in the arts. Still others become activists and work in peace movements or as politicians or in the security forces. The line between this group and the extremists is often hard to draw because many politicians and other activists are also in paramilitary groups. The range of extremism varies because many extremists expound rather than act, encouraging others in their terrorist acts.

But it seems to me that to ignore the conflict would require a level of psychological denial which would not be healthy. Since 1969, the conservative estimate is that 2,300 people have been killed and another 24,000 have been wounded. Sixty percent of those killed have been civilians unassociated with any of the security forces or paramilitary groups. Those 2,300 deaths over the last fourteen years might seem slight at first but that would be equivalent to 325,000 sectarian killings in the United States for the same period. Often arbitrary, the shootings and bombings have killed twice as many Catholics as Protestants even though Protestants outnumber Catholics in the North two to one. In fact, it was to protect the Catholic minority that the British Army first entered Northern Ireland in August 1969. Britain has increased its control since then to the present direct-rule arrangement. The New Ireland Forum has figured the cost of the conflict the past fourteen years at $15 billion, North and South.

I believe Martin Luther King, Jr., may be the most admired American in Northern Ireland. Groups of all the different persuasions mentioned him to me as someone who had the answer. And yet paradoxically, nonviolent movements in Ireland have been met with violence. When I mention Bloody Sunday, when thirteen young men were shot in Derry by British paratroopers in 1972 during a peaceful march, many try to tell me there were really guns in the crowd even though no government inquiry has been able to prove it. The violence in the North since 1969 grew out of America's protest movement. But violent reaction to an essentially nonviolent effort has created terrorists. Most of the young men that I talked to who are now actively involved in paramili-

tary activities began as committed nonviolent activists who were then literally beaten into the belief that nonviolence doesn't work. In 1968 the IRA had decided that violence didn't work and had abandoned that method for political ones. The IRA owned six guns when the trouble began in the North.

This creation of terrorists continues. Policemen laughed as they told me of the rock-throwing games they play with children, of the harassment, of circling the block to get in another lick — all power plays. They admitted that many of their activities in West Belfast were provocative and actually heightened the tension. As I walk along Springfield Road past the barricaded police stations, as I see policemen drive past, two standing up back to back in their armored land rovers, rifles at the ready, as I observe the army warily patrolling the streets, dodging in and out of doorways — the contrast with other parts of the city is striking. There is very little security presence elsewhere. I can understand why everyone calls it a war even though the government will not acknowledge it openly.

I realize I have become the picture that frightened me when I was still in Atlanta. I walk along the streets and never look at the police or the army unless they stop me. I see but ignore the guns trained on me. I submit to searches, not willingly but with resignation. And I am curiously unafraid. The violence here is so arbitrary that if I were fearful it would be uncontrollable. I am not even safe in my room — it looks over a police yard and terrorists could come to bomb the yard or hold hostages. To be afraid here would be like *knowing* a car would hit me every time I crossed the street or that every mushroom I ate would be poisonous or that I would be shot every time a gun was trained on me. I find that I disassociate myself from the street scene; it is drama to be observed but not lived. And if I can so easily become alienated and part of the enemy, I can understand the alienation those in Belfast feel. Many tell me they are unaware of the tension they're feeling until they leave the country and the pall lifts.

I went to Crown Court to hear the Lord Chief Justice Sir Robert Lowry sentence ten whom Kevin McGrady had accused of terrorist acts. McGrady's case is an interesting one because he is an informer that the police did not turn. He had escaped to the Netherlands and then became involved with a religious group there. Once he was "born again," he felt the need to relieve his conscience and returned to Northern Ireland to confess his crimes. That he also implicated many others does not make him a very popular Christian.

The whole system of juryless trials based on uncorroborated evidence from an informer/accomplice would not be acceptable elsewhere in Britain. No authority wholeheartedly supports it here but most excuse it in terms of the end justifying the means. The trial appalled me. No one spoke up — the judge, the barristers mumbled their parts. If I couldn't hear from the press box, how could the defendants who were twice as far away hear? One who was sentenced to seven years actually thought the judge had released him. The antitheatrical nature of the trial bothered me but it was the way the judge dealt with the testimony that overwhelmed me. The judge began by asserting: "This war is being waged by organizations which style themselves armies and observe

military procedures, but it has not invaded, and will not be allowed to invade, the courts" (Unpublished Verdict, pp. 7–8). The judge then acquitted four of the accused:

> To have convicted on any of the counts in these groups of charges would have been a perversion of justice according to law, so contradictory, bizarre and in some respects incredible was McGrady's evidence and so devious and deliberately evasive was his manner of giving it. One can only speculate on the reason for the frailties of his evidence on which counsel have pertinently commented. Were they due only to faulty memory? Obviously not, since the witness dug pits for himself by trying to evade his pursuers. Were the glaring absurdities due merely to a foolish desire to "improve" a good case? Did McGrady believe that those whom he accused were guilty and then pretend to have been present? Or did he make the whole thing up? I find it hard to say, but perhaps the choice is between the second and third hypotheses. Whatever be the true explanation, the absurdities were too great to allow the cases to stand and this must gravely affect *this particular witness's* credibility when he is unsupported by other evidence (pp. 11–12).

And yet based on the testimony of McGrady who had pleaded guilty to twenty-seven charges, including three murder charges, Judge Lowry sentenced the six other defendants to terms in prison ranging from seven years to life imprisonment. The forty-page document, which he read in a monotone, traces where, in the judge's opinion, McGrady was lying and where he was telling the truth. During one of the breaks in the trial, a member of the Church who works in the court visited with me. I felt sorry for the good man as, avoiding my eyes, he whispered that the trials were not good but what other method was available? The concept that when you diminish another's civil rights you diminish your own is foreign to Northern Ireland. I believe the war has invaded the courts despite what Judge Lowry asserts.

Not all of my activities this month were as serious as this recitation implies. I went with the cast of Martin Lynch's new play *Crack Up* to Coleraine. It was fun riding in the van with them talking about the play. I was even so audacious as to suggest a couple of script changes to Martin. He is a young working class, socialist playwright who is fighting hard to retain his working-class status. He still lives in Belfast's Turf Lodge although he could probably afford much better. In fact, *Crack Up* is about the stress families suffer once the lure of middle-class respectability divides them.

But the biggest coup this month was getting Paddy Devlin to see me. He's the most elusive politician I've pursued. One night I went in the Forum Hotel which like so many buildings in Belfast is a minifortress. It has huge gates and a security check. It has been bombed twenty-seven times, perhaps because it's a favorite hangout for journalists. But it was warm and the phones worked. I kept calling the various numbers I had for Paddy; I finally reached his wife who said he'd be home in an hour. I waited and called again. I knew I'd be able to persuade him if I could just talk to him, and I did. Every appointment I make seems like a small victory.

Seeing City Hall where I met Paddy was in itself worth the effort. It's this marvelous barricaded building in the center of Belfast which is closed now to anyone without legitimate business. Paddy came to the door to vouch for me

and then took me into a conference room adjacent to his office. He is a Belfast city councilor who has long been a promoter of theater. Now fifty-nine, he was a member of the IRA from age eleven to twenty-five. He was interned for three years when he was seventeen. Internment or imprisonment without trial has been repeatedly practiced in Northern Ireland. At twenty-five Paddy joined the Labor Party and has been a socialist/labor politician since, often serving as the leader of his party. He has written several plays and possesses that wonderful Irish belief that art really can make a difference. He's much more hopeful about art and education than I am. Right now Paddy is a loner, besieged on every side. He exposed corruption in City Hall and now says they're out to get him. He told me that Watergate was the greatest thing to him — that you would get rid of a president because he lied, that was wonderful. No one should lie or do any other bad thing. He angrily denounced the killing and those who supported it, saying he didn't care anymore if they shot him. The tape is punctuated with his salty language and with his apologies to me for using it.

Paddy writes plays to try to change people's lives. My heart went out to this dedicated socialist. He really believes the labor movement is the answer to the problems of Belfast and that his socialist plays might educate people. We sat there looking out at the city as the daylight faded, and Paddy talked about what a good place Belfast is. If you can look past the faded splendor, the seediness that's crept in, you recognize the spirit here! You feel it in the Church; you feel it in the arts; you feel it in public and private life. It's a vitality I haven't felt in America for a long time.

NOVEMBER 1983

Dear Chet,

It's after midnight so it's really the 3rd which means I've been here two months. It usually seems much shorter than that to me but tonight I feel like I've been here forever and really am bogged down in it all.

I began the day talking to an Official Unionist Assemblyman, Edgar Graham. He's a law professor at Queen's University, Oxford trained. He's polished, intelligent, reasonable. He's also admirable and can be seen as a man of good will. I sat in his neat office at Queens, him in a pinstripe suit, having a stimulating intellectual discussion about the North and the conflict.

From there I rushed to the Sinn Fein (IRA) headquarters on Falls Road and talked to politicians there. The only thing cozy about these surroundings was the fireplace that we huddled by. Here I talked to three committed young men, also admirable and men of good will.

Neither Graham nor they would have much good will toward each other, although Graham does have a more reasonable attitude toward Sinn Fein than other Unionists. I then walked home along bombed-out streets, shopping for newspapers along the way, observing people and my own feelings. I've been asked if I don't feel the evil as I walk through these Catholic areas. I can honestly say all I notice is the poverty and the soldiers. I passed so close today to so many of them and even saw one crouched in a doorway with his gun trained in my direction. There is no such presence over by Queens.

Well, I was home for awhile writing and processing, then walked over to see Des Wilson, a priest who is very much a part of the republican movement now. Not that

he's participated at all with terrorism but he knows firsthand what generates it. He's a modern saint if there is such a thing outside the Church. To get to him I had to walk through one of the worst slum areas I've been in. I hesitated for a moment to walk past the barricade into Ballymurphy because I could see about twenty children with huge sticks chasing a couple of men. The men jumped into a truck and drove off as the children beat on the truck and hollered and ran after them. I swallowed hard and proceeded down the hill. Those beautiful little children swarmed around me and I talked to them as I walked on. The area is bleak, almost all cemented over. There's no way to blame those children for their circumstances and yet there they are, caught.

Well, I had a wonderful two-hour conversation with Des, this good man who has been pretty much removed from any position within the Catholic Church because of his political activities. He comes from a very wealthy family across town and the church assigned him to Ballymurphy, this poor area that he now cannot leave. The church has left him but he found a house here and he continues to work with families and prisoners. I tell you enough so you will also see him to be honorable and admirable. He's a man of good will, too.

When I left and walked back, I cried a little because of the impossibility of any solution. They all know what they want but do not really understand the limits of the other and so the conflict proceeds. And all those little children become the next participants in this age-old battle. I see them all as men and women of good will and I care about them regardless of their politics. I want to make sense of the senseless, I suppose.

I just wish I could give everyone in Ireland the same experience I've had these last two months. Surely they'd be affected by what I've heard and seen — maybe not in the same way, but surely somewhat. I try to share what I hear with my landlords. They are such good people and recognize the obvious bigotry but don't recognize their own. You see the Catholics don't really want to make anything of themselves, they really are different from other people, they like living in squalor, they only want a handout. This was the response I got when I mentioned the poor area I'd been in, that and the fact that it had been a nice area when Protestants lived there. But poverty seems to look the same regardless of the color or the features. And when there are no jobs for anyone except Protestants, what are the alternatives?

Enough of this discouraging litany. I love you and miss you.

Claudia

The next afternoon I met Ciaran McKeown, one of the Peace People. He spoke at the United Nations after his group received the Nobel Peace Prize, which incidentally he deplored getting, but said none of it had any effect on Ireland. He had questioned whether he could help me, then talked nonstop for two hours. A pacifist and ascetic, he described the early civil rights marches that he'd led from Queens and the fearful beatings they'd endured. At one point he looked at me with his piercing eyes and said that nonviolence will only work if all parties agree to the rules. Even this dedicated nonviolent activist has been taught to question the method. He quoted Camus a great deal, saying since everyone is capable of murder he made sure he never had a gun. He talked of the difficulty of being a moderate in a polarized society such as this; anyone who doesn't take an extreme position is considered a traitor.

That evening, I heard Martin Lynch speak at Queens and the socialists in town really turned out. There was the usual gathering in the lounge afterward and then Martin took me home. The next day I met Maura McCrory, chairperson of the Ad Hoc Committee Against Informers, who has a son in the

Maze Prison. Then that night Charabanc had me to dinner and gave me a wonderful interview about their beginnings and their plans — these five actresses who overcame unemployment by forming their own theater group and writing their own plays. The morning of November 5th, I spent at Sinn Fein advice centers getting the standard tour but was able to ask pointed questions, too. I then saw Sue Triesmann who is British and teaches theater at the Ulster Polytechnic; she's the first person I'd talked to who wanted to get out of Northern Ireland. Hillary Bryans, a reporter with Ulster TV during the hunger strikes, was my next contact. And then I rushed to meet Patrick Sanford, the artistic director of the Lyric Theatre. I helped him audition a young man for a part in *Oliver*, his Christmas offering. Patrick gave me dinner and I saw O'Casy's *Shadow of a Gunman* and Yeats's *Dreaming of the Bones* there at the Lyric. *Shadow*, set in 1920, is about the Irish War of Independence; *Dreaming* is about an even earlier war. But seeing the two plays together in the present-day context makes me realize that nothing ever changes.

When I got home after the play, the house was full of people staying over so they could go to stake conference the next morning. I gather I'm something of a curiosity because everyone wanted to meet the American on Sunday morning. Here they all were, ready for conference, and yet talking about the conflict and how to solve it. But what they were talking about as a solution was killing people. It was a strange experience because I'd met some of the people they thought should be done away with. But that gives me an advantage. I could sit there and listen to them talk about the benefits of dictatorships, bringing back internment, shooting on suspicion, and not judge them either. I can appreciate their frustrations in living in such lawless surroundings. I find myself in a very hurtful place. I don't approve of the killing, whoever does it. I certainly don't approve of the IRA, INLA, UDA, or UVF, although I understand the history behind these Catholic and Protestant paramilitary groups. Not everyone can be Ciaran McKeown and stay above the hate and violence, but wouldn't it be a better world if we could?

Late in November I rented a car and drove to Derry. After being in Belfast, spending time in a city with a Catholic majority was quite a contrast. There are no barricades or searches either; that gives the impression of a more open city which I did not find to be true. The difference between the haves and the have-nots was still pronounced. All weekend it was a dizzying back and forth— Waterside, Bogside; Protestant, Catholic; rich, poor. It seemed to be the most divided, divisive place I'd been, although residents were surprised if I said so. I talked to John Hume, the leading Catholic politician in the North, and Brian Friel, the leading Catholic playwright. But most of my time in Derry was spent in the homes of prisoner's families. These mothers talked about their sons in the Maze with such pride — much as I discuss my sons away at university. But I was struck by the discipline problems I observed and wondered if you can teach children respect for the law selectively. If it's all right to murder and steal for the cause, why then isn't it all right to be abusive at home and lie to parents? The vandalism here in the North seems to point to a general breakdown in society.

If I could use only one word as an impression of Derry it would be anger. Whether I was being given the Catholic or Protestant tours of the city, or being given the recitation of police brutality and prison abuse, or being railed at because of Irish-American support for the violence, the tone was angry. I was glad to escape to a mansion on the river where Jennifer Johnston, a novelist and playwright, gave me dinner and a good chat by the fire. She sees Derry very differently than I do, as a peaceful but dynamic place. When I left her, I went to a poetry reading, my choice for my last activity in Derry. I did feel comforted and calmed somewhat. The next morning I left with people asking to see me. But I had heard enough and for the first time in Ireland left a place without regret.

DECEMBER 1983:

I am leaving Ireland now after interviewing over a hundred people and seeing sixty plays. The things which concerned me initially were easily solved. I seldom felt alone and even my ankle which still hurts terribly has not deterred me. How could I have done more with two sound ankles? Someone asked if I was ever in danger here. I don't know. Various groups let me know subtly that they'd checked on me and knew where I was living. One Protestant paramilitary group had even figured out I was a Mormon. To fundamental Protestants, Mormonism is much worse than Catholicism. I never felt physically threatened although my beliefs and emotions have suffered an onslaught. But the experience overall has been so positive. Just what I have learned about my own power to overcome adversity, my capacity to look for the good in people and situations, my persistence when the circumstances seem impossible was worth the trip.

My time in the North had changed me. I could tell when I visited Kilmainham again and shed no tears for the revolutionaries. I almost mourn my lost innocence. It was easier when I thought there were simple solutions. And then there is the fear I feel for the friends I'm leaving behind. When I write or talk about my experience, I use only the names of those individuals already publicly known. I worry about the member of the Church whose wife won't let him attend because he's already been a target of a bomb at the church building. I worry about the young policeman and his pregnant wife who have been forced to sell their new home because he's on a deathlist according to an informer. His crime? He is a Catholic on the force. I even worry about the teachers and artists and politicians and other people of good will whom I've met, those whose main goal is to live lives devoid of violence. And I worry about those children in Ballymurphy and elsewhere who might be recruited into a new wave of violence.

This fear for my Irish friends is not irrational. I was watching TV when I heard Edgar Graham's death announced. He was the young Unionist I'd admired for his straightforward approach although I didn't agree with all he said. I sank onto the bed, sick as I thought of the waste. He was shot 7 December in the street outside his Queen's office, shot five times in the head by the

IRA. He had had a more reasonable attitude toward them than other Unionist politicians. He did not condemn the IRA more than any other group; he spoke out against all paramilitary activity on all sides of the conflict. He told me there was no hope for peace until all groups rejected violence. And there he lay on the street in a pool of his own blood only twenty-nine years old. My mind raced. Had I said something to anyone which might have made him a target? Nothing came to mind. Apparently both Protestant and Catholic paramilitaries wanted him dead. The morning he saw me he was carrying in his briefcase a gun issued to him for protection.

What for me might have begun as an academic interest and a delight in cultural diversity, for these people is a life and death struggle. It could never be less than that for me now.

The letter I sent to my friend Conor Farrington summarizes my feelings about my Northern Irish experience. Conor, a poet and playwright, is the nephew of John Millington Synge, so he comes by his craft understandably.

Dear Conor, 16 March 1984

I never did answer a speculation you made and thought I'd take a minute to do so this morning. Partly for you and partly for me. You wondered once how my religion would affect my view of the conflict. I thought a great deal about that. I suppose my initial response was less than forthright. I believe I hemmed around saying my background was Catholic historically. But of course that is not fully true. Like your friend Patricia, I come from both Catholic and Protestant backgrounds with a strong dose of American thrown in and superimposed over all of that is my Mormonness. Usually people could accept that I might be able to get past the Catholic background or the Protestant or even the American but never the Mormon. I don't know in talking to people what stereotypes are operating so I usually try to keep the Mormon side out of intellectual discussions. But of course it has an effect.

Let me tell you my reactions to the North and maybe you can attribute those reactions to particular backgrounds better than I. For one thing I believe I became much more objective. I came wanting a unified Ireland, the American disease, I suppose. I know you have some sympathy for that view or you couldn't have written *Aaron Thy Brother.* I left Ireland much more objective, more keyed in to the complexity of the situation. I also left with little tolerance for violence as a means of change. And perhaps that's where my Mormon side comes in. I really do not believe anarchy is the answer. Now I met wonderful people on both or all sides — there really aren't any villains. It would be easier to understand if there were. But I believe many of the means these wonderful people employ are intolerable. That goes for the security forces, too.

In one way I can stand back and be more objective and see both sides or all sides of the situation, even appreciate the Southern (Ireland) approach and the American. But in another way I'll never be able to objectify it again. I'll never be able to be anything but subjective about it. I've been there and have come to love certain people of all persuasions and appreciate their point of view even when I don't agree with it. And I've learned to care that there seems to be a running sore on a society that in many ways I found to be the warmest and most open and caring I'd ever experienced.

You tell me what part my Mormonness has to do with my response. I don't know.

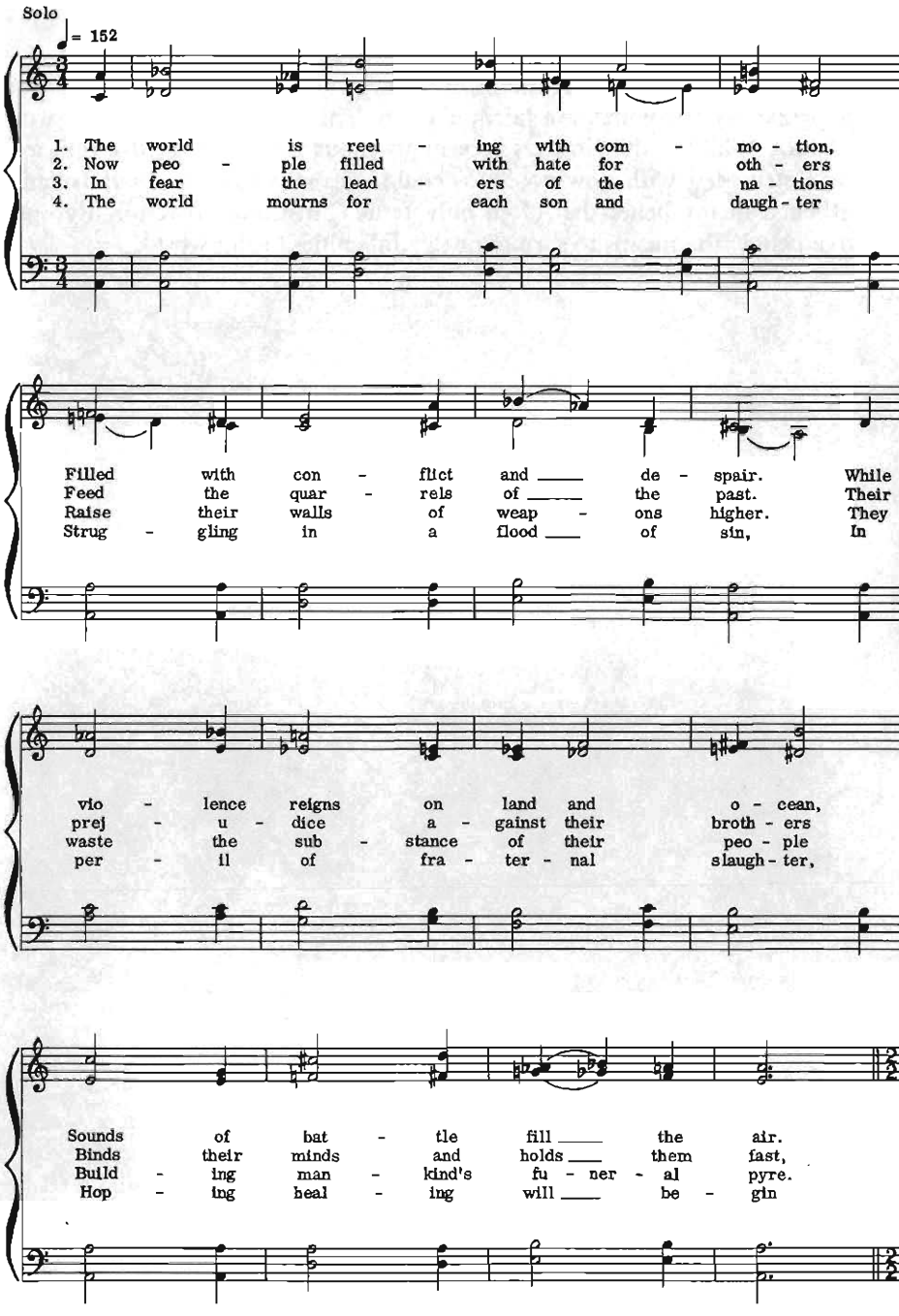
Conor might not know how to answer my question but I think I do. The first Sunday I was in the North we read Section 134 of the Doctrine and Covenants in the adult class in the Derry Branch. There were only five members

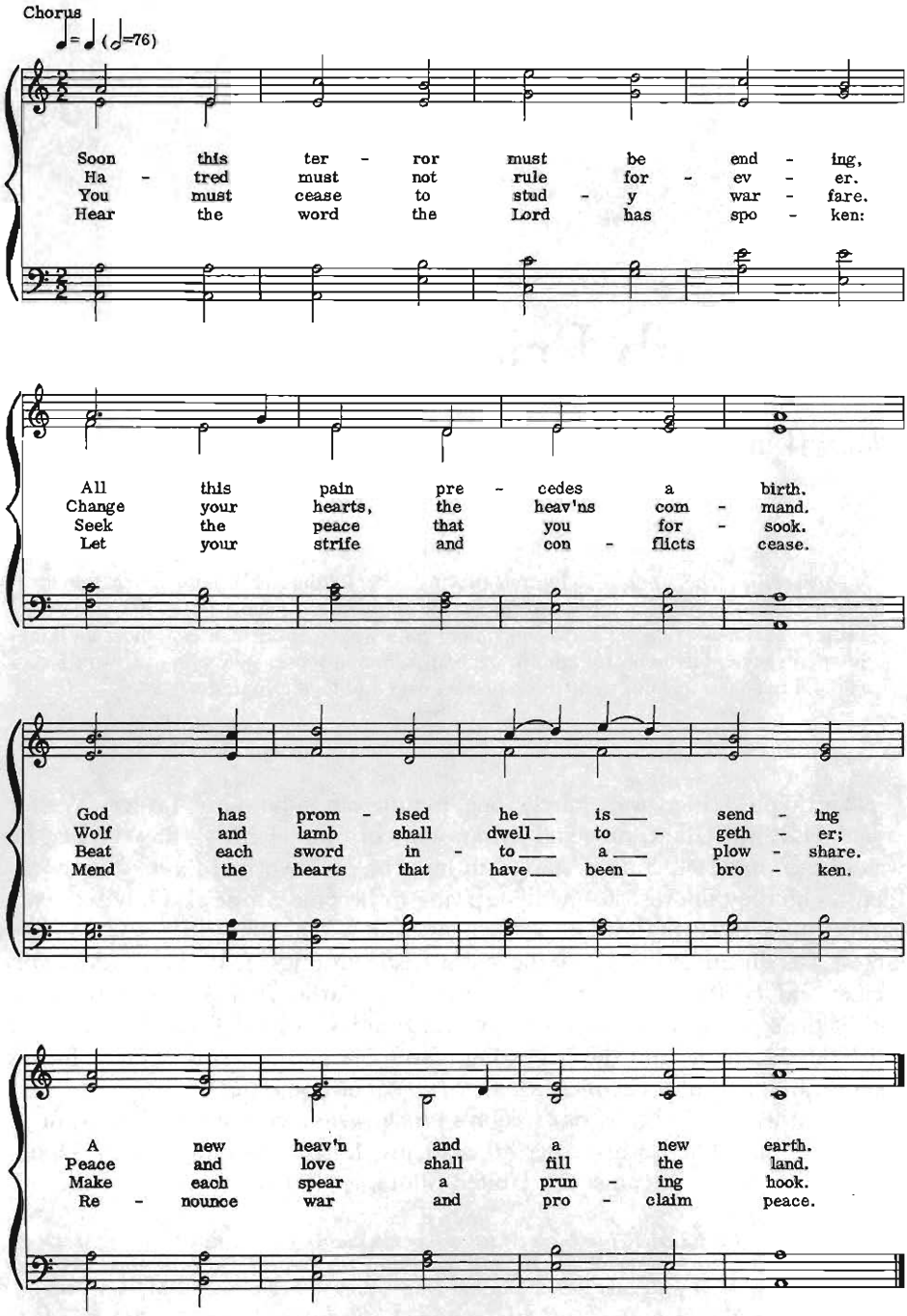
there that morning and the teacher asked me to do most of the reading. They wanted to hear my accent. As I read those words which I had heard so many times before, they suddenly took on a reality that almost made it impossible for me to continue. In every way, Northern Ireland is the antithesis of the ideal outlined in this revelation. I realized why the missionaries are successful. Like me, the people here must yearn for the perfect organization prescribed by the Church. Even the basic expectations of society are missing — government for all the people, courts which are fair, police you can trust, lawfulness as a principal value. While in the North, I repeatedly thought of Book of Mormon lessons as I struggled with how goodness could coexist with evil. I left Ireland strengthened in my belief that often only Jesus Christ and his restored gospel can give people the means to surmount the difficulties of this world.

Renounce War, Proclaim Peace

Charles S. Wain

Frank Wright





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NOTE: Accidentals apply only to the notes they precede.

The High Price of Poetry

Glenn Willett Clark

> The Socialist who finds his children playing with soldiers is usually upset, but he is never able to think of a substitute for the tin soldiers; tin pacifists somehow won't do. Hitler . . . knows that human beings *don't* only want comfort, safety, short working-hours, hygiene, birth-control and, in general, common sense; they also . . . want struggle and self-sacrifice, not to mention drums, flags and loyalty-parades.
>
> (A review of *Mein Kampf*)[1]
> George Orwell, 1940

Adolph Hitler was barely one month old when my father, Walter Edward Clark, now still living, was born on 31 May 1889. When he was fifteen, in 1904, Father started to farm on his own in Idaho. Hitler was then a choirboy in Austria, avidly aspiring to become a priest. Only six years earlier, the United States had been engaged in a "splendid little war" on the largest Carribean island — at the enthusiastic urging of William Randolph Hearst and Teddy Roosevelt. As a child, then, Father had witnessed both the end of the separate wars waged by Washington against the Plains Indians and the Utah Mormons and the beginning of wars waged overseas. (Our officials could always find new enemies, whether foreign or domestic.)

In Father's early years, our nation's foreign wars were simply irrelevant to the Mormons. The Saints, after all, had just fought their own war — long, costly, and tragic — against the United States, a "just war," as they believed.

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[1] "The Quotable Orwell," *Time*, 28 Nov. 1983, p. 54.

Plainly, he could hardly take the position that all participation in conflict was evil, though he abhorred violence. For ninety years now, he has pulled noxious weeds and tended his immaculate garden but kept his peace about our nation's state of war or peace, leaving in the hands of God the outcome of the seven wars he has watched his country wage. His was, if I may say so, a semi-Quaker conscience, leavened by Candide.

In Father's first decade, as it developed, and in the following one also, the nation was at "peace" in all practical ways, the Plains Indians having been broken along with the Mormons. Most thought, during these years of American expansion, that violence should be ameliorated but certainly not eliminated. For his renowned efforts at peacemaking — as between the Russian Czar and the Japanese Emperor — Theodore Roosevelt would win the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1906. It was Frank Kellogg, Coolidge's Secretary of State, who would later make the inherently futile effort to "outlaw" war.

For yet another of his attempts to ameliorate violence, also made in 1905, T. R. ought to have received more acclaim than he did. Around the turn of the century, Swarthmore College athletic teams were known as the "Fighting Quakers." Neither they nor their rivals at the University of Pennsylvania were above slipping in a "ringer" or two as the all-important annual football game was played. The Penn-Swarthmore conflict was so brutal and bloody in 1905 that Roosevelt, from the "bully pulpit" of the Oval Office, threatened to suspend American college football.[2]

Our nation could assemble an army of Amazons too. Even women who wield the pen are not necessarily pacific. In an earlier age, Willa Cather could laud the gridiron sport in these extravagant terms:

> Of course it is brutal. So is Homer brutal, and Tolstoi; that is, they all alike appeal to the crude savage instincts of men. We have not outgrown all our old animal instincts yet, heaven grant we never shall! The moment that, as a nation, we lose brute force, or an admiration for brute force, from that moment poetry and art are forever dead among us, and we will have nothing but grammar and mathematics left. The only way poetry can ever reach one is through one's brute instincts. . . . A good football game is an epic, it rouses the oldest parts of us. Poetry is great only in that it suggests action and rouses great emotions. The world gets all its great enthusiasms and emotions from pure strains of sinew.[3]

The First Great War, the scourge of Father's European contemporaries — the mindless, heedless, futile killing of an entire generation of young men, millions of conscript combatants largely, one by one — occurred in the decade after his graduation from Fielding Academy in Paris, Idaho. Young men did come home in caskets, clad in something other than the robes of the holy priesthood.

What followed next, predictable though unforeseen, was the flowering of embittered passion on the part of the pauperized and degraded German middle

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[2] Burton R. Clark, *The Distinctive College: Antioch, Reed & Swarthmore* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1970), p. 181.

[3] Quoted in "Nebraska, Plainly," *Time*, 5 Dec. 1983, p. 81.

class — for want of our heed to the Gospels' injunction that love and respect should be extended even to those with whom we must differ.

Before Christmas 1941, our nation was at war again, contesting for a cause to which even a Quaker could comfortably contribute arms — or at least "other grain," as gunpowder was euphemistically termed in Benjamin Franklin's Philadelphia.[4] It became patently obviously in 1942 that Americans also sought "struggle and self-sacrifice, not to mention drums, flags and loyalty-parades." We were intuitively aware that the demented postcard artist from Upper Austria had done this. We knew, somehow, that this war was about Hitler and the Jews.

At the age of seven, I was passionately patriotic. This was the radio war, brought to us by a medium in which mere images of reality are often, and easily, evoked. (The Viet Nam war of my young adult life was a TV spectacular, in living-room color. The shift in our national attitudes may somewhat hinge on that difference.) When the national anthem blared forth many times each day, I would dash to a hardware-store calendar hung behind a kitchen door, which pictured Old Glory unfurled to the breeze. On one occasion, my playful older brother Alan had taped a picture of *Der Führer* over the image of our flag. I saluted reflexively, then reacted with horror and apoplectic anger at the perpetrator of this blasphemy.

We held abstractly that the Jews were the chosen people at least as much as we were. But of Jews, personally, we knew next to nothing. We children, at least, had heard of only three or four who were ever seen in Bear Lake Valley. One could seem to be, literally, the Wandering Jew of legend — a dealer in pelts, hides, and carrion. The farmers needed his services but freely gave vent to anti-Semitic utterances when they discussed his prices. Another was the proprietor of a bar and "lounge" in nearby Montpelier, a probably remunerative enterprise forbidden to the faithful. Another, whose children we came to know at school in Montpelier, was the proprietor of "The Fair Store," selling mostly clothing, notions, and shoes. The store did not exude the appearance of prosperity. His daughters we thought of as only a little different from ourselves. We were aware that our high school English teachers did treat *The Merchant of Venice* and *Oliver Twist* a bit more gingerly in their presence. The most prominent was the proprietor of the emporium styled Allinger's, a courageous pillar of Montpelier civic life, one praised as fit to stand with Kuhn and Loeb, though a provincial.

To right Hitler's wrongs against this other People of the Book, a legion of avenging angels was called for. The young men were occasionally happy to volunteer, since General Hershey would get you if you didn't. One returned from Europe with half a leg; one with only half a face. The former, brother of our future bishop, would not become a farmer as the bishop did; the latter was an immigrant widow's only son. For all that, the sacrifice involved in fighting this war strengthened our moral fiber and sustained our morale. From among those of the village, there was but one fatality — and that not in combat.

[4] Benjamin Franklin, *The Autobiography* [XII. Defense of the Province] (Garden City, N.Y.: Garden City Publishing Co., 1916), pp. 211–12.

Father thus witnessed his second idealistic crusade. The replay seemed repetitious and just as futile—though it was seen as compellingly necessary in other terms.

It was my turn to confront the Korean War, first on a calm and sunny Sunday morning, 25 June 1950. I was literally a Boy Scout in short pants (en route to attend the national jamboree at Valley Forge, the first held since 1937) when banner headlines recounting the North Koreans' incursion appeared in Times Square. The blood-red full page tabloid headlines still stick in my memory — though much else is blurred. Demoted, in Orwellian terms, to a mere "police action," this war engaged us less. Sacrifice, now, was not glad, but grudging.

In Winthrop House, in 1958, I was getting my morning news from *The Harvard Crimson*, often passed on from my younger brothers Owen and Nolan in Lowell House. The Viet Nam "conflict" began to bring us death once again in a particularly ugly way, in a particularly ugly war, which even the patriots of Georgetown never united to support.

My youngest brother, Virgil Howard, bears the name of a maternal great-uncle, E. Howard Willett, fallen at Gettysburg, eighteen years old, as an Illinois Volunteer. Virgil left Brigham Young University to volunteer and served as an officer during part of that long war. If your inherited attitude is that you really would rather not bear arms, there is an alternative to Canada — be a bootcamp overachiever! Virgil emerged from the red mud of Georgia at the top of his ninety-day-wonder infantry class at Fort Benning, taking all the trophies for marksmanship. He then exercised his prerogative as the top-ranked officer-candidate in the class to choose his service (the Adjutant General's Corps, thank you, sir, in scenic Europe, where he could live comfortably on base with his new wife). Like all other U.S. officers, he had now been commissioned a gentleman. Unlike many in that unhappy army (whom Owen had occasion to view as a military psychiatrist), Virgil was a gentleman.

The one who fell in a poisoned rice paddy in Nam was the kid brother of my best childhood friend. He died leaving none who could name him father, though many will call him blessed. His is but one of 58,000 names cut into the polished surface of that semi-subterranean black granite memorial in Washington — a secular Wailing Wall, if we use it wisely. It sits solid and silent near the Lincoln Memorial, just down the hill from my office at the State Department. My oldest brother, Wayne Walter, the World War II veteran, was visiting us on the Saturday just before Memorial Day 1983. It was then that I traced out the name Ross M. Bee and remembered seeing him heft dozens of hundred-pound ten-gallon milk cans each day.

Never a tin pacifist but always one who sought to ameliorate conflict, Father had had a difficult time with both World Wars. In the first, he had been thought too old to use as cannon fodder. His younger brother Melvin was conscripted, and thereby a narrow window of opportunity for him to attend college was closed. I think that weighed a bit on Father's conscience, however unjustifiably. Later, Melvin's eldest son, Vernell, a Utah State ROTC student, was lost with his plane in a fathomless Georgia swamp. The lack of a body to bury in Georgetown made the anguished mother distraught.

At the onset of World War II, Wayne was genuinely needed to operate the farm and thus could have been exempted. He went anyway, in 1945, to face the prospect of a human-wave onslaught on Japan. Hiroshima and Nagasaki ended his immediate personal peril, and he finally went to college as he approached the age of twenty-two. Study at Brigham Young University and graduate study at a not-yet-pacifist Berkeley followed, then a doctorate in agricultural economics at Texas A&M, where all undergraduates had once worn uniforms, always. More Regular Army officers, it was said, had come from the prairie of Bryan, Texas, than from the West Point Plain.

As a civic duty, Father served on a local ration board that doled out hardship and allocated deprivation during the war. He was always grateful that he had merely to deal with gasoline and rubber tires — not with young men's lives.

To attend Fielding Academy in Paris before 1910, Father had often walked fifteen miles early on Monday mornings and late on Friday afternoons. This was usual in fall and spring, less frequent during some winter months when temperatures would fall to thirty degrees below. Sixteen years later, he created our Georgetown High School with about forty students. Before it was closed in 1950, as prelude to a consolidation of the twenty or so separate school districts in Bear Lake County (which Father foresaw and sponsored against strong opposition), this school produced competent soldiers for war and, for peace, an extraordinary number of conscientious and currently active academics.

As Father's students — the sons of his brothers in Christ — were called to conflict and its consequences, he had to reflect that he and his had been shielded. Other mothers' sons were crippled, maimed, and tortured; deranged, starved, and killed. Was this God's will and reward for goodness?

Hitler's war permeated even the lives of us younger children. Our boyish disputations during recess often focused on whether the Germans or the Japs were the more bloodthirsty and inhumane. From older brothers we avidly collected tales of gore and horror. Our hide-and-seek games took the form of being brave Marines flushing out the despicable Nazis or "fat Japs" with flame throwers.

As I reflect now, I do wonder if anyone can be inspired to pen an ode to the ICBM! Would Willa Cather think a nuclear Armegeddon "epic" or still be willing to pay this high price for poetry? I am not — but I sense no way out of the impasse either except the character of *Homo Sapiens* be markedly altered.

There is some small hope. In less than eighty years, Swarthmore football has become an honest sport; and the college's dean, late in 1983, could find the courage to throw Delta Upsilon off campus. Qualities other than epic heroism are now elevated at this small college standing placidly above Crum Creek; avid attention to great literature does not there seem to depend so much on animal instincts as on intense cogitation and individual inspiration. Unilateral nuclear disarmament does flourish there, but big-time football no longer — though the ideas underlying each may be equally fatuous.

Spiro Agnew looked there, and saw "the Kremlin on the Crum." Others had a different vision: "The Golden Age of Quakerism lies ahead. Its greatest

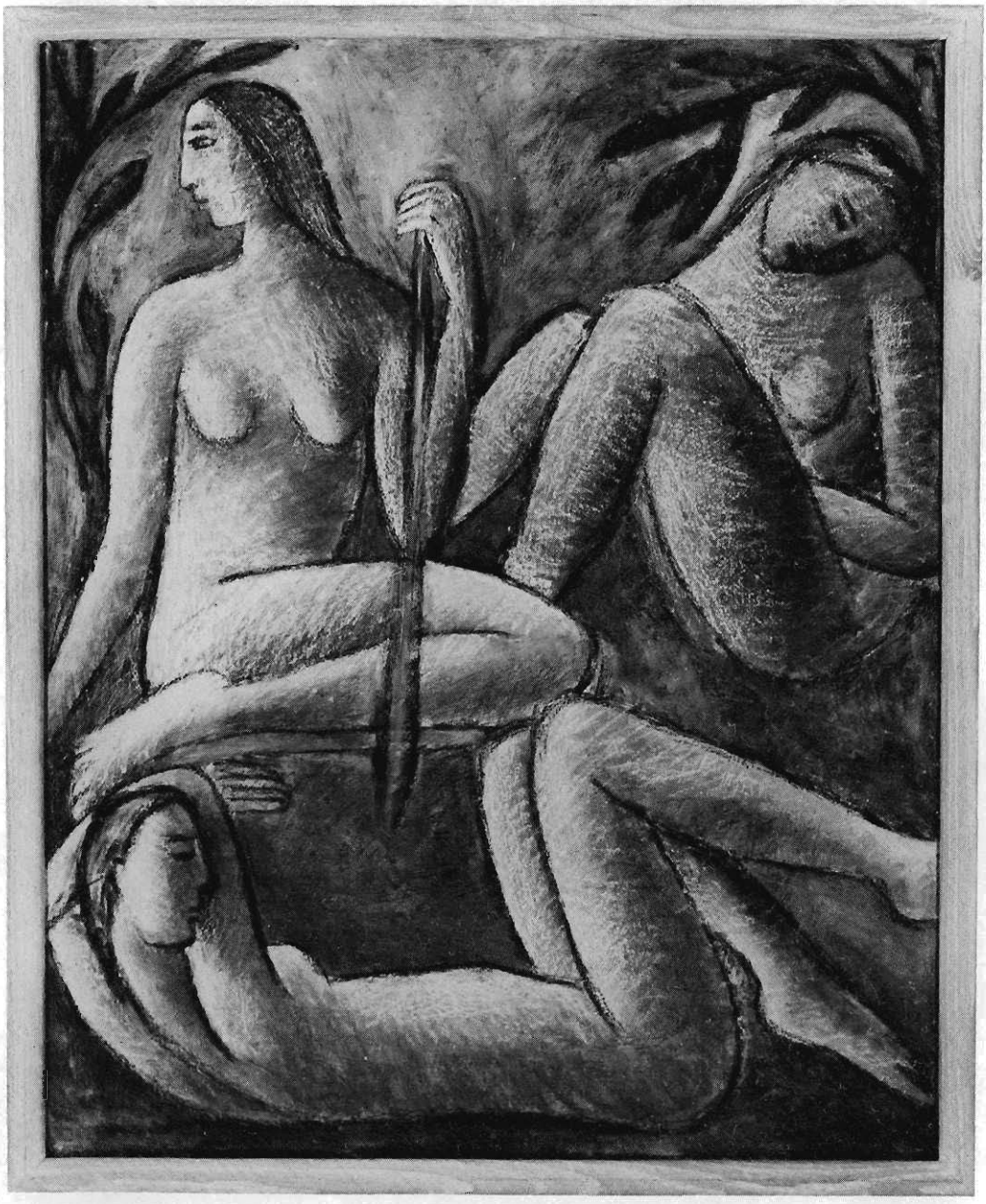
activity will be education." George Walton, principal of Philadelphia's George [Fox] School, uttered this prophecy at the inaugural dinner for Frank Aydelotte as President of Swarthmore College in 1921.[5] Aydelotte, a Rhodes Scholar from Indiana, no Quaker until he left two decades later, did make it so.

Can we Mormons learn something from a sometime "Little Quaker Matchbox" once devoted to big-time football and a frenetic social life? Swarthmore found its Inner Light as it sought merely to educate.

Can the gospel as we understand it so move *us*? My five brothers and I often recited the text of the Fourth Article of Faith in Primary, looking forward to the day when we too, as teenage priests, would kneel at the sacrament table to commemorate our Lord's violent and sacrificial death (which the Friends, with total consistency, do not celebrate). We all might well reconsider those words now:

> "We believe that the first principles . . . of the Gospel are: first, faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; second, repentance. . . ."

[5] The Swarthmore College Faculty, *An Adventure in Education: Swarthmore College under Frank Aydelotte* (New York: Macmillan, 1941), p. 25.



Where Everyone Builds Bombs

Benita Brown

Of course, when anyone asks me what my husband does for a living, I never say, "He builds nuclear weapons." No one in Richland builds bombs. People here only teach school, fight fires, design containment vessels or waste dumps, weld piping, test the water or air for contamination, monitor storage facilities to guard against leaks, or do one of a thousand other jobs. Richland is a city built by the nuclear weapons industry; it has one major industrial product: plutonium for nuclear weapons. No one in Richland builds bombs, but almost everyone does.

Our new ward chapel may be the only church in the world from which members can see five nuclear reactors and two nuclear fuel fabrication plants. No one notices, though. After all, many of the men in the ward helped build them. Most of the rest work in or near the reactors. They are just part of the backdrop, like the river or the farm fields in the distance. The horned toads and the lizards that the kids catch after church provoke more comments than the unusual view.

When the Manhattan Project began during World War II, Richland was a farm community with a population of about 300. The relative isolation of southeastern Washington, its desert climate, abundant electricity from Grand Coulee Dam, and the water of the Columbia River that flowed nearby made this the ideal site for the Manhattan Project's plutonium production reactors. The army moved the farmers out of Richland and the land north of town. DuPont Company, under contract with the army, moved about 51,000 construction workers, engineers, scientists, and support personnel into temporary barracks and trailers. In eighteen months, they had built and begun operating the Hanford Reservation's reactors and processing plants that produced the plutonium used in the atomic bombs dropped on Japan. Camp Hanford, the

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construction camp, was Washington's fourth largest city for a time, and most of the people who lived there had no idea why. (Much of the rest of the state had no idea it was there at all.) It was only after Hiroshima was bombed that most Hanford workers learned they had been working on an atomic bomb and that they had been manufacturing plutonium.

After the war, most people assumed Camp Hanford and the Hanford Reservation (usually called the Area by Richlanders) would be closed and life would return to its prewar routine, but the cold war had its own logic. The barracks were replaced by more permanent housing. More reactors and processing plants were built.

The new Area contractor, General Electric, not only ran the plants, but also Richland. It owned all the buildings in town, built and maintained the roads and city utilities, and even provided the residents with grass seed and trees. Anyone who lost his or her job with General Electric also lost his or her home and had to leave town. There was no unemployment and little crime. In 1958, after long negotiations, GE sold the houses and businesses to their occupants and the public facilities to the newly incorporated City of Richland. Some of those homes have now been purchased by the children of those transplants and a third generation is growing up.

In the late 1960s most of the reactors were shut down; there was plenty of plutonium for the United States weapons stockpiles. Only one, the N reactor, remains, producing plutonium for both weapons and electricity. Until 1980, it was the only reactor on line, or active, in the Area. Then the Fast Flux Test Facility (FFTF), a reactor designed to test fuels for future breeder reactors, came on line. In 1984, a nuclear power plant, WNP-2, began commercial production of electricity. Construction of another nuclear power plant temporarily halted for lack of funds is supposed to resume in 1986. In the meantime, there are other nuclear plants, one that reprocesses used reactor fuel into plutonium nitrate, another that converts plutonium nitrate into the plutonium oxide and plutonium metal used for warheads, and a new plant being designed that will enable the FFTF's fuel to be reprocessed for weapons. There are rumors of another plutonium production reactor to be built, but defense budgets don't always correspond to the latest rumor.

This isn't entirely a one-industry town. There is a varied agricultural economy in the region; UI Group (formerly U&I) moved its headquarters in the 1970s to nearby Kennewick and irrigates 100,000 acres of farmland south of town. Tourists flock to the rivers and sunshine from the wetter parts of Washington, and Burlington Northern has a large railroad switching operation just ten miles away in Pasco. Several high-tech firms are headquartered here, not all doing work developed from the nuclear industry. Still, one 1980 estimate said three quarters of the 130,000 people in the Tri-Cities region (Richland, Kennewick, Pasco) owed their livelihood to the nuclear industry, in either power production or weapons.

Some people who live in Washington or Oregon plan large detours in any trip that would otherwise take them near the Area. I have always found that

incomprehensible — nuclear reactors have always been just another part of my life, like cars, airplanes, and television. I grew up in the Tri-Cities. My father, an electrician for the federal government, often worked in the Area. I toured a reactor with my high school science club. It was only during college that I learned most people didn't share my matter-of-fact attitude. Still, in 1980 when my husband, Dallas, accepted a job with one of Hanford's contractors, I was happy to return to what I consider my home town and didn't hesitate to begin work with one of the high-tech firms on the edge of Hanford Reservation. Both of my children were born in Richland, and will likely grow up with the same matter-of-fact attitude that I did. At ages three and one they've already toured the visitors' centers with us, playing with the models of the equipment nuclear operators use to handle hot (radioactive) material. They love to wear their father's security badge and dosimeter around the house. At three Christine can already explain (although with some inaccuracies) how a reactor works. Neither she nor Matthew is likely to encounter anyone with strong anti-nuclear sentiments in Richland.

Nearly everyone is curious. "What's it like living where almost everybody builds bombs?" and "Do you feel safe living there?"

Life in Richland isn't much different from life in any other small western city. People go to work, play with their children, attend church, take care of their homes, complain about city services at city council meetings, and otherwise attend to the usual mechanics of life in twentieth-century America.

Because so many of the older church members in Richland worked together in the 1940s and 50s building not only the reactors, but also the town's chapels and wards, there may be a stronger feeling of community here than elsewhere. There was a strong feeling of kinship with the Mormon pioneers of the nineteenth century. After all, they, too, left family and friends to live in what was then a barren desert and build a community, all for a cause that was greater than themselves. Now that so much of the pioneering is done (the streets are paved, the trees have grown, the reactors are built, the tiny branch is now a thriving stake) those feelings are fading.

New arrivals sometimes experience mild culture shock. They are amazed to be living in a desert. Metropolitan transplants often spend months trying to figure out what anyone does for entertainment here. Though the local amateur theater, symphony, chamber music, ballet, and musical theater groups are all well supported, Richland just isn't large enough to draw much big name entertainment.

There are the jokes. "Who in their right mind would build a three-bedroom house with only one closet?" "The same people who brought you the Manhattan Project."

"One nice thing about hunting ducks that feed near the cooling ponds is that the meat doesn't have to be refrigerated; it's already been radiated."

In the Lamaze class we took before our first child was born, one class member commented that the babies in the childbirth film were all smaller than those that had been born to his friends in town. The instructor just laughed,

"Oh, it's the radiation. Richlanders glow in the dark, you know." (I laughed too, but almost half of the babies born in our ward in the last few years, including both of mine, have weighed over ten pounds. Now I just wonder.)

Sometimes, they fumble with the vocabulary for awhile: "crapped up" (contaminated by radioactive material), "burned out" (exposed to the maximum radiation dose allowed during a week, month, or year), "see the light" (see the pale blue-violet flash that accompanies a criticality), "criticality" (a sudden rise in energy release from fissile materials), "scram" (emergency shutdown of a reactor), "RM" (Radiation Monitor). Older workers, after years working under more relaxed conditions than the Nuclear Regulatory Commission allows now, have a casual attitude toward radiation not shared by younger workers.

There are other differences. One high school girl protested, "What is it with this town? Everybody at school wants to be an engineer." My own daughter announced she wanted to be an engineer shortly after her third birthday. (Only about one-half of one percent of all licensed engineers in this country today are women; but if current enrollment trends at engineering schools continue, by the time Christine is old enough to follow through on that resolve as many as 10 percent may be women.) Many of the townspeople already are. When people here talk about their work (if they can) it is often a fog of technical jargon. Computer clubs are popular. Gardens often have elaborate custom-designed automatic sprinkler systems. Many people have designed and built their own sailboats.

This may also be the most pro-nuclear power community in the country. Two years ago, when it was announced that one of the nuclear power plants under construction in the Area would be shut down for lack of funding, 12,000 people turned out for a hastily organized protest rally. The local newspaper, the *Tri-City Herald*, often runs pro-nuclear editorials. Sometimes when I read stories about leaks in Hanford's waste storage tanks (supposedly all taken care of now) I begin to doubt that I'm getting the whole story, but there is no way for anyone who doesn't have a security clearance to know and anyone with a security clearance doesn't talk about it.

Dallas and I moved here one year after the accident at Three Mile Island, but neither of us were too concerned about our safety. After all, the Area had been operating for nearly forty years — these people were experienced professionals; they knew what they were doing. Besides, even if an accident like the one at Three Mile Island did occur, the N reactor was thirty-five miles away, not right next door. True, the FFTF came on line later that year; it's only about eight miles out of town, and now WNP-2 is on line and even closer to town. In a town full of nuclear engineers and operators, that doesn't raise much concern — just complaints about all the emergency drills the NRC requires of the reactor personnel and local police and fire departments. People who work for any of the Area contractors wear their dosimeters every day and know what their exposure to radiation is. If it exceeds the limit, that means they can no longer work in a radioactive zone. People who work in other in-

dustries—in mining or in coal-fired power plants—don't have that protection.

Sometimes when people ask me about safety, they aren't thinking about radiation from Hanford's reactors, but about living near what may be a target for Russian nuclear missiles or bombs. As a child growing up in the Tri-Cities I never worried about radiation from Hanford. No one worried about X-rays or fluoroscopes, either. My friends and I did worry about bombs. We weren't certain what all was done out at Hanford, but we knew the Russians were going to bomb it. We had air raid drills in school, crouching with our heads between our knees in the cloakroom. We watched civil defense films in health class. Our neighbors built a fallout shelter in their backyard, and my brothers and I planned with their kids what we would bring when we all moved into it. Then someone, probably my brother Cliff, the realist among us, told us Hanford was a first strike target. None of us would live long enough to get to a fallout shelter. We argued long and hard about that. Jane and Mike, the neighbor kids, were sure they would live. They were good Catholics who went to mass every Sunday and it was only thirty feet from their back door to the fallout shelter, but we lived clear down the block and besides, they wouldn't open the door for us anyway. The crisis soon passed, everyone was welcome in the fallout shelter when it was finished (it was a great place for beginning trombonists and drummers), and the neighborhood Halloween party was held there that year.

I wondered about that, though; and for the next several weeks, when it was my turn to walk the dog before school, I practiced running down to Paschke's house to see how fast I could get there. Maybe Cliff was right, but since I couldn't practice dying, I thought I might as well practice running. A few years later, I read *Hiroshima* and realized what Cliff meant by a first-strike target.

It's strange, but in every place I've ever lived, when the subject of nuclear war came up, someone was sure that place was a first-strike target. Maybe that's only a result of overkill capabilities. If the whole earth can be destroyed thirty times over, then this place will be, too. Or maybe it's some strange kind of boosterism. "This town is so important that it's a first strike nuclear target." I didn't question that when I lived in Washington, D.C., but Moses Lake, Washington? Logan, Utah? Cliff now lives in Los Angeles; his coworkers have assured him that Los Angeles is a first strike target. I wondered about that for a long time, and only recently have come up with an explanation that has satisfied me.

Last fall, after the Marines in Lebanon were bombed and the United States had invaded Grenada, I experienced a real rise in anxiety. I kept the radio on constantly, trying to hear every news broadcast all day long. I was afraid a crisis had arrived that would lead to more of the plutonium produced at Hanford being used. Then one day, when I was particularly tense, I heard a report about Carl Sagan's study group's findings on the effects of a nuclear war. They said it would cause a "nuclear winter," ending all life on earth. Suddenly, I felt all my tension ease. I realized that it wasn't dying I had been afraid of.

It was surviving. Before Sagan's report, only people who thought they lived in a first-strike target didn't need to worry about survival; they were freed from thinking about what is most frightening.

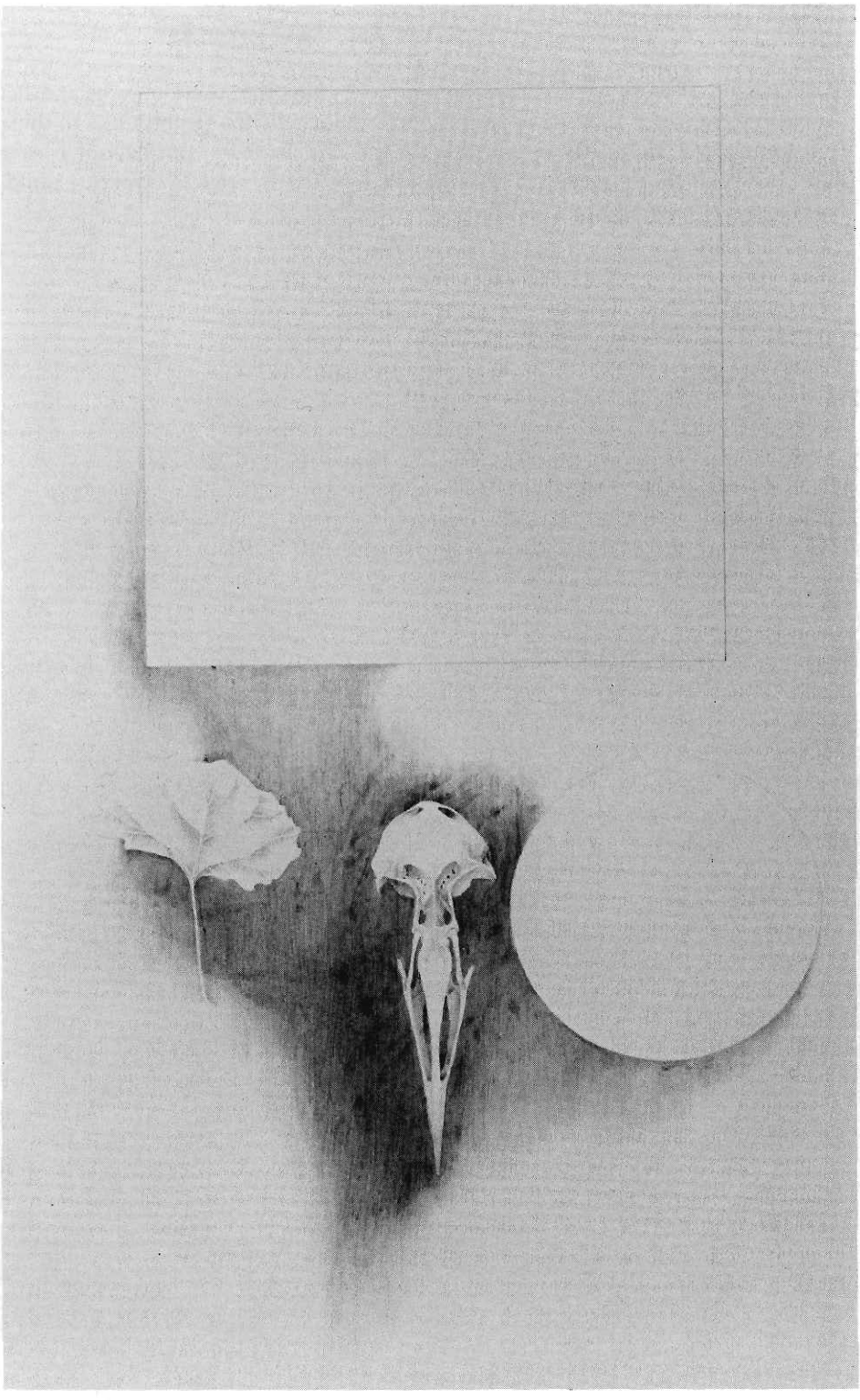
Now when someone asks me about feeling safe near Hanford, I talk about distances and dosimeters and tell a few Hanford jokes. If they ask about an attack, I tell them about Sagan's report and point out that though I hope we never find out for sure, if he's right, we all face the same danger, and if he's wrong, well, I probably won't be around to know. That may seem flippant, but it is hard to deal with such an irrational subject in any rational manner.

No one, after learning that I live in Richland, has ever asked me how I felt about supporting the arms race. Perhaps people are just polite, not wanting to bring up a controversial subject, or maybe they just assume nuclear workers are all in favor of it since it provides them with their livelihood. Most aren't. A few have a sense of mission that has carried over from Hanford's beginnings during World War II. Some have the attitude that people in Washington, D.C., who know more than they do have decided nuclear weapons are necessary and they are just supporting national policy as good citizens. A few have decided that since the plutonium is going to be made and the weapons built by well paid workers, they might as well have a piece of the action. Some, particularly safety workers of various sorts, view their work, not as part of the process of building weapons, but as keeping the people who live and work here safe. I felt that way writing reports on equipment developed to reduce workers' exposure to radiation. Many workers in the weapons plants view themselves as refugees from the nuclear power industry; they would rather be building or running power plants than producing plutonium for missile warheads, but the power industry is so moribund that there aren't many jobs available. Convinced that someday nuclear power plants will be desperately needed, they keep their licenses up to date and develop more expertise doing defense work until that day comes.

A few people have decided it's just another job. They may be right; in a technological society, who isn't contributing to defense work? In more agrarian times and societies, armies burned farmers' crops to destroy their enemies' means of support. Today that support comes from every part of society. Hanford workers made the plutonium for the bombs dropped on Japan. Los Alamos workers made the bombs. Workers in Boeing's factories built the bomber. Many people bought the war bonds that helped pay for it all. Who was responsible? Who built the bombs? Today Hanford workers make plutonium. Los Alamos and Rocky Flats workers build the actual warheads. Aerospace workers build the missiles. Steel factory workers make the steel for the missiles. Computer manufacturers build missile guidance systems. Everyone pays the taxes that pay for it. Who is responsible? Who really makes the weapons?

That is the real difference between Richland and most of the rest of the country. We are near enough to the end of the weapons production cycle that we can't forget. The security passes and dosimeters serve as a daily reminder

of what kind of work we do here. Sometimes I think that there may be another little girl somewhere practicing running to a fallout shelter. I don't like to think that somehow I am partly responsible for the fear she feels. But even if I leave here, how can that change? For it may be true that no one in America builds bombs, but it may also be true that everyone does.



Unfinished Sestina for the Secretary of Defense

Kathy Evans

We were inside the world.
The children were sleeping.
Light fell through the window.
One of us wore red.
Three tulips on the ledge mocked the sky.
We touched the cold, white walls.

In seconds the children were inside the walls.
The tulips closed; the world
opened. We were wearing the sky.
Those of who were not sleeping
watched the white light turn oxblood red.
Three of us blew out the window.

The world came through the window.
It stood on the ledge and mocked the walls.
Light fell through us, we, who were porous and red.
The tulips opened over the world.
No one was sleeping.
Three children wore the sky.

No one mocked the oxblood sky.
The tulips looked foreign in the window.
A white light fell over us like sleep.
We turned cold. Some of us opened the walls.
One of us on the ledge of the world
touched the tulips. All of us wore red.

The children, lacquered in red,
blew leaf-like from the ledge into the sky
where the light was wearing the world,
where the sky opened like a small window,
where we touched without hands, where the walls
blew away and the red tulips slept.

How do you tell the dead lain among the sleeping?
Mockingly, the windows are red.
The light of our blood falls through the walls.
All of us touch the sky.
The children are blooming in the window,
and the tulips are in flames on the ledge of the world.

KATHY EVANS teaches poetry to children through California Poets in the Schools. She has published her poetry in The Ensign, California Quarterly, *and* The American Poetry Anthology. *She is married and has four children.*

HOW MUCH FOR THE EARTH?
A Suite of Poems: About Time for Considering

Emma Lou Thayne

> The peril of extinction brings us up against this reality, this simple basic fact: Before there can be good or evil, service or harm, lamenting or rejoicing, there must be life.*

ABOUT CONSIDERING

Consider is the word
the bishops used last fall
as counsel to their people concerning buildup
for a war by holocaust. Consider.

A not-bad word, considering.
It makes you grateful you exist and can —
consider, that is.
You pay attention, you notice.
You want to be worthy of considering, consideration.

That's after all how you decide what hurts or makes you happy.
In this of all matters, it matters.

Given the idea, it is not a question of either words
or numbers, but something that will keep us humans
in business, the considering to which God bows,
to which theories of matter and mattering
come second if at all.

Relativity. I understand that's where it started.
Einstein and his "energy equals mass times the speed of light
squared."

To consider must be relative as well.
Relative to all I ever learned
in coming to this moment when speed of light
squares off against the speed of time.

And what I would consider
in this late season is: to calculate whether we peacemakers
shall inherit or destroy
this blessed earth.

---

* Jonathan Schell, *The Fate of the Earth*, Avon, N.Y., N.Y., 1982.

CONSIDERATION I

In Biology I at East High
I first learned: Matter can neither be created
nor destroyed, only altered.

Mr. Garratt, all ravaged moustache and rimless glasses,
moved with buffalo shoulders, walked formaldehyde
among his vials and microscopes
intent on frogs' vessels he could pluck with tweezers
to twang across the cognizance of fifteen-year-olds
tracing pulses for a grade
in the science of life.

Once, standing behind his high green counter in B-14
he lit a strip of litmus
in the blue gas flame of a Bunsen burner,
held its slim inches between his thumb and fingers,
watched the flame lick blue and yellow
till he had to drop it in a Petrie dish to finish.

From the fourth tier of pocked, armed desks,
my engines running, I watched the paper burn,
turn to ash, curl into itself
first black then grey
fine as the gossamer of remembering.

Not created. Not destroyed. Altered.

The arm of my desk like a Ouija board lifted
my hand expecting answers.

But only now the questions:
After the flames, where the turning
one way or another? Where the Phoenix?
The ascension?

Mr. Garratt, considering, I remember
ashes. Out of which nothing pours, rises, touches
freezes or floods.

Did what we learned mean anything?

CONSIDERATION II

In Salt Lake City, the morning of August 6th, 1945, the intersection
of First South and Main steamed under pedestrian traffic.
Street cars clanked out passengers from their middles,
took them up and in on flop-down steps in front.
A few cars cruised the block for angled parking
they would likely find in front of First Security,
Montgomery Ward, ZCMI.

At 10 A.M. on August 6th, 1945, I was walking east,
on break from my first full-time job, theoretically in advertising,
actually spraying fourteen hundred and
thirty-one colors on poster board
at Bennett Glass and Paint.
I walked past Dinwoodey's,
through the aroma of coffee being ground
at Cooks a block away,
to the clock in front of Zion's Bank.

Four newsboys
I could hear before I got there:
"Big Bomb Dropped on Japs!" "Extra, Extra! War Over Soon!"
"Extra, Extra! New Atom Bomb!" and "Extra, Extra Hiroshima Bombed!
Spells Peace!"

On the slant newsstand the fat paper.
Under the fat headlines, the fat mushroom cloud.
In the head of a twenty-year-old the wedding
of hope and destruction.

I was bound to believe.
Too full of youth and desperation
not to. At a corner, August shimmering hot and blue
for Utah, the not inconsiderable considerations:

My brother Homer home from the catapult
of his carrier in the Pacific. Guam
and Guadalcanal and Iwo Jima back to maps
and fiction
with sun instead of Stan and Clint
and Wilbur splashing on their shores.

Them back to filling tanks
and buying steaks and saddle shoes and sugar,
even nylon stockings for a girl —
all without a coupon.

Susan's father, Margaret's husband,
Grant, Parley, Jay — nobody else — ever!
listed in the paper Missing, Wounded,
Dead.

No more graveside flags and bugles.
Stuart out of prison camp,
back from the Philippines, home.

The bomb?
Like the sacking of Troy, something to survive forever
in remembering.

In that time so few things we needed to know. So
if the bomb ignited Nagasaki too?

In our steady attention to ceremony,
didn't Admiral Halsey and the Missouri
plow into Tokyo Bay by the 14th?
Didn't Hirohito and MacArthur sign us
into peace for all time?

Didn't we sing "Happy Days are Here Again"?

Knowing what of gene mutations
for thirty generations and radioactivity
that could shift monsoons
and cool the earth?

Didn't we go kissing and honking
in a giddy, waving hail
of filled up hallelujahs
down Main from First South
bumper to bumper all the way
to Liberty Park?

Like after any war, the celebrants.

The only thing created:
the power to destroy.

A finer ash
than litmus, Mr. Garratt.
A long long way past Troy.

CONSIDERATION III

In the 60s my freshman English classes stayed
at maybe thirty. Names came easy — in college
only surnames plus Mr., Miss, now and then a Mrs.
Polite and dignified the distance between rollbook
and desks. But like most affected distances
yielding to insistent 60s leaping of the gaps.

In English 2 the research paper
written partly from a Source Book so I the teacher
could substantiate the footnotes,
interpret the interpretations, grade
considerations.

Mr. Kerowski, behind Miss Dodd, right hand rear
of Orson Spencer 118 at 7:45, wore bib overalls,
toyed at his temple with blond frizz backed into a pony tail.
His French blue eyes took on John Hersey's *Hiroshima*
like stil ponds with wooded edges,
reflecting, absorbing, giving back. Once he asked
in class, considering, "Mrs. Thayne, did you really see
the pictures then — the eyes?"

I knew he meant the unbelieving eyes
in that 60s source book.

And yes, I saw them
in the seeping faces
and tried then to remember if first
before or after Don next door came home,
his destroyer drydocked, and thirty-thousand like him
on the G. I. Bill come back to life in Utah
to sit in classrooms where Mr. Kerowski and inquisitor
Miss Dodd, brown eyed and abundant, now a quarter century
later sat, her asking, "So what would those few days
have meant? The war was over, American authorities — they
knew — not a week at most before surrender would have come —
and those people — hundreds of thousands
turned to pulp
in Hiroshima . . ."

All those quarters I told about December 7th —
what I remembered of the Day of Infamy
to justify, to justify: the flag, the Star Spangled Banner,
Pearl Harbor, President Roosevelt
and us at seventeen packed into the Union Building Ballroom
listening to the declaration, wondering
what war was.

We who could not know that flame would
follow flame until the word for war was a word on fire,
in even our cloistered mountain deserts The Red Cross,
the USO, and men from Kearns in stiff boots
on their way overseas dancing meantime
on our floors and
in our dreams ashes to ashes
about to justify, to justify.

And Don and Scott and Rob and Homer —
of the thirty-thousand home, how many
would have died? I tried to keep on asking
and graded thirty, sixty, ninety research papers
some written so well I could tell
it happened again, again Hiroshima

that quarter and the next and next

not what the scientists and admirals and source book
brought to mind, but what my students saw,
what I remembered:

Torako Hironaka.

In her eyes a field of watermelons split,
a dead horse,
burned down power lines.
Her breasts torn,
Torako naked
walking in fragments of glass
crying "Aigo! Aigo!"

Her a vast sorrow
in the unforgettable fire
among other naked girls crying "Stupid America!"

My America.
My land of liberty and noble intention.

To whom I sang, sing.

And me grading papers
looking at myself
and fire and ashes
with eyes only starting to see.

CONSIDERATION IV

In the 50s we had five daughters.
They were one thing
growing up and dating boys who in the 70s
missed Viet Nam
but went away to summer camp
and made black jokes about the military.

But then they married. And I have seen
five grandsons and two baby girls
born in these eight years.

Each time it's gone like this —
five months ago for Coulson Paul,
six weeks ago for Michael Abraham —
I in that delivery room in my greens
official photographer.

I never saw my children born,
but bringing in another generation
I saw it all:

The mother, our daughter, pushing, obedient.

The doctor deft, all rubber hands and arms.

The father and I watching in rapture, terror, awe:

The coming!
The breathless what is "it"?
Mottled scalp. Bluish head.
White face. Turkey neck. Chest
more narrow than the head. Arms
akimbo.
Frog belly still connected.

A boy! A blazing genital boy.

Lifeless.

Smooth clay, lavendar
under cottage cheese netting.

The cord a milksnake
snapped
clamped.
Syringe into mouth.
All of him dangling from the big gloved hands
re-arranging him.

Breahe, little boy! Breathe!

Then, the life!

His one-inch hand with bright pink nails
opening. His lower lip curling.
The tiny tongue pushing out.
His head back — Waa!

The chest rising,
knees coming up. Feet kicking. Arms
flailing.

A sniff of oxygen from a miniature mask.

Into a blanket.
Given to his father.
Taken to his mother.
Me forgetting to snap what I came for.

No. We all had what I came for:

The wanted baby. Alive and well.

No. More.
The pure gift.
Life.
God's hand handing,
the voice saying, "Let there be *life*." And
"It is very good."

Still in my greens
I went to make my call.
The walls sang, the doors and staircases
danced.

I tried to tell on the phone what had happened.
It came out, "He's here. Seven ten. He's just fine.
So is his mother."

But in my car, my compact Fiesta Plum
I turned up E Street to high 11th Avenue.

I could see the mountains, the valley,
the city spangling on a hot July night.
On my stereo Anna Moffo sang the aria with flute
from Lucia.

"Birds," I thought, "streams and wind songs in trees.

My whole life."

Not a specific held in my head.

Only a giant rising and flowing
like the tears in that room,
that delivery room.

Delivery? Deliverance? Delivered?

I had been part of what makes clouds or the smell of rain
or the rhythm of sleeping and waking up. My skin
was the skin of the sky,
my traveling flight.
My arrival as ongoing as prayer.

Going home I would never be the same. I had been
home. Where else was there to go?

Now these weeks and months away from that astonishment
I think of babies
growing up to smile, touch,
run and sing and cry.

And one day to see their own be born.

And of the tons of dust and debris fused with
intensely radioactive fission products and sucked up
into the mushroom cloud, the mixture to return to earth
as radioactive fallout, most of it in the form of fine
ash, the sky and the earth altered.

11th Avenue gone
and no mountains
no radiant city
to exult with in the night.

Coulson Paul Rich or Michael Abraham Markosian
or maybe even Katie Ann Kilgore
ghosts?
Mustered to contend with
what is left by arsenals of armaments:
Ashes?

And I say No. For them for me, for all of us
with lots of places yet to go.

No. No thank you. No.

CONSIDERATION V

Thinking of her white hair never put in a bob
and her fingers lumped around needles
I called my Aunt Edna to say, "I've tried to reach you
to come for Sunday dinner."

I could feel
her unhurrying smile up out of her hurrying.
She's eighty-three. "If you ever want to reach me,"
she said, "call before seven or after eleven. I'm
with the Happy-Go-Luckies."

I do now, knowing
she's off somewhere other hours with the band,
the big harmonica band of the 10th East Senior Citizens' Center.
Mostly they're booked weeks ahead, at Christmas time months.
"How many are you?" I ask.

"Oh, maybe sixty
when we're all together." I can feel her beam.

"Do you get any training to play?"

"Oh sure, our leader, Ab —
he's really something. He tells you where to find the hole
and then you just blow draw blow."

Blow draw blow? No valves? No mouth and tongue
and hands arranged for sharps or flats? The band I hear
is better than the old calliope at Liberty Park.
They can go wishful as a bow on a saw by a man in prison
or ragamuffin as a turkey trot on Halloween.
These old ones who have perfected their fears and celebrations.

They've had time. Like Aunt Edna gathering eggs,
throwing balls at Morgan County fairs, run off at seventeen
to marry, stand on cement floors to sell men's lapels,
this year's wide, next year's narrow in ZC's budget store,
ride the bus at eight and six without vexation
to fix the meals and bottle the fruit
and plant the chrysanthemums for five children
and a husband "predisposed to drink."

Until the children married,
he died, and she retired at seventy
to her unlonely music and the shawls
crocheted for over sixty babies
in a solitude cramming her lifetime together
where a thousand hands could not accommodate
her generous resolve to get on with life. She continues,
Aunt Edna.

The continuers.
I used to have a string of them to play across by screen
in the night when my own visions ran pale: Mother, Father,
twelve uncles and my varigated aunts, even grandmas
and their slow syllables on my unlighted spaces.

I could count on them to speak a language I never
could not understand: To tell me how.

Now, them forced
one at a time from the screen, only Aunt Edna remains
to say, to show or tell me where she already is,
has come from. And she, my only history now
about to become another missing face.

I want her at my table.
Through her I can walk past myself
and remember what is yet to come. But at that table
mostly I am older than the rest. The house has thickened.
My husband and I, brothers, sisters, friends
startle ourselves with lingering past the childhood
that no longer includes us. We have grown huge with our following
as our clusters of kin and contemporaries thin out
till everywhere now is a dead and a living place.

We will find each other next in a dream,
our boundaries having moved with us,
no one left to look to but ourselves. So little time
for the looking to each other.

In the quiet, in my clumps of thought
I am joined now by your music, Aunt Edna.
I lie in bed and spread the light of it
with my fingers on the wall
where the shapes slide and become a calligraphy,
the signs of a language we speak only in shadows.

It says, Consider: Coming to know how to blowdrawblow
is right. Knowing how
before you die to grow so keenly old must be the answer:
There in your late music.

Experts tell us that in the thermal pulse two miles across
any human beings would be reduced to smoke and ashes.
They would simply disappear. Babies, old folks,
us in between the same.
With no history left to rely on
or music to pass along.

Or a word to say I loved you all . . .

But not enough
to end the race to stockpile devastation
before it ended us.

What fear compels us more than what we love?
What does it matter what we know?
Where might be the courage to blow draw blow?

CONSIDERATION VI

The man at Dachau
didn't know of course that I was watching him,
me for my first time in Europe that August of 1982
sprung giddy from the Jungfrau, Lake Geneva
Eurail, *pension*, a bus of swaying shoulders
through Munich to Dachau.

This we thought would be a place to look at fear
and how to overcome it. But in the museum a single film
had been enough for me: Ignited eyes, boned corpses.
I chose to wait, solitary, on cement steps to an old entry
while my family went to tour the ovens.
Despairing in that stark enclosure, I thought,
"Is this how we grope our way past the terrors,
of this century? By coming to this place of gloom?
Here where life is written off before it has begun?"

But thirty feet away a man my age stood in the vast
square of gravel and took over my personal history.

He and I were alone in that place that is a place,
me on my steps in my Levi skirt and running shoes,
him in his light blue suit and shirt and tie,
even his hair like women dipped in bluing,
his DeGaulle profile an imprint
on the rain-heavy sky. He leaned up from a strand
of mahogany cane, alert
as if in one of those childhood games
played only after dark, everyone frightened
of being found.

He stared across the desolate parade ground.
His gaze, like memory pulled across a rasp, riveted
on the blue plaster barracks and the one door, a blue door,
as if it had scent and vibration across the distance
to his face and was waving him back through history.

He watched the door, I watched him, both of us
at eye level with that dead and living picture:
Behind him an L of grass. Beyond it the black metal sculpture:
Bodies, fingers, knees — going up in smoke. Out of sight
a child wailing MaMaaaa. A far rim of trees, not one
old.

Their leaves of course contained in them instructions to fall.
They would whirl unamazed into the next season. Others would
be back green, new growth no more than
the changing of skins.

But the seasons that had turned that man and me
grey had not prepared us for letting go.
I felt what it was like to be part of a space not mine,
to shiver at wanting something to hold to
and having only shards even to grasp for. He became all I had,
the present, a presence: He will always be here.

He stares without motion, involved as a lover
awaiting a lover in a crowd. Like a camera his gaze inches
from end to end of the barracks, returns, returns
to the door. It is more than a memorial he is attending.
The building keeps everything; it remembers.
He listens to its voices with a look of such sadness
I want to touch it away. Who might have known I could be
so held by what passes between a stranger and the years,
him searching for a day and finding it?

From his blue door, what corpses thrown out,
limbs so smooth they might have been alive?
Civilian? Soldier? Captive? Was he one who with calipers
extracted teeth and ran? Where might those legs have been?
And how did they perform in Dachau?
It is happening again in the blue of his eyes
on that blue door.

Eyes still on the door, he turns, tries to vanish
as a person would having seen it all.
But his body speaks.
Its faithless legs become flippers.
They do not walk, they go toe first,
calf extended, toe, heel, hinges sprung
to flop ahead past the ballast of the flimsy cane,
toe after toe dragging in gravel,
a masterpiece of regret, holy and helpless.

Retreating, he halts at a three-inch step.
He reaches hand to knee
pulls each leg up, over.
Eyes still on the door
in a day that revolves too close around us both,
he pulls himself erect. Contained, as if wound

he starts up again, loses his saving shape,
plummets
like a timber to the iron fence,
his cane a small crash.

His hands, free and ready
as if part of an act no one wanted to see,
catch the skeleton that hauls itself together,
straightens,
and like a movie of destruction playing backwards
flop flop flip flops,
a blue stick figure off and gone from everything
but the camera in my grey head.

It's five o'clock. The parade ground
is almost empty. My family are still somewhere
maybe underground, touring.

And if they were never to come back? Who would I be?
I who thought I was the sort of girl to leave a page
because one hand held another,
or could skim or skip some altogether.

But not so. The six million
talk to me without their crypts and ashes.

Like my man in blue they have teeth to brush
and loves to find
and blue doors needing to be looked into.

Now here they come, the alive ones,
my four dears back from the furnaces
walking from behind the sign M U S E U M.

Under it the large outstanding script
in four languages: NEVER AGAIN.

Suppose the ovens were thermal nuclear?
Out of them clouds of dust
and mushroom clouds spreading over
anywhere we were, coming together
to form vast canopies, to turn day into night.
Fires would spring up in Munich
and Mt. Air Canyon —
in every forest dry enough to burn,
in the seeping rubbish of Salt Lake City
and Sanpete County. And in San Francisco,
Bangkok
Florence
Bombay
Kiev
and Chad, Nigeria.

The world would simply go from boom to fire to ash.

Evacuation? Shelters?

No way.
No hole big enough
to hide or bury
all of us or nature in.

And no one left
to consider: Even extermination
was not extinction.

More than NEVER AGAIN —

NEVER!

Not even now the last consideration —
the bleak obscenity
of racing to out race each other
to the end.

CONSIDERING — THE END

So finally I consider only life: The holocaust ahead
would leave no one behind
to question how we happened not to happen
in any moment but our tragic own.

I have only one voice, one language,
one set of memories to look back on,
a thousand impulses to look ahead
if I will
if there is time
to consider:
How much for the earth?
what would I keep?

Blue mountains against a black sky,
Smiles exchanged so well we do not know our ages or conditions.

Snow melted, leaves moving again,
In a voice, rain finding its way to the stream.

Heat rising like wands from the desert,
A could drink, the touch of hair enough all by itself.

First apricot pickle sharp, a phone ringing on time,
Lights going on, wanting them off for the dark.

A song flooded with memory, smell of pinon in fire, onion in stew,
A dancer watched like a child, a child in flight like a dancer.

Hot soup, hot bath, hot air to take to the canyon,
Aging slowly from the bones outward, time to pick and choose.

A wooden spoon, the white whisper of a needle in cloth,
Laughing like tossed water, skis on snow.

Smell of soap, hot animal. An apple, crisp. A ball hit,
Tongue of a lover, dream of a dead mother stroking our cheek.

An idea, the Pieta, the Hand of God, a word, a prayer,
The word, the earth far from without form and void.

The earth created and not destroyed. If altered,
not back to darkness upon the face of the deep.

You, me, combinations of color and sound,
The spirit of God moving upon the waters.

A child born, an aunt with reason to blow draw blow,
A celebration for the end of war. A new generation inevitable.

The coming of sun because it is good.
A world alive for a blue door to open onto.

A candle, a kiss, eyes meeting. Holding.
Life — to consider.

Then no more considering, hypothesizing, tolerating.

No litmus-paper ending in a cosmic Petrie dish.

No more silence.

For the earth?

For the life in me, in you,
I say Yes. Yes thank you, Yes.

In your breath fused with mine
Even ashes stir and glow.

It's time. It's time we said together
Yes to life. To ashes, simply No.

EMMA LOU THAYNE, a poet living in Salt Lake City, recently returned from the Soviet Union where, among other poems, she read these. Originally written to accompany a performance of Bach music performed by David Freed, these poems were published in a limited edition, with permission, for Utahns United Against Nuclear War. They have since been translated into German and Russian.

A Survey of Current Dissertations and Theses

Stephen W. Stathis

Perhaps the Roman historian Tacitus put it as well as anyone when he wrote that "history's highest function" is "to let no worthy action be uncommemorated, and to hold out the reprobation of posterity as a terror to evil words and ideas." Although the accompanying dissertations and theses may not achieve the standard Tacitus set for himself, they nevertheless serve as a reminder of the various avenues the continuing quest for personal excellence may take.

With Robert Louis Millet's consideration of "The Development of the Concept of Zion in Mormon Theology" we see constancy and change as coexistent elements in the Mormon religious tradition. In "The Influence of Mormonism on American Literature," Francis J. Manning seeks not only to contrast pro-Mormon and anti-Mormon writings (as several others have already done), but also to evaluate the fiction, poetry, and drama associated with the Mormon experience and to assess its impact upon American literature.

Looking at Brigham Young's influence on the development of education in early Utah, Lee Howard Grishman evaluates the prophet as an educator and his influence on early Utah education. Through the use of quantitative methodology, D. Gene Pace analyzes the impact of the leadership of more than a thousand nineteenth-century Mormon bishops on the political, economic, and social development of Utah prior to statehood.

Ross Patterson Poore, Jr., in providing an in-depth look at *Lanner v. Wimmer*, the recent federal court case that reviewed the constitutionality of the Mormon Church's released-time seminary program, chronicles the nuances of one of the more provocative legal issues the Church has confronted during the past decade. Focusing on the belief systems of the Amish and the Mormons, Elizabeth Laura Lathrop shows the effect of the structure of these two socio-cultural groups on quiltmaking within each movement.

Students of polygamy will be especially interested in Dorothy Geneve Young Willey's master's thesis on "Childhood Experiences in Mormon Polygamous Families at the Turn of the Century."

ART

Adams, Robert Alan. "An Examination of Art Used Officially by the LDS Church." Honors thesis, Brigham Young University, 1984.

Hafen, Patricia Jane. "A Pale Reflection: American Indian Images in Mormon Arts." M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1984.

Lathrop, Elizabeth Laura. "Outer Image, Inner Things: A Study of the Relationship Between Belief System and Artistic Expression." Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1982.

BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY AND EDUCATION

See also WOMEN

Allred, Keith W. "An Investigation of the Relationship Between Career Appraisal and Status of Burn-Out among Religious Educators within the Educational System of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1984.

Cox, Neal LaVaun. "Western Samoa and LDS Educational Programs: Cultural Projections through 1992." Ed.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1984.

Emmett, Chad Fife. "An Attitude Survey of Brigham Young University Jerusalem Center Students (Fall 1982) Towards the Arab-Israeli Conflict." M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1984.

Grishman, Lee Howard. "The Influence of Brigham Young in the Development of Education in Early Utah." Ed.D. diss., Columbia University Teachers College, 1983.

Hancock, Donald C. "Arbitrary Precision Arithmetic for the Common Lisp Project Being Implemented at Brigham Young University." Honors thesis, Brigham Young University, 1984.

Hatch, David Kirk. "International Travel of Brigham Young University Faculty." M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1984.

Hill, David H. "Perceptions of Parents and Teachers of a Bi-Weekly Report System in Selected LDS Daytime Seminaries." Ed.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1984.

Joy, Robert O. "A Perceptual Survey Relating to the Administrative Contributions of Each President of BYU-Hawaii Campus: Its First Twenty-Five Years." Ed.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1984.

Kernan, John Nelson. "A History of Brigham Young University Men's Cross Country and Track and Field, and an Evaluation of Program Success 1960–1980." Ed.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1984.

Ladanye, Thomas Wendell. "A Study of Twelve Successful Latter-day Seminary Teachers: How They Are Perceived by Their Students with Reference to Care and Respect." Ed.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1984.

Monnett, John Daniel. "The Mormon Church and Its Private School System in Utah: The Emergence of the Academies 1880–1892." Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1984.

Oles, Gordon Wayne Allen. "Professionals' Perceptions of Pre-Service Training Needs of BYU Survival Staff." M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1984.

Page, Glen C. "Evaluation of Youth Leadership Curriculum at Brigham Young University." M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1984.

Poore, Ross Patterson, Jr. "Church-School Entanglement in Utah: Lanner v. Wimmer." Ed.D. diss., University of Utah, 1983.

Price, Paul Burton. "The Effects of a Curriculum Supplement on the Moral Reasoning of Adolescents Attending Weekday Religious Education." M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1984.

Tippetts, Larry Wayne. "An Analysis of the Teaching Support Program of the LDS Church Educational System." Ed.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1984.

Computers

Smith, Larry Kay. "Using Microcomputers to Project LDS Church Growth." Honors thesis, Brigham Young University, 1984.

Family Life

Partridge, Thomas L. "Perceived Similarity and Value Agreement Identification with Parents among LDS Adolescent Males." M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1983.

History

Bergeson, Nancy. "History of the Forty-Second Parallel as a Political Boundary Between Utah and Idaho." M.A. thesis, Utah State University, 1984.

Grandstaff, Mark Raymond. "The Impact of the Mormon Migration on the Community of Kirtland, Ohio, 1830–1839." M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1984.

Millett, Robert Louis. "The Development of the Concept of Zion in Mormon Theology." Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1983.

Pace, Donald Gene. "Community Leadership on the Mormon Frontier: Mormon Bishops and the Political, Economic and Social Development of Utah before Statehood." Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1983.

Shoemaker, Stephen Todd. "Saltair and the Mormon Church." M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1983.

Literature

Manning, Francis J. "The Influence of Mormonism on American Literature." Ph.D. diss., University of Miami, 1983.

Moore, Richard G. "A History of Mormon Periodicals from 1830–1838." M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1984.

Polygamy

Nelson, Christa M. "Mormon Polygamy in Mexico." M.S. thesis, University of Utah, 1983.

Willey, Dorothy Geneve Young. "Childhood Experiences in Mormon Polygamous Families at the Turn of the Century." M.A. thesis, Utah State University, 1983.

Women

Anderton, Douglas L. "A Quantitative Analysis of Behavioral Change in the Utah Frontier Fertility Transition: Women Birth Cohorts, 1840–1899." Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1984.

Bush, David Wayne. "Depression among Women and Their Perception of Power and Status." Ph.D. diss., Utah State University, 1984.

Christensen, Maribeth. "A Comparison of Latter-day Saint Women Re-entry Students and Non-Students: Perceptions of Family, Educational, Religious, and Work Backgrounds." M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1984.

Conover-Phillips, Rosemary. "Variation in Age of Menarche Among Mormons in Ogden, Utah: A Multifactorial Study." Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1984.

Cooley, Michael Floyd. "Social Background and Perceptual Correlates of Gender Roles and Academic Access at Brigham Young University." Ed.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1984.

Dalley, Karla. "Correlation of Health Locus of Control and Health Beliefs of LDS Women." M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1984.

Summers, Carrie Tanner. "The Incidence of Obesity in LDS College Women: The Effect of Selected Physical Socio-Environmental Variables on the Total Percent Body Fat in Two Populations of LDS Women." M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1984.

Tonks, Renata. "Education for Women at Brigham Young University: Students' Perceptions of Opportunities, Problems, and Stereotypes." Honors thesis, Brigham Young University, 1984.

Weldon, Linda K. "Female Attrition in Higher Education: A Trend Study of Brigham Young University 1975 to 1982." Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1984.

Worlton, Marsha W. "The Relationship, in an LDS Sample, Between Marital Congruence of Attitude and Work Status and Child Outcomes of Social Competency, I.Q., and School Adjustment." M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1984.

Brief Notices

Gene Sessions

SOME TIME AGO, a slithery fellow came through my neighborhood selling "Church history tapes." Always interested in what people are willing to do to escape reading, I invited the man in and agreed to listen to his demo cassette. While he booted it up in his player, he prattled about how the "Brothern" had endorsed the tapes and that Orson Scott Card had scripted them. Inasmuch as I had heard of Card's potential to take Mormon culture a major step in the direction of intellectual maturity (to paraphrase Doug Alder's overstated review of Card's *A Woman of Destiny*, UEH, April 1984), I expected a pleasant surprise. Ten minutes later, I threw the guy out. The dramatization taught me that Joseph Smith and his associates were nothing more or less than "Gunsmoke" versions of Paul Dunn and the Osmonds. I have worried ever since about the power of electronic technology to destroy the quality and depth of Mormonism as the Saints (in hand with the gentiles) increasingly insist upon entertainment as the path to understanding. My experience with the Church history huckster occurred at about the same time as blacks were learning everything there was to know about slavery from TV's "Roots." More recently, Americans saw how George Washington was really an egalitarian chap with the hair-sprayed coiffure of Barry Bostwick who loved Jaclyn Smith rather than Martha the whole time, just like in the soap operas.

So, you say, another historian gets mad because he cannot make history interesting enough to compete with fictionalized drama. Tough. But what about the scriptures? If they're not interesting enough to compete with drama and fiction, what then? I happen to agree wholeheartedly with "a discouraged lover of the scriptures" who early in 1984 became so fed up with the hogwash he heard in the Living Scriptures version of the Book of Mormon that he wrote to the company's president Jared F. Brown an anguished letter charging that "poetic license" had actually distorted even the simple facts of the story to say nothing of the sentient impact of the canon. Brown's demo tape, for example, has Father Lehi telling Ishmael that he has four sons but no daughters when 2 Nephi 5:6 states that Nephi had sisters. Of course, such enterprises as Living Scriptures worry little about the truth in their eager pursuit of mannon, which is why this quarter's Milk the Mormons Award (the coveted "Elsie") goes to Brown and other such entrepreneurs of ignorance who so lucratively exploit the willingness of Mormons to forsake the seeking of knowledge from the best books in favor of dramatized claptrap.

An older and more praiseworthy method of making the scriptures less dreadful to read and more accessible to the ordinary student is through the production of commentaries and guides. These run the gamut between the superb and the stupid, not only among the Mormons but with all scripture-based religionists from Jesuits to Jehovah's Witnesses. A potentially good LDS commentary to appear recently is Monte S. Nyman, *"The Words of Jeremiah"* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980, 120 pp., index, $6.50). Readable although decidedly superficial, it summarizes and outlines the essentials of Jeremiah's message particularly as it took the common form of prophecy. Nyman's thrust consists of tying Jeremiah into the Book of Mormon as well as bringing his words into har-

mony with the pronouncements of latter-day prophets. Each chapter contains a brief summary of a section of Jeremiah and then a verse-by-verse or verse-group analysis of the scripture. Unfortunately, the BYU professor of ancient scriptures became so anxious to get his work into the Mormon book market that he apparently allowed the good milkmen at Bookcraft to contort the manuscript until it would "prove" the doctrine of a preexistence among the ancient Hebrews and to mention ad nauseam often tenuous connections between the meaning of Jeremiah and the course of the Restoration. As usual, what could have been a solid Mormon contribution to Bible scholarship became in the hands of Mormon book-hawkers a rather narrow and doctrinnaire polemic. Perhaps Nyman intended it to be just that, but we can hope otherwise.

One of Nyman's colleagues at BYU has taken the scripture-improvement effort more seriously. Representative of an colossal amount of work, Avraham Gileadi's *The Apocalyptic Book of Isaiah: A New Translation with Interpretive Key* (Provo: Hebraeus Press, 1982, 207 pp., $9.95) is a masterpiece of scholarship which raises the words of Isaiah, in Hugh Nibley's words, "above the level of superficial manuals, piecemeal commentaries, sketchy summaries, classroom routine, and microscopic learned routines." Gileadi reworks most of Isaiah, casting the poetry into verse and recasting much of its bulky language. Nowhere in the book does the translator/commentator succumb to the temptation to make his work into a supportive timber for the superstructures of Mormon theology and scriptural interpretation as did Nyman's treatment of Jeremiah. Consequently, non-Mormon Bible scholars have hailed his book as "new-dimensional" (R. K. Harrison of the University of Toronto) and "exhaustive" (David Noel Freedman of the University of Michigan). But Gileadi's book appeared from a minor local press and has sold few copies while Nyman's hit the local bigtime at Bookcraft to house his wife and eight kids. "Choose ye this day. . . ."

Although the new translation of Isaiah is a type of book unfortunately destined to have little impact on Mormondom, few Latter-day Saints escape the weight of modern anti-Mormon propaganda. Literally dozens of books and a boxload of pamphlets are now in print either for the purpose of converting misguided Mormons to a purer brand of Christianity or to dissuade investigators. This, of course, is and has probably built a new family room nothing new, but in recent years, primarily due to the efforts of Jerald and Sandra Tanner and such groups as the Utah Tract Society, anti-Mormon publishing has acquired a fresh and correlated vigor. Occasional counter-efforts have fallen short of the mark and have done little to diminish the strength of these dedicated crusaders. Although Tanner diatribes and similar material often elicit boisterous laughter from Mormons well-schooled in the historical method, the work goes forward in such lengthening strides that we need not mention here the many current efforts of these valiant and usually quixotic warriors for the "truth."

Recently, an Arizona couple, Robert L. and Rosemary Brown, determined to fight fire with fire and have published a Tanner-style volume called *They Lie in Wait to Deceive* (Mesa: Barnsworth Publishing Company, 1981, v+287 pp., $9.95) that also appears to be a call for donations to a "Religious Research Association" that will continue the struggle against the anti-Mormons. The Browns' first volume consists mostly of a very devastating dismemberment of the famous and verbose Dee Jay Nelson, who has made a fine living lecturing as an "Egyptologist" on the fraudulent qualities of the Book of Abraham. While the Brown book represents an unbelievable amount of work and miniscule attention to detail, it reads and looks just like a Tanner publication, with excited prose and bold-face emphases. Whether this is a better approach to the problem

than ignoring it (which seems to be the essential position of the Church itself) remains to be seen, but narrow-focus scholasticism has consistently backfired in the past. One thing, however, is for certain: The Browns have buried the Nelson imposture, and that alone makes their book worth its paper.

Unworthy of its paper or anything else is this quarter's winner of the Pull the Latter-day Leg Award. If there is anything worse in print than Mormon books full of "true stories of humor and inspiration for teenagers and youth," it could only be *The Wit and Wisdom of the Ayatollah Khomeini.* Allen K. Burgess, *From Twisted Ear to Reverent Tear* (Provo: Perry Enterprises, 1983, 89 pp., $7.98) contains twenty-three insipid anecdotes just right for youth speakers to read in sacrament meeting. By the time the Church reaches saturation with this issue's Ahab-winner, there will undoubtedly be a sequel called *From Twisted Mind to Reverent Whine*, a book of true stories of humor and inspiration for residents of insane asylums filled to the brim with Mormons who lost their marbles sitting through such drivel week after week. The thing that makes this particular volume even worse than *Especially for Mormons* is that all twenty-three stories not only bore with exactitude but also make a science out of overblowing the commonplace. And get this advice to the lovelorn: "Remember, all you handsome, spiritual, neat, talented guys, when your heart is stolen by some beautiful, spiritual, talented young lady who just happens to make the best apple pie in the world, stop and ask your Father in Heaven if she is right for you." (p. 63) If He says no, give her heart and the pie right back. In case you have a hard time retching them up, just remember this book.

For those who prefer their true stories of humor and inspiration celebrity-style, we notice Luise King Rey's *Those Swinging Years: An Autobiography* (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing Company, 1983, 154 pp., illus. $10.95). Although her hip nephew Lex de Azevedo (who won last quarter's Ahab) should have warned her that the BYU Bookstore might not carry a book about "swinging," Rey has produced a fascinating memoir, not only illuminating the rise to stardom of the King Sisters (and later Family) but also shedding poignant light upon the lives and trials of the many Mormons who, like the Kings, joined the twentieth-century American pilgrimage to the Golden State. Well worth the price of the book are the collection of nostalgic photographs and scrap-book items in the back of the volume. While avoiding controversy, Luise reveals (mostly between the lines) the travail of her family as it sought to play the gentile entertainment game without losing the meaning of its heritage. Although the bulk of the book will appeal only to King family and friends, that strange breed called California Mormons will also recognize both the scenery and the sentiments.

Another book about a different strain of Mormons is Rendell N. Mabey and Gordon T. Allred, *Brother to Brother* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1984, viii+161 pp., illus. $7.95), the story of the two missionary couples who went into West Africa in 1978 to organize official branches of the Church where in Ghana and Nigeria several hundred "Mormons" already worshipped a semblance of the God of Joseph, Brigham, and Spencer. In one year, Ren and Rachel Mabey along with Ted and Janath Cannon baptized more than 1,700 Africans and created five districts and thirty-five branches. Their story reads like a great adventure and is probably as faith-promoting a volume as has come along in years. In the capable hands of accomplished and colorful writer Gordon Allred, *Brother to Brother* inspires admiration for the two couples as well as pangs of sentiment for the humble souls in Africa who seem to have found peace of mind in a strange religion from the heartland of America.

An important part of that heartland, Jackson County, Missouri, holds both cur-

rent and historic significance to all Saints of various varieties, including those whose attitudes about priesthood allowed them to pursue African converts long before the Cannons and the Mabeys. Presently underway all across the country, Windsor Press's community history projects have already covered most major American towns, including Salt Lake City (by John McCormick) and now Sherry Lamb Schirmer and Richard D. McKinzie, *At the River's Bend: An Illustrated History of Kansas City, Independence, and Jackson County* (Woodland Hills, California: Windsor Publications, Inc., 1982, 362 pp., biblio., index, $24.95). Beautifully packaged, well-written, and lavishly illustrated, the Kansas City history is a centerpiece of publishing and writing quality. Its brief though complete treatment of the Mormon part of the community's story is typical of the overall quality of the production. Pleasantly understanding though perhaps overly sympathetic, the authors trace concisely the arrival, the trials, and the expulsion of the Saints in the 1830s and then the return of the RLDS. This is a book that exemplifies the best in local history, a delightful contrast to what this column usually addresses itself. So, you see, you critics of "Brief Notices," I am not such a hardened curmudgeon after all.

Ancient Chiasmus Studied

Chiasmus in Antiquity: Structures, Analyses, Exegesis by John W. Welch, ed. (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1981), 353 pp.

Reviewed by John S. Kselman, Associate Professor of Semitic Languages at the Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C., and book review editor for the *Catholic Biblical Quarterly.*

FOR THE LAST TWO CENTURIES, the scientific study of the Bible has been dominated by historical concerns, as scholars have attempted, in different ways, first to write a history of the literature of ancient Israel and of the primitive church, and then, on the basis of these sources, to reconstruct the histories of both communities. The methods developed for such study over the last two centuries are varied. To mention two examples, there are source criticism (the attempt to discover and describe the several sources that make up a book like Genesis) and form criticism (the study of the recurring patterns of the small, presumably originally oral units of the literature, and the purposes for these units — preaching, catechesis, miracle stories or the like, as in the synoptic gospels).

The impact of such historical questions and concerns has been enormously productive; these methods have cast new light on many obscurities of the biblical text. However, the dominance of the historical-critical method in biblical studies and in the professional training of biblical scholars has had the unintended effect of deflecting interest from the literary-esthetic level of the text. There were, to be sure, scholars who studied the biblical text as literature, like the English scholar R. G. Moulton at the end of the nineteenth century and the American Nils Lund at the beginning of the twentieth; but they were a minority.

Happily, the situation has changed dramatically in recent years. While not ignoring or rejecting the continued importance of the historical-critical method, more and more scholars are turning their attention to the literary qualities of the Old and New Testaments. The volume under review is one of the most recent and most interesting of such studies. Its approach is both narrow and wide: narrow, in that it studies only one literary device, chiasmus; wide, in that it is concerned with this device not only in biblical literature, but in such related literature as that of ancient Mesopotamia, of the second millennium B.C. Syrian city of Ugarit, and of the fifth century B.C. Aramaic literature of Elephan-

tine. The volume also includes a study of chiasmus in classical Greek and Latin literature, in post-biblical Jewish literature, and in the Book of Mormon.

In the introduction (pp. 9–16), John Welch, to whom we owe double gratitude for editing the volume as well as for several contributions to it, describes chiasmus as "the appearance of a two-part structure or system in which the second half is a mirror image of the first, i.e. where the first term recurs last, and the last first" (p. 10). An example of this simplest form of chiasmus is found in Isaiah 22:22:

I will place the key of the House of David on his shoulder;
when he opens, no one shall shut,
when he shuts, no one shall open.

The balance and inversion that mark the last two lines above are chiastic and can be represented schematically as AB//BA. However, the volume's contributors are not concerned primarily with such simple and obvious inversions but with more elaborate and extended inverted structures discoverable in larger units of the text as described, for instance, in Michael Fishbane's fine study of the chiastic structure of the cycle of Jacob stories in Genesis 25–35, originally published in the *Journal of Jewish Studies* 26 (1975): 15–38 — a study that does not seem to have been noted by Y. T. Radday in his chapter on "Chiasmus in Hebrew Biblical Narrative" (pp. 50–117).

It is virtually impossible to summarize or evaluate thoroughly a book like this, whose importance lies in the hundreds of examples that are included. Therefore, I will focus on those chapters that were of most interest to me. My professional interest in the Old Testament drew me first to the contributions of Radday and W. G. E. Watson, "Chiastic Patterns in Biblical Hebrew Poetry" (pp. 118–68). These two chapters, along with that of John Welch on "Chiasmus in the New Testament" (pp. 211–49), make up over a third of the book, some 160 pages. Watson's article was especially full and well documented. Also of high interest to me was the contribution of B. Porten, "Structure and Chiasm in Aramaic Contracts and Letters" (pp. 169–82). In this relatively brief piece, the presence of chiastic patterning in ordinary Aramaic business documents — material that in no sense could be described as "literature" — demonstrates the ubiquity of the device in the ancient Near East.

Another paper of particular interest to me and presumably to the readers of DIALOGUE, is the editors' contribution on "Chiasmus in the Book of Mormon" (pp. 198–210). The instances of chiastic arrangements of material, particularly in the early parts of the Book of Mormon, are set out with clarity and with an admirably non-apologetic tone. As a non-Mormon, I would draw different inferences from the evidence, a possibility that Welch allows for, both at the beginning and at the end of this article. In evaluating this contribution, it seems to me that the point Welch makes (i.e., that the presence of chiastic structures in parts of the Book of Mormon indicates their status as ancient scripture) is weak, or at least is explainable in other ways. After all, if one wants to repeat a list of items not haphazardly, but in some sort of order, there are only two ways to do it: by mirroring the first instance (ABCD=ABCD), or by reversing it (ABCD=DCBA). I am also impressed by the work of several contemporary LDS scholars who are believers who approach the Book of Mormon as genuine revealed scripture but as equivalent to the pseudepigraphical literature of the Old Testament (the book of Daniel, written in the second century B.C. but purporting to be from the sixth century B.C.), or of the New Testament (the Pastoral Epistles — 1–2 Timothy and Titus — claiming to be written by the apostle Paul but actually written after his death, perhaps as late as the mid-second century A.D.). This approach would explain the apparent dependence of the Book of Mormon on the King James version of the Bible (a charge used regularly by opponents of Mormonism

in their critiques), while allowing for the genuine, if pseudepigraphical, character of the Book of Mormon as revealed scripture. Let me conclude by saying again that Welch presents the evidence irenically and fairly.

As I intimated above, the articles singled out for particular mention are those that fell within the area of my competence as a biblical scholar. For completeness, let me mention briefly the other contributions: "Chiasm in Sumero-Akkadian" (pp. 17–35), by Robert F. Smith, who also prepared the index for the volume; "Chiasmus in Ugaritic" (pp. 36–49), by John W. Welch; "Chiasmus in Talmud-Aggadic Narrative" (pp. 183–97), by Jonah Fraenkel; and "Chiasmus in Ancient Greek and Latin Literatures" (pp. 250–68), by John W. Welch. The book includes as well a brief preface by David Noel Freedman (pp. 7–8), a bibliography (pp. 269–86), and an index (pp. 287–352).

The great value of a book of this type is that it will focus the attention of scholars on literary devices like chiasmus; and such attention will bring new instances to light. For instance, in his article on chiasmus in the New Testament, Welch notes that 2 Corinthians is one of the Pauline epistles that "appear[s] to contain little chiastic structure" (p. 219). He might wish to consult an article by M. L. Barré ("Paul as 'Eschatologic Person': A New Look at 2 Cor 11:29," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 37 [1975]: 500–26) in which the author reveals the chiastic character of 2 Corinthians 11:21–29.

Of particular importance in an encyclopedic work like this are the full indexes. Without them, the book would have considerably less value as a reference work not only to be read, but to which the scholar will want to return frequently.

I conclude by noting that this is not a book for the general reader, although the material is presented clearly enough for comprehension; it is a book for the scholar of the literatures of antiquity. A book that demands and amply repays intensive study, it is highly recommended.

Copies of *Chiasmus in Antiquity* may be ordered either from the publisher, Gerstenberg Verlag, Postfach 390, 3200 Hildesheim, West Germany, for DM95, or from the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, Box 7113, University Station, Provo, UT 84602, for $34. A few copies of the first edition are left. Depending on local inventories, delivery may be prompt or may take several months.

An Unfocused Vision of Zion

Chesterfield: Mormon Outpost in Idaho, edited by Lavina Fielding Anderson (Bancroft, Idaho: Chesterfield Foundation, Inc., 1982), 91 pp., price unknown.

Reviewed by Phillip Neuberg, Architectural Conservator, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

"I felt the beginnings of a gnawing wish that somewhere we could find a little village to preserve" (p. 1).

AFTER A CENTURY OF fledgling survival, Chesterfield, a quiet, remote hamlet in southeastern Idaho, has suddenly become the subject of unprecedented attention. This hamlet is curiously without any of the trappings of the contemporary landscape — fast food restaurants, gasoline stations or residential subdivisions. The Chesterfield Foundation, established in 1979, aims to preserve Chesterfield's largely unaltered nineteenth-century image. This book of essays is a valuable resource from the first phase of the foundation's preservation plan, and received a special citation from the Mormon History Association in 1983. Reading between the lines from essay to essay, one gleans that Chesterfield is not a typical nineteenth-century Mormon village either. This interesting discovery could have made an excellent theme with which

to unite the otherwise disparate essays into a cohesive statement about Chesterfield. To the reader's and the book's misfortune, it was not.

Nevertheless, the book is a commendable effort. Using a multidisciplinary approach, it incorporates eight separately authored essays (two of which are photographic) on diverse aspects of Chesterfield's history. Davis Bitton's study, "Play and a Lot of Hard Work: Group Life in Chesterfield" and Lawrence G. Coates's thorough "Chesterfield and her Indian Neighbors" are indicative of the original research that the book required. F. Ross Peterson's "Chesterfield: A Picture from the Past" and Leonard J. Arrington and Richard L. Jensen's "Making a Living: Economic Life of Chesterfield" are particularly successful at conveying Chesterfield's uniqueness as a Mormon Village. Their findings are enhanced by the decidedly tasteful and readable format of the book.

Chesterfield remains important today as an area for future study not because of its typicalities but because of its oddities. An LDS community, it was not settled in typical LDS fashion. It was a speculative venture by LDS ranchers whose linear settlement pattern so appalled visiting Church authorities that it was subsequently platted according to standard Mormon design. Even then, the town departed from the ideal square mile arrangement to a rectangular grid of three-fourths of a square mile. Also, many Saints never moved from their original homesteads to the city blocks, perpetuating a decentralized version of Zion. Chesterfielders also paid no heed to official Church orders to proselytize nearby reservation Indians. They were not, however, unfriendly with them. Coates, in fact, reveals that some second generation Chesterfield Mormons tried to claim free land from the federal government by virtue of having some Indian blood.

Impermanence was another odd characteristic of Chesterfield. The harsh environment and abysmal annual incomes from husbandry discouraged many Saints from farming. According to Peterson, "Young men, fathers, mothers, and anyone else would try to find wage work wherever they could" (p. 15).

The issue of preserving Chesterfield is not discussed beyond a sentence or two. One might hope to have read of the restoration plans or adopted strategy of the Foundation. Instead, the architectural analysis tacked on the end seems so scanty that one wonders why it was included. While some of the essays are captivating in themselves, they lack a unifying thread. The result is an ambitious and laudable attempt which fails to excite the reader due to its lack of focus.

Political Hacks in the Idaho Territory

Rocky Mountain Carpetbaggers: Idaho's Territorial Governors, 1863–1890, by Ronald H. Limbaugh (Moscow, Idaho: The University Press of Idaho, 1982), 234 pp., notes, index.

Reviewed by Merwin Swanson, Associate Professor of History, Idaho State University, Pocatello, Idaho.

RONALD H. LIMBAUGH'S *Rocky Mountain Carpetbaggers* chronicles Idaho's gubernatorial administrations — maladministrations? — during its territorial years. The scenario Limbaugh creates runs as follows: (1) a petty politician has connections in Washington; (2) he is appointed to the territorial governorship; (3) he clashes with equally petty politicians in the territory; (4) he serves briefly; (5) he resigns; and (6) the cycle returns to step 1. The details vary only as individuals of somewhat more or less talent find their way to Boise. Limbaugh's book rests on his dissertation. He has used secondary sources, newspaper accounts from the period, and

appropriate collections of papers in the Northwest and the National Archives in his research. He deserves our praise for charting the dreary procession of political appointees; however, the book is not without some problems.

Limbaugh sometimes leaves the reader mired in detail without a clear sense of a main thesis. For example, he uses *carpetbagger* in the title of the book and notes the incessant harping of Idahoans against outside appointees. And, though I assume Limbaugh is not responsible, the picture on the dust jacket juxtaposes a diminuitive, pudgy governor with carpetbag in tow against an Indian (stoic) and pioneer (rugged). Yet Limbaugh himself observes that the carpetbagger charge was largely meaningless; the outside appointees were neither notably less talented nor appreciably less honest than the politicians who lived in Idaho territory. Limbaugh might also have added that any white person in Idaho who called another white person a carpetbagger in the 1860s or 1870s possessed a very short memory.

If the carpetbagger issue was empty, what issues did dominate Idaho territorial politics? I would have been more comfortable with the book if Limbaugh had explicitly identified these issues and organized the book around how the territorial governors affected them — if at all. Instead, Limbaugh used the gubernatorial term as his organizational unit, leaving some issues unclarified. Just as the use of the presidential administration as the unit of analysis for national politics has declined in recent years, going beyond the gubernatorial administration would seem profitable, too.

The central issues of territorial politics that implicitly emerge from the book are leftover Civil War loyalties, especially in the early territorial years, how to deal with the Mormon population in southeast Idaho, and whether North Idaho would become East Washington. These issues are standard for Idaho territorial history and examining the long line of politicians passing through the office of territorial governor adds little to our understanding of them.

In recent years, historians looking at national politics have identified several cultural issues that had real impact on politics in the late nineteenth century. These issues, such as Sunday closing laws, prohibition, and parochial schools, were important political questions along with such traditional issues as Free Silver and the tariff. Limbaugh writes in the tradition of classic political history, but other traditions might also serve the study of Idaho. A historian might broaden our understanding by examining other ethnic or cultural questions than just the Mormon question. A close examination of who voted for whom might also get us beyond the almost meaningless maneuvers of the Boise or Malad "rings" that dominate the writing of early Idaho political history.

Finally, Limbaugh adopts the standard view of anti-Mormonism in Idaho in the 1870s and 1880s. There is no question, of course, that the anti-Mormon movement had a heavy dose of political opportunism — Fred T. Dubois springs to mind — and a hefty shot of the same hostility that existed toward Jews and Catholics, a deep suspicion of any religion that deviated from the mainline Protestant denominations. However, one must also grant to at least some, perhaps many, of the anti-Mormons a sincere antagonism toward Mormonism's deviation from traditional patterns of family organization and sexual practice. It would be astonishing if Protestant Americans of the late nineteenth century, surely as confident of their own righteousness as a group could be, did not attempt to either limit or eliminate the influence of a major institution in the Great Basin endorsing plural marriage.

Limbaugh covers much ground and many individuals. Any historian seeking an account of the Idaho territorial governors will certainly want to read *Rocky Mountain Carpetbaggers*. For that, we all owe Limbaugh our thanks and admiration.

The Old Mormon Poetry

A Widening View by Carol Lynn Pearson, illustrated by Trevor Southey (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, c1983), 64 pp., $4.95 (cloth).

Reviewed by Dennis Clark, a librarian at Orem Public Library and poetry editor for *Sunstone*.

The old Mormon poetry is still alive and kicking, as this volume by Pearson shows. Some of the kicks and jinks are interesting, but some are too familiar to hold my interest — and some are just tired. A people's taste in poetry reveals its values as fully as does its taste in music or painting. What the popularity of Pearson's books[1] tells me about their primarily Mormon audience is that it exists, it wants poetry, and it has an undeveloped taste. Her work is good enough to find an audience interested in poetry, but not good enough to help that taste develop.

And I believe that she is to blame for that: she consistently writes down to the reader. I know that she writes down rather than just across because she does not do it with a *foolish* consistency. As evidence here is her two-stanza "Prophet's Feast":

> He led us to the banquet
> He blessed the food, and then
> Gladly he raised his fork
> And the Prophet's feast began.
>
> We watched in awe, and still
> We stand with empty plate,
> Sincere and hungry, testify
> That the Prophet truly ate.

Understatement makes that poem work. Pearson does not prod you with her elbow and say "We fools! Instead of getting personal revelations, we just stand up hungry and testify; how we deprive ourselves." The intelligence shows not so much in her choice of a feast as metaphor for the gifts of the Holy Ghost as in the use she makes of it. By linking it with our practice of standing and testifying while fasting, and implicitly with the emblems of the sacrament, Pearson requires more of us than just "yeah!" The poem shows true wit.

"Getting Ready" (p. 60) shows less wit than irony. Rather than the bemused wonder of "The Prophet's Feast," Pearson observes with mild sarcasm this man of meetings:

> He's always getting ready,
> But never quite goes.
> He's always taking notes,
> But never quite knows.
>
> He's touched by all the starving
> But doesn't touch his wife.
> His life is spent at meetings,
> But he never meets life.

The wordplay in the poem, such as the rhyming of "notes" with "knows" which asserts a genetic connection between the two, shows intelligence. The use of the gerund *meeting* to oppose the meaning of its verbal form *meets*, uses intelligence wittily. And in both poems, Pearson heightens the effect of her wit by relying on formal verse, with regular meter and rhyme.

These poems are, however, the exception in *A widening view.* Pearson more often uses a free verse that relies on the free play of cleverness to carry the poem. That leads her to write down, as in "Unpinned," which begins:

> I hope that humans
> Never pin down
> Love or God.
>
> Things pinned down
> (Like butterflies)
> Lose something
> (Like life).

The parenthetical comments, arch and obvious, show that Pearson places no trust in

[1] The dust-jacket calls *Beginnings, The search,* and *The growing season* "best-sellers," without even adding the qualifying epithet "regional." Since *Beginnings* was reprinted by Doubleday, that may be true.

her readers to follow her metaphor. Their cleverness ruins the witty and subtle braiding of the literal into the metaphorical meaning "to pin down." As a reader of poetry, I dislike being told how to interpret a metaphor; I'd much rather have a poet trust my intelligence to help the meaning emerge. The poet gives me a perfect egg; I hatch it.

I am not always comfortable with Pearson's occasional didacticism. However, when I read her poem "The Grade" (p. 58) carefully, I have a feeling that didacticism is not its worst feature. It opens:

> God does not grade
> on the curve,
> I'm sure of it.

After describing our classroom competition for grades, it ends:

> And God, I think,
> Sits at the front of the class,
> Holding A's enough for all,
> Watching us
> Work out our salvation
> In fear and competition.

I like the thought, especially when I think back to the savagery of competition for grades in my high school classes. But Pearson fails to develop the metaphor fully enough to hold my interest. The poem deals strictly with the meanness of the feelings of class members for each other. She gives no idea of what the assignments in such a class would be, of what one would do between meetings of the class, of what the homework would be, of how the class would be run. And yet the metaphor would not only permit such development, it cries out for it.

Such poverty of development underscores one of the greatest faults of the book: Pearson relies too much on stock emotion and cliché to carry her poems. Two of the best poems in the book, "The Touch" and "Laura and the Empty Tray," are flawed by sentimentality: they rely on emotions which the author assumes are sufficient in themselves. Rather than evoking fresh response, Pearson nearly spoils "The Touch" by letting currently fashionable sentiments about touching carry the narrative. Robert, at the stricken father's bedside to touch him, reviews their life together:

> Do you remember that I would
> never go out
> To a real barber, Dad?
> Do you know why?
> Because once a month, when
> you gave me
> A haircut in the kitchen —
> you touched me.
> And it felt so good.

The detail here is convincing, but their relationship is not believably developed in the rest of the poem, partly because Robert is so self-absorbed. His desire for affection is natural and understandable, as is his need to give affection. But the tone of his voice is a whine that grates on the ear, rather than ingratiates. The poem would read well as a dramatic monologue, but it lacks the emotional honesty of great poetry.

Pearson's dramatic training along with an air of self-amused detachment, makes "Real Tears" (p. 46), on the other hand, a far better poem than "The Touch." The same qualities also guide "Laura and the Empty Tray" far more successfully through the jungle of sentiment Pearson invokes. Largely because of the wealth of detail, I sense more real life behind the poem than with "The Touch." Laura is a too-busy Mormon mother:

> There had been two cans of paint
> Beside the tub for months,
> White eyes staring accusingly
> At the walls that were slowly
> peeling
> And at Laura; who was running
> in and out
> Trying not to think
> About the paint and the tube
> of calking
> For the sink.

Her husband asks what she'd do if she had a whole extra day in the week. "The downstairs bathroom," she says. He forces her

to take a day off from such service, arguing "What can you serve from an empty tray?" The poem is about that day off and what she does.

What she does, like clean out her purse, fascinates me. And vindicates my bibliomaniacal instinct. She saves herself (after the purse fidgeting) by reading *To Kill a Mockingbird*, which she finds in a library. A girl riding in her car the other night had complained about having been *assigned* to read "thirty pages a day." Needless to say, such an excellent example of bibliotherapy thrills me.

A Window on Utah, 1849–50

A Forty-niner in Utah: With the Stansbury Exploration of Great Salt Lake: Letters and Journals of John Hudson, 1848–50, edited by Brigham D. Madsen (Salt Lake City, Utah: Tanner Trust Fund, University of Utah Library, 1981), xvii+227 pp., $22.50.

Gold Rush Sojourners in Great Salt Lake City, 1849 and 1850 by Brigham D. Madsen (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1983), xvi+178 pp., $17.50.

Reviewed by S. Lyman Tyler, professor of history and director of the American West Center, University of Utah.

It is a pleasure to discuss these two books edited and written by Brigham D. Madsen, professor of history at the University of Utah. Their primary subject matter is the westward migration during the California gold rush era and its impact on newly established Salt Lake City.

Although most readers are aware that thousands stopped in Salt Lake on their way to the gold fields, it comes as a surprise to be reminded that possibly a third of the 75,000 who reached the Pacific Coast in 1849 and 1850 traveled by way of the Mormon city. Some 10,000 arrived in 1849, the first year good crops were produced in the valley, and about 15,000 in 1850, the last year of heavy migration related to the gold rush.

Considering that the Mormon population was only 6,000 to 7,000 and that most of the travelers arrived in need of provisions and fresh animals to continue their journey, their presence was certainly felt, even if they remained only two days (the minimum) or a week (the average). However, some stayed several weeks because of sickness or to engage in lawsuits with troublesome traveling companions. Others arrived late in the season and remained through the winter months. A few converted to Mormonism and took up residence in this mountain-basin region.

Looking at these two publications together, *Forty-niner* is the particular and *Sojourners* is the general. In the process of completing the background research on the letters and journal of John Hudson, Dr. Madsen, a mature and able scholar, examined numerous forty-niner diaries as well as Mormon diaries and journals to get a balanced view of this two-year period. For the *Forty-niner* book, this information was used as introductory material and notes. For the *Sojourners* book, this collection of general information became the source for a view of Mormons through sojourner eyes and a view of sojourners through Mormon eyes.

John Hudson's letters in *Forty-niner* give us views of the school he taught under frontier conditions in a crude house that was also his residence, the dispensing of frontier justice seen from his vantage point as clerk of the court, a 24th of July celebration staged by a grateful people, and the religious gatherings of the Mormons as experienced by one who would become a convert. His sketches provide us with views of Salt Lake City and the Great Salt Lake as he saw them in 1849–50, and his journal enriches our understanding of Stansbury's exploration of the lake.

The publication of *Forty-niner* reminds us of the continuing contributions of Dale L. Morgan who first called attention to the contribution the John Hudson journal and sketches made to the Stansbury report on the Great Salt Lake (1852), of Everett L. Cooley who remembered the Morgan reference to Hudson when he had an opportunity to acquire the Hudson letters and related materials, and of Obert C. Tanner who established the Tanner Trust Fund in memory of his mother, Annie Clark Tanner, thereby making possible the publication of the Hudson material in such an attractive format.

From reports in the diaries of the *Sojourners*, we are able to appreciate such experiences as the pleasure felt after consuming all the fresh vegetables possible, the luxury of bathing and shaving in natural warm springs after weeks on the prairies, the pleasure of seeing a woman dressed in her best to attend a church meeting after an extended period in an all-male group, the resentment arising from the Mormons passing punitive laws to try to control the swearing which was a normal part of the vocabulary of the migrants, and the indignation felt by the sojourners, in need of provisions and fresh animals, for the sharp bargaining practiced by some of the "saints."

Just as sojourner accounts gave the United States a window on the society that the Mormons were establishing in Utah, these two books give us a window on Utah-Mormon history and the interactions between the Mormons and the migrants enroute to the California gold fields in 1849–50, an experience that was useful, if sometimes troublesome, to both parties.

Tribe Mentality

A Lawyer Looks at Abortion by Lynn D. Wardle and Mary Anne Q. Wood (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1982), 282 pp., $7.95, paperback.

Reviewed by Kevin G. Barnhurst, who teaches journalism at Keene State College, University System of New Hampshire.

"ALL ISSUES ARE political issues," said Orwell, "and politics itself is a mass of lies, evasions, folly, hatred and schizophrenia. When the general atmosphere is bad, language must suffer." Among contemporary political issues, abortion is the worst, and Orwell would have easily identified the two abortion orthodoxies by their dialects. *Pro-choice* itself is a euphemism devised to hide the destruction of the human fetus. "Political language," Orwell said, "is designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable, and to give an appearance of solidity to pure wind." *Pro-life* disguises the distinctions between the life of the fetus and of the child, which are as real as the distinctions between the life of the child and of the mature citizen.

In his classic essay, "Politics and the English Language," Orwell condemned foggy language — the dying metaphors, pretentious diction, and meaningless terms used today in the abortion controversy — and he proposed to clear it up with images "fresh enough to have an effect." But he did not foresee that vivid images would be turned into propaganda. Still hiding behind the cloud of meaningless words, political writers today let loose a thunderbolt that illuminates a misshapen, fearful image meant to shock and distract the mind and distort the real issues. Under the euphemisms *human life* and *freedom*, the abortion debate since the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision has shown us a series of nightmares — images of tiny babies mangled and trashed by the thousands or of unwilling women writhing in the pains of unwanted labor — during which reasoned discourse is bludgeoned into insensibility.

In this charged atmosphere enter Lynn D. Wardle and Mary Anne Q. Wood, professors at BYU's J. Reuben Clark Law School, who have already written on the topic for

a legal readership (see Wardle's *The Abortion Privacy Doctrine*, 1981, and articles in *BYU Law Review*, 1978, p. 783, 1980, p. 811; and in *Missouri Law Review* 45: 394). For the general reader, they now offer one of the most impartial and calm books on abortion, *A Lawyer Looks at Abortion*. Its neutral title, its staid, law-review prose, its extensive legal documentation, and its comprehensive approach recommend it as an important, valuable document. Compared to what is put out by the right-to-life or choice lobbies, the book achieves what the authors hoped — to "improve the quality of public debate" (p. ix).

Wardle and Wood set out in the abortion bog to find legal firm ground, not to sling mud, but they don't come away clean. *A Lawyer Looks at Abortion* is, in the end, neither so much legal nor even moral as it is political. The pity is the authors don't seem to know it; the mystery is why.

The title, for example, can be viewed as a political ploy to cash in on the image of the legal profession in calm observation. The contradiction of a singular title and its multiple authors (pointed out by the *Journal of Legal Medicine* 3:3, p. 489) seems to prove the intent to manipulate. Or did the authors go along naively with the publisher's desire to make this one of the legal series that has examined the Constitution and the ERA?

The authors' prose, peppered here and there with terms like "under color of state law" (p. 151) and "lacked standing" (p. 140), can be viewed as the sort of propaganda Orwell decried. Across the first few pages parades a sideshow of dismembered cliché and overstatement, terms left over from political hype meant to rally the crowd: a stimulus abruptly ceases, a provocation arises, reformers achieve spectacular successes, and then rulings have "the awesome ring of finality." There is also a "firestorm of critical reaction," but "such has been the overwhelming history of landmark controversial Supreme Court decisions." Then "a core of dedicated workers organized themselves into a formidable grass-roots movement" and "attempted to parlay their concerns into a viable political issue." "Dramatically," the elections came with a stunning defeat, "political successes of even more startling dimensions," "a significant victory," and "an astounding 21 victories" before "political clout was sharply felt." "There is another side," however, that "vigorously oppose[s] the objectives" and is "proselyting with zeal." "And both sides have evidenced an unshakable never-accept-defeat attitude that foreshadows a long and intense public struggle."

The act can be followed in the early pages only because its ringmaster is linear history, but later on, in the high-tension legal sections, the hyperbole and passive vagueness teeter between meanings, and modifiers dangle and fall out of place with arresting ease. Is this a case of Orwellian obfuscation, or is the prose the result of law-school ineptitude?

A Lawyer Looks at Abortion is comprehensive, but the use of nonlegal evidence is decidedly lopsided, as if Wardle and Wood were trying to lend unmerited substance to their argument. In the general sections, for example, the superstructure for legal substantiation — the extensive and minute footnoting using Latin terms — sustains a lot of trivial evidence from encyclopedias, dictionaries, and an anatomy textbook. The authors use intimidating medical terms (see the list of complications on pp. 112–15) when describing abortion but not when describing childbirth. When they do explain a term, they use it to enhance their point unfairly. For example, the description (pp. 123–24) of "saline amniocentesis," injecting a salt solution into the uterus to kill the fetus, is unforgettable the first time. The next time it is propaganda.

Wardle and Wood compare statistics from different periods since *Roe v. Wade* to show a drastic increase in abortions, without acknowledging any changes in reporting and gathering methods or any lag in shifting from the illegal sector. When the authors compare the number of abortions to tonsillectomies (p. 8), the object of com-

parison says something subtle and wrong. That tonsillectomies are minor procedures tends to magnify abortion by their very triviality, and that they are often unnecessary tends to cast suspicion on both. The comparison of abortions to the population of sixteen states builds a subtle picture of mass murder, and comparing abortion laws to the laws governing slaughterhouses is not even subtle (p. 124).

In the abortion controversy, perhaps high praise amounts to saying that Wardle and Wood did not, at least, compare abortion statistics to murders per thousand in New York; but when they use language, evidence, footnotes, and even their title this way, are they conspiring to misinform or are they merely callow?

A Lawyer Looks at Abortion reveals a subtle pattern of authoritarianism — calling up the authority of the legal profession, of scholarship, of statistics, of medicine. After examining the evidence of authority, the authors succumb to a sort of tribe mentality as they draw conclusions. At the end of each section, they provide a free-standing summation that argues, in effect, "Some people say *thus-and-such*, and other people say *thus-and-so*." This repeated appeal to common consent is most puzzling — over and over again the authors cast the debate into its most political form, without seeming to recognize it, and unknowingly reveal their sympathies: We are reasonable professionals and most right-minded *citizens* think as we do, but *some proponents* believe otherwise. At times the technique is carried to extreme:

> By promoting ominous predictions based on impressive statistics, these individuals have been successful in convincing some "elite," strategically placed wielders of power in various public and private institutions, of the virtue of their cause. However, they have never been especially successful in convincing average citizens. Thus, the individuals and organizations that see legalized abortion as an essential step toward slowing population growth seem to have been most active in operating behind the scenes, providing resources and support for the presentation of the other arguments for abortion that have more appeal for the public at large (p. 40).

I don't believe this conspiracy theory any more than I believe my own theory that *A Lawyer Looks at Abortion* was written to win political ground by questionable means. Wardle and Wood's first chapter reads like propaganda, but by the fifth chapter, the research and analysis begin to outweigh the bias. At their best, they cite evidence and quote passages with persuasive reason, so that by the end — as the *American Bar Association Journal* pointed out (Oct. 1982, p. 1270), their patient scholarship and obvious goodwill win the reader over.

Then how is it that these two law professors, experienced in government, legal practice, and the academy, seem to ignore the political essence of their book, identifying the problem as "inherently legal" (p. 205)? Perhaps they are like the bespectacled speaker of Orwell's essay, who is "almost unconscious of what he is saying, as one is when one utters the responses in church."

Mormons are trained into a peculiar habit of mind by week after week of Sunday School lessons and sacrament meeting speakers: First, we take as our text a generalized, abstract rule of behavior. We review the authoritative evidence, from scripture or from General Authority pronouncements. Finally we use the established logic to prove the rule reasonable, which leads us to conclude that it can be and is supported by common consent. Mormons follow this pattern without thinking. "This reduced state of consciousness, if not indispensable, is at any rate favorable to political conformity," Orwell wrote, and as he predicted, our writing and thinking suffer: "Orthodoxy, of whatever colour, seems to demand a lifeless, imitative style."

In this case, Wardle and Wood take as their subtext President Spencer W. Kimball's press statement, released by Church Public Communications, on abortion: "We

have repeatedly affirmed the position of the Church in unalterably opposing all abortions, except [in] two rare instances: When conception is the result of rape and when competent medical counsel indicates that a mother's health would otherwise be seriously jeopardized." Marshaling the evidence, Wardle and Wood adopt Kimball's position and show how eminently reasonable it is. Their contradictory appeals to both authority and common consent and their peculiar amalgam of legalism and moralism are the familiar products of the Mormon habit of mind. What they fail to see is that the Supreme Court, in the language of the *Roe v. Wade* decision, could just as reasonably be supporting the same position.

If abortion is "the most significant civil rights issue of the last quarter of the twentieth century," as Wardle and Wood suggest, it deserves impartial analysis, not prooftexting. If they must begin (whether consciously or not) with the reasonable dogma prescribed by authority, they should prove *each side* reasonable. By forcing us to stew in the quandary, they would elevate themselves and their opponents to their full humanity. If they had done this, readers would still agree that the court's trimester approach hasn't worked, that doctors have no control over their patients, and that without that professional safeguard the law allows abortion on demand. And readers would still accept their solution to the dilemma, but without feeling suspicious, led on, or cheated.

I am critical because *A Lawyer Looks at Abortion* comes so close, especially in the the later chapters, to being the thorough and objective analysis so badly needed. Even with my reservations, I echo Thomas B. McAffee, writing in the *Missouri Law Review* (48:284): "Clearly, the book is the best overall summary of the present state of abortion law written for non-lawyers that I have seen."

Panorama, Drama, and PG At Last

A Woman of Destiny by Orson Scott Card (New York: Berkley Books, 1984), 713 pp., $3.95.

Reviewed by Levi S. Peterson, a professor of English at Weber State College.

This novel comes in glossy green and gold paperback with an embossed title and a blurb announcing it as "the epic saga of a woman who dared to search the world for love." Such commercial packaging is perhaps misleading, but certainly no real distraction. *A Woman of Destiny* traces a fictional English family, the Kirkhams — Anna and John and their children Robert, Charlie, and Dinah — in their struggle to survive and rise above poverty.

By the time they meet Mormon missionaries, Heber C. Kimball and Brigham Young, the slick popular romance has long been forgotten. The Kirkhams immigrate to Nauvoo without, however, Dinah's two children, who are wrested from her by her embittered husband and her unconverted brother Robert. In Nauvoo, Dinah, whose spiritual gifts lead many to regard her as a prophetess, is reluctantly drawn into the secret practice of plural marriage. Charlie is later enlisted as well. From Dinah's perspective as one of Joseph Smith's wives, we see the tensions and tragedies afflicting Heber C. Kimball, Vilate Kimball, Emma Smith, and Joseph himself.

This work falls neatly into the genre of the historical novel, first defined by the late nineteenth-century works of Sir Walter Scott who forthrightly mingled fictional with historical events and persons in novels such as *The Heart of the Midlothian*, *Rob Roy*, and *Ivanhoe*. Mormon writers seem drawn to historical fiction, as if they find the stuff of fiction — the curious and inexplicable, the dangerous and adventurous, the heroic and tragic — only in the past. Perhaps this is because the present seems so certain, so guaranteed by a kindly provi-

dence, so clearly defined by the commandments that it is dull and uninteresting.

This novel is divided into fifty short chapters, grouped as ten books. Though the story revolves around Dinah, the words are those of a third person narrator. However, a statement by a first person narrator, O. Kirkham, precedes each book. In the initial "First Word," O. Kirkham claims his chief interest is his great-aunt, Dinah Kirkham, a character whom Card has roughly modeled on Eliza R. Snow. However, by the end of the first book we are much more aware of Anna, Robert, and Charlie than Dinah. In his next "First Word" the narrator explains. His idea had originally been to focus on his grandfather, Charlie. Some ninety pages into his narrative, he had found himself more interested in the charismatic, seductive personality of Dinah, and determined to let her dominate his story. "After all, Charlie's tragedy was that he always wanted greatness and had to settle for happiness instead; Dinah's tragedy was that she always wanted happiness and had to settle for power, fame, and adulation" (pp. 95–96).

Judging by page count and by the narrator's repeated assertions, Dinah is indeed the major figure of this novel. Yet in actual effect she remains one among several important characters, including Charlie and Joseph Smith. Had Card truly wished to spotlight Dinah, he might have adopted a central point of view presenting all events from her perspective. Instead, he chose a more omniscient, migrating point of view. He relates events from the perspectives of a variety of characters, some of them very minor (for example, Mr. Uray, Dinah's English employer, who disgraces her by attempting to rape her, and Matthew Handy, to whom Dinah is quickly wed as a consequence of this disgrace). Such shifting perspective, of course, has its technical advantages. It produces a panoramic effect by emphasizing not the concentrated experience of one early Mormon but rather the broad, multifarious experiences of many early Mormons.

Perhaps the narrator's insistence that Dinah Kirkham is his preoccupation merely demonstrates the perennial attempt of a novelist to get conscious control over a situation that his unconscious mind is spawning in an uncanny, unpredictable manner. Often authors do not sense the complete significance of their narratives, nor can they always nudge them in predetermined directions. Fortunately, that does not necessarily mean bad fiction. Certainly it does not in the case of this novel, which is abundant in detail and rich in drama.

Considering the unending flood of prudish and unrealistic G-rated Mormon novels, this work is to be commended for deserving, if not quite an R rating, at least a full-blown PG. In particular, Card deals candidly with sexual maters. For example, the scene in which Mr. Uray attempts to rape Dinah is frank and vivid. "He threw her skirt high over her head, hiding her face, and pulled down her drawers." Dinah saves herself by kicking him "harshly, and the boot he had not bothered to remove from her made a perfect fit, nesting his groin like a ball in the curve from toe to shin" (p. 125). In a far different scene, Joseph Smith and Dinah consummate their secret marriage. They have accepted its inevitability as God's will. They have not accepted the agonizing fact that they also desire each other passionately. Joseph makes love to her awkwardly and hesitantly. Then, still embracing her, he admits that "her body had been sweet and beautiful, her kisses fiery, and he loved her so much that he yearned for her even now, when he had just possessed her" (p. 471).

As the foregoing passage suggests, this novel makes a candid yet sympathetic study of Mormon polygamy in its initial stage, effectively setting forth the vast tensions and perplexities which it imposed upon the Saints. In a "First Word" essay, the narrator makes an eloquent apology:

> They [the Saints called to practice it] did not accept polygamy out of lust or sexual repression — that is the obsession

> of our post-Freudian times, and to interpret pre-Victorians in that light is to blind ourselves to who they really were. They had a deep-seated revulsion to adultery or anything that smacked of it. Brigham Young said that when he learned the law of plural marriages it was the only time in his life that he ever envied the dead (p. 554).

This novel also depicts the seamy side of polygamy through John C. Bennett, whom Card makes into the arch villain of the Nauvoo experience. Bennett is indispensable to Joseph Smith because of his rhetoric and connections, but he proves to be a treacherous ally — a corrupt, adulterous physician who performs abortions for prostitutes and instructs young Mormon women during their pre-marital check-ups that by God's law of "spiritual wifery" he is to secretly father their children.

In one of the most gripping scenes of the novel, Dinah Kirkham comes to the house of Joseph and Emma Smith intending to expose Bennett. Before she can do so, the fact of her marriage to Joseph is revealed to Emma, who pushes her down the stairs. Dinah suffers a miscarriage. (Much of this scene is based upon the apparently apocryphal story that Emma similarly caused Eliza R. Snow to miscarry Joseph's unborn child.) Later Bennett is exposed and excommunicated, but not before he attends the unconscious Dinah and performs a hysterectomy upon her, rendering her forever sterile.

In summary, this novel depicts the early Mormon experience of conversion and gathering with panoramic sweep and dramatic intensity. It is a competent, serious work, worthy of a place in the growing list of quality Mormon novels.

RELIGION AND LAW SYMPOSIUM

"Religion and Law: Middle Eastern Influence upon the West" will be treated 5–8 March 1985 at a symposium split between the University of Utah and BYU. It is co-sponsored by the College of Law and Middle East Center at the University of Utah and by the Clark Law School, the Kennedy International Center, and the Evans Chair in Christian Understanding at Brigham Young University.

Early Islam, Judism, and Christianity all saw an integration of law and religion that have significantly affected both Eastern and Western societies. Examples are natural law, natural rights, covenant and contract, pardon and punishment, prohibitions against lying, the concept of holy war, and legalism and spirituality.

Participants thus far include Moshe Weinfeld, Ze'ev Falk, Moshe Greenberg, Shalom Paul, and Dean Izhak Englard of Hebrew University, Delbert Hillers of Johns Hopkins; George Mendenhall and David Noel Freedman of Michigan; Jacob Milgrom of Berkeley, E. P. Sanders of Oxford; Frederick Denny of the University of Colorado and Bernard Weiss of the University of Utah Middle East Center.

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