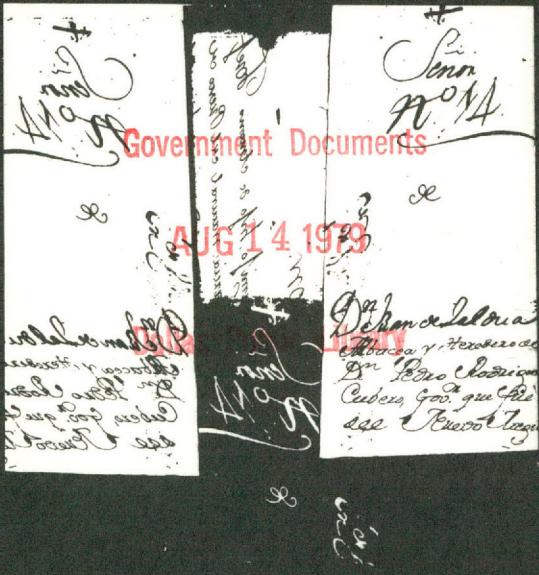


2
M570.7
F119
2/4

Faculty Papers Midwestern State University

Series 2 - Volume IV
1977-1978



FACULTY PAPERS
of
MIDWESTERN STATE UNIVERSITY

Papers Presented
at
The Faculty Forum

Kenneth E. Hendrickson, Jr.
Program Coordinator

James R. King
Editor

Series 2
Volume IV
1977-78

Wichita Falls, Texas
76308

Published by

Sweet Publishing Company

Box 4055

Austin, Texas

78765

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	
Kenneth E. Hendrickson, Jr.	iv
Shakespeare's <i>Measure for Measure</i> : The Archetypal Shadow for Existential Truth, or, Man for Morality.	
Arvilla K. Taylor	1
Anabaptists Of An Affluent Society: The German 'New Left' during the Sixties.	
Fred J. Backhaus	13
N. G. Chernyshevsky, Ideologue.	
Robert D. Becker	23
Promethean Man In German Literature.	
Rudolf M. Klein	39
The Nixon Doctrine (1969) And Its Initial Impact On South Korean National Security.	
Seunggi Paik	51
Teaching the Unwilling the Unwanted.	
James W. Strain	71
Satan and Satanic Elements in Great Fiction: A Comparison-Contrast.	
Hamilton P. Avegno	79
Cover Design: Untitled Lithograph	
Richard M. Ash, Associate Professor of Art	
and	
Donald S. Harter, Assistant Professor of Art	
Midwestern State University	

INTRODUCTION

Faculty Forum is now an established part of the academic life of Midwestern State University. Each year more faculty seek positions on the program than can be accommodated while the quality and variety of the papers presented grow stronger and broader. Our journal, *Midwestern State University Faculty Papers*, is distributed coast to coast and has received much praise, but more significant is the fact that it represents a commitment by our administration to support the professional activities of the faculty. This is perhaps the most important single aspect of the Faculty Forum program.

As coordinator of the Faculty Forum program I wish to express thanks on behalf of the entire faculty to our President, Dr. John G. Barker and our Academic Vice President, Dr. Jesse W. Rogers for their enthusiastic support. I also wish to thank those members of the faculty who have contributed papers during the past four years and those who will do so in the future. Finally, we all owe a profound debt of gratitude to our editor Dr. James R. King who has devoted many hours to the preparation of this issue.

Kenneth E. Hendrickson, Jr.
Professor and Chairman
Department of History

Program Coordinator



**SHAKESPEARE'S *MEASURE FOR MEASURE*:
THE ARCHETYPAL SHADOW FOR EXISTENTIAL TRUTH,
OR,
MAN FOR MORALITY**

Arvilla K. Taylor*

Measure for Measure has long puzzled students and critics. It seems to contain more "problem" than its "comedy" can solve, and the actions of some of the characters appear to be arbitrary and dramatically inconsistent. The iconoclast G. B. Shaw wrote the following vitriolic assessment of the play:

I read *Measure for Measure* through carefully some time ago with some intention of saying something positive myself; but its flashes of observation were so utterly uncoordinated and so stuck together with commonplaces and reach-me-downs that I felt the whole thing would come to pieces in my hand if I touched it; so I thought it best to leave it as he left it, and let the stories and the characters hide the holes in the philosophic fabric.¹

Even the most careful and sympathetic attempts to explain the play in terms of Christian charity seem forced and unsatisfactory.²

Yet the play is of such stuff that we return to it again and again. The reason for its appeal, I think, lies in the fact that inherent in the situation of the drama are psychological and existential truths that push far beyond the framework of the play. As H. B. Carlton observes, while Shakespeare's world never contradicts orthodox moral and religious standards, it is at the same time the world of a humanist "whose imaginative grasp is wider than his rational comprehension."³ Long before Jung's definition of the Shadow Archetype and current interest in the *Doppelgänger*, old Duke Vincentio of Vienna has an alter ego in the young Angelo. They share the same abstemious exterior and amorous interior, and they are both in a position to

*Dr. Taylor is Associate Professor of English at Midwestern State University

¹Edwin Wilson, ed., *Shaw on Shakespeare* (New York, 1961), p. 129. It is interesting to note that Shaw himself is ambivalent about the play because he also refers to it as a play ahead of its time which holds "the mirror up to nature."

²Harold S. Wilson, "Action and Symbol in *Measure for Measure* and *The Tempest*," *Shakespeare Quarterly*, IV (1953), pp. 375-8. Wilson gives a cursory summary of various interpretations of the play. He himself finds a firm consistency in the Duke's actions to bring the erring to the righteous path.

³*Shakespearean Tragedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948), pp. 13-15.

impose efficacious yet merciful restraints to the lawless, vice-ridden city. Through Angelo his deputy and through the gentleman Lucio, a prurient and ironic light-bearing Lucifer, the Duke vicariously comes to terms with erotic life. In addition, in the process of exploring his Shadow Side the Duke, through another character, Isabella, directs and participates in a man-created quality of existential mercy. Nothing in plot or character challenges the Renaissance world order in which absolutes work downward through a God-created universe, but so dramatically true is Shakespeare that the play becomes more meaningful and more credible if we give the master playwright the "benefit" of our advanced twentieth century knowledge.

On first reading, *Measure for Measure* looks like a poor quality melodrama in which a capricious, cruel, and power-hungry Duke baits his citizens with a game of cat and mouse. Suddenly, and with no explanation, the Duke leaves his lascivious city, naming the young and untried Angelo, rather than the wise old counselor Escalus as deputy. In words far more significant than he consciously realizes he makes the following charge to Angelo: "In our remove be thou at full ourself; / Morality and mercy in Vienna / Live in thy tongue and heart: Old Escalus; Though first in question, is thy secondary."⁴ (I. i. 45-8)

When Angelo attempts to impose morality, he finds his own long record of chastity shaken. Having invoked a long unused statute which exacts the death penalty for fornication, he is confronted by Isabella, passionately pleading for her brother Claudio's life. Angelo is so overwhelmed by Isabella's charms that he offers her Claudio's pardon in return for her submission to him. So far as he knows, she keeps *her* bargain, giving herself in a night of love. However, fearing that Claudio if freed might return to exact vengeance, Angelo reneges on *his* promise. From the jailer, he demands, and thinks that he gets, Claudio's head. The Duke returns as unexpectedly as he has left, and Angelo discovers to his utter horror that the Duke has been in the city all the time, disguised as a Friar and privy to all of Angelo's actions. In the final scene the Duke in his own person sentences Angelo to marry Mariana, the betrothed whom Angelo has abandoned when her dowry was lost at sea and who has substituted for Isabella in the assignation with Angelo. Then, the Duke rescinds Angelo's conviction for fornication, but only after the wronged Isabella kneels to plead for Angelo's life. The Duke also pardons a live Claudio, whose head has not, after all, been sent to Angelo, and orders him to marry his betrothed Juliet whom he has gotten with child. As his own reward, the Duke takes Isabella as his betrothed.

While we may agree with Harold C. Goddard that Angelo is "one of the clearest demonstrations in literature of the intoxicating nature of power,"⁵ it is difficult to accept the Duke as a divine agent who mercifully restores order to a fallen world.⁶ In his humiliation at the end of the play, Angelo does anguish over the fact that the

⁴Hardin Craig and David Bevington, *The Complete Works of Shakespeare* (Glenville, Ill.: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1973). All subsequent references are to this edition.

⁵*The Meaning of Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 59.

⁶Francis Fergusson, *Shakespeare. The Pattern in his Carpet* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1970). Fergusson stresses the Christian framework, seeing the characters as representing different aspects of man's unregenerate nature.

Duke “like pow’r divine has been secretly watching” (V. i. 175), but the Duke in his disguise as Friar Lodowick has been so ruthlessly cruel that he suggests the archetypal trickster rather than a heaven sent messenger. Although by lifting his disguise, the Duke can at any time intervene to prevent Claudio’s execution, he seems to take ghoulish delight in giving Claudio spiritual counsel for his impending death, a counsel that sounds like a cross between a bad version of Boethius and an imperfect copy of Lucretius. Death, he tells Claudio, is but sleep, and life is full of pain and uncertainties, without real friends or possessions. Furthermore, to the very last minute of the play, the Duke allows Isabella to believe that her brother is dead so that he can have the pleasure of bringing her “/heavenly comforts for despair/ when it is least expected” (IV. iii, 114–5). All subterfuge is acceptable to him in the Machiavellian sense. He uses real or feigned information from the confessional box to serve his devious purposes; as he plans the substitution of Mariana for Isabella he affirms that “the doubleness of the benefit saves the deceit from reproof” (III. i. 271).

According to Jung, the trickster figure is the projection of primitive societies as they react to the social ambiguity and human ambivalence in a world where evil is often rewarded and good is sometimes punished. The trickster figure is part of the collective consciousness of a social order which has not yet developed the sophisticated dualism expressed in the Platonic Doctrine of Ideas or in the Hebraic drama of Job.⁷

It is not in the trickster figure, however, that we find an answer to the problem of the Duke, but in another Jungian concept—that of the Shadow archetype.⁸ There are many of these archetypes, which are functions that have been repeated again and again in the history of the human race. Jung labels them as the savior, the wise old man, the earth mother, the femme fatale, the fisher king, the father tyrant, the shadow (or devil), etc. Aroused by some conflict in the psyche, they surge up from the collective unconscious with a numinosity and an autonomy which cannot be denied, causing strange and bizarre behavior. The shadow archetype also exists in the personal unconscious, that level just below the surface of consciousness where unpleasant and rejected memories and desires are shoved out of the way of the conscious mind.

The shadow, both personal and archetypal, is our inferior being, one who will do anything our conscious minds will not allow or accept. But the shadow is unavoidable and no man is complete unless he can acknowledge and accept, through a painful dialectical process, his shadow side, the reptilian tail that humanity still drags.

Although I make no claim that Shakespeare is a Jungian ahead of his time, I do

⁷“On the Psychology of the Trickster,” *The Trickster*, Paul Radin (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), pp. 195–208.

⁸*Psyche and Symbol*, ed. by Violet D. de Laszlo (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1958). Other useful discussions of the compulsive and self-correcting power of the archetypes are in C. G. Jung, *The Undiscovered Self*, trans. by R. F. C. Hull (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1958); C. G. Jung, ed., *Man and his Symbols* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1969); and in Jolande Jacobi, *Complex, Archetype, and Symbol in the Psychology of C. G. Jung*, trans. by Ralph Manheim (New York: Pantheon Books, 1959).

find that Shakespeare's fidelity to human nature has prompted him to create the Duke as a divided soul responding to psychic demands. As the shadow archetype acquires energy, the Duke's actions become irrational, compulsive, and absurd. He is like the Captain in Joseph Conrad's *Secret Sharer*, who physically drags his shadow from an Eastern Sea after having inexplicably taken the dog watch on the first night of his command. From the moment he sees the apparently headless man, floating like a phosphorescent fish beside the ship, the Captain instinctively identifies with the man he calls his "double." When he finds that the man is wanted for murder, the Captain hides him in his cabin, and risks almost certain disaster in a tacking maneuver so his shadow self can escape to a nearby island. Nervous and uncertain on his first command, the Captain faces and acknowledges his shadow, thus becoming an integrated person who can command himself and others.

The Duke's situation does not exactly parallel the Captain's because the Duke sets the action going without any bizarre external impetus, and his power is over a whole city, not a single ship. But the Duke like the Captain does have a psychological double in the person of Angelo, to whom he responds in an apparently irrational way and through whom he acquires a new knowledge of himself and hence a new power to rule. Compulsively naming Angelo as his deputy, the Duke is responding to unconscious demands; judging with mercy and morality in the last scene, he is consciously dealing with the archetypal shadow. With this approach, the spectator can see the credibility of the Duke's compulsiveness and the consistency of his apparently inconsistent actions.

Although the Duke and Angelo do not have the extraordinary physical similarity such as that which exists between the Captain and his double from the sea, they both present the same external image of rigorous morality. Escalus thinks Angelo most worthy to be appointed deputy, and after Angelo's fall, Escalus laments that "one so learned and so wise" should have slipped so grossly, "both in the heat of blood,/ and lack of temper'd judgement afterward" (V. i. 577-80). The lewd courtier Lucio despises Angelo's austerity. "Lord Angelo," he sneers, "is a man whose blood/ Is very snow-broth; one who never feels/ The wanton stings and motions of the sense/ But doth rebate and blunt his natural edge/ With profits of the mind, study and fast" (I. ii. 58-60). The Duke envisions himself as the same sort of sober and serious person. As he tells Friar Thomas, he has always been one who "held it idle price to haunt assemblies/ Where youth and cost, and witless bravery keeps" (I. iii. 9-10). In disguise as Friar Lodowick he describes the Duke (*ie*, himself) to Lucio as one who would "appear to the envious a scholar, a statesman and a soldier" (III. ii. 153).

Underneath this exemplary exterior, though, a certain unconscious sense of guilt drives the Duke to test himself by giving the apparently chaste Angelo absolute power over a lustful city. Defending his act of leaving another to re-establish moral law in Vienna, the Duke lets his real motive slip when he says to Friar Thomas that "Lord Angelo is precise;/ Stands at a quarrel with envy; scarce confesses/ That his blood flows, or that his appetite/ Is more to bread than stone; hence shall we see,/"

If power change purpose, what our seemers be" (I. iv. 50–3). To Elbow, who is concerned with his own duty as Constable to bring the bawd Pompey before Angelo for sentencing, the Friar-Duke makes an unwittingly loaded remark about the discrepancy between appearance and reality. It is a remark which would seem characteristic of any cleric, but we can hear echoes of the Duke's own growing awareness of the Shadow, both in himself and in his deputy Angelo as he sadly observes, "That we were all, as some would seem to be/ From our faults as faults from seeming free" (III. ii. 39–40). In other words, he says that we are no more free from our faults than faults are free from their false seeming to be free. The Duke is perhaps beginning to suspect that his inability to enforce morality is the result of his own unconscious affinity with depravity. Having seen Angelo fall guilty of the fornication he is legally suppressing, the Friar-Duke at first supposes that Angelo will pardon Claudio after Isabella's submission, for as he tells the Provost, unconsciously and ironically referring to his own moral laxity, in places of high authority pardons for sins for which the pardoners are guilty come very quickly, "When vice makes mercy, mercy's so extended,/ That for the fault's love is the offender friend-ed" (IV. ii. 115–6). So it is that the Duke's action of leaving the city is not so sudden and unmotivated as it would appear to be, and the Duke speaks truly in the first scene of the play when he insists that it is with "leaven'd and prepared choice" and "with special soul" that he has selected Angelo as his deputy. And, we wonder, if it is with unconscious irony that he makes the following comment to Angelo: "There is a kind of character in thy life,/ That to the observer doth thy history unfold" (I. i. 28–30).

The unashamedly prurient courtier Lucio is a touchstone who tells us that the Duke's Shadow has been demanding a hearing for some time. As an ironic light-bearing Lucifer, Lucio sees all the world around him in the reflection of his own smutty gaze. Sincerely upset that Claudio is to die, Lucio protests that "the mad fantastical duke of dark corners" would have pardoned Claudio because he would have understood how and why Claudio managed to get his betrothed Juliet with child (IV. iii. 164). Earlier, Lucio has been more specific in his characterization of the Duke: "Ere he would have hanged a man for getting a hundred bastards, he would have paid for nursing a thousand: he had some feeling of the sport; he knew the service and that instructed him to mercy" (III. ii. 124–7). The Friar Thomas also suspects a hidden amorous nature in the Duke. He obviously thinks that the Duke is asking him for a Friar's disguise as a cover for clandestine sex, for we hear the Duke vigorously protesting to him that he does *not* want the Friar's robe for love-making. "Believe not," the Duke asserts, "that the dribbling dart of love can pierce this complete bosom" (I. ii. 2).

But the Duke's "complete bosom" is no proof against the rumblings of the Shadow. So when he defensively responds to it by using a surrogate, the Duke must give that surrogate full authority to be himself. Paradoxically, he must create an honest and unrestrained situation. Thus it is that he offers Angelo (and here the name Angelo/ Angel has added significance) no guidelines, no briefings, and gives

him the following charge: "You need not have to do with any scruple; Your scope is as my own,/ So enforce or qualify the laws/ As to your soul seems good" (I. i. 65-68).

As his name Vincentio implies, the Duke's drama of substitution is going to be successful. In his dual role of director and actor the Duke can judge both himself and his agent. He judges his own moral laxity in enforcing the law by putting Angelo in charge. He then mercifully accepts the existence of the Shadow in the blindly rigid Angelo, but he imposes morality in insisting on honest marriage. Unjudged and uninhibited promiscuity in the form of Lucio is sent back to the world from which it has come, and Lucio is sentenced with mercy and morality to marry the pregnant whore. There is morality in the sense that Lucio is forced to accept legal and religious responsibility; there is mercy when the Duke remits his sentence of whipping and hanging as punishment for Lucio's slanders against the person of the Duke.

Thus, in *Measure for Measure* Shakespeare is not arbitrarily dragging comedy from depravity. He is being dramatically honest to man's situation when he alters the story in his chief source, Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra*. In the original, Angelo actually ravishes the heroine, and not a substitute. Shakespeare also alters another probable source, Clinthio's *Hecatommithi*, where the character corresponding to Angelo not only seduces the heroine but also actually murders her brother. In Shakespeare's play Angelo, as deputy, has to have for the Duke Vincentio a technical innocence so that with mercy and morality the Duke can face his archetypal Shadow of Eroticism. The Duke has been as successful in his confrontation as Conrad's Captain. The difference is that the Captain acknowledges the shadow of murder which is in all men, while the Duke deals with the shadow of lustful passion which is in all men.

One of the reasons *Measure for Measure* is a comedy is that the shadow archetype doesn't overwhelm the Duke. If these archetypal powers are not projected or dealt with, people identify with them, convinced that the powers generated are the powers of their own egos. As in the case of Macbeth and Lady Macbeth, a full identification with the archetype destroys the critical faculties. Hence it is not so much faith in the wierd sisters as it is faith in himself that governs Macbeth's last depraved and seemingly irrational murders. In his final stand at his castle he has convinced himself that he is invincible.

But Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* contains more than the truth of the archetypal Shadow; it also is a dramatically sound demonstration of the existential process of value making. Unlike Portia's mercy which falls as does the gentle rain from heaven, Isabella's mercy arises from the authentic choice that she makes as she lives in the chaos and uncertainty of Duke Vincentio's Vienna. Judged in existential terms, her surprising and apparently unbelievable act of charity becomes dramatically satisfying.⁹

⁹There have been several attempts to deal with existentialism in Shakespeare, but the critics have dwelt on the irrational world of nothingness but have ignored an important aspect of existential thinking: man's capacity and need to build a viable ethical system in a world in which he cannot know by palpable or rational proof that anything

A basic tenet of existentialism, especially of the school of Sartre, is that man confronts a finite world with an infinite mind, trying desperately to explain and to understand.¹⁰ But since he really cannot know anything beyond his immediate existence man is self-deceived and acts in bad faith when he depends on dogmas, absolutes, or any kind of *a priori* truth. The authentic man who lives in good faith understands his common humanity, realizes his utter dependence on himself, and acts according to the truth of the situation and not according to any given standard of values. Principles that are too abstract break down when they are applied to particular cases. Without truths or guidelines man must make himself by choice of a morality, and, according to Jean Paul Sartre, "man cannot help but choose a morality, as he responds to the pressure of circumstance."

In *Measure for Measure*, within the traditional Christian framework, the dramatic truth of the situation reveals characters who move from bad faith and self-deception to an affirmation of human values derived from the human condition, and then on to a human transcendence of the human condition. In Camus' *The Fall*, Jean-Baptiste Clamence asks the question whether or not a man who has lived unauthentically in a world of illusions can come to a spiritual awareness in which his actions are motivated by a genuine concern for another human. In the person of Isabella, as she pleads for mercy for the man who has wronged her in intention if not in actual deed, Shakespeare has answered "yes."

In his assertion that man is capable of establishing his own morality, Sartre is particularly concerned with the demonic tendencies in sexual love, observing that sex comes out of the desire to possess the other as an object or else from a drive to possess the other's freedom as one's own. The authentic person is the one who responds to and recognizes what Sartre calls the "evil urge" so that he, being aware of the dangers inherent in any erotic situation, will choose to act in good faith and according to the moral standards demanded by the situation.¹² At the beginning of the play Angelo, hiding behind the false dogma of law, acts in bad faith. To Angelo, the law has its own being, independent of those who impose it. He refuses to accept his common humanity, denies that he, if given Claudio's circumstance might have reacted as Claudio, and insists that a law is no less invalid or inoperative when a thief is on the jury which convicts a man for stealing. This is the sort of thinking that has produced the traumatic existence of life in the Duke's Vienna, that produces a legal framework where, as Escalus painfully knows, "Some rise by sin, and some by virtue fall" (II. i. 38).

The comic subplot in *Measure for Measure* underscores the inoperative nature of rigid law. As Escalus futilely pleads with the inflexible Angelo for Claudio's

exists beyond his physical surroundings. See especially Robert Collmer, "Approaches to Existentialism in *Macbeth*," *The Personalist*, XLI (1960), pp. 484-491.

¹⁰ Since existentialism is not a philosophic school, many different figures from different ages and with different beliefs are labeled existentialist—from Heraclitus (fl. 500 B.C.) to Protestant Kierkegaard, to atheist Nietzsche, to Greek Orthodox Dostoyevsky, to Zionist Martin Buber. Sartre is my primary focus for this paper.

¹¹ *Being and Nothingness*, trans. by Hazel Barnes (New York: The Philosophical Library, 1956). See especially Chapter II, "Bad Faith."

¹² *L'existentialisme est un humanisme* (Paris: Nagel, 1956).

life, the ridiculous Constable Elbow enters, proclaiming, "I do but lean upon justice, sir, and bring in before your honor two notorious benefactors" (II. i. 48–50). With his malapropisms Elbow is making a ridiculous and ironic charge against frequenters of Mistress Overdone's house of prostitution. After Angelo's edict against them, such houses are clearly illegal, but Elbow, leaning on justice, destroys his case by his own testimony. He claims that his pregnant wife, who is "cardinally given," has been solicited by Pompey, Mistress Overdone's tapster and procurer. Pompey, Elbow affirms, is a "respected" man who works in a "respected" house. When Pompey's response is that Elbow's wife is "the most respected" person in the house, Escalus is forced to ask: "which is the wiser here? Justice or Iniquity?" (II. i. 180). After more puns, particularly on "done" and "overdone," Angelo leaves in disgust and Escalus dismisses the case.

Isabella, like Angelo, leans on falsely dogmatic *a priori* standards. In her first meeting with him she arouses no response at all when she invokes the image of Christ as the paradigm of mercy and asks how innocent Angelo himself would be if he were brought suddenly before the bar of immortal justice. Angelo's answer is inauthentic and in bad faith. "It is the law," he says, "not I, condemn your brother" (II. ii. 80). Pushed to deal with the situation at hand, Isabella instinctively moves to worldly arguments which reflect the relative values of the human condition. She points out that what in the Captain is a "choleric word" is "flat blasphemy" in a common soldier. Insisting on the truth of common humanity she urges, "Go to your bosom;/ Knock there, and ask your heart what it doth know/
That's like my brother's fault: if it confess/
Such a natural guiltiness such as his,
Let it not sound a thought upon your tongue/
Against my brother's life" (II. ii. 130ff). This speech is almost identical to one made earlier by Escalus, but this one coming from a woman on her knees, moves Angelo. Abruptly, he tries to dismiss her, and she, momentarily lapsing into the bad faith of dogma, offers Angelo heavenly gifts of love if he will pardon her brother. Something, though, has forced her to use the unfortunate word "bribe." As Angelo turns to leave the room, telling her to return on the morrow, "hark," she cries, "how I'll bribe you: good my Lord, turn back" (II. iii. 146). Superficially, at least, she is thinking of the bribery of heavenly rewards, but in the context of her appeal, this word shapes and defines a feeling Angelo has been refusing to recognize.

Isabella, like the Duke, clearly has a Shadow Side that she tries to hide. When she enters the nunnery as a novice, she says she is sorry that there are no more restraints being imposed on her, although the nuns are not allowed to speak to men except in the presence of the prioress and then only when veiled. Yet Claudio has characterized her well when he tells Lucio that "in her youth/
There is a prone and speechless dialect,
Such as move men" (I. ii. 187–9). As with the Duke and Angelo, Lucio is the touchstone for Isabella's shadow side. When he first meets her in the nunnery his comments suggest the Elizabethan pun of nunnery—brothel. Greeting Isabella with "Hail virgin, *if you be*," (italics mine), he makes elaborate and sarcastic profession of humility before her. He protests, "I hold you as a thing

ensky'd and sainted,/ By your renoucement an immortal spirit,/ And to be talk'd with in sincerity,/ As with a saint" (I. iii. 18ff).

Isabella's passionate undercurrent which gives her the power to "move" men meets an equally passionate undercurrent in the frozen Angelo and from their meeting until the end of the play we watch them slipping back into self-deceit, moving forward to existential truth of situation, and setting the stage for the final man-created value of mercy when Isabella kneels before the Duke to plead mercy for Angelo. What is happening in *Measure for Measure* is very similar to what happens in the existential literature which defines itself as the "literature of great circumstance." This great circumstance is the one in which characters learn what it means to be human and with this knowledge establish by individual choice a viable system of values.¹³ Traditional emphasis on character is absent, for the emphasis is on choice and action. At least in *Measure for Measure*, if not in much of his drama, Shakespeare has given us more situation than character. We remember Portia as a person, apart from her eloquent plea for mercy; we remember Isabella only in her act of asking mercy from a man who has wronged her.

From Isabella's first meeting with Angelo the literature of great circumstance prevails in the play. A few examples will suffice. After Isabella has jolted Angelo with the word "bribe," Angelo begins to approach existential truth. "What's this, what's this?" he cries, "Is this her fault or mine?/ The tempter or the tempted, who sins most?" (II. ii. 175-6). In an honest self-appraisal he reverses an earlier position on the absolute nature of the law. Echoing the Duke's observation that the offender is friended when the fault is loved, he weakens momentarily on his rigid stand: "O, let her brother live:/ Thieves for their robbery have authority/ When judges steal themselves" (II. ii. 175-7). His next mood is one of bad faith, for he blames the "cunning enemy" (the devil) who thinks to catch a "saint" (himself) by baiting the hook with a saint. But his last statement of his soliloquy is in good faith. He remembers that before when men were "fond" over women, he "smil'd and wonder'd how" (II. ii. 187-8). Now he knows. Shortly after in a scene reminiscent of Claudius on his knees in Hamlet, Angelo has knocked at his heart and found "a strong smelling evil." In absolute honesty he acknowledges that he is willing to abandon his state career for "an idle plume." And, punning on his own name, he accepts his ambiguous position: "Blood, thou art blood:/ Let's write good angel on the devil's horn;/ 'Tis not the devil's crest" (II. iv. 1ff). Changing the name on the devil's horn doesn't change the blood in the angel-devil.

In their second encounter, when Angelo offers his bribe, both Isabella and Angelo talk at cross purposes. Neither is yet fully honest nor fully willing to take responsibility for his actions. Martin Buber describes such meetings as conflict situations and says that these situations develop an overwhelming power. The only way for anyone to free himself from such self-destructive circumstances is to make the "crucial decision" to find and to acknowledge one's self, not the trivial ego

¹³"*Qu'est-ce que la littérature?*" *Situations*, II (Paris, 1948); and "Forgers of Myths, the Young Playwrights of France," *Theatre Arts*, XXX, No. 6 (June, 1946).

of the egoistic individual but the deeper self of the person living in relationship to the world.¹⁴

Angelo moves another step closer to the deeper self when he is told that the Duke will return. Wishing he could undo what he believes to be the deflowering of the maid and the death of her brother, he experiences existential guilt. According to Buber, there is existential guilt "when someone injures an order of the human world, whose foundations he knows and recognizes as those not only of his own existence but also of all common human existence."¹⁵ Realizing the enormity of his sin against humanity, Angelo laments: "Alack, when once our grace we have forgot,/ Nothing goes right: We would, and we would not." (IV. iii. 35-6). But Angelo will not completely accept himself for what he is until confronted by the unhooded Duke. When Isabella presents to the Duke her petition against him, Angelo tries to pretend that the death of her brother has unsettled her wits, and when Mariana claims him as her betrothed and bedded husband, he falsely claims that her questionable reputation more than her lost dowry forced him into the promise-breach. His later confession to the Duke, however, when he pleads for "immediate sentence" and "sequent death" (V. i. 379) is convincing and sincere, and since we know that Angelo has been approaching this position for some time, we believe him. We are even willing to believe Mariana's plea that "best men are moulded out of faults" (V. i. 445).

Before *she* reaches *her* deeper self, Isabella has to go through the role of having yielded to Angelo, and then she has to see Mariana desperately pleading for pardon from an inexorable authority, just as she herself has once done. In the first part of the scene she accuses Angelo of being a liar, a murderer, a virgin-violater, and an adulterous thief, but after the unhooding of the Friar-Duke, she has seen Angelo's confession and the anguish of Mariana's pleadings. Accepting the truth of the situation and acting in good faith, she acknowledges her part in Angelo's fall with these words: "I partly think/ A due sincerity govern'd his deeds,/ Till he did look on me" (V. i. 450-2). Instead of measure for measure, instead of Angelo for Claudio, she can honestly ask for morality for man. Isabella's motivation comes, I think, not from a sudden conversion but from a full understanding of something the hangman Abhorson said to his trainee Pompey: "Every true man's apparel fits your thief; if it be too little for your thief, your true man thinks it is big enough; if it be too big for your thief, your thief thinks it little enough: so every true man's apparel fits your thief" (IV. ii. 45-50). Values are relative, not absolute; judgments depend on point of view. But, as Isabella demonstrates, man in the position of man can transcend his being. Man need not, as the despairing Claudio observes, being led to prison, pursue like rats "a thirsty evil" which will poison him when he drinks. Much like tragic affirmations, existential situations that end happily are really affirmations of man's moral transcendence. Such a situation in *Measure for Measure* very adequately solves the problem posed by the play.

Jacob Boehme, (1575-1624) a Lutheran agnostic and contemporary of Shake-

¹⁴*The Knowledge of Man*, trans. by Maurice Friedman and Ronald Gregor (New York: Harper and Row, 1965).

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 270.

spare, insists that knowledge is found in existence itself, along with occasional moments of revelation from God. Boehme finds a mixture of good and evil in all creation, even in God himself. Doubting the doctrine of the original sin, he affirms an internal life in God that belongs to all life. Shakespeare has been claimed by every sect and every "ism," and I make no attempt to add existentialism to the list. He was probably totally unaware that such a man as Boehme existed, but I think it is a relevant point to note that an existential reading of *Measure for Measure* is not so totally anachronistic as it would at first seem.

Perhaps the best way to end this essay is with a quote from another sixteenth century author. Commenting on Chaucer in the *Defense of Poesy*: Philip Sidney makes an astute observation: "I know not whether to marvel more, either that he in that misty time could see so clearly, or that we in this clear age walk so stumblingly after him."¹⁶

Bibliography

- Barnes, Hazel E. *Humanistic Existentialism: The Literature of Possibility*. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1959.
- Buber, Martin. *The Knowledge of Man*, Translated by Maurice Friedman and Ronald Gregor Smith. New York: Harper and Row, 1965.
- Carlton, H. B. *Shakespearean Tragedy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948.
- Collmer, Robert. "Approaches to Existentialism in *Macbeth*," in *The Personalist*, XLI (1960), pp. 484-491.
- Craig, Hardin and Bevington, David, eds. *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, Rev. Ed. Glenville, Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1973.
- Fergusson, Francis. *Shakespeare, The Pattern In His Carpet*. New York: Delacorte Press, 1970.
- Goddard, Harold C. *The Meaning of Shakespeare*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Jacobi, Jolande. *Complex, Archetype, and Symbol in the Psychology of C. G. Jung*, Translated by Ralph Manheim. New York: Pantheon Books, 1959.
- Jung, C. G., ed. *Man and His Symbols*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1964.
- . *Psyche and Symbol*, Edited by Violet D. de Lazlo. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1958.
- . *The Undiscovered Self*, Translated by R. F. C. Hull. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1958.
- Radin, Paul. *The Trickster: A Study in American Indian Mythology*, with commentaries by Karl Kerenyi and C. G. Jung. New York: Greenwood Press, 1969.

¹⁶Hyder E. Rollins and Herschel Baker, eds., *The Renaissance in England* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1954), p. 620.

- Rollins, Hyder, ed. *The Renaissance in England*. Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1954.
- Sartre, Jean Paul. *Being and Nothingness*, Translated by Hazel Barnes. New York: The Philosophical Library, 1956.
- . *L'existentialisme est un humanisme*. Paris: Nagel, 1956.
- . "Forgers of Myths, the Young Playwrights of France," *Theatre Arts*, XXX, No. 6 (June, 1946), pp. 311–332.
- . "Qu'est-ce que la littérature?" *Situations*, II (Paris, 1948), pp. 29–42.
- Wilson, Edwin, ed. *Shaw on Shakespeare*. New York, 1961.
- Wilson, Harold S. "Action and Symbol in *Measure for Measure* and *The Tempest*," *Shakespeare Quarterly*, IV (1953), pp. 372–391.

ANABAPTISTS OF AN AFFLUENT SOCIETY THE GERMAN "NEW LEFT" DURING THE SIXTIES.

Fred J. Backhaus*

It is difficult to exactly determine the ideological position of the New Left (NL). Such a predicament is not the result of any secrecy connected with the activities of the NL nor lack of pronouncements or publicity emanating from their ranks. The problems generated when attempting to pin-point the ideological stance or position of that body commonly referred to as "New Left", are due to the NL's self-understanding and their own statements.

The theoreticians of the NL stress again and again the preliminary, temporary nature of their pronouncements as well as actions. The only consistent aspect appears in the NL concept of actions: there should be permanency in protest, action, and confrontation; regardless of the everchanging causes which are made the target of active confrontations. Since causes and targets constantly vary, there is no general effort to systematize the body of political thought or ideology. Even those authors whose works are considered "classics" by the various segments of the NL, contradict each other in regard to many issues. Moreover, only a few singular tenets or thought patterns of such classics are quoted, and then quite arbitrarily, or out of context.¹

A survey of the major NL position papers reveals the fact that those who advocate and promote a complete restructuring of the existing order of society promising a new and, of course, better or even perfect replacement, are giving us only very vague information about the structures of this "new" social order. There are no apologies made for such ignorance or lack of actual, definitive concepts. On the contrary, it is maintained that only in the course of the destruction of the present order will we learn and experience how the New Order is supposed to be. The Frankfurt SDS functionary Krahl put it bluntly, "The revolutionary practice will teach us to what extent the present regime is disposable."²

Obviously, the NL does not respond to criticism and, in fact, does not accept the premise that there could be a basis for outside criticism, for the NL takes the

*Dr. Backhaus is Associate Professor of Foreign Languages at Midwestern State University.

¹Dutschke, from a transcript of a discussion at the University of Hamburg in *Die Zeit*, December 1, 1967. In addition see Uwe Bergmann *et al.*, *Rebellion der Studenten oder die neue Opposition, eine Analyse* (Rowohlt: Reinbeck, 1968); and *Konkret* (1967), No. 6, p. 13.

²See the statement made during a panel discussion of the topic, "Authority and Student Revolt," at the meeting of German Sociologists in April, 1968; also *Konkret* (1967), No. 6, p. 13; Bernward Vesper, "Bedingungen und Organisation des Widerstandes," in *Voltaire Flugschriften*, No. 12, p. 78; and Kajo Heymann, "Über Manipulation un Parteilichkeit," in *Perspektiven*, July, 1968, p. 20.

position that only the NL possesses the correct theories and thought patterns, the only acceptable blue-prints needed for a restructuring of the present social order. In the opinion of each individual NL faction, their particular NL version is always the one and only correct one, they alone possess the right concepts and remedies for social salvation. The concepts are, however, not systematized bodies of thought but rather a series of pronouncements of essentially the same claim: to have new insights into the character of society, and a new understanding of the nature of social structures. To the NL, this claim constitutes a tenet of their faith, a dogma issued from infallibles, which is neither negotiable nor even to be questioned.

It would be incorrect to assume that there exists no criticism or questioning of dogmatic views within their ranks, and it would, furthermore, be incorrect to accuse the NL of only wanting to convert (or disclose?) disbelievers. There is self-examination and discussion but only within the small inner circle of the proven faithful. From time to time, the essence of such discussions is circulated among the initiates for further contemplation.³ Unless the results affect future positions or action policies, they are not to be disclosed to outsiders. To the outside, to the masses of disbelievers, each member of the NL is duty-bound to present the "party line" being ever mindful of the tenet that "the party is always right". Pronouncements by the NL are, therefore, not intended to be or understood to be "communications" in the normally accepted sense of the word but rather function as agitation to provoke confrontation.⁴

It should be recognized that the NL is in many details of its pronouncements not entirely "new" and, often not even "left", at least not in the commonplace sense of these words. Already during the Weimar Republic did those to the "left" of the "right" play a major role. It would also be erroneous to entirely discard the NL as "old", as "have-seen-it-before". More accurately, the NL should be seen as an international movement of young people with old ideas and new techniques of expression who are only to a limited extent concerned with discussions of theoretical pronouncements.⁵

This movement is mainly concerned with the conveyance of new attitudes towards life in general and society in particular. The avowed thrust or purpose of theories is determined from case to case by confrontations with traditional life and the existing institutions of society. Invoking the Feuerbach-Theories of the young Marx, the NL measures the purpose of thought and action, the relation of theory to reality, solely by the degree of their usefulness for total restructuring of the present socio-political systems and institutions.

The organizational forms of the NL are diffuse, and their pronouncements varied and often contradictory. The NL therefore, does not analyze its own posi-

³See, for example, position papers or circulars like *Sozialistische Hefte. Facit*, or *Voltaire Flugschriften*; see also Ekkehard Kloehn, "Der Weg in den Widerstand," in *Die Zeit*, March 1, 1968.

⁴E. Krippendorff, in *Die Zeit*, December 15, 1968, pp. 28-9.

⁵Rosa Luxemburg, "Organisationsfragen der russischen Sozialdemokratie," in *Neue Zeit*, 22 Jg. (1903-1904), Vol. II, 484-89; and Dutschke, "Die geschichtlichen Bedingungen für den internationalen Emanzipationskampf," in Bergmann *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

tions and structures applying traditional standards but rather by criteria wishfully gained from action in the sense of sheer confrontation.

The actually "new" aspect of this movement lies, first of all, in its technique of agitation propaganda, which means, promotion of provocative propaganda hopefully leading to confrontation. The other "new" aspect appears as a phenomenon of this movement as a predominantly Youth Movement.

This new provocative propaganda technique, often called "Agitprop-Technique", creates the first hand impression of a substantial actuality of pronouncements, a prima-facie "newness", which is however, rather threadbare, for it is, when divorced from the technique of presentation, nothing more than the application of old ideas to structures and problems of contemporary society.⁶ These ideas or thought patterns are so old that they are no longer considered revolutionary. Those of our contemporaries, who see through the agitprop smoke, and who recognize ideological kinships and causalities, are therefore, hardly perturbed by the agitation activities of the NL.⁷

As a purely intellectual strain, the NL could survive only among a small circle of those intellectually susceptible and convertible, a small group of faithful fanatics. In view of this, the intellectual theoreticians and activists of the movement recognize that their ideological structure, whatever that may be, must be related to and supported by the conviction that it is also scientifically valid and useful, its usefulness measured by action. By combining thought with action, the NL becomes a socio-political factor. Consequently, it is understood by the NL that success or failure of their movement depends essentially on the commitment of the believers to action programs. In fact, all true NL disciples must be totally committed to that state of mind called "readiness for action" (*Aktionsbereitschaft*). Whether or not that readiness for action, that "*semper paratus*" state of mind actually exists in the individual, can only be evidenced in confrontation situations wherefore, it is necessary to constantly search for confrontation situations and even provoke them. This state of mind entails a radicalism which is hostile to any attitude of compromise, even in trivial matters. It is precisely this calculated and well intended anti-compromise radicalism which adds the additional "shock-effect" to the NL agitation propaganda.⁸

History has shown that a generation whose ideological stance is oriented towards the creation of a "new man" and a "new society", can only become effective by a total and full employment of all means at their disposal. This type of engagement subscribes without reservations to the maxim that the end justifies the means, in fact, all means. The memories of such experiences are very much alive in Germany and elsewhere, and the members of a generation burdened by

⁶W. I. Lenin, "Was Tun? Brennende Fragen unserer Bewegung" (1902), in *Lenin Werke*, published by the Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin Institute of the Central Committee of the KPdSU, trans. into German from the 4th Russian edition (Berlin, 1955), Vol. V, 421; and Jürgen Habermas, "Scheinrevolution unter Handlungszwang," in *Der Spiegel*, No. 24, June 10, 1968, p. 59.

⁷"Der Mord beginnt beim bösen Wort," in *Der Spiegel*, No. 41, October 3, 1977.

⁸George Lukács, "Taktik und Ethik," in *Schriften zur Ideologie und Politik*, Soziologische Texte 51 (Peter Ludz: Neuwied-Berlin, 1967); and Rudolf Augstein, in *Der Spiegel*, No. 41, October 3, 1977.

these experiences remember very well that in modern times all grand scale crimes were committed by people or groups who professed an enlightened ideology as the basis of their political actions. One of the truly tragic aspects of our century is the phenomenon that the politically involved ideological criminal is the typical messiah or terrorist of our times! Confronted with an "all or nothing" ideology, entertained frequently by people with honorable motives or convictions, society's options are limited: either to accept conversion, to resist actively or passively or to become eliminated, bluntly spoken, exterminated!

The target of the NL is the so-called Establishment of the modern pluralistic, industrial society which attempts to manage it's affairs and institutions according to the rules of a bourgeois society structured on a basically capitalistic-feudal class system. The NL contends that the obsolescence of the structures of our modern industrial societies produces their repressive character. To make the masses aware of the repressive and exploitative character of this present society, is the primary objective of the NL, promoted by all means in hopes of moving the masses to action.⁹

A review of the discussions within the NL reveals a reoccurring issue of obviously central importance: the criticism of parliamentarianism. There are historical reasons for this issue which directly relate to the philosophies of two influential thinkers of the 18th century, Rousseau and Locke.

The classic theoretician of direct democracy in modern times is the French philosopher Rousseau whose constitutional theories are based on the concept of the identity of those ruling and those governed. Obviously, such theory pre-supposes a complete harmony of interests of all citizens. He assumed that in a society organizing itself, the people are the sole and only sovereign, and that all individual rights or privileges have been, *ab origine*, vested in "the people". Therefore, Rousseau strongly refutes any collective representation of special interests or manifestations of individual preferences. He recognizes that the particular interests or preferences of the individual citizen are not always identifiable with the common interests of the people as a society, hence, it may be necessary to re-generate or re-direct a citizen's awareness or understanding of the common will or common good by means of appropriate education.¹⁰ In his great work, "The History of Totalitarian Democracy," Professor J. C. Talmon has clearly referred to the causal connection between Rousseau and the political messianism and totalitarianism of the 20th century.¹¹

Rousseau's ideas stand in marked contrast to those of Locke, particularly as interpreted by the Anglo-Americans as presented in the *Federalist Papers* by

⁹"Mord beginnt beim bösen Wort," *Der Spiegel*, *op. cit.*; Kajo Heymann, *op. cit.*; and Ekkehard Kloehn, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

¹⁰Jean Jacques Rousseau, "Discours Sur L'Origine de L'Inégalité parmi les Hommes," in J. J. Rousseau, *Du Contrat Sociale ou Principes du Droit Politique* (Classiques Garniere, 1962).

¹¹J. L. Talmon, *Die Ursprünge der totalitären Demokratie* (Köln-Opladen, 1961); and, *Politischer Messianismus, Die romantische Phase* (Köln-Opladen, 1963).

Hamilton, Madison and Jay. Based upon the notion of the ultimate sovereignty of the people, they advocate a representative, legalistic and pluralistic social order with strict separation of powers and optimal guarantees for the protection of individual rights and liberties.¹²

Direct democracies as well as pluralistic, representative democracies however, can fall into the hands of unscrupulous demagogues who may cleverly use the democratic institutions through mass manipulation for the purpose of depriving the people of their sovereignty. It is frequently contended, as well that the immense economic leverage which the non-representative bureaucracy exerts, *eo ipso* amounts to a control over the people and government apparatus, a *de facto* situation which often makes the exercise of the people's sovereignty illusory.¹³

Since the NL labels these parliamentary institutions as organs for the exploitation and enslavement of the masses for the benefit of special power cliques, the NL feels no obligation to be bound by parliamentary procedures. The black-and-white ideology of the NL produces a particular attitude which seems to be inconsequential to an outsider. This involves the NL's agitation against reformers within the establishment. The NL fears that all reforms emanating from within the establishment by "established" reformers will only lead to solidification of the allegedly erroneous beliefs of the people.

We must consider the circumstance that in the Federal Republic of Germany, the NL understands itself to be an extra-parliamentary opposition, referred to as APO, even though, the NL is not organized as such. Thus NL factions are to be found within the ruling party organizations as well as within the opposition party establishment.

This type of extra-parliamentary opposition relieves the NL of any concrete or even definable responsibility as an actor on the socio-political scene. Nevertheless, the NL claims a mandate while simultaneously disclaiming any responsibility. This practice has led to substantial problems which surfaced especially at German universities. There, all shades of NL factions had succeeded in gaining key positions within the collective, participatory structures governing these institutions. Agitated by vociferous radicals, they appealed to students and faculty alike who sincerely believed that those "progressives" would have the patent formulas or pearls of democratic wisdom needed for the implementation and execution of programs and reforms. Yet, as was to be seen, these NL reformers did not or could not deliver all they had promised, simply, because they refused to accept the traditional rules of democratic parliamentary procedures. The paradox soon became obvious: according to the NL's professed self-understanding, they are not against democracy but rather cry for more democracy, yet, they are unwilling to pursue or implement such by democratic means. Consequently, they found themselves in permanent con-

¹²*The Federalist, or The New Constitution*, ed. by Max Beloff (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1948); see also Douglas Adair, "That Politics May Be Reduced To A Science: David Hume, James Madison and the Tenth Federalist," in *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, XX (1956).

¹³*The Federalist*, p. 343 ff.

frontations with even the most liberal wings of the established democratic structures who were inclined to support the NL in part or *in toto*.¹⁴

There exists no NL definition of what "establishment" actually represents to be. Instead, the NL attacks symbol-like institutions using these targets to exemplify the NL's criticism and opposition. Perhaps the greatest frustration suffered by the NL is generated by the circumstance that the German establishment refuses to accept the analytical premises and ideological perspectives of the NL. Accordingly, the NL can gauge the establishment only insofar as it reveals a tendency to accept or refute the fundamental theses of the NL. It is the extent to which the NL propagators can identify themselves with structures and practices of the establishment which points out the discrepancies between NL realities and NL emotionalism. Since the nature as well as the extent and frequency of such discrepancies is totally unpredictable, the very attitudes of the NL in any given confrontation situation reveal its basically total self-alienation. To the NL, the only one more detestable than the establishment is a disagreeable NL comrade!¹⁵

What, then, is the political ideology of the NL? Essentially, it is composed of three major ingredients: criticism of the existing social order in the Federal Republic and the USA; strategy and tactics, and finally, a utopian view of the future. The criticism is directed toward institutions of the establishment as structures of an inhumane, authoritarian and repressive system which is claimed to be totalitarian. The main enemy within this allegedly democratic totalitarian system is the "performance dogma" (*Leistungsprinzip*).¹⁶ In reference to thoughts presented in the study "The Authoritarian Personality", written by Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson and Sanford, New York 1950, this dogma of performance is understood to be the main criterion of an authoritarian personality. The pre-eminence of this authoritarian performance dogma is seen to be co-responsible for the alienation of mankind. To the NL, alienation is the manifestation of the sociological concept of frustration which entails not only political alienation but also inter-personal alienation. Without hesitation, the NL frequently interprets alienation as the wide-spread "uneasiness" of many, wrapped up in the socio-political ongoings of our modern industrial society.

As part of its political criticism, the NL embraces, furthermore, the ethical-esthetical syndrome of an emotional disgust or disenchantment, prevalent among many members of our society. This "existential disgust" has been incorporated in theories of a new anthropology which recognizes a dialectic of sentiment and emotion affecting the whole man.¹⁷

¹⁴Johannes Agnoli, "Die Transformation der Demokratie," in Agnoli and Brückner, *Die Transformation der Demokratie* (Berlin, 1967); and "Thesen zur Transformation der Demokratie und zur außerparlamentarischen Opposition," in *Neue Kritik*, No. 47 (April, 1968).

¹⁵Dutschke, in *Konkret*, January 1, 1968, p. 53; and Karl Dietrich Wolff and Frank Wolff, "Revolutionärer Realismus," in *Die Zeit*, January 19, 1968, p. 3.

¹⁶Dutschke, "Die Widersprüche des Spätkapitalismus," in Bergmann *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-5; and Alexander Mitcherlich, "Auf dem Wege zur vaterlosen Gesellschaft," *Ideen zur Sozialpsychologie* (München, 1963).

¹⁷H. Marcuse, "Der eindimensionale Mensch," in *Studien zur Ideologie der fortgeschrittenen Industriegesellschaft*, Third edition (Neuwied, 1968).

In regards to political tactics and strategies, the NL proclaims that the blue prints for a new society can only be developed during the course of actual class struggles, pitching theories against realities, actions against responses.¹⁸ The schematics of ideological-political action are characterized by a “friend-foe” concept. The thrust of action aims at polarization, that is, fixation of this “friend-foe” scheme, employing slogans borrowed from past revolutionary movements. Consequently, such slogan-tactics lead more and more to an agitation which labels liberalism “totalitarian liberalism” and tolerance “repressive tolerance”, as, for example, Marcuse sees it. Since, according to Lenin, agitation primarily utilizes the spoken word as opposed to propaganda, such agitation deliberately appeals to the emotions for the purpose of converting statements into outbursts of outrage. It is the result of such statement-emotion manipulation that the provoked agitation reveals certain terrorist traits.¹⁹

The NL understands the strategy of provoked agitation as a learning process which must be initiated in order to educate the masses towards anti-authoritarian awareness. This provoked agitation, leading to active confrontations with the establishment should, hopefully, result in a “spontaneous solidarity” evidencing itself by “spontaneous resistance” to establishment activities. Typical examples of such tactics are the numerous disturbances provoked on the occasion of official establishment events, like national holidays, reception of heads-of-state, official party assemblies, memorial services and other public displays of establishment authority.²⁰

Dutschke, one of the early NL apostles, advocated a concept of “organized refusal”, based on the premise of a continuity of spontaneous cooperation and solidarity which demanded that the moral forces of protest be converted into organizational forces. Fortunately, the NL has never been able to produce such continuity, and therefore, continuous dynamics.²¹ This shortcoming, as they see it, was, in no small measure, due to the fact that those members of the NL who have retained a strong sense of moral integrity, have prevented the organization of any and all potentially elitist, centralistic, politbureau-type NL structures. They have even refused to discuss any overtures for organizational manipulation of their own ranks! This experience made obvious what the leading theoreticians of communist party structures had recognized decades ago: ethical rigorism may, at best, be reconciled with forms of political tactics but never with those of a political apparatus!²²

The NL versions of criticism and action always germinate in the utopian incubator called “the new, real, better society”. This “better” society should be a classless world society without authoritarian attributes. Following formulations of Marx, free individuals should live in independent associations of a participatory democ-

¹⁸Dutschke, “Die geschichtlichen Bedingungen für den internationalen Emanzipationskampf,” in Bergmann *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 91; and “Widersprüche des Spätkapitalismus,” *ibid.*, p. 40.

¹⁹Lenin, *op. cit.*, pp. 421 ff.

²⁰“Mord beginnt beim bösen Wort,” *Der Spiegel*, No. 41, October 3, 1977, pp. 35–6.

²¹J. Habermas, in *Der Spiegel*, No. 24, June 10, 1968, p. 59.

²²Lukács, *op. cit.*, p. 1 ff.

racy, electing labor collectives for limited periods of time which are dismissible at any moment. Such council collectives are the NL's alternative to technocratic, bureaucratic authoritarian structures.²³

The acceptance of the idea of free, independent associations of free individuals presupposed, of course, the acceptance of the earlier mentioned new anthropology which, in turn, would require the acceptance of the tenet that such "new man" can actually be created. Faith in such potential or possibilities is entertained not exclusively by avowed members of the NL, it is found in the class rooms of many conservative institutions! Needless to say, there exists no consensus as concerns the *modus operandi* for the actual "creation" but it explains a strong interest in the Mao-experiences. Influenced by the results of the Russian revolution and particularly, by the Chinese cultural revolution, many NL saints believe that this New Man is "creatable" through a permanent process of collective self-education. The various existing clubs, committees or communal forms are seen as early steps towards realization of what disbelievers call utopia.²⁴

It must be stressed once more that it is impossible to get an exact fix on the ideological position of the NL *in toto*. In spite of its apparent international character, the NL is essentially nationalistic. This is mainly due to the nature of the ever-changing targets which are, save few exceptions like the Vietnam engagement or the Palestinian question, national establishment targets.

Furthermore, it would be misleading to consider the NL movements as a continuation of classic Marxism. Regardless of the aspect that both orthodox as well as neo-Marxism consider the capitalistic society to function as a repressive society, one must clearly distinguish between the Marxism of Marx and the Marxist concepts of Lenin. The NL is oriented towards the philosophies of the young Marx and much less influenced by the sociological theories of Marx after his encounter with Engels. It is interesting to note that this tendency points out certain similarities with the rhetoric and practices of the early Fascist movements. It also explains the NL's fascination with the Mao-China experience.²⁵

The apparent "internationality" of the NL is in part due to the NL's reference to internationally known ideologies or theorists. In part, it is also due to the international spread of NL-type thought patterns, particularly, among academic youth. In this perspective, one may call the NL an international protest movement reciting a gallerie of protest apostles such as Ernst Bloch, George Lukács, Régis Debray, Herbert Marcuse, André Gorz, Paul A. Baran, Wilhelm Reich, Paul M. Sweezy among others. To this list should, of course be added the "Hall of Fame" dwellers: Walter Benjamin, Rudolf Hilferding, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht and the contemporary Belgian, Mandel.

²³Oskar Anweiler, *Die Rätebewegung in Rußland, 1905-1921* (Leiden, 1958); Karl Kautsky, *Die Diktatur des Proletariats* (Wien, 1918); and Eberhard Kolb, *Die Arbeiterräte in der deutschen Innenpolitik* (Düsseldorf, 1962).

²⁴Lenin, *Werke*, Vol. 25 (Berlin, 1960).

²⁵Ernesto Che Guevara, *Der Partisanenkrieg-eine Methode* (München, 1968); Mao Tse-tung, *Worte des Vorsitzenden* (Peking, 1967), pp. 11, 29, 74; and H. Marcuse, "Repressive Toleranz," in *Kritik der reinen Toleranz*, edition suhrkamp No. 181. 3. A. (Frankfurt/M., 1967).

This internationality is "only apparent" because the German NL is not a branch of an international NL. Each national, often even regional NL faction accentuates and interprets the theories and thoughts of the avant-garde of the movement differently. Contrary to often voiced impressions, the NL in the Federal Republic is, at least during the Sixties, less effective in terms of power leverage than in some other countries. However, they created the image of being more authoritarian and totalitarian in their thought patterns. There could be several reasons for this, each rather speculative, and therefore controversial.

One commonly held opinion contends that, following German tradition, the NL might have been primarily concerned with the creation of theoretical foundations of their ideology before directing all available forces for active and practical confrontations.²⁶ To support this contention it has been cited that a relatively impressive number of the NL world-improvers stayed with or strayed into the structures and institutions of the establishment which they attempted to re-structure from within utilizing the already established executive organs of the traditional system. Furthermore, it became obvious that many NL adherents working for and with the existing structures, exerted many efforts to avoid radical or even forceful confrontations with the establishment.

In retrospect, looking from the vantage point of the late Seventies back upon the Sixties, the previously held opinion became substantiated by virtue of the stated change of the NL's *modus procedendi*: from the "Long March" through the streets to the "Long March" through the institutions. Unfortunately, a prediction closely related to this opinion also supports its apparent validity, namely, the emergence of extreme radicalism manifesting itself in extreme terrorism with resulting establishment back-lash which threatens to curtail hard-won civil liberties.²⁷

The constitutional, democratic institutions of the Federal Republic could relatively easily cope with the literary as well as the street clamor of the NL during the Sixties, in spite of all the publicity such phenomena generated. Today, this "March through the Institutions" is generally low-keyed but alarmingly more effective, putting the present concepts of a constitutional participatory democracy to the most severe and critical tests ever encountered.²⁸

²⁶"Mord beginnt beim bösen Wort," in *Der Spiegel*, No. 41, October 3, 1977, pp. 36, 38-9; C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964); and Elmar Altvater, "Perspektiven jenseits des Wirtschaftswunders," in *Neue Kritik*, No. 40 (1967).

²⁷Reimut Reiche and Peter Gäng, "Vom antikapitalistischen Protest zur sozialistischen Politik," in *Neue Kritik*, No. 14 (1967); Dutschke, in Bergmann *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 90; and H. J. Krahl, in *Voltaire Flugschriften*, No. 12, p. 93.

²⁸"Der ramponierte Rechtsstaat," "Seid Ihr einverstanden, Daß wir schießen," and "Antiterroristengesetze," in *Der Spiegel*, No. 50, December 1977.

N. G. Chernyshevsky, Ideologue

Robert D. Becker

An ideologue, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, is an ideologist, a person who is occupied with an idea or ideas.¹ This term quite accurately describes Nikolai Gavrilovich Chernyshevsky and most other mid-nineteenth century radical intellectuals. These individuals—often called the generation of the 1850–1860's—provided something of a turning point in the Russian revolutionary movement. In previous generations those who challenged the system were largely gentry intellectuals who, despite their dislike for the evils associated with the established order, were still closely tied to their families—if only economically—and through them to their aristocratic and landowning environment.² Ideas for them, while important, did not motivate them, and they failed to establish any concrete program, whether of reform or revolution, for the reconstruction of Russian society. The new generation of intellectuals was largely comprised of individuals who were not of the gentry class. They had risen from social obscurity and in some instances extreme poverty to influential positions in the intellectual community. There were only a few who engaged directly in the formulation of revolutionary strategy and who tried to translate word into deed; and yet they exerted an influence all out of proportion to their actual numbers.

One of the most influential of these individuals was Chernyshevsky. Although he could probably have established himself as an original thinker, he chose instead the role of publicist to popularize the ideas of others that he believed deserved a wider audience.³ If ideas were to be operative in society and have an effect on human affairs, he said, they had to be shared by greater numbers of men, and journalism was the means by which the thoughts of other men could be influenced in the widest possible sphere.⁴ He made this choice recognizing that Russia's limited educational system automatically restricted the audience. His message could only be understood by the literate. Chernyshevsky was primarily concerned with the important questions that men must answer in their personal and social lives.

*Dr. Becker is Assistant Professor of History at Midwestern State University.

¹*The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 1368.

²Vladimir C. Nahirny, "The Russian Intelligentsia: From Men of Ideas to Men of Convictions," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, IV (July 1962), p. 408. Edward J. Brown, *Stankevich and His Moscow Circle* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966), p. 102.

³N. G. Chernyshevsky, *Selected Philosophical Essays*, trans. M. Grigoryan (Moscow: FLPH, 1953), p. 154. "I am a journalist . . . a man who tries to keep abreast of progress made in intellectual life in all questions of interest to educated people." Journalists, he continued, write on all subjects and do not have to be specialists in all subjects.

⁴Martin Malia, "What is the Intelligentsia?," *The Russian Intelligentsia*, ed. Richard E. Pipes (New York: Columbia U.P., 1961), p. 11.

What is the meaning of life? How does man arrive at a moral code, or establish a basis for judging human actions? How and why are men creative, and how can creativity be evaluated? How should men relate to each other in their social and economic roles, and what are their rights, privileges, and obligations? What role should, and do, power and authority play in society? Chernyshevsky believed that the answers to these questions must be part of a coherent, logically consistent world view. He approached the questions with a passion quite in keeping with the times in which he lived and the answers he gave to these questions influenced not only his own time but also the whole subsequent revolutionary movement. Chernyshevsky more than any other single man, shaped the attitudes of subsequent generations of Russian revolutionaries who were bound together by their preoccupation with and dedication to ideas (one observer called it a psychological unity.)⁵ Lenin on more than one occasion acknowledged Chernyshevsky's influence on him personally and the movement in general, calling him a "great Russian socialist." Even today in the USSR Chernyshevsky is celebrated as one of the most important of the early revolutionaries. In a very real sense Chernyshevsky was the ideological ancestor of the men who carried out the Russian revolution. It was he also who encouraged that the intelligentsia turn "to the bottom of society," to the suffering and humiliated masses who had been victimized by the old order for support in bringing down the old order.⁶ Periodic peasant revolts while often destructive and widespread, lacked coherence and leadership and provided no alternative to traditional concepts. And it was the only group in Russian society likely to share the disaffection and alienation of the radical intellectuals and to be capable of forcing change. Yet there was a great gulf between the literate and illiterate segments of society. An equally large gulf divided those who could think abstractly from those who could not. Possessors of a "Western" education were suspect, considered to be representative of another culture and hence foreigners in their own country. The central problem was to join Westernized leaders and Russian followers—two cultures that could hardly communicate with each other. One group could not achieve its goals without the support of the mass-movement where it had little chance of being understood; while the other group needed leadership, but was suspicious of the "foreign" Russians.

Another factor affected the character of the thought of the opposition. Until the middle decades of the 19th century, the main burden of intellectual dissent was carried on by representatives of the privileged order of society, who had easiest access to adequate education. After that, it was a small group of educated non-nobles. In contrast to the West, there was no dynamic and powerful middle class whose interests would be served by challenging tradition. The absence of support from such a self-seeking social group added a note of futility to the Russian movement.

⁵Richard Wortman in his preface to *The Crisis of Russian Populism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967) describes the generation as having "shared attitudes and preconceptions—hopes, fears, longings, and hatreds." Wortman also states that "we know little about the kind of mentality" of Herzen, Chernyshevsky, and their successors. Each one had his own "particular amalgam of ideas and attitudes" which have been created "with an intensity and determination that so far have remained unexplained."

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 7.

The radicals believed that they alone perceived that present-day Russia was stagnant, arbitrary, inhumane and in need of immediate and sweeping changes.⁷

In any society the few who seek consciously to break with tradition are often isolated. In Russia this was especially the case. The intelligentsia, therefore, alone set out upon the overwhelming task of changing Russia. To accomplish this, they attempted to remake themselves, to uplift themselves morally and intellectually, to make themselves strong enough to direct future development in Russia. They sought to become “new men”—rejecting the past, severing relations with contemporary society and holding everything traditional in contempt, while suppressing their need for comfort and happiness in the present and unswervingly devoting themselves to the future. “They labor for the good of mankind because they passionately enjoy it.”⁸ But liberation from the past and present also meant isolation, alienation, and the loss of personal attachments. Ideas became their means of relating to the world around them. Ideas were also guides to action.⁹ Because they valued these ideas as a directing force for change and because so much appeared to rest on the outcome, they argued with passion and intensity, often with intolerance.¹⁰ Ideas absorbed them to such an extent that they did not hesitate to play out their whole lives around them. Having committed themselves to these ideas and by attempting to act totally and undeviatingly in accordance with them, they had become ideologues, one might say, fanatics, seeking their concept of good through violent revolution and accepting its consequences.¹¹

Nikolai Gavrilovich Chernyshevsky—the only son of a well educated and reasonably well-to-do priest—was born in 1828 in the Volga town of Saratov. His family, which shared a home with the family of Chernyshevsky’s mother’s sister and her family, appears to have been tightly-knit. The adults lived by a strict moral code, according to high standards of personal conduct, and they provided models of industriousness and devotion to duty. Later Chernyshevsky would attribute to this upbringing the reason for his abjuring of coarse pleasures, such as drinking. He especially appreciated his father’s good qualities: kindness, humility, lack of malice, and nobility of character. He claimed in his best moments to recognize a similarity between his father and himself. His mother, who suffered chronic poor health, he spoke of only slightly less generously, praising her for loving his father and being devoted to her son. In the latter case she seems to have been somewhat overprotective, creating a dependence that Chernyshevsky indulged. Although on one occasion he noted that she intended to interfere in everything, still, Chernyshevsky and his cousins were allowed considerable freedom of choice in their activities. This was extended to his education as well. His father taught him at home,

⁷Malia, p. 3.

⁸James M. Edie, James P. Scanlan, Mary-Barbara Zeldin, *Russian Philosophy*, 3 vols. (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1965), II, 64.

⁹Marc Raeff, *The Origins of the Russian Intelligentsia* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1966), p. 167.

¹⁰The kind of extremism and doctrinarism they exhibited is not surprising in a country in which arbitrary rule had prevailed for generations.

¹¹William F. Woehrlin, *Chernyshevskii: The Man and the Journalist* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), p. 57.

beginning with classical languages when Nikolai was eight years old. Generally this home instruction was permissive, and he was allowed to satisfy his curiosity in the family library which contained a large selection of books ranging from religious works to the writings of contemporary intellectuals like Alexander Herzen and Vissarion Belinsky. In general it would appear that the immediate family surroundings provided comfort, love, security, and examples of conduct worth emulating. Much later, when he became completely estranged from the religious and intellectual beliefs of his parents, the bonds of affections and memories of early family happiness remained.¹²

Another aspect of Chernyshevsky's early life is difficult to evaluate. Saratov at the time was a provincial trade and administrative center of about 50,000 people on the border of European and Asiatic Russia. In the 1830's and 1840's, there were violent peasant uprisings in the vicinity and the town itself must have provided frequent examples of the arbitrary use of authority, the widespread poverty, the epidemics, and the despair which made peasant life a daily fight. In later writings, Chernyshevsky referred to these aspects of Russian life, but to what extent they had an impact on him is not clear. It may only indicate that he was observant as a youth, and that he reacted to the injustices and poverty after they were unacceptable in the scale of values he created for himself.¹³

At the Saratov seminary where he completed only four years of a six year course of study, Chernyshevsky, timid, bashful, gentle, mild, near-sighted, and clearly intellectually superior to his classmates, did not develop close friendships with his fellow students. Instead they sought him out to assist them in their assignments, a task he readily undertook.¹⁴

Chernyshevsky seemed to prefer secular studies; and so, rather than continuing in the seminary he was enrolled in the University of St. Petersburg for the next four years. His ambition was to advance the cause of enlightenment in Russia. But he found little enlightenment at the University. The lectures were dull, the low intellectual level of the faculty stifling, and the limits to freedom of inquiry disillusioning. He continued to attend classes, however, and did well on his exams but he turned for excitement and intellectual fulfillment to reading works containing radical ideas emanating from the West and to discussions with a small number of friends.¹⁵

Chernyshevsky read all of the French and English literature which reflected the feelings and social anxieties of the century, from George Sand to Dickens, from Sue to Byron. With news of the political and social convulsions in France in February 1848, Chernyshevsky began seriously considering socialism as a solution to Russia's problems. In the summer of 1848 he said that his political creed could be summed up as "admiration for the West and the conviction that we Russians count for nothing compared to them." Russia's past was worthless; something new and valuable must be created when it is all swept away. Revolutionary socialism,

¹²*Ibid.*, pp. 15-19.

¹³*Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 20-22.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 30-35.

he came to believe, was the only force capable of completely renewing society. Chernyshevsky began calling himself a socialist and revolutionary after he began reading the writings of Fourier and the speeches of Louis Blanc.¹⁶

What could revolution and socialism mean in Russia, Chernyshevsky asked? Alienated intellectuals throughout the 18th and 19th century had sought to find some basis for protest against the established ideology, "official nationality," it was called. The most fundamental institutions of Russian life—the autocracy, the caste organization of society with strict assignment of privileges and responsibilities, and serfdom—were inherited from an earlier Muscovite period. Within the earlier context these institutions had proven functional. They found legitimacy in a system of thought dominated by the authority of a revealed religion. In the course of time, however, especially with westernization and the development of a secular rational culture, the tsarist autocracy in its traditional form had become a hopeless anachronism. Still, religious authority and the tsar's benign, wise intentions were placed above question and offered as a comprehensive answer to Russia's needs. For men who were sensitive to the manifold inadequacies of Russian society, the official doctrine served mainly as a challenge to form their own counterstatements. And Chernyshevsky, bitterly disappointed by the reaction taking place in Europe and Russia, in the wake of the 1848 revolutions—became ever more scornful of the ruling classes. As persecution in St. Petersburg grew more severe, Chernyshevsky responded by declaring that the only hope for Russia lay in the destruction of the monarchy. So long as the crowning peak of aristocratic privilege remained, peaceful development in Russia was impossible.¹⁷ "We welcome the oppression of one class by another, for it will lead to a struggle, and then the oppressed will know who it is who is oppressing them in the present order of things and that another order is possible in which there will be no oppressed. . . . Far better anarchy from below than from above."¹⁸ The present system must be destroyed. He said he was prepared to accept a revolution even if 'for a long time . . . it could lead to no good.' One must not be frightened by the evils revolution brings.¹⁹ "Without convulsions there cannot be one step forward in history."²⁰ After the revolution, he thought that power should be held by the peasants, wage-earners, and artisans.²¹

The young man who arrived at the university in 1846, firm in the traditional view that the tsar sat rightfully on the throne and that God reigned on high, had begun to develop an alternative. This, indeed, was to be Chernyshevsky's achievement, formulation of a world view which a decade or so later would provide young people with a system of thought that could be used as a basis for action.²²

The formulation of his political and social views paralleled the change in his religious convictions (that, however, is not to suggest that the former were more

¹⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 53–5. There is reason to believe that Chernyshevsky responded to Fourier as much for his challenge to religion as to his teaching on socialism. See also Franco Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, trans. Francis Haskell (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1966), pp. 135, 139.

¹⁷Woehrlin, p. 57.

¹⁸*Ibid.*

²¹Venturi, pp. 133, 136, 138, 139.

¹⁸V. E. Cheshikin, as quoted in Venturi, p. 140.

²⁰Woehrlin, p. 57.

²²Woehrlin, p. 38.

important to him than the latter). In the first two years of his stay in the capital, Chernyshevsky had not only remained closely tied to the rites of the Church, but to use the words of one of his contemporaries, "he was almost a fanatic." He lived an ascetic life adhering closely to the moral code he had drawn up for himself: for example, not to know a woman until he was married. After the revolutions of 1848 and his reading the works of Fourier and Louis Blanc, he began reading Feuerbach. By 1849 he was convinced of the uselessness of rites and exterior Church forms, but he still believed in a personal God. Given the conditions of the time, the nature of his own personality, and his early background, 1850 was painful as he struggled to make the break with his past. At the beginning of that year, he still had not totally accepted Feuerbach nor totally rejected religion. Then during 1850, after considerable inner conflict, he became a follower of Feuerbach. Philosophical materialism replaced religion. Man was matter alone. No supernatural power existed. Materialism, furthermore, was synonymous with natural science which could serve as the basis for a new formulation of human knowledge. He saw these truths as the first steps toward the liberation of humanity, providing a weapon to use against philosophy and religion which supported the present system. What he had sought in religion still survived in his constant anxiety about the relation of ethics to life. Traces of his old religion reappeared in his description of the "new men"—a community of the "elect"—fighting against the world.²³

There was in Chernyshevsky a strange contrast between his mildness of manner and appearance and the hard inflexibility and extremity of his opinions. Obviously, the commitment to one vision of truth may lead a person to strong statements and a desire to spread the influence of that truth; but those who are personally insecure may also require the support of dogmatic certainty and intellectual victory.²⁴ That Chernyshevsky may still have been one of the latter is illustrated by his statement regarding his adoption of socialism: "But all told, I am attached to this teaching with all my soul, in so far as I may be attached, with my abject, apathetic, timid indecisive character."²⁵ His writing, however, betrayed none of that. When he wrote, he rarely showed doubt or hesitation, and even more rarely admitted there might be any validity in what his opponents believed. His writings were saturated with an unquestioned certainty.²⁶

Chernyshevsky's wide reading had always been his main source of inspiration, but contacts with a few other people had a significant impact at first. Generally ideas rather than personal affinity seemed to provide the essential link in his personal relationships, and compatibility of views was the main consideration in all of his friendships. Friendship was a kind of "holy union" based upon striving toward truth. This is the kind of relationship he eventually established with his closest friend, Dobroliubov. It was an ideological friendship—that is, agreement upon principles. Perhaps the fact that he was still ill at ease and not outgoing in human relations caused him to define people in intellectual terms. In his eyes, a per-

²³ Venturi, p. 135, Woehrlin, p. 48.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

²⁴ Woehrlin, pp. 69–70.

²⁶ Venturi, p. 110.

son was the sum of the beliefs one held; so that, acceptance or rejection, indeed like or dislike, was an intellectual calculation. On these grounds he would be confident and secure. As Chernyshevsky's ideas became more clearly defined, he found himself becoming alienated from many of his acquaintances who bored him with their banality.²⁷

Given Chernyshevsky's family background, education, and personal preferences, there were few careers available to him after graduation. He disdained state service, had met with no success in having his writing accepted by editors, and so the only alternative seemed a teaching job and an advanced degree.²⁸ Despite a firm conviction that his future lay in St. Petersburg, he accepted a teaching position in literature at the Saratov Gymnasium fully intending that his absence from the capital should not exceed a year or two.²⁹

Chernyshevsky is reported to have been an exceptional teacher, respecting student opinions, and giving them an opportunity to express themselves. Rather than concentrating on textbooks, he encouraged them to read widely, trying to stimulate in them something of his own curiosity and thirst for learning. Chernyshevsky also caused a stir by discussing recent Russian literature; and therefore the subjects of serfdom, education, religion, the courts, and political and natural science. On more than one occasion he ran afoul of the school's director, but when he resigned there was no reason to believe that he might have been terminated otherwise.³⁰ One of his Saratov companions described him thusly:

Chernyshevsky was an extraordinarily gifted man who had the supreme ability to fascinate and attract with his simple obvious kindheartedness, modesty, many-sided learning and exceptional cleverness. He was otherwise void of what is called poetry, though he was energetic to the point of fanaticism and true to his convictions in all his life and actions. He was an ardent apostle of godlessness, materialism, and hatred of all authority. This was a man of extremes who always strove to carry his tendencies to their furthest limits.³¹

In Saratov, Chernyshevsky met Olga Sokratovna Vasil'eva. His earlier experience with women had been limited and, even then, not very satisfactory owing to his social ineptitude and insecurity. He seemed to prefer to avoid direct personal contact. He had shielded himself by expounding upon the necessity of intellectual compatibility between the sexes, the theoretical question of how men and women should relate to each other, and showing more concern with woman's place in society than an active social life. The external facts of Chernyshevsky's courtship

²⁷Woehrlin, pp. 35–38.

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 59.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 61.

³⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 63–66.

³¹N. I. Kostomorov as quoted in Woehrlin p. 69.

and marriage are brief. Olga was the daughter of an unconventional and absent-minded doctor who was a permissive parent. She was attractive, charming and somewhat unconstrained by conventionality. Chernyshevsky fell in love almost immediately. Within a month he declared his love and made an offer of marriage which Olga accepted shortly thereafter.³² The weeks before the marriage were not without some doubts about himself:

I have need of too clear proof that (people) don't reject me, that I don't weary or disgust (them) . . . It is difficult for me to convince myself that I am in the right place . . . But this reason will soon be overcome if she really will be bound to me.³³

Chernyshevsky had left St. Petersburg firm in his political and economic convictions which changed little thereafter except to perhaps become more sophisticated, but his emotional development at the same time had hardly kept pace. He was quite immature, uncertain in social relations, and still emotionally dependent upon his parents. Courtship and marriage enhanced his sense of self-worth and reassured him that he could be like other men on the level of personal relations. The fact that Olga Sokratovna found him a worthy mate provided him with desperately needed support. Marriage would make a man of him; his "timidity, shyness, etc.," would disappear. This seemed to give him greater strength and convictions.³⁴ With all that was at stake, however, Chernyshevsky told Olga "that he had no right to marry because he did not know if he would remain in freedom." The possibility of imprisonment would not deter him and he told her he could not change his views.³⁵

The need to support a family revived Chernyshevsky's ambition to return to St. Petersburg, obtain a higher degree, and write for journals. In May 1853 he was back in the capital once more. For nearly a year he lived on small literary ventures, preparing his thesis.³⁶ In 1854 he took up teaching again for a short time, but gave it up as soon as he was able to work with some regularity in one of the principal reviews of the time, *The Contemporary*, (*Sovremnik*). Within a few months he had imposed his own personality and ideas on the review.³⁷

From 1854 onward he was one of the most effective and regular contributors to the journal. His contributions helped bring the journal unprecedented success, proving that there could be profit in ideological commitment. Chernyshevsky's articles appealed especially to young people in schools, seminaries, universities

³² Woehrlin, pp. 37, 71-74.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 86.

³⁵ E. Lampert, *Sons Against Fathers* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), p. 104. Venturi, p. 140.

³⁶ His thesis, *The Aesthetic Relation of Art to Reality* caused such controversy that the Minister of Public Education refused to confirm his degree in 1855. The degree was finally granted three years later.

³⁷ Venturi, p. 141.

and in the junior ranks of the military and civilian bureaucracy—people with little stake in the existing order of society and with less inclination to consider the consequences of their views.³⁸

Eventually Chernyshevsky came to dominate the journal as his influence grew. The time was propitious. The death of Nicholas I in 1855 and Russia's defeat in the Crimean War had precipitated a serious crisis of confidence in the long-established political and social system. The relaxation of censorship and repression which marked the first years of Alexander II enabled Chernyshevsky to open discussion of the problems of the peasantry. In the enthusiasm that accompanied the new opportunities to speak out, Chernyshevsky—and other intellectuals—overestimated the power of words to influence government policy or the course of events. As strict censorship was reimposed, he soon found himself under close scrutiny by the authorities. In November 1861 *The Contemporary* was the subject of an extensive report by the Main Censorship Authority. The report noted several reprimands given to the journal in the past and stated "its articles in regard to religion are void of any Christian doctrine, in regard to legislation they are opposed to the existing structure, in regard to philosophy they are imbued with coarse materialism, in regard to politics they approve of revolution . . . in regard to society they show contempt for the higher social classes, a peculiar idealization of woman, and an extreme devotion to the lower class of people."³⁹

Shortly thereafter—the following year—Chernyshevsky was arrested. For more than eighteen months he remained in the Peter-and-Paul fortress; and it was here that he wrote *What Is To Be Done?*, the novel which became a bible for successive revolutionaries. In 1864—the year in which the book was published—he was sent to hard labor in Siberia, where he remained until 1883. Then he was allowed to live in Astrakhan, and eventually—a few months before his death in 1889—to return to his native town of Saratov. During this long period he continued to write but for all practical purposes his literary career ended in 1862. The novel, *What Is To Be Done?*, is in many respects autobiographical and it rather clearly states Chernyshevsky's concept of the ideal order of the future. The theme of the "new men" runs as a guiding thread through the pages of the book. The characters are a new breed of men; they provide a sharp contrast to their predecessors—the gentry intellectuals of the forties—who were weak, romantic, and inert. The latter did not possess the balance, tact, coolness, and common sense of the "new men" who seek justice, goodness, and rationality. Even as recently as six years ago the new type of man did not exist. "It is but yesterday that you emerged among us; and already your number is great and becoming ever greater."⁴⁰

The term "new men" should probably be changed to "new people" since women play an extremely important role in the novel. It is quite clear that Chernyshevsky considered himself a strong defender of women's rights and he passionately

³⁸Woehrlin, p. 114.

³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 117.

⁴⁰N. G. Chernyshevsky, *What is to be Done?*, trans. Benjamin R. Tucker, rev. Ludmilla B. Turkevich (New York: Random House, 1961), pp. 13, 174, 175.

sympathized with women who endured the autocratic control of parents and husbands. "With what clear, strong, and just mental vision woman is endowed by nature! And yet it remains useless to society, which rejects it, crushes it, stifles it. If this were not the case, if her mind were not compressed, if such a great quantity of moral power were not destroyed, humanity would progress ten times more rapidly."⁴¹ But so few women are allowed the independence necessary for happiness.⁴² Still so long as women live "at man's expense," they will be dependent.⁴³ Vera Pavlovna, the heroine says "the principle thing is independence, to do what I want, live as I like, without asking anyone's advice, without feeling the need of anyone. That is how I should like to live!"⁴⁴ There is no complete happiness without complete independence, and it is natural, the new people believed, for humans to desire to be free and happy.⁴⁵ All of the new people—even the closest of friends like Alexander Kirsanov and Dmitry Lopukhov—"had become accustomed to depending only on themselves."⁴⁶

Sentimental illusions like gratitude are a burden. Lopukhov spurns "lofty feelings, ideal impulses," and exalts "the striving of every man for his own advantage." What are called elevated sentiments, ideal aspirations,—all that, in the general course of affairs, is absolutely null, and is eclipsed by individual interest; these very sentiments are nothing but self-interest clearly understood." When Vera reminded Lopukhov that he obviously enjoyed studying and was attracted to the medical sciences, he responded that he chose his future profession in "the hope of a bigger piece of bread" and that "love of science is only a result; the cause is self-interest."⁴⁷ "Figure out what is useful for you."⁴⁸ When Vera remarked that "this theory seems to me very cold," Lopukhov responded: "theory in itself should be cold. The mind should judge things coldly." While the theory is "pitiless," by following it "men can cease to be wretched objects of the compassion of the idle."⁴⁹ "Everything rests on money," Lopukhov says, "whoever has money has power and freedom." Among the new people how one uses his money is solely his decision. Some live well. Others "renounce wealth and even comfort," using their money in whichever way they believe most beneficial for mankind. In so doing they do not expect gratitude; they do it willingly, and not as a sacrifice for they believe that when one sacrifices for another, "when one imagines himself under serious obligations to anyone, relations are strained."⁵⁰

To the outside observer the new people appear to be nearly indistinguishable. Kirsanov and Lopukhov for example "acted so much in concert that one meeting them separately would have taken them for men of the same character." In fact, "all that may be said of Lopukhov can be repeated of Kirsanov and of all the 'new

⁴¹*Ibid.*, p. 348.

⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 299.

⁴³*Ibid.*, p. 109. "A woman may love and have confidence in man, yet must remain independent." *Ibid.*

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 81, 82.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 114.

men.” The most austere believe that man needs more comfort than others dream for him; the most sensual are more rigid in their morality than the moralists found in the common run of men. But they have ideas of their own in all these things; they view morality and comfort, sensuality and virtue in a way wholly peculiar to themselves. And when an observer sees two new men together—as Kirsanov and Lopukhov—the differences in temperament are apparent. Also the diversity of their natures is visible in relations among themselves.⁵¹

At present the modern men are outnumbered ten to one by the “antediluvians.” But the number of new men increases every year as they “joyfully and devotedly labor” to establish the new order; “through them the life of all mankind expands; without them it is stifled and suffocated. They believe strongly in progress: the new order of things will be better than the old.”⁵² “There will come a time . . . when all desires will receive complete satisfaction but we also know that that time has not yet arrived.”⁵³ “Life cannot continue with things as they are, society must acquire new ideas;” human ignorance must be overcome. It is human ignorance—rather than the resistance of those in power as Marx would have it—that is the ultimate obstacle to progress. But reason will overcome ignorance. Reason had given man the power to master and transform himself and consequently the same power over his society and his material environment. Individuals who have transformed themselves should aid others; the task of the “new man” was to instruct and transform other human beings, to make “decent people” of them by persuading them to listen to reason. “The simple words ‘I wish joy and happiness’ mean, ‘It would be pleasant to me if all men were joyous and happy . . .’”⁵⁴

Other men would listen “if they saw it was for their advantage . . . a fact which they have not yet been able to perceive.”⁵⁵ Most people have not had the opportunity to learn to reason. “Give them the possibility, and you will see they will hasten to profit by it. Even the wicked will see that it is against their interest to be wicked, and most of them will become good; they are wicked simply because it was disadvantageous to them to be good.” “They will prefer the good as soon as they can love it without injury to their own interests.”⁵⁶

Rakhmetov, the most extreme of the “new men,” works extremely hard to bring about the new order. To that end, he avoids close personal involvement. He tells a lovely wealthy widow whom he loves passionately “that men like me have not the right to bind their destiny to that of any one whomsoever.” The widow understands that he cannot marry but asks “until you have to leave me, love me.” Rakhmetov replies, “no, I cannot accept that offer either; I am no longer free, and must not love.”⁵⁷ The decision was a painful one for Rakhmetov and months later he was still gloomy and even willing to accept pity. He said that he was more than

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 176.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 86.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 206.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 73, 205.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 151. There are base people who are capable of nothing good, but there is no suggestion as to what might happen to them. p. 133.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

an abstract idea, he was also “a man who wishes to live.” He was consoled by the thought that the pain would pass.⁵⁸ “I do not like to be solemn, but circumstances are such that a man with my ardent love of good cannot help being solemn. If it were not for that, I should jest, I should laugh, perhaps I should sing and dance all day long.”⁵⁹ He cannot be happy until all men can be happy.

Rakhmetov also eats large quantities of beef to make himself strong and sleeps on nails to harden himself for the task ahead. “It will make me liked and esteemed by the common people.” But Rakhmetov had not always lived like this. He had come from a wealthy family and attended the University of St. Petersburg (although before that he had scandalized his family by working as a laborer while traveling throughout Russia). In St. Petersburg at seventeen years of age he came into contact with Kirsanov and his transformation into the rigorist . . . into an uncommon man, began.” He eagerly listened to Kirsanov. He wept. He expressed hatred for that “which must die and enthusiastic panegyrics of that which must endure.” Serious reading and long discussions followed. During the first few months of his new birth he spent almost all his time in reading; but that lasted only a little more than half a year. When he saw he had acquired a systematic method of thinking in the line of the principles which he had found to be true, he then said to himself: “Henceforth reading is a secondary thing. So far as that is concerned I am ready for life,” and after that he read only when he had time—which wasn’t often. Yet by the time he was twenty-two he was “a learned man.” To save time he vowed to read only that which was necessary. “Upon each subject there are only a few first-class works; in all the others there are nothing but repetitions, rarefactions, modifications of that which is more fully and more clearly expressed in these few. There is no need of reading any but these; all other reading is a useless expenditure of time.”⁶⁰

Although Rakhmetov loved good food and comfort, he chose an austere life and spent his money on others. “We must show by our example,” he said on his belief that men must enjoy their lives, “that we demand it not to satisfy our personal passions, but for mankind in general; that what we say we say from principle and not from passion, from conviction and not from personal desire.” “I must not eat that which is entirely out of the reach of the common people. This is necessary so that I may feel, though but in a very slight degree, how much harder is the life of the common people than my own.”⁶¹

Rakhmetov also deliberately adopted a brusque manner of conversation lest he waste time unnecessarily on empty words and formalities. He was known to say: “Our conversation is finished. Now let me turn to something else for my time is precious.” “Gymnastics, labor for the development of his strength, and reading were Rakhmetov’s personal occupations,” but they took only a quarter of his time, “the rest of the time he occupied in the affairs of some one else or in matters not relating especially to his own person,” always holding to the rule by which he gov-

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 238–9.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, p. 258.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 227, 228, 229, 230, 231.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, pp. 229, 230.

erned his reading—not to spend time on secondary matters and with second-rate men.” He succeeded, therefore, in accomplishing a great deal, since “he did not lose a quarter of an hour, and had no need of rest.”⁶²

Yet despite the oddness of Rakhmetov’s manner, every man he dealt with was convinced Rakhmetov acted in precisely the most reasonable and most simple way, and his terrible insults, his terrible reproaches were so given that no sensible man could be offended at them; and, with all his phenomenal rudeness, he was at bottom very gentle, and described in another place as the “ferocious Rakhmetov,” “a good and tender man.”⁶³ Consequently his prefaces were in this tone and he began a very difficult explanation in this way:

You know that I am going to speak without any personal feeling. If you find the words I am about to say to you disagreeable, I will ask you to forgive them. I simply think that one should not take offense at what is said conscientiously and with no intention of offending. For the rest, whenever it may seem to you useless to listen to my words, I will stop; it is my rule to offer my opinion wherever I ought to, and never to impose it.⁶⁴

And, in fact, he did not impose it: he could not be prevented from giving his opinion when he deemed it useful; but he did it in two or three words, and added: “Now you know what the end of our conversation would be; do you think it would be useful to discuss further?” If you said “no,” he bowed and went his way.”⁶⁵

“Great is the mass of good and honest men, but Rakhmetov’s are rare. They are the best among the best, they are the movers of the movers, they are the salt of the earth.”⁶⁶ The number of Rakhmetov’s increases every year as they “joyfully and devotedly labor” to establish the new order.⁶⁷ “In a few years, in a very few years, we shall appeal to them: we shall say to them: ‘Save us.’ And whatever they say will be done by all.” Their usefulness will satisfy them and goodness will prevail as history enters a new phase. In time when all men are good, there will no longer be any special type of men, for all men will be of this type, and “all will be well in the world.”⁶⁸

Then Chernyshevsky asks the reader, what makes you think these people are special? They are, in fact, ordinary upright people of the new generation. “What do they do that is remarkably elevated? They do not do cowardly or nasty things. They have honest but ordinary convictions, they try to act accordingly, and that is all.” These characters “are not at all ideal and not above the general level of people

⁶²*Ibid.*, pp. 230, 231, 232, 235.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, p. 235.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, p. 241.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 56, 175.

⁶³*Ibid.*, pp. 235, 275.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, p. 86.

of their type . . ." although the reader probably thought so. What they have achieved all men can and should achieve. "It is possible for you to become equals of the men whom I represent, provided you will work for your intellectual and moral development." "Read them, their books delight the heart; observe life,—it is interesting; think—it is a pleasant occupation. And that is all. Sacrifices are unnecessary, privations are unnecessary, unnecessary. Desire to be happy; this desire, this desire alone, is indispensable. With this end in view you will work with pleasure for your development, for there lies happiness." Is this too difficult for you? Do the "new people" ask too much of you? "No, my poor friends, you have been wrong in this thought: they are not too high. It is you who are too low. You see now that they simply stand on the surface of the earth; and, if they have seemed to you to be soaring in the clouds, it is because you are in the infernal depths."⁶⁹

Select Bibliography

- Brown, Edward J. *Stankevich and His Moscow Circle*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966.
- The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Chernyshevsky, N. G. "The Russian at the Rendez-vous," *Belinsky, Chernyshevsky and Dobroliubov: Selected Criticism*, ed. Ralph E. Matlaw. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1962.
- . *Selected Philosophical Essays*, trans. M. Grigoryan. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1953.
- . *What is to be Done?*, trans. Benjamin R. Tucker, revised Ludmilla B. Turkevich. New York: Random House, 1961.
- Edie, James M., James P. Scanlan, and Mary-Barbara Zeldin. *Russian Philosophy*. 3 vols. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1965.
- Herzen, Alexander I. *My Past and Thoughts: The Memoirs of Alexander Herzen*, trans. Constance Garnett. 6 vols. London: 1924–27.
- Lampert, E. *Sons Against Fathers*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965.
- Malia, Martin. "What is the Intelligentsia?," *The Russian Intelligentsia*, ed. Richard E. Pipes. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961.
- Nahirny, Vladimir C. "The Russian Intelligentsia: From Men of Ideas to Men of Convictions," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, IV, July 1962.
- Raeff, Marc. *The Origins of the Russian Intelligentsia*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1966.
- Turgenev, Ivan. *Literary Reminiscences and Autobiographical Fragments*, trans. David Magarshack. New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Cudahy, 1958.
- Venturi, Franco. *Roots of Revolution*, trans. Francis Haskell. New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1966.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 259, 261.

- Woehrlin, William F. *Chernyshevskii: The Man and the Journalist*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971.
- Wertman, Richard. *The Crisis of Russian Populism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967.

PROMETHEAN MAN IN GERMAN LITERATURE

Rudolf M. Klein*

Prometheus is alive—and hiding in German literature! The legacy of colorful tales which our Western World inherited from Greek mythology has pervaded many books for centuries. But unlike the concept of a world that is flat, of Cerberus guarding the entrance to Hades where the judges Minor, Aeacus and Rhadamanthys preside over the destiny of mortals in the morbid realms of Styx, Cocytos and Phieripliegdon, unlike these remnants of an early civilization that long since have been relegated to the treasure chest of out-dated beliefs of unenlightened forefathers, Prometheus is alive. Not so much in name, as in spirit.

No other figure of Greek mythology succeeded in so thoroughly captivating the imagination of generations of German authors. No other figure challenged the title of "Titan of Civilization" and became so persistently heralded as the permanent among the transitory with regard to man's search for knowledge and conquest of new frontiers. Prometheus implanted his rebellious defiance into the searching soul of serious authors who elevated his status to the embodiment of what is noble in the unbending human spirit in pursuit of progress.

Such adjectives as daring, original, creative, nonconforming, and rebellious have become associated with the name Prometheus. But it was, perhaps, despite of rather than because of such attributes that his legacy persisted, in fearful awe rather than fearless approval. We need only remind ourselves of the deep-seated Greek belief in *moira*, the fateful cloud that hovered forever over human destiny, forecasting a rich measure of punishment to the earthling who angered the Gods and provoked the inevitable *nemesis* to follow upon the heels of *hybris* perpetrated by an arrogant mortal.

As we all know, Prometheus paid for the compassion he felt for a cold, dark ignorant world and suffered for bringing fire, the perquisite of the gods, down from Mount Olympus to where common people can enjoy it to warm their hearts and enlighten their spirits. To show how horrendously such arrogant intrusion would be punished, phantasy was pushed to its limits: an eagle was commissioned to keep feeding on his liver which kept regenerating to insure persistent pain and punishment . . . until Hercules freed him.

Small wonder that such a figure would draw attention and smaller wonder yet that this type of offense, that which merited the ultimate in conceivable torture, would attract keenest of interest. Even more so, since in a world of self-serving egotists an unselfish act of defiance for the common good would perforce gain

*Dr. Klein is Associate Professor and Chairman of the Department of Foreign Languages at Midwestern State University.

grudging admiration—be it only for its rarity. But unlike the population of ancient Greece whose minds were shackled to strict adherence to preconceived notions of ethic concepts within the framework of a strict hierarchy of values, German authors have in recent centuries stripped the negative connotation of disobedience from Promethean man and replaced it with the post-renaissance assertion of human rights.

We need not search for Promethean concepts in early Germanic literature for even if they had existed, they would have found little resonance even in the relatively tolerant mind of Charlemagne, much less in the thinking of his devoutly Christian son, Lewis the Pious, who would have burned such documents of defiant arrogance of the human spirit along with the countless other literary treasures that reflected ethic principles of pre-Christian thinking, such as self-righteous revenge. Neither need we look for Prometheus lurking in medieval German literature at a time when the dictum "*ora et labora*" attempted to teach people tolerant suffering and "*memento mori*" urged them to seek any and all rewards not in this world but in the next.

In German literature the first discernible re-entry into the atmosphere by any fraction or particle of the Promethean image occurred no earlier than the year 1400. A seemingly inconsequential story entitled *Der Ackermann aus Böhmen* is now, in retrospect, often regarded as the first German literary work to break with medieval tradition and usher in modern times.

The story coincided with the propagation of humanism in Bohemia, which then already boasted the oldest German university at Prague. But the motivation which ultimately prompted the author, Johannes von Saaz, a city scribe and director of a Latin school, to create this landmark in early German literature, was not philosophical but emphatically private, human, and emotional. On August 1, 1400, the author's wife died during childbirth. Deeply grieved, Johannes von Saaz undertook to write 34 chapters of moving dialogue between man and death, defiantly asking the grim reaper to account for his cruel act against an utterly good and pious woman in the prime of her life. God is called upon to judge the validity of a passionate, raging accusation against a cynical adversary purportedly acting with the tacit approval of God.

The significance lies not in the outcome but in the first rebellious act of an otherwise peaceful man as reflected in the German literature of the outgoing middle ages. It signals a break with medieval thinking and the opening of the door for the spirit of a Prometheus. The middle ages, as we know them from German literature, were strictly "*theozentrisch*"—God-centered—demanding blind faith and unquestioning obedience. Modern times, ushered in through the spirit of the Renaissance, were proclaimed as "*anthropozentrisch*", or man-centered, declaring man to be the center of the universe in keeping with the rediscovery of physical beauty and human self-esteem. The briefest and yet most crucial distinction reflected in German literature centers around two words which, when applied as a testing device, instantly identified a literary work as either medieval or modern. They served to dramatically polarize the philosophical approach of the respective authors. These two words in Middle High German were: "*sunder warumbe*" and "*warumbe*." Literally trans-

lated the “without why” as the stigma of medieval blind acceptance and the “why” as the brave challenge to signal modern times.

We speak of the “dark middle ages” equating ignorance with darkness. Knowledge then is symbolized by fire—the very fire that Prometheus wanted to bring down from Mount Olympus to a frightened mankind huddled in the dark, clutching to superstitious yarn woven in bygone years by even *more* ignorant people.

The ever-searching, inquisitive mind then is the tool to shape and fashion a new discovery—but what is still needed is the bravery of a prophet to proclaim the message until timid souls fathom its significance. And also needed is the fearless acceptance of the consequences all too often suffered by those who are ahead of their times. Here again lies the parallel, yet to be delineated, between Prometheus, the rebel who suffers the consequence and subsequent earthlings whose acts of defiant courage prompted a treatment by their contemporaries reminiscent of their mythological counterpart.

It shall suffice to focus on just four more well-known German authors to identify in their respective works salient characteristics of Promethean man. I have chosen Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Friedrich Schiller, Heinrich von Kleist, and Theodor Storm.

We shall resist the temptation of dwelling on Goethe’s *Faust* drama. It is well known in world literature and almost too obviously a case of a restless mind searching for answers and signing—in blood—a pact with Mephistopheles at the price of his soul for the purpose of gaining knowledge. Besides, a work that took Goethe sixty years to write, hardly lends itself to compact oversimplification. The best point of departure is, perhaps, Goethe’s controversial poem entitled *Prometheus*:

Prometheus

Cover, Zeus, with hazy clouds
your heavenly abode
and practice, as in childish game,
beheading trees and mountain tops;
still you must allow my earth to stand
and my hut, which you did not build,
and my hearth, begrudging me its warmth.

No sight I know is more pitiful under the sun
than you, deities!
You enhance your majesty by feeding wretchedly
on tributes and the breath of prayer
destined to starve, were not children and beggars
fools by hope deluded.

When still a child I was
not knowing where to turn,
my bewildered eyes I trained at the sun

as if beyond it dwelled an ear
to hear my sorrow
a heart like mine
to pity a soul in distress.

Who helped me resist the Titans tyranny?
Who rescued me from death, from slavery?
Have you not alone accomplished this,
holy glowing heart?
You glowed in youthful fervor
yet were betrayed—
now to thank him for the rescue
him, forever slumbering up there?

To honor you? What for?
Have you ever soothed the pains
of the burdened?
Have you ever stilled the tears
of the anguished?
Have not forged me into manhood
almighty time and eternal fate—
my masters and yours?

Did, perhaps, you suppose
I should hate life
and flee into the desert
since not all my dreams
have found fulfillment?

Here I sit, forming man
in my *own* image
a generation bearing my likeness
to suffer, to weep,
to enjoy and to delight themselves
while all along ignoring you
as still I do.

Here then is Goethe's concept of Prometheus and often that of subsequent generations. This spirit of defiance finds superb artistic expression in Goethe's drama *Götz von Berlichingen*—portraying a Promethean man pitted against great odds but true to the bitter end in his uncompromising spirit, upholding the principles of moral justice so deeply ingrained in his character, trying to lead by example and to leave a legacy of unbending courage which, like the oak-tree (and unlike a willow) refuses to bend; it will rather break and suffer death in dignity, always hoping to inspire greatness in others by teaching self-reliance.

In its forceful language and turbulent content, this drama conforms completely

to the period of Storm and Stress. Disillusioned with the Age of Reason because of its persistent contempt for emotional impulse, some Storm and Stress writers went to the other extreme in allowing emotion to rule supreme. The young Goethe demonstrated his maturity by allowing both the hearts and the minds of his characters to speak. But in the selection of his hero he concurred with the trend of the period in finding a strong, towering individual to exemplify the rebellious spirit of the times. It was fashionable then to proclaim the unconditional rights of the individual to self-realization in near-total disregard of conventional law. Subsequently the inevitable clash would occur when individual rights came into conflict with the collective rights of society. Still the advocates of Storm and Stress are willing to grant the extraordinary individual the uncurtailed freedom to exercise the power of his will as much as the greatness of his dreams will allow him to do. By encountering resistance he proves his individuality. His fight against adversity marks him as a hero and, if he fails, it confirms the tragedy of an era which perforce must lead to the downfall of the respective hero. The Goethe critic Ludwig Kahn puts it this way: "The individual who, despite heroic struggle, is eventually crushed by society is the favorite subject of Storm and Stress. And there is no doubt that to the poets of this movement society is wrong and the individual is right. Society cripples the individual and interferes with his happiness."¹ The substance of these remarks leads us directly back to the central idea of Storm and Stress and to the literary figure who most clearly embodies its principles to portray a Promethean man: Götze von Berlichingen.

Hermann Baumgart refers to the poem Prometheus, which Goethe wrote about the same time as the Götze drama, as a key to unlock Goethe's basic conviction and calls it an "irrefutable testimony"² to be seen, however, in context with "yet another all important testimony"³—the Ganymede hymn. James Boyd, likewise, is not willing to let it stand on its own merit and declares: "Taken as it stands . . . it cannot be regarded as other than a cry of revolt and defiance in the most violent 'Sturm und Drang' manner. *Ganymed* expresses the opposite idea, namely, the fervent longing for union with an 'Alliebenden Vater.'"⁴

In this fashion Ganymede is being perceived as diametrically opposite in its religious fervor which helps achieve the sought-after balance through "polarized constellation." Viktor Hehn comments that like Prometheus Goethe "has freed himself from religious childhood beliefs and challenged in a titanic human emotion those far-off scare-figures above the clouds; like Prometheus he was creator . . . and he created, as did the Greek Titan, human life with joys and sorrows, with passions and with destiny."⁵ The conclusion of the poem, he claims, is calling out

¹Ludwig W. Kahn, *Social Ideals in German Literature; 1770-1830* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), pg. 7.

²Hermann Baumgart, *Goethes lyrische Dichtung in ihrer Entwicklung und Bedeutung* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1931), pg. 143.

³*Ibid.*

⁴James Boyd, *Notes to Goethe's Poems* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1944), pg. 75.

⁵Victor Hehn, *Über Goethes Gedichte* (Stuttgart und Berlin: Gebrüder Borntraeger, 1912), p. 159.

to God, that mankind is destined to ignore him.”⁶ Richard Bamberger is quick to point out, however, that the poet does not draw his right to self-fulfillment from arrogance. It is, he contends, the “creative force in him which leads him to the creative pride of Prometheus.”⁷

The idea of the poem is said to have come to Goethe from the following quotation from Shaftesbury’s *Monologue*: “The poet is a second creator, a Prometheus under a Jupiter,” Emil Staiger, however, sees in its rebellious text nothing more than an “expression of titanic spite against a regimented world.”⁸ Staiger equally rejects the notion of Goethe as an “irreligious titan”, as some call him, or a Christian believer, as others would have it. He claims rather that Goethe was “this as well as that but at the same time neither of the two.”⁹

Such learned opinion makes it anything but easy to formulate a precise image of Goethe’s concept of Promethean man even if we limit it to his writing of the Storm and Stress movement. Still, it is safe to observe that Promethean man is reflected in the language and the actions of Götz. There is no patient willingness to wait for a golden future, but rather a sense of great urgency to get on with life, proudly steadfast, not yielding an inch from the narrow path of self-imposed morality. The strong individual must seek self-realization and feels himself entitled to break all barriers in its pursuit. He is accountable only to self-imposed laws of a higher order, to destiny and to time. And he must forever represent “justice”—as he is able to perceive it. To prove that such thinking is not alien to the poet, Emil Ludwig reminds us of Goethe’s words: “He who fails in the pursuit of a great intent is still far more appealing than he who forever does what reminds of the trivial.”¹⁰

In line with this thinking Ludwig Kahn observes Goethe’s treatment of the slick courtiers who oppose Götz in his unshakable perseverance: “Those who represent society are weak, deceitful and faithless; the polished manners . . . and the depravity of the courtier Weislingen are contrasted with the free, unaffected integrity of Goetz.”¹¹ The nature of Promethean man and his constant clash with a hostile environment finally lead Kahn to the following observation: “Many of the plays of the *Sturm und Drang* are still inspired by this passion for social reform, but in some the conflict between the individual and society becomes inevitable, irreconcilable, and fatal. For, unlike Lessing and the rationalists, the *Stuermer und Draenger* fought not for the abolition of specific abuses or for a just social order, but for the complete emancipation of the individual—an aim which comes into conflict with society not only here and now, but always and everywhere. Individualism becomes so extreme and radical that its antipathy to society is absolute and eternal.”¹²

This generalization is then applied to the specific case of the *Goetz* drama: “The

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

⁷ Richard Bamberger, *Der junge Goethe: Lyrik und Leben* (Wien: Verlag für Jugend und Volk, 1949), p. 72.

⁸ Emil Staiger, *Goethe*, Vol. I (Zürich et al.: Atlantis Verlag, 1952), p. 133.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

¹⁰ Emil Ludwig, *Vom unbekanntem Goethe* (Berlin, 1922), pg. 115.

¹¹ Ludwig W. Kahn, *op. cit.*, pg. 13.

¹² Ludwig W. Kahn, *op. cit.*, pg. 6.

more intense the individualism, the more inevitable becomes its conflict with society, or indeed with any limitation from without. Thus, a certain strain of 'Welt-schmerz', of pessimism and weariness, is implicit in *Sturm und Drang*. The world is regarded as a prison in which the individual is confined, and only death can solve the conflict between the individual and the world. This attitude is particularly striking in *Goetz*."¹³

According to Rudolf Ibel, another critic, we are entitled to see in this battle that Goetz is leading the final revolt before the down-fall of the last knight. To Goethe these last decisive battles of knighthood were, he claims, an almost personal matter. They became symbols of his own struggle. He held the aristocratic opinion that the great individual who is both strong and gentle and follows his conscience, guided in his pursuits by the purity of natural emotional impulse is, even if he falters, to be judged superior by virtue of his noble intent. The tragic aspect of the drama, according to Ibel, lies in the suffocation of a great and noble heart in a world which no longer leaves for it a place to live. Goetz himself predicts a similar fate to all Promethean men when on his death-bed he parts from this world by warning his family: "The worthless ones will rule with slyness and the noble ones will get ensnared in their nets."

Undoubtedly one of the most controversial characters in German literature is Michael Kohlhaas. Basing his *Novelle* by that title on an actual event recorded during the early 16th century, Heinrich von Kleist, a contemporary of Goethe, created a superbly written account of an unpretentious commoner with an uncompromising sense of justice and the Promethean determination to pursue his ideals regardless of consequences. A horse dealer by trade, Michael Kohlhaas politely but emphatically attempted to settle his grievance against a local princeling called Junker Tronka. Surely no earth-shaking event in our times, but an immense undertaking in a period when the power of feudal landlords was absolute. In brief it is Kohlhaas' response to the problem which lifts it above the ordinary.

Kohlhaas proceeds with an equal amount of perseverance and incredibly restrained self-discipline to escalate the issue not by leaps and bounds but step by step and, as far as ever possible, *within* the law of the land, seeking redress. In the process he sacrifices all his worldly possessions and, through her tragic involvement, a dearly beloved wife. Only when the law refuses his justice by continuously favoring the aristocracy, does Kohlhaas eventually resort to violence—ruthless, bloody, and devastating violence that stops at nothing until justice is restored. A remarkable aspect of his response is the baffling willingness with which he accepts his own sentencing to a brutal death, fully expecting to be punished for *his* violation of the law, yet still triumphant at having stubbornly forced the law to render justice. The ultimate impact of his unyielding courage is its influence in bringing the abstract principle of justice for all to concrete fruition and within reach of countless citizens during the following centuries. In fortitude of character, righteous intent and courage to accept the consequences he served an emerging new so-

¹³*Ibid.*, pg. 7.

ciety every bit as well as Prometheus bringing the fire from the deities down to man.

The next example under discussion is entitled *Der Schimmelreiter*. A man on horseback, as the title implies, stood out from the crowd, even more so on a white horse, because of its relative rarity; thus we find the title already underlining the hero's intended role of leadership. And a leader he certainly was, this Hauke Haien, the legendary figure of Germany's North Sea coast and the central character in Theodor Storm's "*Meisternovelle*". A village lad who through diligence and perseverance advanced to become the *Deichgraf*, the official in charge of building and maintenance of dikes and dams, a position of utmost responsibility in low-lying villages of Schleswig-Holstein under constant threat of killer floods from the raging North Sea.

The youthful Hauke Haien soon recognized that the villagers were ridden by superstition and ignorance which was perpetuated by tradition. His discovery led him to struggle to enlighten the people with knowledge—for their own good. He was forced to pay a terrible price; hostility from former friends and neighbors, rejection, and finally death in the thundering waves that created the very disaster which he had tried so hard to prevent.

Because Hauke Haien was ahead of his time he became a leader. His constant concern for the common good of those who were shackled in superstition and so refused to follow him made him a tragic figure; his willingness to pay the ultimate price of self-annihilation for the sins of stupid neglect on part of his fellow-men lends him the touch of heroic unselfishness, and his rebellious fight against the curse of the darkness of ignorance elevates him within the microcosm of his village to the level of a Promethean man. But, significantly, the quiet, unpretentious greatness of this taciturn man of the north does not end with his death. His spirit, having failed to gain acceptance of his greater wisdom, seems to have devised an insultingly simple but more effective way of teaching his descendants. His ghost, so to speak, keeps haunting the villagers. Not as a vengeful spook in the dark, grinning "I told you so!" to burden their conscience, but, nobly concerned and unselfish as ever—Hauke Haien is seen racing his horse along the dike in nights of raging hurricanes to warn the villagers of impending disaster (or so the villagers claim) generations later, not to disappear back into his wet grave until danger has passed and the dikes he built have again proven their superior design to protect lives. And even then, in the pale glow of a full moon, villagers swear they can see the bleached skeleton of his horse shimmering vaguely out there where the low-tide's receding waters bare the location of Hauke Haien's untimely death. The *Schimmelreiter* has finally replaced ignorance and found acceptance for the fire of knowledge he brought to his little village at great cost. And he continues to pay with vigilance in a restless grave—forever concerned with progress of mankind—despite bitter rejection during his life-time, convinced, as the legendary Prometheus must have been, that a few must carry the burden for many. One of the most remarkable aspects surfacing in the search for legendary heroes is the impact they have had either on their contemporaries or, often more so, as literary figures on their

readers many generations later. A case in point is the legend of Wilhelm Tell which Friedrich Schiller rescued from obscurity by turning it into a drama of amazing popularity.

The cause and effect relationship in this simple plot is worthy of its setting in the Swiss Alps because only an avalanche can hope to illustrate how a trivial event can snowball into the birth of a nation. At the core of the snowball was the rebellious spirit of an obscure villager. We recall how a simple act of seemingly inconsequential defiance started it all. Wilhelm Tell refuses to draw his hat to symbolically pay respect to the despised Austrian rulers. Arrested and facing jail he remains defiant. He proceeds to prove his legendary marksmanship by shooting an apple from his boy's head but, still defiant, he draws an unauthorized second bolt for his crossbow to threaten the life of Landvogt Gessler, the regional governor, should his desperate act of defiance fail.

What elevated this tempest in a village teapot beyond the dusty pages of a rural chronicle is the spark of rebellion which kindled the spirit of hundreds of other mountain people and fed on their dormant resentment of oppression. The avalanche was irretrievably set in motion and it crushed not only the hated Gessler, it also crushed eventually the strangle-hold of feudal overlords and paved the way to the Swiss Federation. Little did Wilhelm Tell know of Promethean man or that his stubborn act of village-square-rebellion would spawn such a titanic consequence as the birth of a nation. And little did Schiller know what immense reverence his drama would bring him from the Swiss—whose country he had never visited. The bigger-than-life heroic image of a Wilhelm Tell, not as he was, but as Schiller perceived him, left an indelible imprint on the Swiss people, who, like others, find it comforting to adorn their history with a heroic figure. Who cares if overzealous high school teachers bring him out of the literary hall of fame a wee bit too often to polish his halo? And who cares if in the process marksmanship begins to rival any other prime virtue in the minds of youngsters, who feel certain that St. Peter would refuse them entrance to the proverbial Pearly Gates if they ever missed an apple with a crossbow? So they prepare to this day in countless gun-clubs to avoid such ultimate embarrassment when the woodcarved clock sounds their last “cuckoo.” And who cares if Wilhelm Tell never really existed? Promethean men, real or imagined, are in great demand.

At this point it might be of interest to ask the question why rebellious figures seem to receive such an impressive reception among the German public which is reputedly marked by unquestioning obedience as one of its chief characteristics. Obviously we must first of all distinguish between the questioning mind in pursuit of scientific knowledge and philosophical truth. In this respect German thinkers have challenged the old and tested the new long before and long after the alchemist Dr. Faustus. Why then has Germany not been blessed with a corresponding amount of Promethean men to challenge feudalism, why were there more peasant revolts than student revolts in the old days, and why was it so terribly simple for so many rulers to attain absolute power with the consent of the governed? The answer to that,

say some learned scholars, can be found in the traditionally deeply rooted religiosity which impressed on the people that all worldly power is but an extension of divine power, as nearly every king and emperor proclaimed himself to rule "by the grace of God." Even Martin Luther himself, as we learn from history, vehemently sided with the aristocracy during the peasant revolts of 1525. And we learn to our surprise that the very same Michael Kohlhaas we discussed earlier, upon his personal appeal to Martin Luther for his intervention to secure a just settlement, was emphatically turned away from Luther's door.

Again Germany turned out to have the wrong climate for home-grown rebellion against time-honored authority of generations of titans, demi-gods, emperors, preachers and teachers. The few who weathered the storms of their hostile environments soon assumed the gigantic proportions of Promethean men, because to defy Zeus was in many minds no more daring than to defy a local prince. In the modern world a man knew that one life was all he would ever have. And the Imperial Eagle was no less hungry than the mythological one.

It has become evident in recent times that the term Promethean man has acquired a very broad and flexible meaning in German literature, much like any reference to siren-songs or Scylla and Charybdis have in the process of common usage largely lost their mythological connotations. But having come full circle it is worth casting yet another look at the author who was extremely steeped in Greek mythology—among many other things—and who sometimes is referred to as the "first modern man," namely Goethe. His writings are replete with symbolism and there is always more than meets the eye.

To reconcile Goethe's preoccupation with Faust with his proclaimed struggle against a dualistic "*Weltanschauung*", his treatment of Mephistopheles warrants a final look. The haunting question soon arises: Is not Mephisto indeed conceived as the spirited devil's advocate determined to question the traditional polarity of Good versus Evil by showing in countless verses of clever dialogue the intrinsic value of doubt leading to the notion that there is Good in Evil and Evil in Good? Applied to Kohlhaas, can it be that a virtue, like sense of justice, becomes a vice if carried to excess? Can Mephisto, the devil, bring good by forever forcing man to re-examine his motives and defend his beliefs before they become frozen formulas that impede progressive thought?

Goethe's thinking would permit such speculation because he believed in the possibility of an all comprehensive union between seeming opposites. Thus man's soul is still whole—even if two souls are raging inside the same person in constant struggle. Thus any form of defiance becomes Promethean in the sense that it presupposed a man-centered universe where strife and dissent are perceived as necessary means to achieve a noble goal. By making defiance a means and not an end in itself, all moral judgments are relegated to philosophy to determine the validity of the respective goal. What is left to literature is to faithfully reflect the everlasting battle of the titans of civilization, some mighty and impressive, others as small as David facing Goliath, some winners and some losers, but all worthy of our

admiration, nevertheless, because, like Prometheus, they rose to the challenge and dared facing a frightening foe.

Goethe was painfully aware of the many who do not want the bright glare of knowledge and yearn for the mild twilight of a naive faith that requires no thinking, yet promises heaven in return for unquestioning obedience. Goethe never displayed arrogance toward common men. But neither did his often aristocratic and elitist thinking permit him to love common men, simply because the good Lord had made so many of them. His fascination remained with the uncommon man of action who without fear or regret is in pursuit of insight and full of inner awareness of an obligation to continue a relentless drive to fulfill his destiny by earning the title *homo sapiens*.

Today we have a fair idea of Goethe's standards by which he measured ethic conduct in his time. One ingredient he obviously cherished was a spark of daring gleaned from Prometheus. But we can only guess what Prometheus himself might have to say to so many people taking his name in vain. Imagining him sitting there on a mountaintop watching with a titanic smile generations of mortals in their feeble attempts to duplicate his immortal feat, I would like to think that he would be pleased to know that so many ventured out, looking for the proverbial philosopher's stone, and I would like to think of him as not being disturbed at all watching thousands who are shouting "eureka!"—each holding a different stone, yet each claiming to have found the one and only that will turn things to gold and prolong their lives. "Glory is in having dared," Prometheus might proclaim.

And many of his true disciples, in their cool graves all too prone to standing ovations, might respond in a thunderous chorus: "Thanks to you, Prometheus, that phrase is no longer Greek to us!"

Bibliography

- Bamberger, Richard. *Der junge Goethe: Lyrik und Leben*. Wien: Verlag für Jugend und Volk, 1949.
- Baumgart, Hermann. *Goethes lyrische Dichtung in ihrer Entwicklung und Bedeutung*. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1931.
- Boyd, James. *Notes to Goethe's Poems*. Vol. I. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1944.
- Dankert, Werner. *Goethe: Der mythische Urgrund seiner Weltanschauung*. Berlin, 1951.
- Hehn, Victor. *Ueber Goethes Gedichte*. Stuttgart und Berlin: Gebrüder Borntraeger, 1912.
- Ibel, Rudolf. *Goethe. Goetz von Berlichingen. Grundlagen und Gedanken zum Verstaendnis klassischer Dramen*. Frankfurt am Main, o. Z.: M. Diesterweg, 1957.

- Kahn, Ludwig W. *Social Ideals in German Literature, 1770–1830*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938.
- Ludwig, Emil. *Vom unbekanntem Goethe*. Berlin, 1922.
- Staiger, Emil. *Goethe*. Band I. Zuerich und Freiburg i. Br.: Atlantis Verlag, 1952.
- Vietor, Karl. *Goethes Anschauung vom Menschen*. Bern und München: Francke, 1960.

THE NIXON DOCTRINE (1969) AND ITS INITIAL IMPACT ON SOUTH KOREAN NATIONAL SECURITY

Seunggi Paik*

With the inauguration of President Nixon, the United States had been committed heavily to the defense of Asians for a period of some 18 years. This commitment had resulted in the creation of four bilateral security treaties and two collective security pacts.¹ There was also heavy deployment of American troops to Asia.² This American commitment carried it into the Korean War, hostilities in the Formosa Straits, and, most importantly, a long drawn-out and controversial war in Indochina. It had involved billions of dollars in terms of military expenditures and war casualties of more than a half million Americans.

During the entire period, there was a continuing controversy in the United States concerning the wisdom of its Asian policy. That policy was based on the concept known as the "domino theory" of Communist expansionism. This theory had been considered as a virtual truism because of the evidence presented to the American people that the Soviet Union and Communist China were a monolithic Communist force that threatened to engulf the entire Asian continent and Western Europe. However, in the 1960's the Sino-Soviet split dispelled the theory of the monolithic Communist bloc.

The criticism of the Asian policy had grown to the point where the election of 1968 constituted virtually a mandate that Nixon should bring the war to a conclusion. President Nixon had, in his campaign, promised to end the Vietnamese War. He had also spoken of the approach of the era of negotiations, with a clearcut implication that he looked upon the period as a time for rapprochement between the major powers and for the termination of the Cold War.

It was in this environment of campaign promises and massive disenchantment with the Vietnamese War and with United States foreign policy in general that

*Dr. Paik is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Midwestern State University.

¹Four bilateral security treaties are: The U.S.-Philippines Mutual Defense Treaty in 1951; The U.S.-Japan Mutual Security Treaty in 1951; The U.S.-Republic of Korea Mutual Defense Treaty in 1953; and The U.S.-Republic of China Mutual Defense Treaty in 1954.

Two collective security pacts are: ANZUS (Australia, New Zealand, and the United States) Pact in 1951, and SEATO (the United States, the Philippines, Pakistan, Thailand, Australia, New Zealand, France, and Great Britain) Treaty in 1954. See Department of State, *Issues: No. 3—Commitments of U.S. Power Abroad* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1969), pp. 17-18.

²At that time, there were about 550,000 American troops in South Vietnam and 50,000 men in Thailand. There were also 40,000 U.S. military personnels in Japan, 45,000 in Okinawa, 10,000 in Taiwan, 60,000 (125,000 if sailors, marines, and naval aviation forces were included) in the Seventh Fleet, 30,000 in the Philippines, 62,000 in South Korea, and additional thousands on Guam. See U.S. Senate, *Perspective on Asia: The New U.S. Doctrine and Southeast Asia*, 91st Cong., 1st Sess., September 13, 1969, pp. 1-2. Hereafter cited as *Mansfield Report*.

President Nixon laid out a series of foreign policy proposals that came to be known as the "Nixon Doctrine." And, as a prelude to the implementation of this doctrine, the United States began to de-escalate its involvement in Vietnam in 1969.

The announcement of the Nixon Doctrine raised some questions as to the ability and desire of the United States to protect the interests of foreign countries against Communist aggression. There was the question of what the United States' role in Asia would be after it had withdrawn its military forces from Vietnam and other countries in the area. Many Asian leaders and prominent political analysts of these countries began to consider what the United States might do following its frustrating experience in Vietnam and its earlier difficulties in Korea. They wondered if the United States would continue to play a prominent role in Asian affairs, or whether it would follow the policy of France and Britain and withdraw from the Pacific and Asian region, assuming only a minor role in the defense of those areas. The following examination of the Nixon Doctrine deals with some of these questions.

The full scope of Nixon's concepts of the needed changes in American defense posture began to appear in 1969. In that year in Guam, the President enunciated for the first time what has come to be known as the Nixon Doctrine. The Guam declaration contains the following principles:

1. The United States will maintain its treaty commitments, but it is anticipated that Asian nations will be able to handle their own defense problems, perhaps with some outside material assistance but without outside manpower. Nuclear threats are another matter, and such threats will continue to be checked by counterpoised nuclear capacity.
2. As a Pacific power, the United States will not turn its back on nations of the Western Pacific and Asia; the countries of that region will not be denied a concerned and understanding ear in this nation.
3. The United States will avoid the creation of situations in which there is such great dependence on us that, inevitably, we become enmeshed in what are essentially Asian problems and conflicts.
4. To the extent that material assistance may be forthcoming from the United States, more emphasis will be placed on economic help and less on military assistance.
5. The future role of the United States will continue to be significant in the affairs of Asia. It will be enacted, however, largely in the economic realm and on the basis of multilateral cooperation.
6. The United States will look with favor on multilateral political, economic, and security agreements among the

Asian nations and, where appropriate, will assist in efforts which may be undertaken thereunder.³

As an indication of United States foreign policy toward East Asia, the Guam declaration showed “a state of mind, a style of diplomacy, a way of our program abroad”⁴ applicable to Asian nations. The President of the United States reiterated in Bangkok on July 28, 1969;

“Our determination to honor our commitments is fully consistent with our conviction that the nations of Asia can and must increasingly shoulder the responsibility for achieving peace and progress in the area. The challenge to our wisdom is to support and Asian countries’ efforts to defend and develop themselves, without attempting to take from them the responsibilities which should be theirs. For if domination by the aggressor can destroy the freedom of a nation, too much dependence on a protector can eventually erode its dignity.”⁵

President Nixon enunciated his doctrine officially in his “state of the world” address on February 18, 1970. He declared that the United States, as a matter of firm determination, no longer would act as the world’s policeman. It would help friendly countries that could help themselves, but it would not do all the work. His statement reads;

“Its central thesis is that the United States will participate in the defense and development of allies and friends, but that America cannot—and will not—conceive all the plans, design all the programs, execute all the decisions and undertake all the defense of free nations of the World. We will help where it makes a real difference and is considered in our interest.”⁶

The President described the future he wanted as one embodying “durable peace,” not simply absence of war but also international relationships that removed the cause of the war. The policy paper came at a time when many in Congress and around the United States were calling for big cutbacks in defense spending and a major reduction of American commitments throughout the world. The President,

³*Mansfield Report*, pp. 3–4.

⁴Department of State Publication 8572, East Asian and Pacific Series 198, *The Nixon Doctrine: A Progressive Report* by Marshall Green, Washington: February, 1971, p. 1.

⁵*Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. LXI, No. 1574, August 25, 1969, p. 154.

⁶*Ibid.*, Vol. LXII, No. 1602, March 9, 1970, p. 276.

however, emphasized that "America cannot live in isolation if it expects to live in peace, and we have no intention of withdrawing from the world."⁷

The President believed that Europe and Japan were back on their feet and prosperous. Thus, his hope was that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) countries and Japan would gradually build up their own defenses for their own interest. Nixon contended that under his doctrine partnership had special meaning for the U.S. policies in Asia as the United States strengthened its tie with Japan. He promised that U.S. cooperation would be enhanced with the Asian nations "as they cooperate with one another and develop regional institutions."⁸

President Nixon made it clear that he believed the time had arrived for a change from postwar era of rigid containment of Communism. He remarked that the Cold War was ending. According to Nixon, an era of negotiation would be pursued with the Soviet Union and other Communist states, and arms-control agreements should be sought. If the United States was successful in its rapprochement with the Soviet Union and Communist China, it would then be able to devote its resources to the solving of many problems existing among the smaller, less powerful nations in the world, i.e., countries in the Mideast and Southeast Asia.⁹

The President remarked also that Americans, with their dissatisfaction with American security policy, were turning more to domestic concerns. Demands for action against crime, inflation, racial unrest, and a polluted environment would take more funds and attention.

After the enunciation of the Nixon Doctrine, there was pressure exerted by the United States Congress on the President for the withdrawal of the 62,000 American troops in South Korea. Despite the Congressional pressure there was no firm evidence of any immediate withdrawal from South Korea by the United States government until July, 1970. However, in an interview on the American Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) in January, 1970, Secretary of State William Rogers alluded to a possible gradual reduction of United States forces in South Korea, depending on the current international situation.¹⁰ In that interview, Rogers said that the United States did not consider it necessary to have a permanent American force in South Korea for an indefinite period of time, but he concluded that this did not mean a wholesale withdrawal of all U.S. troops. In May, 1970, Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird said that "we are already working on plans for such actions as we reduce our role of world policeman in favor of the Nixon Doctrine."¹¹ Although he was unable to disclose specific details of further troop reduction in the Pacific and Asian area, he did indicate that the troop reduction plan might include South Korea.

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 277.

⁹For the theory of linkage between great power detente and problem solving in smaller nations, see Robert E. Osgood, "Keynote Address," *United States Military Academy Senior Conference Report, 1970*, West Point, New York: June 11-13, 1970, pp. 6-8.

¹⁰Young key Hong, "Conference for the Reduction of American Stationary Troops in Korea," *National Assembly Review*, Seoul, September, 1970, p. 26.

¹¹Yong-jon Kim, "Modernization of ROK Armed Forces: Precondition for U.S. Troop Withdrawal," *The Korean Frontier*, July, 1970, p. 6.

In response to Laird's statement, the South Korean Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kyu-ha Choi, denied any knowledge of the American troop reduction, and he emphasized that Laird's pronouncement was not tantamount to the confirmation of U.S. troop withdrawal. He insisted that the spirit of the South Korea-United States Mutual Defense Treaty and other related American commitments to South Korea would not allow U.S. troop reduction solely on the basis of one-sided notification by the United States. He concluded that there would be prior consultation between the two parties concerning any irresponsibility.¹² South Korean President Park declared that any partial reduction of American troop was unthinkable at that stage and that the present level of 62,000 U.S. forces in South Korea was necessary to protect Korea from an external Communist threat.¹³

On July 6, 1970, the U.S. Ambassador in Seoul, William Porter, officially informed the South Korean Prime Minister, Il-kwon Chung, of the plans to partially withdraw American troops from South Korea.¹⁴ In addition, Secretary of State William Rogers notified South Korean Foreign Affairs Minister Kyu-ha Choi of the reduction plan of U.S. troops and suggested that a U.S.-South Korean conference be arranged as soon as possible to discuss withdrawal procedures.¹⁵ In response to the U.S. troop reduction plan, the South Korean Prime Minister expressed his strong opposition to the American withdrawal movement and later he warned that such a drastic action might invite a group resignation of his nineteen member cabinet including the Prime Minister himself.¹⁶ He said the South Korean government would not disagree with the principles of the Nixon Doctrine. However, he warned "if Kim Il-sung, North Korean Premier, miscalculates, the South Korean people will wonder if America will abandon its security treaty or come to our defense."¹⁷ According to his analysis, the presence of U.S. troops was a better deterrent than any paper obligation.

The response in South Korea was immediate. The Committee of Foreign Affairs in the South Korean National Assembly convened and sent a message to the South Korean government to boycott a South Korean-American conference "if the United States gives no assurance on the modernization of our armed forces before discussing the planned U.S. troop reduction in Korea."¹⁸ The Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee stated that the United States government should withdraw its troops "only after fulfilling all of its promises to Korea" such as modernization support of the South Korean forces and after insuring an adequate defense for South Korea.¹⁹

Other leaders of the South Korean National Assembly from the ruling Democratic Republican Party as well as the opposing New Democratic Party expressed their opposition in unison against the U.S. troop reduction. The Assembly leaders requested their government to revise the present Mutual Defense Treaty with the

¹²Young key Hong, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁶*The New York Times*, July 14, 1970.

¹⁸Yong-jon Kim, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

¹³Yong-jon Kim, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

¹⁵Young key Hong, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁹*Ibid.*

United States to include provisions which would obligate the United States to take strong and immediate military action if the security of South Korea was endangered.

As President Syngman Rhee had indicated earlier in the 1950's, and as the South Korean Prime Minister reiterated, the presence of the American soldiers in Korea contained much meaning for Korean security regardless of whether or not the South Korean armed forces were strong enough to defend the country. The presence of American troops in South Korea itself had a positive psychological effect on the South Korean people. Most South Koreans except the young generation well remembered the suffering caused by the war in the early 1950's, and they never forgot the fact that Communist North Korea with the support of the Soviet Union and Communist China invaded their land following the complete withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea in 1949. The South Korean people believed that the American troops were the most reliable protector of their nation's security.

Additionally, South Korean leaders seemed to conclude that the existence of some American troops in South Korea would preclude North Korean leaders from undertaking any planned overall attack on South Korea. Based on their judgement of the current international situation, the leaders of the South Korean government emphasized that the "crisis-ridden" Korean peninsula should be the last place from which American troops should be withdrawn. They argued further that the United States should reconsider its priorities in its proposal to reduce American troop strength abroad, keeping in mind the international situation in Asia as compared with the more stable conditions in the NATO countries as far as security matters were concerned. According to their observations, the American military leadership with the support of its administration and Congress had put first priority of their security commitment on NATO, giving other regions secondary priority. Thus, the South Korean policy makers raised the question of the imminency of the Communist threat in South Korea as compared to that threat in the NATO country area.²⁰

Following the official announcement of the American withdrawal plan, the South Korean Minister of National Defense, Nae-hiuk Chung, met the U.S. Deputy Defense Secretary, David Packard, in July, 1970, in Honolulu. This meeting was one of the annual U.S.-South Korea defense secretaries' meeting which had been initiated by Presidents Park and Johnson in 1968. However, the third annual conference in Honolulu became a heated debate because of the U.S. troop reduction plan. It was learned that at one point in this meeting the dispute over the withdrawal plan threatened the friendly relationship of the two countries.²¹

However, the defense representatives concluded the meeting with the following agreements: (1) U.S. military aid should be maintained at a reasonable level to allow for modernizing the South Korean Armed Forces, (2) additional defense industries should be developed in South Korea, and the parties would continue further consultation on the South Korean defense industries, (3) certain U.S. aircraft would be brought to South Korean bases from other U.S. Pacific bases, and South Korea would be given some S-2 naval patrol aircraft in the near future by

²⁰ *Dong-A Ilbo*, (East Asian Daily), July 22, 1970.

²¹ *Chosun Ilbo*, (Morning Calm Daily), July 23, 1970.

the United States, and (4) U.S. reaffirmation of its "immediate and effective" assistance to South Korea in case of any external armed attack.²²

A group of National Assemblymen reminded the United States of the fact that 50,000 South Korean soldiers were fighting in South Vietnam as an ally of the United States. In their opinion, the South Korean troops in Vietnam should not be interpreted by the United States as an indication of South Korean military surplus. They suggested that the Korean troops in Vietnam should be withdrawn if the United States pulled its troops out of South Korea.²³

The spokesman of the National Veterans Association claimed that the Koreans, especially the war veterans, were very sincere in their desire to be self-reliant in national defense. In that sense, the South Koreans welcomed the idea of the Nixon Doctrine as it was interpreted as "Korean defense by Koreans." However, the spokesman questioned the timing of the Doctrine insofar as it applied to the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea. Under the present situation, he concluded, there were some reservations regarding the South Korean army's ability to provide an adequate defense for the country.²⁴

At a meeting on August 25, 1970, President Park requested reassurance from Vice President Agnew that the United States would intervene immediately if there was an attack by North Korea on South Korea. In response to this request, Vice President Agnew reemphasized the existence of the Mutual Defense Treaty between the two nations, and made an offer of additional military assistance in the form of the stationing of a U.S. Phantom-jet unit in South Korea and also some S-2 naval aircraft.²⁵ This offer was implemented later. However, the plan for the reduction of U.S. troop strength was maintained.

Despite the strong opposition by the South Korean government to any U.S. troop reduction from South Korea, the U.S. Department of Defense disclosed on August 27, 1970, its intention of reducing the 62,000-man force by 10,000 men by the end of 1970. The statement also revealed that the Department had started to reduce its troop strength in South Korea in January, 1970, but that the reduction had been confidential. The spokesman of the Department concluded his announcement by stating that the troop reduction program for South Korea would be completed by the pulling out of an additional 10,000 men by June 30, 1971.²⁶

Following this application of the Nixon Doctrine to South Korea, the South Korean government began to reevaluate its defense policy, especially in relation to its dependence on the United States. First of all, the South Korean security policy makers were forced to accept the changing U.S. military policy in South Korea as well as in Asia. In the past, the South Koreans had depended entirely upon the United States for their defense. However, the de-Americanization policy in Asia prompted the Korean policy makers to realize that they should assume more responsibility in providing for their own defense. The policy makers in South Korea

²²Yong-jon Kim, *op. cit.*, p. 12. According to Kim, there were no decision on the exact amount of U.S. aid, no revelation on the types of aircraft, and no agreement on the precise date of S-2 delivery.

²³*Dong-A Ilbo*, September 6, 1970.

²⁴Yong-jon Kim, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

²⁵Young key Hong, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

²⁶*Chosun Ilbo*, August 28, 1970.

recognized a degree of erosion of the strength in American commitment. Up until this time, U.S. foreign policy had provided for a vigorous response to any Communist threat to any country which was aligned with the United States. But there was a general consensus among the Korean policy analysts that there was substantial likelihood of a continuing decline in the vigor of American response to its commitments in the Far East. They believed that domestic criticism was an important factor in this decline and they took notice of the American proponents of a more "realistic" foreign policy position which advocated more non-military solutions to Asian problems even though the United States had committed itself to many overseas defense treaties.²⁷

Although the Mutual Defense Treaty existing between the United States and South Korea was still considered valid, it seemed clear that U.S. policy toward South Korea was no longer a full guarantee for its security against a Communist threat. The South Korean policy makers considered the U.S. security policy not as a guarantee of "absolute safety" but rather in terms of "relative safety."²⁸ It was believed that South Korea could no longer expect the United States to offer unconditional assistance in the event that such assistance was required. The United States had made it clear that it did not intend to deploy its forces immediately in response to any threatening situations in Asia. Rather, the United States would react to its security commitments only so long as those commitments would not interfere with the domestic need in the United States and, further, if such commitments were considered necessary to protect the interests of the United States.

Recognizing the reduced security commitment of the Nixon Doctrine, the South Korean government committed itself to a full scale and comprehensive modernization plan for its armed forces with the support of the United States. While in 1965–1966 there had not been a unified effort by the South Korean leaders to obtain more U.S. aid, the South Korean government leaders felt that increased modernization, hence increased U.S. aid, was necessary in 1970.

The Korean security policy makers were convinced that a self-reliant armed force was the only sound security measure for the nation. However, they realized that their country faced grave problems in its program for a modernized and self-sufficient armed force. The core of the problem was that of economically maintaining a modernized, yet disproportionately huge 600,000-man armed force, without damaging the already unstable Korean economy.

The South Korean government was encouraged by a U.S. promise whereby the U.S. government would provide some one billion dollars during the period of 1971–1975 for the modernization plan of the South Korean forces.²⁹ The sum of the U.S. aid had not been officially disclosed because the aid was counted in terms of actual items of weapons and military facilities rather than in dollars. About 750 million dollars of the total would be given to South Korea as supplementary U.S.

²⁷ Myung sik Lee, "Problems and Prospects in Korea-U.S. Relations," *International Studies*, Seoul, Summer, 1970, pp. 151.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

²⁹ *The Korean Frontier*, March, 1971, p. 5.

aid and 250 million dollars' worth of used military equipment and the weapons would be transferred to the South Korean military.³⁰ In 1970, the U.S. Congress had appropriated 150 million dollars for South Korea as the first of the five-year modernization plan. Also, 100 million dollars' worth of weapons and equipment was turned over to the South Korean military by the U.S. forces that were being withdrawn from South Korea.³¹

The South Korean policy makers used the U.S. aid to procure new items for "a higher degree (of) mobility, increased firepower, and modernized tactical communications, all of which will improve the Army's capability to deter attack."³² For the air force, the Ministry of Defense purchased some International Fighters, the F-5Es, established a Tactical Air Control System, and improved the radar facilities. The South Korean marine corps increased its amphibious capability by adding a few modern landing boats and other equipment.³³ The navy upgraded its counter-infiltration capability with the new faster patrol ships and more effective guns. During the process of the modernization of the South Korean forces, the U.S. field commander in South Korea, General John H. Michaelis, urged the South Koreans to:

1. replace obsolete equipment in all services; tactical vehicles, aircraft, and ships;
2. improve the ground mobility to achieve greater flexibility in the massing of firepower and personnel;
3. improve the quality and quantity of tactical communications;
4. provide increased surveillance and security of the coastline; and
5. increase the logistical capability of the ROK Armed Forces.³⁴

Along with the modernization plan, the South Korean government initiated a plan to achieve military self-sufficiency despite the immensity of its defense burden. In 1971, the South Korean defense budget was 4.3 percent of the GNP and 24.2 percent of the total budget in addition to the U.S. military aid of 150 million dollars. South Korea will be faced with the problem of maintaining and operating this 600,000-man force after the termination of U.S. aid. Annual average U.S. aid to South Korean defense has been 150 million dollars since the end of the Korean War. Under the self-sufficiency plan for its military, the South Korean military leaders have increased annually the procurement of local production for the armed forces.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ U.S. House of Representatives, Hearings on *American-Korean Relations*, before the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs on the Committee on Foreign Affairs, June 8-1-, 1971, 92nd Cong., 1st Sess., p. 42. Hereafter cited as *American-Korean Relations*.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 42.

³³ Exact numbers of planes and ships were unavailable due to the nature of security.

³⁴ *American-Korean Relations*, p. 48.

The South Korean government encouraged the development of defense industries. As a result, a Korean M-16 rifle plant is under construction by a contract with the Colt Corporation. Also, a South Korean company is scheduled to increase its production of M-16 ammunition. In addition, South Korea has a plan to construct Naval patrol craft, to produce or co-produce military wheeled vehicles and some light aircraft. To assist in the transition to self-sufficiency of the military, a research agency for defense science (RADS) was established with competent scientists, engineers, and military administrators, many of whom were trained abroad, and military administrators.

However, the South Korean Armed Forces are still regarded as weaker than the North Korean Communist force, particularly in offensive category. Following is a brief comparison of North and South Korean military capability. The North Korean Army of 400,000 men is smaller in number than the 550,000-man South Korean Army, but the former is equipped with the far superior 7.6mm AK-47 rifle, 900 tanks including the modern, Russian-made T-55, T-54 tanks, 3,000 pieces of artillery including 100 mm assault guns and truck mounted rocket launchers. The Northern Communist Army increased its strength by the introduction of Frog missiles in 1969.³⁵ The South Korean Army has only two divisions equipped with M-14 and M-16 rifles out of eighteen divisions on frontline defense force. The remainder are equipped with the obsolete World War II M-1. South Korean Army tanks are mostly obsolete and their artillery is far behind in number and in capability when compared with their Northern counterpart.

The North Korean Air Force, which is a primary threat because of its superior capability, has 590 jet fighters including 60 MIG-21 Fishbed Delta-winged supersonic interceptors and more than 60 Il-28 light jet bombers. The North Korean Air Force, with 40,000 personnel and 15 jet-capable concrete-sheltered airfields, could strike with its fighter aircraft, Seoul, the South Korean capital city, three minutes after crossing the DMZ and be over the southernmost South Korean military targets within twenty-five minutes. The South Korean Air Force, manned by 23,000 men, has 215 jet fighters, mostly F-86 aircraft of Korean War vintage. It has only one F4D Phantom squadron which could match the MIG 21's and only seven jet-capable air bases. Especially, since North Korea has increased its SA-2 surface-to-air missile capability along the DMZ since 1969, South Korea needs more developed jet fighters to avoid the risk while performing its defense duty.³⁶

Equipped with Russian-made "W" class submarines and the OSA and Komar type missile boats with the Styx missile, the North Korean Navy has only limited operation capability with its 9,300 sailors. However, the North Korean Navy oper-

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 44. For a detailed comparison of the two Korean military strength, see Soon kyu Kim, "Modernization of Korean Forces," *The Politics and Economics*, August, 1970, p. 48.

³⁶ *American-Korean Relations*, p. 45. According to Kim's analogy, the South Korean Air Force needs three to six squadrons of F4D Phantom jet to match the North Korean air power. See Soon kyu Kim, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50. Until 1964, there were only limited number of SA-2 missile sites in North Korea, but by 1969, 1,700 sites were added to an unknown number (security deletion) since then. See General Michaelis' report to the Senate in *American-Korean Relations*, p. 45.

ates 190 small and medium sized boats with a speed of 40 knots which can be used to infiltrate the South Korean coasts.³⁷

In addition to the regular armed forces, North Korea maintains a well trained and well equipped civilian militia of 1.3 million people known as the "Laborer-Farmer-Red Guard." Also, the North Korean leaders have developed an effective military industry which is able to produce sufficient artillery, rifles, and the ammunition as well as tanks.³⁸

Under these circumstances, the South Korean government established the Homeland Defense Reserve Force (HDRF) consisting of 2.4 million ex-service personnel. All discharged soldiers of the South Korean Armed Forces are obligated up to their 35th birthday to join the HDRF. They are issued small arms, and are required to participate in training exercises. The United States has supplied the HDRF with 870,000 light weapons, mostly M-1 rifles. The purpose of this civilian militia is to supplement the regular army's capability to counteract any infiltration operations undertaken by the North Koreans.

Even though the U.S. field commander in South Korea emphasized that South Koreans were "competent and dedicated and first-rate fighters,"³⁹ who would be able to defend their homeland with U.S. air assistance, the South Korean leaders must keep two factors in mind as they consider the future of South Korea's military situation. The first concerns the modernization of Korean armed forces. With the completion of the modernization plan, the heavily-manned South Korean forces should be able to reduce its man power while protecting South Korea without the presence of U.S. troops. Secondly, the South Korean forces' self-reliance should be gained in the form of economic maintenance of the army without damaging the South Korean economic situation.

In conjunction with the process of modernization of the armed forces and the quest for military self-reliance, the South Korean President declared the State of Emergency on December 6, 1971. The President reminded the people of the changing international situation around South Korea. President Park spoke of Communist China's admission to the United Nations and the North Korea's war preparation. He emphasized that national security was the prime goal of his government policy. In order to maintain a sound national security, President Park stated his intention to eliminate any causes of social instability. In this regard, he cautioned that an irresponsible press would not be tolerated, and urged the people to recognize the need for Korean national security, even if it meant a sacrifice of some of their freedom.⁴⁰

The modernization of the armed forces represented one method of insuring Korean national security. At the time there was a quickening of interest among Korean leaders in the idea of a regional security pact and a preoccupation with the difficulties involved in the formation of such a defensive alliance. A review of

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 45.

³⁸Soon kyu Kim, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

³⁹*American-Korean Relations*, p. 49.

⁴⁰*Hankook Ilbo*, (Korean Daily), December 7, 1971.

the efforts toward an Asian concert or alliance during the post World War II period will cast light upon these difficulties.

The SEATO treaty, organized in 1954 in Manila, became one of the broadest attempts at a multinational security arrangement in Asia and the Pacific. It included more countries than ANZUS-Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, Pakistan, Great Britain, France, and the United States as well as Laos, Cambodia, and South Vietnam as its protectoral areas. SEATO was organized in response to: (1) Russia's development of an atomic weapons system, (2) the emergence of a Communist regime in Indochina after the French setback in Dien Vien Phu, and (3) the strong leadership of Communist China in the region.

But, this type of collective security organization had limitations and short-comings. First, SEATO did not constitute a real treaty obligation to an armed attack on its member states. Under the SEATO agreement, any collective action would be possible only after the parties had agreed to the party's endangered situation, after each party had proceeded through each one's own constitutional processes, and when there was an appropriate invitation from the attacked party.⁴¹ Second, the countries involved in SEATO were heterogeneous in interest. The existence of bilateral commitments between certain SEATO member nations and the United States had a tendency to weaken the ties among the Asian nations since each one seemed to consider its bilateral treaty with the United States sufficient for its security. Third, lack of stationary troops in SEATO, unlike NATO or Warsaw, was a source of its vulnerability.⁴²

During the course of the Vietnamese War, the United States had gradually changed its Asian defense policy. Even before the Nixon Doctrine, many Asian leaders were questioning the forthcoming U.S. attitude toward its Asian commitments. The U.S. attitude toward Asia and the Pacific became increasingly important when Communist China achieved success in developing its atomic power, and when Great Britain decided to withdraw its forces from the east of Suez by 1971.⁴³ These factors made it imperative that the Asian countries organize among themselves some type of formidable security arrangement. At no time in the past had it been more necessary for them to resist, collectively, the threat of Communist China.

Previous attempts at a regional security pact had been initiated by South Korea as early as 1948. A free Asia alliance among South Korea, Nationalist China, and the Philippines had, however, failed to survive partly because of the potential members' weakness and partly because of failure to attract enough U.S. support.

⁴¹For the full text of the SEATO treaty, see *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. XXXI, No. 795, September 20, 1954, p. 394. On Article 3 (concerned an appropriate invitation from the attacked party), in some cases, especially in Southeast Asia, a sudden coup d'état or the creation of a care-taker government would hinder a proper invitation of the original party.

⁴²Chang nam Park, "Problems of Group Security in Asia," *National Assembly Review*, Seoul: May, 1969, p. 13.

⁴³Ministry of Defence, Great Britain, *Supplementary Statement on Defence Policy*, Her Majesty's Stationary Office, July, 1967, pp. 4-5. This decision was later modified by the new Conservative government under Prime Minister Heath, to support a small regional force at Singapore.

The alliance had excluded Japan due to the abnormal relations between South Korea and Japan.⁴⁴ In another attempt at a regional security pact, the Asian People's Anti-Communist League (APACL) was formed in 1960 under the initiative of President Syngman Rhee. But the league fell short of any security organization since some nations, such as Japan, did not participate in the organization. In the case of Japan, the government did not recognize APACL, and only some individuals of privately organized anti-Communist groups took part in the league.

In January, 1961, the Philippines invited five Asian foreign ministers to Manila to discuss security problems. It became a four-nation conference consisting of the Philippines, Nationalist China, South Vietnam, and South Korea; Thailand and Malaya did not attend. It marked another failure of any collective security action due to its small scale of participation and its poor preparation of agenda.⁴⁵ In February, 1961, Thailand, the Philippines, and Malaya established the Southeast Asian Alliance (ASA), but it failed because of the relations between the Philippines and Malaya. Japan initiated a Southeast Asian economic ministers' conference, in April of that year, calling for better economic cooperation among Asian nations, but that conference was not fruitful because some ministers were suspicious of Japan's intentions. Through their experiences with the Japanese colonial tendencies, most of the Asian nations thought Japan might attempt to exploit them again, by exercising its economic supremacy. Thus, until the mid-1960's, the Asian nations were unable to reach any significant regional organization such as those multi-lateral agreements reflected in the Organization of American States (OAS), the Organization of African Unity (OAU), or the Arab League.

However, in 1965, South Korea proposed the formation of the Asian and Pacific Council (ASPAC). ASPAC was officially established in June, 1966 when nine Asian nations—Australia, Nationalist China, Japan, South Korea, Malaysia, New Zealand, Philippines, Thailand, and South Vietnam and an observer from Laos convened in Seoul, and the ministers of foreign affairs from each nation affirmed the dedication of the peoples in the Asian and the Pacific region “to the common cause of peace, freedom and prosperity,” and also “their determination to preserve their integrity and sovereignty in the face of external threats.”⁴⁶

ASPAC drew much attention from the world because of its unprecedented scale of participation in an Asian organization. In his inauguration speech to the first council meeting in Seoul in 1966, President Park expressed optimism that ASPAC marked a new “Asian and Pacific Era.”⁴⁷ In describing the goals of this organization, South Korean Minister of Foreign Affairs, Tong-won Lee, termed the characteristics of the proposed organization as regional, open, positive, general and grad-

⁴⁴Won-wu Lee, “The Significance of the Ministerial Meeting of Asian and Pacific Cooperation,” *Koreana Quarterly*, Summer, 1966, p. 7.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 6–7.

⁴⁶Oemubu (Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Republic of Korea, *Ministerial Meeting for Asian and Pacific Cooperation*, Seoul, 1966, p. 20.

⁴⁷Tong-won Lee, “ASPAC, A dynamic for Regional Cooperation,” *Koreana Quarterly*, Winter, 1968, p. 359.

ual.⁴⁸ Displaying an awareness of previous failures at Asian organization, the South Korean Foreign Affairs Minister stated:

It should be a regional organization comprising East Asian and Western Pacific countries in its initial stage; the door should be open to all free countries in the region without limiting the membership to those countries which would participate in the First Ministerial Meeting in Seoul; it should not be an alliance against anybody or anything but an association for positive affirmation of common ideals and principles for the common good of the countries concerned; it should be an organization of general purpose as distinct from specific functional organizations, promoting common interests through cooperation in all fields of mutual concern; its frame should be loose and flexible in the initial stage so that consultation, recommendation, coordination, concert of policies, etc. would characterize the functioning and operation of the system; according as solidarity is strengthened, the system should be developed gradually into a closer association.⁴⁹

The Seoul meeting of ASPAC discussed four areas of cooperation in (1) political and international relations, (2) economic affairs, (3) social and cultural exchange, and (4) military and collective security matters.⁵⁰ With the development of ASPAC, President Marcos of the Philippines emphasized the important role of regional cooperation during the next fifteen years, referring to Communist China's threat and the inevitable American withdrawal from the region. Thai Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman called for the Asian nations to make a unified effort "to build a regional cohesiveness, regional harmony, and cooperation."⁵¹

The formation of ASPAC was considered as evidence that a regional agreement was feasible if the following conditions and goals could be achieved:

1. The broad participation of a substantial number of developed nations;
2. The elimination of the possibility of one-nation dominance of the Asian states;
3. The creation of sufficient strength to ensure that Communist Chinese would recognize the disadvantage of a position of isolationism; and

⁴⁸Tong-won Lee, "Regional Cooperation in Asia," *Koreana Quarterly*, Summer, 1966, pp. 3-4.

⁴⁹Tong-won Lee, *op. cit.*, 1968, p. 361.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 361.

⁵¹Kenneth T. Young, "Cultural Foundations for Asian Regionalism," *ASPAC Quarterly of Cultural and Social Affairs*, Summer, 1969, p. 8.

4. The capability to resist Communist threats without the overt presence of the U.S. forces.⁵²

During the Second ASPAC Ministerial Meeting in Bangkok in 1967 and the Third Meeting in Canberra in 1968, the ministers initiated a procedure whereby small and weak nations could speak in unison, thereby putting them on somewhat of an equal basis with the large, powerful nations. This was an attempt to prevent one-nation dominance in ASPAC. The ministers stated that such arrangements were necessary to enhance the self-reliance of the Asian and Pacific peoples based on their sense of common destiny and regional solidarity. They further proclaimed that a central goal should be the "promotion of close cooperation in economic, social and cultural fields in order to further the development of a prosperous community" of the member states.⁵³

Along with the progress of ASPAC, there were many active regional organizations at work during the late-1960's such as the Asian Parliamentarians Union (APU), the Ministerial Conference for Economic Development of Southeast Asia, the Association of Southeast Asia (ASA), the newly established Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Manila Summit Conference, and the Foreign Ministers' Conference of the Vietnam War Allies.

However, the Fourth ASPAC Ministerial Meeting in Tokyo in 1969 was unable to reach any agreement on collective security provisions designed to insure their regional security against external aggression. Also, ASPAC failed to solve the big country-small country problems mainly due to each member nation's economic status;⁵⁴ and did not capitalize on the benefits of interdependence.⁵⁵

With the gradual decline of the U.S. commitment in Asia and the Pacific and the vulnerability of SEATO and ASPAC, in 1970, the South Korean National Security Council and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were prompted into proposing a new regional security organization which could include the seven nations involved in the Vietnamese War, and also the countries of Nationalist China, Japan, Malaysia, and Indonesia.⁵⁶ This proposal, like others preceding, emphasized the fact that only with U.S. support and Japanese cooperation would there ever be an effective Asian security organization.⁵⁷

Another avenue to enhanced security which warranted exploration by South Korea is the concept of Japanese-Korean rapprochement with the possibility that Japan might play a more forceful role as an Asian power. Certainly this idea has

⁵²Kenneth Young states that there has been no precedent of collective security among Asian nations except one abortive attempt of the Ching Dynasty's to ally with Japan and Thailand for mutual protection at the end of 19th century. See *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁵³Tong-won Lee, *op. cit.*, 1968, p. 367.

⁵⁴Among seventeen Asian nations, some have an average per capita income of \$100, some have between \$100-300, and a few have a per capita income of over \$500.

⁵⁵Kenneth Young, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁵⁶*Hankook Ilbo*, November 17, 1970.

⁵⁷This position of getting U.S. support as well as Japanese financial cooperation was raised as early as 1968 in conjunction with the strengthening of ASPAC. See Chang nam Park, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.

been in the mind of South Korean leaders, and the subject warrants considerations.

Concurrent with the implementation of the Nixon Doctrine, President Nixon and Japanese Prime Minister Eisaku Sato agreed on the automatic extension of the United States-Japan Security Treaty. At this time the top Japanese official clearly stated that the security of South Korea was a vital concern for the security of Japan.⁵⁸ Moreover, President Nixon in his State of the Union Message of 1970 stated that Japan had grown enough to share the security responsibilities in the region against any Communist threat.⁵⁹

As early as 1965, then U.S. Secretary of Defense, Robert McNamara, had likewise expressed his conviction that Japanese strength could contribute significantly to Asian regional security.⁶⁰ Reflecting on the rapidly increasing Japanese gross national product, Secretary of State Rogers, in January, 1970, regarded Japan as a nation which could be counted on to play a decisive role in the security of the Far East and the Pacific.⁶¹ As others recognized the emergence of Japan in the region, Professor Edwin Reischauer stressed the major role of Japan in the region, and predicted that during the year of 1972 almost all Americans would come to see Japan as a responsible decision-maker in Asia, and the United States would have to honor the Japanese decisions.⁶²

Since it was known that the Japanese leaders regarded South Korean security as an element in Japan's security arrangements, the emergence of Japan as a dominant regional power might offer the possibility of Japan-South Korea relations as opposed to United States-South Korean relations. In February, 1970, Japanese Prime Minister Sato testified before the Japanese Diet that his government "will promptly consult with the U.S. authorities to help ensure quick military operations of U.S. forces in case renewed aggression breaks out against Korea (South)."⁶³ But he continued in his testimony that "the Japanese Self-Defense Forces will not be dispatched to the Korean peninsula due to the constitutional provisions."⁶⁴

The Prime Minister's remarks were tentatively interpreted as an indication of possible Japanese military assistance to South Korea if there were no constitutional restrictions to such action. At this point, it is important to review Japan's military situation as well as the South Korean attitude toward a South Korea-Japan military relationships.

As is well known, Japan, in 1945, was completely disarmed and her military

⁵⁸ *Asahi Shimbun*, November 21, 1969.

⁵⁹ "Annual Message to the Congress on the State of Union," January 22, 1970, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Richard Nixon*, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1970, p. 9.

⁶⁰ *The New York Times*, December 20, 1965.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, January 16, 1970.

⁶² Edwin O. Reischauer, "The Role of Japan in East Asia," *The Korean Journal of International Studies*, Vol. II, No. 4, Autumn, 1971, pp. 18-19. Reischauer expressed the same idea in his speech on "U.S.-Japan Relations," delivered at the Federation of Japanese Economic Association's Conference on September 8, 1969. See *Asahi Shimbun*, November 30, 1969.

⁶³ Bong sik Park, "Line of Japan's Strategy, Significance of Korea's Military Force and Korea-Japan's Military Posture," *International Studies*, Summer, 1970, pp. 54-55.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

forces were abolished in accordance with the "U.S. Initial Post-Surrender Policy of Japan." The purpose of this policy was:

1. To insure that Japan will not again become a menace to the United States or to the peace and security of the world,
2. To bring about the eventual establishment of a peaceful and responsible government which will respect the rights of other states and will support the objectives of the United States as reflected in the ideals and principles of the Charter of the United Nations . . .⁶⁵

During the first year of U.S. occupation in Japan, about four million Japanese were disarmed at home along with about two and a half million soldiers abroad. The Supreme Commander of Allied Powers reported that the Japanese military machine had been completely destroyed by the dismissing of nine million Japanese military personnel and its allied collaborators.⁶⁶ At the same time, the Japanese were prohibited from possessing arms, ammunition, or implements of war. The U.S. military authority prohibited the formation of any organizations of a military nature. The purge of militarists and ultra-nationalistic elements, which were called for in the Potsdam Declaration, resulted in the removal of many prominent Japanese officials from governmental positions as well as private organizations.

Article Nine of the Japanese Constitution, which was enacted by the Japanese Diet on November 3, 1946, reads:

Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as a means of settling international disputes. In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.⁶⁷

However, the U.S. policy of restrictions on Japanese military capability slowly changed in conjunction with the widened rift between the United States and the Soviet Union in the last half of the 1940's, the defeat of Chiang Kai-shek by the

⁶⁵Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, *Political Reorientation of Japan: September 1945 to September, 1948*, Government Section, Appendices Volume, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1949, p. 423.

⁶⁶*Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. XV, No. 375, September 8, 1946, p. 460.

⁶⁷For further informations of this provision, see Shunsaku Kato, "Postwar Japanese Security and Rearmament: With Special Reference to Japanese-American Relations," in David Carlisle Stanley Sissons (ed.) *Papers on Modern Japan* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1968), pp. 63-65.

Chinese Communists in Mainland China in 1949, and the war in the Korean peninsula in 1950. To protect Japan from the Communist threat, the United States not only supported the Japanese government in building its self-defense forces despite the constitutional difficulties but also extended a U.S. commitment to Japanese security by concluding the U.S.-Japan Mutual Security Treaty in 1951.

By the end of 1960, Japan's self-defense forces consisted of a 170,000-man army in six district units, 112,000 tons of warships in the navy, and the air force equipped with 1,133 aircraft in fourteen flying wings. At the end of the Second Self-Defense Plan of 1962–1966, the Japanese forces had grown to a 191,500-man army organized into thirteen divisions, 140,200 tons of warships and 239 naval aircraft in the navy, and 1,095 modern aircraft divided into twenty-three combat units in the air force. By the end of 1970, the strength of Japanese defense forces had grown to a 210,000-man army with 4,500 artillery pieces and 800 tanks, 150,000 tons of warships including new destroyers and two 8,000 ton helicopter carrying escort vessels for anti-submarine warfare, and 1,530 aircraft including 170 F4J Phantom jet fighters in its air force.⁶⁸

Prime Minister Sato called for Japanese determination to defend Japan with Japanese arms when he reviewed a military parade with sophisticated new weapons in Meiji Shrine park on the eve of his visit to Washington in November, 1969.⁶⁹ A public opinion survey, conducted by Yomiuri Shimbun in August, 1969, revealed that 80 percent of the Japanese people desired to employ their own defense strategy and 70 percent of the Japanese wanted self-defense without relying on the help of any foreign power.⁷⁰ The change in Japan's military posture was also revealed in the Self-Defense Agency's White Paper, which also gave warning of the fact that Japan was surrounded by the two strong Communist powers.⁷¹

According to the Director of the Japan's Self-Defense Agency, Yasuhiro Nakasone, who was known as a strong nationalist, many leaders in the Japanese government were convinced that Japan as the free world's second largest industrial power should have a stronger defense force of its own in order to enhance the nation's prestige and influence over the world community as well as to provide for deterrence of potential aggressors.⁷² The Japanese military leaders believed that Japan would never be regarded as a first class power unless it had developed an adequate defense force.

In 1969, Japan's defense budget was 1,344 million dollars, less than 1 percent of its GNP, but it still marked the 14th highest defense budget in the world. In fiscal year 1970, Japan increased that budget to 1,580 million dollars. Though the amount of the 1970 budget for defense was only 0.79 percent of the total Japanese GNP, it ranked Japan as the 12th highest in defense expenditures among the nations.

⁶⁸ *Nihon no Boei* (Japan's Defense), Boeicho (Defense Agency), Tokyo, 1970, p. 71.

⁶⁹ *Asahi Shimbun*, November 19, 1969.

⁷⁰ Martin E. Weinstein, "Japan and Continental Giants," *Current History*, April, 1971, p. 194.

⁷¹ *Asahi Shimbun*, September 17, 1969.

⁷² *Ibid.*, January 2, 1970.

According to former Chief of the Air Self-Defense Force, General Minoru Genda, Japanese military strength ranked sixth in the world despite the small portion of GNP devoted to military spending.⁷³ The defense budget for the Fifth Defense Build-up Plan (1977–1981) had been projected at about 33 billion dollars (annual 6.6 billion) which would easily outrank Great Britain, France, and West Germany in the defense expenditures.⁷⁴

In regard to the development of a nuclear capability, Japanese defense officials did not take any positive action. Rather, they depended on the U.S. nuclear protection. However, the staff of the Japan's Self-Defense Agency was spending more time in explaining to the people why Japan was not developing a nuclear capability, especially in light of the recent pressure of the Communist China's nuclear development. In 1970, Yasuhiro Nakasone hinted that Japan would possibly develop a nuclear capability in the future.⁷⁵ He was known as a strong supporter of an expanded defense effort including a Japanese nuclear capability. The Japanese scientists were able to produce Plutonium 239 and Uranium 235 for an atomic bomb and Lithium 6 and heavy hydrogen for a hydrogen bomb. Since the Japanese technology was developed enough to build a high-speed multiplication reactor for an atomic-powered submarine, Japan appeared to have the ability to develop its own nuclear capability for military purposes whenever the Japanese government leaders wished to do so.⁷⁶

Following the agreement for reversion of the control of Okinawa from the United States to Japan in June, 1971,⁷⁷ the Japanese government assumed responsibility for the defense of Okinawa even though a large portion of the island was occupied by the United States military.⁷⁸

In relation to the Nixon Doctrine, Japan has the prerogative of deciding its role in the security of Asia. Obviously, Japan is not prepared to resume the status of a first class military power even though she is the leading free country in the region. If possible South Korea would not like to depend on Japan for South Korean security. Of course, Japan is aware of her neighboring countries' sensitivity to its rearmament. Some Asian states look with suspicion at a rearmed Japan, as a renewal of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere.⁷⁹ Moreover, a majority of the Japanese people reject for a variety of legal and political reasons an overseas military

⁷³*Ibid.*, January 28, 1970.

⁷⁴Kyong rak Choi, "An Analysis to Japan's Military Policy and the National Security of Korea," *The Journal of National Defense*, Vol. 20, No. 11, September, 1971, p. 132.

⁷⁵*The Atlantic*, April, 1970, p. 14.

⁷⁶Kyong rak Choi, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

⁷⁷U.S. Senate, Message from the President of the United States, *Agreement with Japan Concerning the Ryukyu Island and the Daito Islands*, 92nd Cong., 1st Sess., September 21, 1971, p. 1.

⁷⁸U.S. Senate, Hearings, Committee on Foreign Relations, *Okinawa Reversion Treaty*, 92nd Cong., 1st Sess., October 27, 1971, pp. 12–13. In Okinawa, the United States maintained 50,000 military personnel, and its military facilities included two large air bases as U.S. forward units in the Far East and the Pacific. In addition to the troops in Okinawa, there were about 30,000 U.S. troops stationed in Japan.

⁷⁹Bong sik Park, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

role by Japan.⁸⁰ However, there are some militant rightists in Japan who contend that Japan should assume a more positive military posture in Asia.⁸¹

To the South Korean leaders as well as other Asian leaders, Japan's economic aid is an interesting issue. Japan recognizes the fact that security in the area depends not only on military power, but also just as importantly on the economic health of the nations in the region. Japan is currently the largest financial contributor to the Asian Development Bank (ADB) since the establishment of ADB in 1966. A Japanese holds the presidency of ADB.⁸² There is no doubt that Japan has started swinging toward an activist role in Asia. The question is how much influence the Japanese will try to exert, how soon, and in what manner of cooperation with the neighboring nations.⁸³ However, other Asians seem to hope the Japanese government and its people will "learn how to build cultural bridges, two-way dialogues, and economic assistance before taking major political roles as well as an active military role."⁸⁴

The South Korean policy makers are in favor of establishing an economic relationship with Japan, but at this time they hesitate to enter into any military agreements with their former enemy. Moreover there is still strong doubt on the part of South Korean leaders as to Japan's ability to counter the military forces of the neighboring Communist China and the Soviet Union.

⁸⁰U. Alexis Johnson, "The Role of Japan and the Future of American Relations with the Far East," *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. LXII, No. 1609, April 27, 1970, p. 537.

⁸¹Albert Axelbank and Kaji Nakamura, "Japan, China, USA: The Three Power Gamble," *The Nation*, December 28, 1970, p. 680.

⁸²U.S. Senate, Hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, *Asian Development Bank Special Funds*, 92nd Cong., 1st Sess., April 2, 1971, p. 3.

⁸³For the discussion on the future role of Japan, see Richard Halloran, *Japan: Images and Realities* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), pp. 208-210.

⁸⁴Kenneth Young, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

TEACHING THE UNWILLING THE UNWANTED

James W. Strain*

The horse cavalry in old army days used to boast that the mission of cavalry in combat was to lend tone to what would otherwise be a disgusting brawl. Cavalrymen, of course, did not intend this statement to be taken seriously, not really seriously, certainly. Similarly, I want you to understand that my title was used to lend some sex to what would otherwise be an exquisitely boring title, and I do not intend for it to be taken literally, not really literally, certainly. The great majority of my students on whose experiences this study is based were not unwilling nor did they view finite mathematics as unwanted, not really.

Plagiarism is the offense you commit when you steal from one source; research is the art you perform when you borrow from many sources. Please understand this presentation is based on research. I will discuss different teaching methods and devices I have tried, and am trying, in order to raise the level of learning in the large finite mathematics classes I teach. I want to share with you the challenges, the frustrations, the satisfactions, the fun, the humor, and the rare unhappy moments involved in this problem. I will define "large" as meaning "about 200" because that is the capacity of the classroom where the class is regularly scheduled; and I must explain that finite mathematics is a selection of subjects from college algebra deemed to be most valuable for business majors; accordingly, it is a required subject for all business majors, the first half of six hours of required mathematics.

The teaching problems under these circumstances are further complicated by the inadequate mathematical backgrounds of many students and the motivation difficulties inherent in a required course. The average class claims to have had just over two years of high school mathematics, much of it, unfortunately, remedial mathematics courses masquerading as high school level mathematics with misleading titles. (I would prefer *at least* 2 years of algebra and 1 of geometry). And, there is the problem of the lack of appeal of mathematics: no one has ever been seduced by a system of linear equations, and a mathematics book is very easy to put down. Plato may have been the earliest teacher to identify the motivation problem in this quote:

"Bodily exercise, when compulsory, does no harm to the body; but knowledge which is acquired under compulsion obtains no hold on the mind"

*Mr. Strain is Assistant Professor of Mathematics at Midwestern State University.

It has been claimed by different researchers that somewhere between 75 and 90 percent of all adult Americans are possessed by math anxiety, or what one man has termed "mathophobia", a dislike for the subject which causes a majority of Americans to be mathematically illiterate, able to understand little about major public issues such as energy, unemployment, inflation, the arms race, the national budget, and other problems which are basically quantitative. This attitude is produced by elements operating at all levels of education.

And so, all of these factors: class size, a required subject, inadequate backgrounds, and math anxiety combined to make the teaching and learning process difficult for those on both sides of the desk. When I first began teaching these classes I lectured three times a week for three to four weeks and then gave a one-hour test over the material. Succeeding chapters were covered in the same way, followed by a comprehensive final examination at the end. I found I could not allow questions because too often the questions were too elementary to be of interest to a majority of the class. Although I continually encouraged and invited the students to visit me in my office very, very few ever did. As a result the average student had no way of getting help unless he found a friend or a classmate who could help him. Because of the size of the class the grades were fairly normally distributed and I graded on the curve. This usually produced about 7% A's (80 or better), 24% B's, (70-79), 38% C's (60-69), 24% D's (50-59), and 7% F's. The cut-off levels were, of course, determined by the class grades but those listed above are fairly representative.

About five years ago I began experimenting with different methods of instruction to improve the learning in these classes. The figures I have quoted I considered unsatisfactory. I examined the Keller Plan, the so-called personalized system of instruction, which is completely self-paced and requires complete mastery of each weekly unit before allowing the student to proceed to the next unit. I decided there were too many administrative problems inherent in this method and I also felt the goal of complete mastery was not realistic. I investigated modified versions of the Keller Plan and finally adopted one used at Eastern Michigan University with minor modifications of my own. Let me explain it.

The course is divided into 13 weekly units. The week before each unit begins each student is given an assignment sheet giving learning objectives in simple language, text study and homework assignments, and such clarification of difficult points as may be appropriate. Hopefully, the student will at least look over the material in the text before the unit begins. On Monday I lecture on the material and the students take a multiple choice test on Wednesday. If they make 85% or better they receive a P (for pass), 10 points for the unit, and are excused from class on Friday. If they fail to make 85% or better they must take a second test on Friday, and they receive points for the unit based on their grades on the two tests as follows:

P (pass) = 85 or better

M (marginal) = 65-80

F (fail) = below 65

P, —	10 points	F, P	8 points
M, P	8 points	F, M	4 points
M, M	6 points	F, F	0 points
M, F	2 points		

The points accumulated during the 13 units account for 70% of the semester grade with a comprehensive final accounting for the other 30%.

On Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday I schedule "math labs" at times selected by a majority of the class, usually a total of 5 two-hour sessions a week. These labs are staffed with graduates of the same course who made an A.

The advantages of this method as I perceive them are as follows: First, the opportunity to be excused from class on Friday has been a surprisingly strong motivating factor. As a result, almost all of the students study regularly and weekly, striving for a free Friday. Second, by testing—and retesting—over small portions of the material, it is learned and retained better. The student learns from his errors. Third, the labs staffed with peer tutors frequently provide an opportunity for one-on-one teaching and always an environment where no one is too embarrassed to ask any question.

Let me summarize specific results I have obtained working with about 1100 students in the years 1974 through 1977. This chart shows the impact on grades.

	<u>Lecture</u>		<u>New Method</u>	
A	7% } 31%		52% } 30%	
B	24% }			22%
C	38%			22%
D	24% } 31%		26% }	12%
F	7% }			14%

I should point out that the doubling in number of F's cannot be viewed happily and is, in large part, due to veterans who would ordinarily drop the course when they realize they cannot probably pass but who do not do so now because under current VA regulations they would have to pay back the benefits already received for that semester.

I must also note that the standard for an A was 80% and for a D 50% under the lecture system. The increase in A's and decrease in D's has occurred with 85% being the cut-off point for A's and 57% for D's under the new method. And although the figures above are total averages for the six classes represented, each of the individual class averages was quite close to the overall average.

I have introduced one other modification to this method by permitting volunteers to take a self-paced course in which they never attend with the regular class. They come to their own separate classroom on class days only to take unit tests. They may attend the labs but virtually none do. Only about 6% of each class volunteers for this but those who do produce exceptional results, probably because the volunteers are primarily students with good mathematical backgrounds. The earliest com-

pletion to date was achieved in 14 class days, (the student repeated one unit) with an average of 94; she then took an early final exam with a grade of 92 and I enlisted her as a lab tutor.

I am also interested in follow-on results: how do the graduates of this system do in the second half of their required six hours of mathematics as compared to those who were taught under the lecture method? I do not have sufficient data yet to establish any conclusions with statistical significance. What I have is shown in the next table and, while it is interesting, I cannot claim significance. Both groups contained approximately 70 students. The grades are those obtained in the second half of the required six hours.

	<u>Lecture</u>	<u>New method</u>
A	14%	23%
B	20%	27%
C	33%	21%
D	13%	17%
F	20%	12%

Another aspect worthy of comment is student reaction. Towards the end of the course the students are asked to complete a special evaluation form about the course. The answers to three questions are particularly interesting: what do they think of the chance to miss class on Friday, how often do they attend the labs, and how do they compare this method to the traditional lecture method? Rating on a scale of 5 to 1 with "5" meaning like very much to "1" meaning indifferent, over 90% regard the chance to miss Friday class as a "5"; with an amazing consistency between classes, about two-thirds admit they never went to a lab; and 93–96% strongly prefer this method over the lecture method.

Plans for improvement in the future include the following steps: procurement of audio-tutorial equipment and material which will permit learning in the labs even when tutors are not available; taping of Monday lectures to be available for separate viewing later as desired; and expansion of this method into other mathematics courses.

In the process of obtaining student reactions in this and other courses I have experimented with a variety of evaluation forms. I realize that quite a few professors question whether or not students are properly qualified to give meaningful evaluations. Consider this poem by Professor Fickert of Wittenberg University:

Student Evaluations

While you're disrobing me
 I look away and stare
 at chalk dust on the desk.
 Each check mark probes some imperfection.

Do my underarms smell?
Are my teeth as irregular as a French verb?
Am I too short or too tall
for whatever image the word professor evokes in you?
The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty
to children should be informed:
you're too young to be made to lie.

Other questions have been raised about the forms themselves and the words and phrases they use. How does one interpret qualities like cooperation, consideration, tact, or like these: instructor exhibited professional dignity and bearing; teacher exhibits understanding of socio-economic differences and how these influence learning; does he dwell upon the obvious? And the form which asked the students to evaluate "nervous characteristics which distract from teaching-learning process by choosing one of the following:

Displays traits to a great excess
Somewhat too much
Not particularly distracting
Displays no traits.

I submit that the last, and apparently best, description also applies to the dead.

In any case, some evaluatees have suggested that a short course in how to rate might be helpful. Even assuming that fuzzy questions on the evaluation form have all been eliminated or corrected, the teacher may still have some difficulty in evaluating the evaluations. I have collected some actual samples from various sources to illustrate this point. I have placed them in four categories with a self-explanatory title at the beginning of each list.

FAINT PRAISE

The class was very educational. I learned some things I didn't know.

Only took this course because I needed the hours. I didn't do any homework. I just listened and took notes!

What a lousy high school I went to.

The class was taught outstandingly. Too bad I wasn't smart enough to learn the material.

The teacher made it fun, not really fun but not boring. The jokes and pictures sure did make it easy for me to understand.

HOW WAS THAT AGAIN?

Approach material in slower matter.

It is such an interesting subject I wish I could fail it and take it again but still have no F on record.

I need a good grade—I hope a D, please!

Outside of the fact that math is my weakest subject in 16 years of education, I enjoyed it.

Instructor was very receptive and understanding towards students. (rating on “receptive attitude towards students”—average)

We are not expected to remember somethings we learned 3 weeks ago.

Nearly the only time I have to study—is what I learn in class!

I am promoted to study more than before now.

CONFLICTING OPINIONS

You S.O.B.

Best teacher I've had in college.

How are you going to evaluate this? What about students who don't think anyone or anything is “above average”?

I have used number 4 to indicate excellent as there is always room for improvement (ALL 4's)

Mr. Teach has a very strong voice and the ability to teach.

He should speak louder and explain the subject more.

I was insulted at times by the required busy work.

The class was the most interesting I have taken in college.

No one can understand this. This is a hard subject for anyone.

Much of this class is a repeat of high school.

WITHOUT COMMENT

Don't do problems wrong on purpose. I have some notes on how to do problems wrong way and it is confusing.

Personally, I don't think there is any fantastic way to teach a math class with 200 students—no way!!!

Instructor's dour and subtle sense of humor was useful.

I feel you are probably short of patients.

I think method B (modified PSI) would be better (than regular lecture) in that those who study are going to anyway and those who don't will be obvious.

Joy to the world! The class is o'er. Let earth receive her free!

I daresay the last sentiment was shared by the teacher and can be shared by you, my audience.

SATAN AND SATANIC ELEMENTS IN GREAT FICTION: A COMPARISON-CONTRAST

Hamilton P. Avegno*

I. Introduction

The pre-lapsarian Edenic myth notwithstanding, somewhat impishly I am tempted to wonder if the great cultures of the world could have long survived without the disruptive machinations of some awesome, often apotheosized, malefactor of malfeasance on the grand scale. The early Vedic religions were in awe of Vritra, a monstrous and malicious snake (an adumbration of the 'Christian Satan'?) who was ultimately slain by Indra, Vedicism's chief god and the principle of good. But Brahmanism, a more subtle and sophisticated spin-off from Vedicism, decided 'to honor' Shiva, a blood-thirsty deity emblematic of the destructive power, by including him as the third person of the Hindu Trimurti or Trinity. The Egyptians, gorier by far than the Brahmins, had to contend with the maleficent Seth, who amused himself by killing and dismembering his brother, Osiris, the embodiment of good and an analogue of the Greek god, Phoebus-Apollo.¹

More primordial and basic, our Norse ancestors settled for Höder, the blind god of winter and death and Loerke, a putative demi-god and prankster, handsome and prepossessing, who frequently slandered, tricked and defrauded the benign gods. In his spare time he managed to spawn three intriguing lethal malice-makers: Fenris the wolf, the Midgard serpent, and Hela or Death.²

By comparison, Lucifer, the ultimate rebel in the Christian schemata, seems almost a 'malign necessity.' After all, he was a bearer of light and a chief arch-angel whose capacity for celestial hubris necessitated the Second Person of the Christian Trinity. There seems to be an irrefragable and paradoxical uniqueness about Satan: He could not have achieved his subsequent and continuing diabolical pre-eminence if his Maker had not *willed it* by endowing him (Satan) with a *free will*. Is it possible, as Milton seems to imply, that God the Father is Freedom's greatest advocate, a Creator who would prefer a feral and fallen rebel to an unwilling and obsequious angel? The hyper-sensitive ear can hear Milton's Mammon as he arrogantly proclaims: "Live to ourselves, though in this vast recess,/ Free and to none accountable (*italics mine*), preferring/ Hard Liberty before the easie yoke of Servile Pomp."³

*Mr. Avegno is Assistant Professor of English Literature at Midwestern State University.

¹Charles M. Gayley, *The Classic Myths in Literature* (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1911), pp. 354-360, passim.

²*Ibid.*, 377.

³John Milton, *Paradise Lost* (New York: Modern Library Edition, 1961), 121. Further references to this work will be in the text and abbreviated PL with appropriate book and page numbers.

However, this paper is not primarily concerned with the enigmatic nature of the relationship between Satan and His Divine Maker. Its principal aim is to revisit and reconsider Satan as he has been recreated by some of the Western world's greatest creators of 'poetic truth.' After a brief perusal of the Medieval Satanic archetype, special emphases will be placed upon the Satans of Chaucer, Dante, Milton, Blake, Baudelaire and Dostoevsky. The 'Satanic elements' part of the topic will be subsumed by the explications of the aforementioned fictive Satans.

II. Satan: The Medieval Archetype and Dante's Symbolic Artifact

From the epic *Beowulf* to the medieval *mystères* and *moralités*, Satan was essentially a monolithic *monstrum horrendum*, the simplistic embodiment of Evil, seeker after and thwarted destroyer of Everyman's soul and progenitor of incubi, succubi, Lilliths and similar assorted sinister sycophants. In *Beowulf* the theme is almost obvious: Beowulf, good and God are certain to triumph over Grendel, the devil and evil. Grendel is a child of the Devil and "of the kith of Cain." When the almost beatific Beowulf rips out Grendel's arm and mortally wounds him in hand-to-hand, Heorot-shaking combat, the poet 'joyfully' tells us: "joyless, he in his fen refuge, he laid down his life, his heathen soul and Hell and the Devil received him."⁴ Let us remember, too, that Grendel's dam would have done in the impeccable hero—had not the real *deus ex machina* intervened and provided him with a 'doughty glaive of old.' (Someone should send flowers to Grendel's mother on mother's day!)

The fifteenth century morality, *The Castle of Perseverance*, provides us with an almost farcical representation of the Medieval archetype of Satan. The play's *mise-en scène* comprises a lofty castle on lush verdure; five scaffolds representing the World, the Flesh, the Devil, Covetousness and the throne of God; and *Humanum Genus*, man, lying dormant on a bed near the scaffolding. The inevitable Bad Angels guide Man to the Devil whose menacing mien, green cloak and pointed ears are supposed, literally, to scare the Hell out of Man. Satan then proceeds to spew infernal fire "from gun powder in his hands, his ears and the vicinity of his anal aperture."⁵ Naturally, the rustic spectators are much more amused than they are either awe-struck or terrified! The Good Angels and personified Virtues promptly overwhelm this Gong-Show version of 'the grandeur that was Lucifer.'

In the great *mystère*, *The Second Shepherd's Play*, the Devil is also depicted as a consummate simpleton, "the fiend who had taken all that Adam had lorn." And Coll is certain that the "wee, little mop" (Christ) will "rend the wizard with graceful ease." The good shepherd's encomium is simple and sure; the warlock is doomed by the Babe in the Manger: "Hail, comely and clean; hail young child!/
Hail, maker as I mean, from a maiden so mild!/
Thou hast cursed, I ween, the warlock so wild,/
Of his haughty mien he now goes beguiled."⁶

⁴*Beowulf*, E. Talbot Donaldson, translator, (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1973), 15.

⁵Thomas Parrott and Robert Ball, *Elizabethan Drama* (N.Y.: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), 29.

⁶*The Second Shepherd's Play*, Homer W. Watt, translator, (New York: Scott, Foresman Co., 1958), 49.

The Medieval devil was ubiquitous and presumably greatly feared; he was also consistently repulsive, grotesque and sub-human. A Chaucerian peasant describes him as “blake and rough of hewe.” And when a 13th century Florentine exclaimed, “*Diavol te levi vecchiosimo rabbiosimo!*” and an Englishman of the same century shouted, “The devil take you!”—those were maledictions of the highest degree! Today they survive merely as worn-out, casual clichés.

Chaucer, “whose unfamiliar mien still scares modern eyes,” was one of the first great poets to deviate from the medieval prototype of Satan as a monolithic menace. In his, *The Friar’s Tale*, Chaucer creates a devil who is both more human, more humorous and more subtle than the avaricious summoner who is the target of the Friar’s sardonic vilification. The devil first appears (for he deemed himself too good to be a summoner!) in the guise of a “gay yeman. . . . A bow he bar, and arwes brighte and kene,/ He hadde upon a courtepy of grene/ An hat upon his head with frenges blake.”⁷ (It is interesting to note that Chaucer’s devil is from “the far north countree,” in the Hyperborean and/or Dantesque tradition rather than that of the conventional Hell fire.) Chaucer’s devil not only outwits and circumvents the summoner; he turns out to be much wiser and, drawing upon the Book of Job, something of a theological exegete:

For somtyme we (the Devils) been Goddes instrumentz,
And meenes to doon this commandementz,
When that hymn list, upon his creatures . . .
And somtyme, at our prayere, han we leve
Only the body and not the soul greve;
Witnesse on Job, whom that we diden wo . . .
When that he (man) withstandeth oure temptacioun,
It is the cause of his savacioun.⁸

And Chaucer’s speculative devil, now the possessor of the Summoner’s soul, assures the latter that in Hell “Thous shall known moore of our privitee,/ Moore than a mayster of divynytee.”⁹

But of all the fictive devils of the Middle Ages, it is Dante’s Satan who is *sui generis*: he is huge, repugnant, ice-logged and ironically immobile, more an original symbolic artifact of the aggregate of all evil rather than a personification or an anthropomorphic synthesis of the grotesque and the ludicrous. Satan in the *Giudecca* (The Ninth Circle), with his three heads symbolically colored, his frantically active but useless wings, and his gelid permanence is an awesome symbolic invention which certainly deserves almost as many monographs as Milton’s Satan has elicited from conscientious critics.

Upon first seeing Satan, Dante is so overwhelmed that he writes:

⁷F. N. Robinson, *The Poetical Works of Chaucer*, (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1933), 108.

⁸Robinson, p. 111.

⁹*Ibid.*

*(Io non mori, e non rimasi vivo / Pensa oggimai per te s'hai
d'ingegno, / qual io divenni, d'uno e d'altro privo.)*

"I did not die, and did not remain alive;/ Now think for thyself if thou hast any grain of ingenuity,/ what I became deprived of both life and death."¹⁰ Dante's description of "*Lo 'imperador del regno doloroso*" is vividly compressed and shockingly impressive:

The Emperor of the dolorous realm, from mid breast
stood forth out of the ice; and I in size am liker to a giant/

Than the giants are to his arms; mark now how great that
whole must be,
which corresponds to such a part.

If he once was as beautiful as he is ugly now,
and lifted up his brows against his Maker, well
May all affliction come from him.

Oh! How great a marvel it seemed to me, when
I saw three faces on his head! The one in front was fiery red.
(The facial colors are symbolic perversions of the Trinity.
Fiery red connotes hatred, the antithesis of Christ or Love.)

The others were two, that were adjoined
to this, above the middle of each shoulder; and
They were joined at his crest;
and the right seemed white and yellow (Cowardice or the
opposite of the creative power of God the Father.)
the left was such to look on, as they who
come from where the Nile descends. (Black, the emblematic
opposite of the Holy Spirit, the source of wisdom.)
Under each there issued forth two mighty wings, of size
befitting such a bird; sea-sails I never saw so broad.

No plumes had they; but were in form and texture
like a bat's; and he was flapping so that the three winds went
out forth from him. (Ironically, the more strenuously he
moved his gigantic wings in an effort to escape, the more ice
he generated and the more securely fixed he becomes in it.)

Thereby Cocytus was all frozen; with his six eyes he wept,
and down three chins gushed tears and bloody foam.

¹⁰Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy*, The Carlyle-Okey-Wicksteed translation, (New York: The Modern Library, 1950), 82. Further references to this work will be in the text and abbreviated *Inferno* with appropriate page numbers.

In every mouth he clamped a sinner with his teeth,
 like a brake; so that he kept three of them in torment.
 (*Inferno*, 182–183)
 (Judas Iscariot, center; Brutus and Cassius, right and left
 respectively.)

The repugnant negativism of Dante's Satan in the *Giudecca* is a *tour de force* of ironic shock: Here there is no fire, but ice; no fallen archangel with only his original lustre dimmed, but a horrendous three-headed perversion of the Trinity; no movement or epically articulated wrath, but a frozen fixity. The reader is tempted to tamper with Eliot's famous lines from the *Burnt Norton* section of his *Four Quartets*: "At the still point of the/ (defunct) world./ Neither flesh nor fleshless./ Neither from nor towards; at the still point there (the horror) is."¹¹

III. Milton and the Satanic Metamorphosis

Towards Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Dr. Samuel Johnson assumed a typical up-tight, neoclassical attitude by describing it as celestial recreation for dull minds and wishing it no longer than the moon is round. But Mario Praz, in his *The Romantic Agony*, lavishes praise upon Milton for artistically and ontologically liberating Satan from his Medieval mask, manacles and impotence. According to Praz, Milton "conferred upon Satan all the charm of an untamed rebel which already belonged to the Prometheus of Aeschylus and the Capaneo of Dante¹² . . . with Milton, the Evil One definitively assumes an aspect of fallen beauty, of splendour shadowed by sadness: he is majestic though in ruin."¹³

True, Milton's Satan is no longer Lucifer; but he retains much of his 'splendor *primiero*' and a majestic hubris associated with Milton's own *Samson Agonistes*. Milton's description of Satan implies an empathy and respect which he does not always accord to his (Milton's) God the Father and God the Son.

Thir dread commander; he above the rest
 In shape and gesture proudly eminent
 Stood like a Tow'r; his form had not yet lost
 All the Original Brightness, nor appeared
 Less than Archangel Ruined, and th' excess
 Of Glory obscured . . .
 Darkened so, yet shon
 Above them all th' Archangel; but his face
 Deep scars of Thunder had intrenched and care

¹¹T. S. Eliot, *Collected Poems and Plays* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1958), 119.

¹²*Vide* Dante's *Inferno*, Canto XIV. Capaneus, one of the seven against Thebes, dies standing up, refusing to fall before the onslaughts of Zeus' mighty thunderbolts.

¹³Mario Praz, *The Romantic Agony*, Angus Davidson, translator, (New York: Meridian Books, 1956), 54.

Sat on his faded cheek, but under Browes
Of *dauntless courage* and *considerate Pride* (italics mine)
Waiting revenge . . . (PL,I,10)

The same arrogantly homocentric Satan proclaims: "A mind is not to be changed by Place or Time,/ The mind is its own place, and in itself/ Can make a Heaven of Hell, and a Hell of Heaven." (PL,I,8) And shortly thereafter he enunciates the well-known ultimate disdain of the divine: "To reign is worth ambition though in Hell;/ Better to reign in Hell than to serve in Heaven." (PL,I,8)

By contrast, Milton's Almighty Father occasionally appears almost as petulant and fussy as a bourgeois whose mistress had crossed him. In Book III of *Paradise Lost*, the Miltonic God sees Satan in "the precincts of Light" about to seduce Adam and Eve from grace and immortality. To His divine Son, he complains, a trifle querulously: "So will fall/ He and his faithless Progenie: *whose fault? Whose but his own? ingrate, he had of mee* (italics mine)/ All he could have; I made him just right,/ Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall." (PL,III,56) These words seem barely compatible with the grandeur of an all-loving, omniscient God 'high-throned' in the Pure Empyrean. The Miltonic God often sounds like the prosaic Milton, a part-time polemicist and champion of reason and freedom. As Cleanth Brooks has aptly phrased it, Milton seems to write prose with his left hand and poetry with his right.

God the Father has other moments when he sounds a trifle like a French *raisonneur*:

He (Adam-Man) with his whole posteritee must dye,
Dye hee or Justice must (italics mine); unless for him
Som other able, and as willing pay
The rigid satisfaction, death for death
Say Heavenly powers, where shall we find such love,
Which of ye will be mortal to redeem
Man's mortal crime, just th' unjust to save,
Dwells in all Heaven, charitee so dear?" (PL,III,59)

Milton's 'Divine Negotiator' is invoking the *lex talionis* on a grand scale, but his attitude is more stern and forbidding than it is compassionate and agapemenous. One cannot help but wonder if the Miltonic God is devoid of a *cor laceratum* that should anguish ineffably over the fall of his beloved and once perfect creatures.

God's request for a "death for a death" at first falls on deaf celestial ears: ". . . all the Heavenly Quire stood mute/ And silence was in Heaven on man's behalf/ Patron or Intercessor none appeared . . ." (PL,III,60) Ultimately, God the Son, "in whom the fullness dwells of love divine," volunteers to redeem man. But even his decision in favor of redemption seems to be a reluctant and 'short-on-love' one, destitute of any Messianic fervor and passion:

Behold mee then, mee for him, life for life
 I offer on mee *let thine anger fall*; (italics mine)
 (Why not love rather than anger?)
 Account mee man: I for his sake will leave
 Thy bosom, and this glorie next to thee . . .
 Well pleased, on mee let Death wreck all his rage;
 Under his gloomie power I shall not long
 Lie vanquisht; thou hast given me to possess
 Life in myself forever, by thee I live,
 Though now to death I yield, and am his due
 All that of me can die, yet that debt paid,
Thou will not leave me in th' loathsom grave
His prey, nor suffer my unspotted soule (italics mine)
 Forever with corruption there to dwell;
 But I shall rise Victorious, and subdue," (PL,III,61)

Milton's talkative, anthropomorphic Father and Son, often plaintive and carping, appear pallid along side the prideful impetuosity and flawed grandeur of their Satanic adversary. Attempts by imperfect mortals, even by great epic poets, to portray perfection often fail to achieve what used to be called the Longinian sublime. Perhaps Dante's allegorical and/or symbolic *Paradiso*, with its multifoliate rose of saints and its Empyrean, is a wiser, more aesthetic approach to 'perfection.' Consider Dante's "issuance forth" into the heaven of pure light: "*Luce in intelletual pien d'amore, / Amore del vero pien di letizia, / Letizia che transcende ogni dolzori.*" (*Paradiso*,XXX,586) (Intellectual light charged with love/ Love of truth charged with gladness/ Gladness that transcends all sorrow.)

Satan's hubristic determination to consummate what Milton regarded as the greatest tragedy to befall Western Civilization, man's fall from grace,¹⁴ is too well known to deal with in detail. Despite an occasional pang of poignant doubt—"Me miserable! which way shall I flie?/ Infinite wrauth and infinite despaire? Which way I flie is Hell; myself am Hell." (PL,IV,102)—Satan, after the manner of Antigone, decides that he alone will seduce "the punie habitants" of Earth from Grace. None of his resplendent subalterns—Belial, Mammon, Moloch, or Beelzebub—are to accompany him on this perilous mission impossible. He is above "his fellows with Monarchal pride/ Conscious of highest worth . . ." (PL,II,31)

En route to the grand seduction, there are times when this writer concurs with Blake's opinion that Milton was of the Devils's party. Two incidents in Book IV are apodictic of Satan's spasmodic credulity and humanity. Disguised as a cormorant, he sees Adam and Eve, *au naturel* and incredibly lustless, in a non-Puritanical, paradisiacal posture:

¹⁴E. M. W. Tillyard, *The English Epic and Its Background* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), 256.

. . . our general mother . . . half embracing leaned
 On our first Father, half her swelling Breast
 Naked met his under the flowing Gold
 Of her loose tresses hid; he in delight
 Both of her beauty and submissive charms
 Smiled with superior love, as Jupiter
 On Juno smiles, when he impregns the Clouds
 That shed May Flowers; and pressed her matron lip
With kisses pure (italics mine) (PL,IV,89)

Satan's initial reaction is one of "jealous leer maligne" and he bemoans: "Sight hateful, sight tormenting! thus these two/ Imparadis't in one another's arms!" (PL,IV,89)

After a few moments of profoundest envy, Satan returns to his "humanistic senses" to question the Wisdom of God in relation to Adam's nescience:

. . . all is not theirs it seems
 One fatal tree there stands of Knowledge called,
 Forbidden them to taste: *Knowledge forbidden?*
Suspicious, reasonless. (italics mine) Why should this Lord
 Envy them that? *Can it be a sin to know?*
Can it be death? (italics mine) and do they only stand
By ignorance, is that thir happy state? (italics mine)
 (PL,IV,91)

Although a great deal has been written and said about the dramatic mobility and tragic splendor of Milton's Satan, perhaps too little has been made of Satan as a rationalist and mini-philosopher. Apropos this concept, in this the age of feminism, it is high time for someone to challenge E.M.W. Tillyard's thesis that Eve was flagrantly responsible for man's fall from grace, "the greatest tragic event in the history of Western civilization." (According to Milton) Consider Tillyard's chauvinistic—and damnably unfair—excoriation of Eve's role in the 'mighty fall.' Among other denigrative attributes he ascribes to Eve are: "a numb and chill torpor of the soul and a blindness to the enormity of her crime; a levity and shallowness of mind; a numb stupidity of soul and an unactive blindness of mind."¹⁵

Tillyard, long revered as the well-nigh infallible high priest of Miltonic criticism, probably knew every word and line of the famous 250-line or more confrontation between Satan and Eve in Book IX of *Paradise Lost*. If so, why does he demean and damn the Miltonic Eve and almost exonerate the Miltonic Adam, a species of uxorious superficiality who bites into the 'good-and-evil' apple after some 27 to 28 lines of mealy-mouthed protestations? I shall attempt to lay some

¹⁵Tillyard, 263.

pregnant questions upon the dead head of Tillyard as regards his seeming ignorance of the casuistical Satan and the much abused Eve.

First, however, consider the ophidian magnificence of Milton's Satan-Serpent as he approaches Eve:

. . . not with indented wave,
Prone on the ground, as since, but on his reare,
Circular base of rising foulds, that toured
Fould upon fould a surging Maze, his Head
Crested aloft, and Carbuncle his eyes
With burnished neck of verdant Gold, erect
Amidst his circling Spires, that on the grass
Floated redundant . . .
And lovely, never since of Serpent kind lovelier. (Italics
Mine) (PL,IX,200)

The reader, however, soon forgets the spiralling beauty of Satan as he proceeds to flatter and amaze Eve, to undermine her resistance with Socratic questions, to impugn the rational goodness of God, and to convince her that a knowledge of good and evil can lead to "evil shunned" rather than death. Tillyard chose to ignore the rational agony to which Eve was subjected while simultaneously excusing Adam's tenuously motivated 'decision to die along with Eve.'

Satan's flattery is not without a certain cogency. The Evil One tells her that she is the fairest resemblance of her Maker; but, alone, there is only one to adore her "Celestial Beauty" and no other to honor her as a goddess among goddesses. In short, she deserves much more than a single man and a troop of beasts! Naturally, she is susceptible to this "lovely language of Man pronounc't/ By tongue of Brute, and human sense exprest." (PL,IX,204) In addition, Adam and she have been leading 'the dull life of perfection,' tending the garden, indulging in rare, routine conversation, pruning the plants, and making lustless love under showers of rose petals. (Sounds like a Morian 'suboobia' fresh-spawned from the venal brain of a Cecil B. deMille!)

Satan then tells her that he has tasted of the forbidden apples, "Ruddie and savoury," and found them more delicious than "the sweetest Fenel, or the Teats of Ewe or Goat dropping with milk at Even . . ." (PL,IX,205) Why, he asks her, do I still live and reason and thrive? With sophistic stilettos he continues to taunt her:

Queen of this universe, doe not believe
Those rigid threats of death; ye shall not Die;
. . . By the Fruit? It gives you life
To Knowledge: By the Threatener? look on mee,
Me who have touched and tasted, yet both live . . .

Shall that be shut to Man, which to the Beast
Is open? Or will God incense his ire
For such a pretty Trespasse, and not praise
Rather your dauntless virtue . . . (PL,IX,205)

Satan assures Eve that God cannot hurt her for desiring knowledge. If He did, He wouldn't be just. Nor can God be envious: ". . . wherein lies th' offence, that Man should attain to know?/ What can your knowledge hurt him,/ Or this Tree impart against his will, if all be His?/ Or is it envie, and can *envie dwell in heavenly breasts?*" (italics mine) (PL,IX,206) Ultimately, Eve stands before the "Tree of Prohibition, the excess fruit of which is fruitless to her," (PL,IX,207) and decides that the intellectual fruit should not be reserved for beasts, that she, Eve, should feed both mind and body. "The Enemie of Mankind" has overwhelmed her with reason and cogent persuasion and she plucks the fruit and eats. The earth trembles, all of nature sighs, and Satan has apparently triumphed. Eve has succumbed and fallen, not from any sense of all-pervasive frivolity, but because she could not resist the logic and reason of Satan's power of puissant persuasion.

Shortly thereafter, Adam, still deathless and unflawed, briefly denounces Eve as "defaced, deflowered and now to Death devote," (PL,IX,209) but he makes no determined effort to resist almost instant emulation of Eve's example. His decision "to die . . . , to eat the sacred Fruit forbidden" is tenuously inspired by a uxorious fear of the loss of sex, conversation and camaraderie:

How can I live without thee, how forgoe
Thy Sweet Converse and Love so dearly joined,
To live again in these wild woods forlorn? . . .
Flesh of Flesh
Bone of my Bone thou art, and from thy State
Mine never shall be parted, bliss or woe. (PL,IX,213)

And so Adam, Eve's superior and protagonist of humankind's immortality and perfection, is quickly transmogrified into a bourgeois romanticist! He "wrecks perfection" merely to live, to copulate and to die with his rib-begotten mate! (It is true that the post-lapsarian couple seem closer to you and me: After the apple, they begin to experience lust, envy, pettiness—all of those human frailties which most of us feel more comfortable with and better understand.)

Numerous questions arise in the mind. How can Milton's Adam be regarded as the protagonist of perfection? Why didn't he steadfastly refuse the fruit? Cry out to God? Or even reach for another rib!?! However, the paramount question concerns Milton's literary artistry and/or integrity. Why didn't he deviate from the brief Biblical account and arrange a major show-down between Satan and Adam? Why substitute the hapless Eve, when by his own admission, Adam is by far the superior of the two: "Not equal, as their sex not equal seemed;/ *For contemplation hee and valour formed* (italics mine), shee for God in him . . ." (PL,IV,79)

If Adam was formed for contemplation and valor, then he should have faced up to Milton's hubristic 'fallen hero.' And then E.M.W. Tillyard would have had no reason for chauvinistically damning the chill torpor of Eve's soul and the numbness of her mind. Oddly enough, it is the 'non-contemplative Eve' who, after the divine eviction from Eden, questions God's wisdom in creating heterosexuality:

. . . O why did God,
Creator wise, that peopled highest Heaven
With Spirits Masculine, create at last
This noveltie (woman!) on Earth, *this fair defect* (italics
mine)
Of Nature, and not fill the World at once
With men as Angels without Feminine,
Or find some other way to generate! Mankind? (italics
mine) (PL,X,252)

Satan appears to have triumphed; he believes that he has seduced humankind to his party and achieved the "wreckage of God's perfection." But Milton chose, somewhat abruptly, to negate the Evil One's great victory. When Satan returns to Hell to relate his mighty exploit to his lesser comrades, they greet his announcement with "a dismal universal hiss, the sound of public scorn," (PL,X,241) Satan himself is humiliated by God's power and changed into "A Monstrous serpent, on his Belly prone,/ Reluctant, but in vain a greater Power/ Now ruled him, punished in the shape he sinned." (PL,X,242).

God's justifiable punishment of Satan notwithstanding, this writer affiliates himself with the minority party which regards Satan as the flawed but energetic and hubristic hero of *Paradise Lost*. Adam seems essentially passive and paltry. True, he sputters heroically for a few moments, but it is he, not Eve, who has no awareness of the "enormity of his crime." If he was divinely formed for "contemplation and valour," then those qualities are alien to him in *Paradise Lost*. What little contemplative valour there is, is displayed by Eve, Adam's putative inferior. I concur with Lascelles Abercrombie's idea that Satan's vast unyielding agony symbolizes the profound antinomy of modern consciousness; and I wholeheartedly endorse William Blake's lines in his, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*: "The reason Milton wrote in fetters when he wrote of Angels and God, and at liberty when of Devils and Hell, is because he was a true Poet and of the Devil's Party."¹⁶

And Shelley, that great romanticist and naive atheist (what greater naiveté than to attempt to convert the Sons of St. Patrick to atheism in 1819!) admirably defends the Satanist minority. "Nothing can exceed," he wrote in the *Defense of Poetry*, "the energy and magnificence of the character of Satan as expressed in *Paradise Lost*. It is a mistake to suppose that he could have ever been intended for a popular personification of Evil . . . Milton's Devil as a moral being is far superior to his

¹⁶ Alfred Kazin, ed., *The Portable Blake* (New York: The Viking Press, 1964), 251.

God (Milton's) as one who perseveres in his purpose . . . in spite of adversity and torture."¹⁷

A similar encomium has been conferred upon the Miltonic Satan by Charles Baudelaire, a master Satanist in his own right: "*Qu'il me serait difficile de ne pas conclure que le plus parfait type de Beauté virile est Satan—à la manière de Milton.*"¹⁸

IV. Satan: Humanization and Exaltation

While Milton did much to create a virile and dynamic Satan, it remained for William Blake (1750–1821), poet, mystic, painter and pseudo-philosopher and Charles Pierre Baudelaire (1821–1867) to humanize and exalt the malign Satan as a source and/or evocative of great energy, power, and 'ironic good.' Blake's *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* portrays the Devil as a power "which releases us to energy and freedom, the source of Eternal Delight."¹⁹ On the other hand, good (a surrogate for God?) is an angel that trammels one in the bonds of religion and reason."²⁰

Many of Blake's best known poems—*London*, *The Garden of Love*, and *A Poison Tree*, to mention a few—illustrate that he was an inveterate Christ-lover and an equally inveterate hater of establishments. But it is *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* which perversely celebrates and exalts 'the evils' long associated with the traditional Devil. Consider these 'diabolical delights' from his fusion of heaven and hell:

Prisons are built with the Stones of Law, Brothels with the
bricks of religion.

The pride of the peacock is the glory of God.

The nakedness of woman is the work of God.

The wrath of the lion is the wisdom of God.

The cut worm forgives the plow . . .

Prudence is a rich, ugly old maid courted by incapacity . . .

The voice of the Devil: the following contraries are true:

Man has no Body distinct from his Soul, for that called
Body is a portion of the Soul discerned by the Five
Senses,

The Chief inlets of the Soul in this age.

Energy is the only Life, and is from the Body.²¹

Blake's *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* is not intended to denigrate Christ; rather it is a uniquely Blakean attempt, through sustained and complex ironic re-

¹⁷*The Romantic Agony*, 57.

¹⁸Charles P. Baudelaire, *Journaux Intimes* (Paris: Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1961), 1298.

¹⁹*The Portable Blake*, 25.

²⁰*Ibid.*

²¹*Ibid.*, 251–53, *passim*.

versal, to reconcile the contraries of good and evil, to insist upon the interdependence between good and evil and, above all, to defy the 'mind-forged manacles' of the unctuous and rigid conventions of established religions. The reader can readily discern Blake's radical mysticism and anti-establishmentarianism in his well known *The Garden of Love* as well as in his *Argument for The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*:

I went to the Garden of Love,
And saw what I had never seen:
A chapel was built in the midst
Where I used to play on the green.

And the gates of this Chapel were shut
And "thou shalt not" writ over the door;
So I turned to the Garden of Love
That so many sweet flowers bore;

And I saw it was filled with graves,
And tombstones where flowers should be;
And priests in black gowns were walking their rounds,
And binding with briars my joys and desires.²²

The Argument

Till the villain left the paths of ease,
To walk in perilous paths, and drive
The just man into barren climes.

Now the sneaking serpent walks
In mild humility,
And the just man rages in the wilds
Where lions roam.²³

The contraries are all there: the Satanic and conventional elements have changed places; the garden of love has become a graveyard; priests 'crucify' joys and desires; the insidious serpent walks in humility; and the just man rages like a lion in the wilds!

If Blake tried to redeem and exalt Satan, Charles Pierre Baudelaire gave him a grandeur and a magic that shocked the burghers of France and Europe when he published in June, 1857, a slender, seminal book of poems entitled *Les Fleurs du Mal*. Baudelaire and his poetic flowers of evil were brought to trial for obscenity, but a devilishly clever lawyer (pardon the pun) managed to save all of the flowers except six. Baudelaire, who described himself as "*un écrivain très nerveux et sérieux*," became the idol of the decadents of the *fin de siècle*. There is no doubt

²² *Ibid.*, 26.

²³ *Ibid.*, 248.

that Baudelaire loved to *épater la bourgeoisie*. In the first preface to *Les Fleurs du Mal*, he wrote: "I have included a certain amount of filth to please the gentlemen of the press. They have proved ungrateful."²⁴ He further flaunts his heterodoxy with such diabolical lures as ". . . it is more difficult . . . to believe in the Devil than to love him. Everyone smells him and no one believes in him. Sublime subtlety of the Devil . . . we are all hanged or hangable. Or being as chaste as paper, as sober as water, as devout as a woman at communion, as harmless as a sacrificial lamb, it would not displease me to be taken for a debauchee, a drunkard, an infidel, a murderer." (*Fleurs*, xiv)

In *Abel and Cain*, Baudelaire has dared to juxtapose the sons of Abel and those of Cain in such a way that "the chosen ones," the *Abel-ites*, represent greed, ease and smug complacency while the sons of Cain, the Devil's children, stand like noble pariahs who suffer pain and poverty and grandly endure "the whips and scorns of time." The *Abel-ites* are analogous to haughty, hedonistic burghers and perfumed plutocrats who squat smugly upon the lap of luxury and simultaneously fondle her breasts. Conversely, the *Cain-ites* are depicted as the honest, impoverished martyrs and victims of a Kierkegaardian "comedy of Christendom," a religion which is a potpourri of *haute couture* and reclining chairs and whose god is a tranquilizer for special occasions, a Divine Valium to be taken on the Sabbath and the High Holy Days!

A juxtaposition of some of the more significant couplets of *Cain and Abel* adequately illustrates Baudelaire's inverted, sacrilegious dichotomy:

1. Race of Abel, eat, sleep and drink:
 { God smiles on you approvingly.
 { Race of Cain, within your gut
 Howls hunger like an ancient cur.

2. Race of Abel, your innards take
 { Warmth from the patriarchal hearth
 { Race of Cain, in filth and stink
 Grovel and die miserably.

3. Race of Abel, make love and spawn!
 { Your gold spawns also in its right.
 { Race of Cain, along the roadside
 Drag your family hard pressed.

4. Ah! race of Abel, your fat carcasses
 { Will enrich the reeking soil.
 { Race of Cain, mount to the skies
 And down upon the earth cast God! (italics mine)

²⁴Charles Baudelaire, *Les Fleurs du Mal* (New York: New Directions, 1955) xii. Further references to this work will be in the text and abbreviated *Fleurs* with appropriate page numbers.

Juxtaposition *four* is a scathing example of ironic reversal and shock, for the pariahs have mounted to Heaven and, by implication, restored God to earth to salvage his errant, sybaritic *Abel-ites*.

It is interesting to note that Miguel de Unamuno, the distinguished Spanish writer and philosopher, like Baudelaire, empathizes strongly with the *Cain-ites*. In both *The Tragic Sense of Life* and his novella, *Abel Sanchez*, de Unamuno declares that Cain was not simply an evil man who killed his brother out of envy: "perhaps there was something about him (Cain), some boldness or intelligence that made men fear him, and invent the story of the mark of Cain to excuse their own cowardice."²⁵

Baudelaire's *Litany to Satan* poses more serious explicative problems than *Abel and Cain*. A liturgical *recitativo*, a litany consists of a series of supplications to God—or a saint—requiring a recurrent repetitive response from the priest. My approach to the *Litany* seems intriguing, albeit a trifle simplistic: Baudelaire sees Satan as the force, the power, who pities the social pariah, the poor and the miserable who are largely ignored by the God of the Church and respectability. In the light of this hypothesis, consider the following supplications to Satan and the repetitive responses:

O grandest of Angels, and most wise,
O fallen God, fate-driven from the skies.

Satan, at last take pity on our pain.
(*O Satan, prends pitié de ma longue misère!*)

To lepers and outcasts Thou dost show
That Passion is the Paradise below.

Satan, at last take pity on our pain.

Thy awful name is written as with pitch
On the unrelenting foreheads of the rich.

Satan, at last take pity on our pain.

Thou knowest the corners of the jealous earth
Where God has hidden jewels (oil, too!) of great worth.

Satan, at last take pity on our pain.

Thou givest to the guilty their calm mien
Which damns the crowd around the guillotine.

Satan, at last take pity on our pain.

Of the two poems, *Abel and Cain*, is by far the more complex, the more challenging, and the more poetic. Although the poems may very well represent the loftiest paeans ever inspired by evil and the devil, they are too rich in ironic re-

²⁵Miguel de Unamuno, *Abel Sanchez*, Anthony Kerrigan, translator. (NY: Henry Regnery Co., 1955), 44.

versal, caustic imagery and social commentary to be regarded as *carte blanche* endorsements of the devil and evil by one of the 19th century's most innovative, audacious and creative poets. Naturally, the reader has a right to ask what motivated Baudelaire to write two such flagrantly shocking poems. His quarrels with his mother; his sexual ineptitude with Jeanne Duval, his mulatto mistress; his hashish-induced orgies; his lacerated nerves and neuroses—all have been suggested as possible motives by critics and readers. Fortunately, the scope of this paper does not require the writer "to slop around" in Baudelaire's most uncommon and enigmatic psyche.

V. Satan: Dostoevsky's Enigmas and the Specious Bourgeois Gentleman

Feodor Dostoevsky, à la Shakespeare and the riddle of his own Mitya's eagle, is many different writers to many different people. To critics such as Karl Mochulsky and Nicholas Berdyaev he is the *supreme* novelist, the Christian mystic who probably knows more about evil than the devil himself; to Colin Wilson, he is the sloppiest yet the profoundest writer in all of literature;²⁶ to others he is the tortured writer, seeking salvation through the Father Zossimas of life and intense, meaningful suffering. (Raskolnikov, the "beetle man" from *Notes from The Underground*, and Aloysha constantly refer to *angoisse* as a *sine qua non* of redemption.)

But D. H. Lawrence perceives a dichotomy or ambivalence in Dostoevsky which he regards as all-pervasive and essential to any genuine grasp of Dostoevsky's unique literary achievements. "As always in Dostoevsky the *amazing perspicacity is mixed with ugly perversity. Nothing is pure.* (italics mine) His wild love for Jesus is mixed with a perverse and poisonous hate of Jesus: his moral hostility to the devil is mixed with a secret worship of the devil. *Dostoevsky is always perverse, always impure, always an evil thinker and a marvelous seer.*"²⁷ (italics mine)

Even Raskolnikov, the feverish protagonist of *Crime and Punishment*—who hovers between becoming a super-conscience, a Napoleon of Crime, and a morbid awareness of his loathsome insectility—has frequent moments of perversity and pettiness. His fear of death is both mean and desperate: ". . . someone condemned to die says, or thinks an hour before his death, that if he had to live on a high rock, on such a narrow ledge that he'd only have room to stand, and the ocean, everlasting darkness, everlasting solitude, everlasting tempest around him, *if he had to remain standing on a square yard all his life, for 1,000 years, eternity, it were better to live so than to die at once.* (Italics mine) Only to live, to live and live . . ." ²⁸

To the very end Raskolnikov's perversity is obdurate. Sonya, the saintliest, most mystical prostitute ever to grace the pages of fiction, moves him (she is in-

²⁶ Colin Wilson, *The Outsider* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1956), 179.

²⁷ D. H. Lawrence, *A Preface to the Grand Inquisitor* (New York: Hogarth Press, 1936), 21.

²⁸ Feodor Dostoevsky, *Crime and Punishment*, trans. Jesse Coulson (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), 142. Further references to this work will be in the text and abbreviated *CP* with appropriate page numbers.

capable of coercion!) to publicly confess his flagitious crime by kneeling in Haymarket square and praying to God. Instead Dostoevsky makes him speak the words "I am a murderer" and kneel in the middle of the square, kissing its "*filth with pleasure and joy.*" (CP,505) Reluctantly, with Sonya unobtrusively behind him, Raskolnikov coldly confesses his crime to Ilya Petrovich at the Magistrate's office. In his Siberian prison camp, Rodya (Raskolnikov) is an atrabilious loner, shunned and disliked by everyone, accused of atheism by the inmates. As for Sonya—the much loved, good-deed performing "little mother" of the prison inmates—he finds her letters boring and her visits irritating, so much so that he treats her with a curt and monosyllabic rudeness. (CP,519) He even regrets his confession and feels admiration for Svidrigaylov, who had feared death and conquered it with a certain *panache*.

After a long Eastertide illness, there is a resurrection of sorts: Raskolnikov falls intuitively and completely in love with the altruistic Sonya. He subsequently remembers the New Testament under his pillow, a Bible given to him by Sonya, the same one from which she had earlier read to him the tale of the risen Lazarus. Rodya, however, does not open it. Perhaps the canny Dostoevsky concludes, Rodion Romänovich Raskolnikov, may eventually, Lazarus-like, emerge from the shadows of crime and narcissism. However, "*all that might be the subject of a new tale, but our present one is ended.*" (Italics mine) (CP,527) Raskolnikov is still neither a Christian nor a great sufferer—and perhaps his creator is something of an "evil thinker" and "marvellous seer" in the Lawrencean sense.

Two of Dostoevsky's demi-devils, Arkady Svidrigaylov in *Crime and Punishment* and Lise Hohlakov in *Karamazov* may serve to illustrate Dostoevsky's antinomian approach to the nature of good and evil. On the surface level of meaning, Svidrigaylov is a somewhat sleazy *bourgeois gentilhomme*, sans conscience, sans ambition, and sans all scruples. He is a gambler, a womanizer, and a sensualist: he *may have* poisoned his wife, Márfa (who had originally "purchased" him by paying off his gambling debts); he *may have* killed his serving-boy, Philka; and he *may have* molested and driven a 14-year old mute girl to suicide. The subjunctive "may haves" are intentional, for it is not absolutely certain that Svidrigaylov has perpetrated these atrocities. (However, two vividly horrific dreams on the night prior to his suicide—one involving a 14-year old suicide's wake and another a five-year old child who, while sleeping, assumes the mask of a brazen French harlot—seem to imply that Svidrigaylov was the calloused culprit.) To Svidrigaylov, Raskolnikov's qualms of conscience and aesthetic concerns are useless and inane. His disparagement of eternity intensifies Svidrigaylov's image as an utterly unscrupulous malefactor. "Eternity is always presented to us as an idea which is impossible to grasp, something enormous, enormous, enormous! . . . imagine, instead, that it will be one little room . . . a bath-house in the country, black with soot, with spiders in every corner, and that is the whole of eternity!" (CP,277)

But the "evil thinker" and "marvellous seer" in Dostoevsky give us some insights into Svidrigaylov which are almost admirable, if not either noble or redemptive. Dostoevsky's ambiguous, carefully etched description of Svidrigaylov fore-

shadows an individual who is implicitly diabolical but far more interesting than the arrantly malevolent character synonymous with his name:

It was a strange face, almost like a mask: red and white, with a very light-coloured beard and still abundantly fair hair. The eyes seemed somehow too blue, and their gaze too massive and unmoving. There was something terribly unpleasant in the handsome face, so extraordinarily young for its years. Svidrigaylov's light summer clothes were foppishly elegant, and his linen particularly so. (CP,449)

What's stranger, Svidrigaylov can be generous and gallant. He gives 15,000 roubles to Katerina Marmeladov so that she might bury her wastrel, vodka-sotted husband. His aborted rape of Dunechka, Raskolnikov's sister, has an eerie, almost gossamer-like quality about it. When Dunechka easily fends off his professions of love and other propositions dealing with Raskolnikov's future, she misfires her gun at him and his eyes gleam with pride and joy. Never has he found her more beautiful, more loveable—and more deserving of his love!

Rejected by the woman he loves he decides casually to commit suicide. For an avowed necrophobic, he shoots himself with commendable aplomb. On a misty morning he turns into Syezhinskaya street and meets a little man—"wearing the eternal expression of resentful affliction which is so sharply etched on every Jewish face" (CP,491)—whom he calls Achilles and whom he engages in some idle badinage about going to foreign places. When Achilles realizes that Svidrigaylov intends to shoot himself, he says: "Vot now, this is not the place for jokes." (CP, 491) Svidrigaylov imperturbably ignores the remark and calmly places the gun against his right temple and pulls the trigger.

In *The Brothers Karamazov*, Lise Hohlakov, originally an innocent child, deteriorates into an interesting sado-masochistic little demon. An invalid healed by the venerable Father Zossima and still in the process of recovering, she was for a time betrothed to Aloysha, a peripheral mystic and one of Zossima's disciples. As a young lady of fifteen or sixteen she is intent upon shocking Aloysha by sending lustful notes to his brother, Ivan. "If I were to marry you," she taunts him, "and give you a note to the man I loved after you, you'd take it and be sure to give it to him and bring an answer back, too."²⁹

She gleefully flaunts her preoccupation with evil before the pure and imperturbable Aloysha. She would like to marry a confirmed sadist to satiate her imagined need for torture; she doesn't want to be happy—to her, "real life is a bore" and she wants to commit the greatest of sins and to lead a life of crime. (*Karamazov*, 707) When Aloysha concedes that there are times when most people love crime, she answers tartly: "They all declare that they hate evil, but secretly they love it . . .

²⁹Feodor Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*, trans. Constance Garnett (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), 706. Further references to this work will be in the text and abbreviated *Karamazov* with appropriate page numbers.

everyone loves his having killed his father.” (Mitya, Aloysha’s brother, is on trial for the murder of his father!) (*Karamazov*, 708–09)

Lise’s favorite dream—Aloysha has had the same one—involves an invasion of countless devils who are coming to seize her. When she automatically crosses herself, they go away and she then experiences a “frightful longing to revile God.” To her, the demons are breathtakingly delightful! She also revels in the cruel, anti-Semitic myth of the Jews who steal and kill a Christian child at Easter. With macabre flippancy and *sang-froid* sadism, she imagines herself as a Jew who steals a child, cuts off its fingers, nails it to the wall and listens to it moan. “That’s nice,” she tells Aloysha, “Nice . . . it was I who crucified the child. He would sit there moaning and I would *sit opposite him eating pineapple compote.*” (*Karamazov*, 710) (*Italics mine.*)

To this writer, the mystical Aloysha seems too little concerned, too little horrified, and too little involved with Lise’s demoniacal (or pristinely Nazi!) cravings and delights. Even when Lise threatens to kill herself because she loathes everything, Aloysha seems to keep his pietistic cool. True, he promises to weep for her and to pray for her, but what does he plan *to do* (no exorcism, please!) to help her to emerge from her diabolical frenzies? Aloysha, unlike Ivan, doesn’t seem to be capable of loving “with his insides, with his stomach.” As Aloysha is about to leave, she gives him a love note to deliver to Ivan and threatens to kill herself if he doesn’t deliver it. Then she slams the door heavily upon her fingers and exclaims, “I am a wretch, a wretch, a wretch, a wretch!” (*Karamazov*, 712)

Who, then, is guilty of the greater evil, the patently demoniacal Lise, or the seemingly nonchalant Aloysha, with his celestial cool, with his *graceful* bedside mannerisms and reactions? A perfunctory reaction would probably evoke condemnation for Lise and approbation for Aloysha. Upon deeper reflection, I am inclined to blame the saintly Aloysha for talking holiness and doing nothing. It is indeed possible that Dostoevsky “the evil thinker” and “marvellous seer” is subliminally working his perverse magic in this strange confrontation between the adolescent demon and the youthful saint.

Both Colin Wilson and D. H. Lawrence dogmatically insist that, in the famous Grand Inquisitor chapter (Book V, Chapter V) of *Karamazov*, “Ivan states the case against religion as it has never been stated before.”³⁰ This hypothesis may seem all too smug and pat, but it is difficult to deny that Ivan’s poem—as he calls his narrative—displays a marked bias in favor of the Old Inquisitor. To Ivan, the pivotal Karamazov brother, Christ was a spiritual elitist who offered the masses spiritual bread and the *angst* of absolute freedom. The masses, however, are hungry for real bread, for authority, for mysteries, and for miracles—of either a religious or technological kind. The Old Inquisitor was once an elitist; he had fasted and suffered. But he turned to that other great spirit, Satan, and then ministered to the masses, to the “ant heaps” who crave a communal form of worship in a communal, harmonious state. To the multitudes even death is preferable to the agony of the

³⁰*The Outsider*, 172.

freedom to choose between good and evil.³¹ Ivan's poem implies that Christ is an "unattainable aspiration," whereas the Inquisitor is *reality*; Ivan and the Inquisitor (a benign Devil?) may be ideological twins. Both are atheists, both are of probing and inquisitorial natures. But the Inquisitor takes upon himself the sins of mankind, (*Karamazov*,310); Ivan prefers the sticky leaves of Autumn, the company of women, and the blue sky. (*Karamazov*,313) The Christ-Prisoner never answers the Old Inquisitor: He merely imprints upon his bloated, bloodless nonagenarian lips a kiss of divine Love. The Inquisitor then tells Christ to go and to come no more! Ivan and Aloysha consummate Ivan's poem in an ironic manner: "the Christ-like Aloysha" kisses the "Inquisitorial Ivan" before going to visit his *Pater Seraphicus* (the dead Father Zossima). (*Karamazov*,314)

After the complex, sinister Svidrigaylov and the benevolent despotism of the Old Inquisitor, Ivan's devil at first seems strangely commonplace and dull, an almost droll, slightly shop-worn *bourgeois gentilhomme*: ". . . a Russian gentleman of a particular kind, no longer, *qui faisait la cinquantaine*, as the French say, with rather long, still thick, dark hair, slightly streaked with gray. He was wearing a brown-ish reefer jacket rather shabby and of a fashion at least three years old, that had been discarded by the smart and well-to-do people for the last two years . . . In brief there was every appearance of gentility on straitened means." (*Karamazov*,772-73) Ivan's devil suffers from rheumatism, catches cold, enjoys the public baths and "dreams of becoming incarnate once and for all and irrevocably in the form of some merchant's wife weighing 18 stones . . . of going to Church to offer a candle in simple-hearted faith." (*Karamazov*,776)

Initially, Ivan cannot take this droll, chatty chap's diabolical pretensions seriously, although the gentleman describes himself as a fallen angel and attributes his rheumatism to his present carnal form. "*Satan sum et nihil humanum a me alienam puto*." Ivan mocks him and his Latin: "You are a lie, the incarnation of my thoughts and feelings, but only the nastiest and stupidest of them." (*Karamazov*,778) (It must be remembered that Ivan himself is delirious, suffering from an attack of brain fever. Of even greater significance, is Ivan's recent visit (the third one) with Smerdyakov, the humorless, bastard son of Ivan's sybaritic father, Fyodor Pavlovitch Karamazov. Smerdyakov, who worships Ivan, has confessed that he had bludgeoned Père Karamazov to death with a three-pound paper weight. Ivan, sick and nauseated, is convinced that he, too, has murdered the old man *because he had wished it*. Smerdyakov was merely his instrument.) "I desired my father's death. I am a murderer." (*Karamazov*,831)

Nonetheless, the "hallucination" knows certain things that a hallucination shouldn't know. He knows about Smerdyakov and he knows that Ivan has just been rude to his brother, Aloysha. The devil-gentleman admits that he has treated Aloysha rather badly apropos Father Zossima's post-humous stench. Ivan's ire is aroused and he shouts, "Don't talk of Aloysha! How dare you, you flunkey!" (*Karamazov*, 774) The flunkey responds with Uriah Heapish unctious, ". . . *c'est noble, c'est*

³¹D. H. Lawrence, 30-33, *passim*.

charmant, you are going to defend your brother . . . *c'est chevaleresque.*" (*Karamazov*,775)

When Ivan threatens to kick him, the devil is delighted: people simply don't kick ghosts! The middle-ages devil continues to irritate the delirious Ivan with his vaudevillian humor: He loves the realism of the earth with its certain formulae and geometrical patterns; he tries to soothe Ivan's anger over his devilish cold; he loves the gossip and scandal to be gleaned from eaves-dropping at Catholic confessionals; and he satirizes philosophy and the presumptions and affectations of medicine. The devil can joke in a mediocre manner about medical specialization: ". . . if your right nostril is aching, go to Paris, but if it's the left, then try Vienna." (*Karamazov*,779)

Yet the devil, "author of vaudevilles of all sorts," is not happy as the world's indispensable trouble-maker. He desires annihilation and would gladly abandon "all of his super-stellar, all of his non-carnal power, all the ranks and honours, simply to be transformed into the soul of a merchant's wife of 18 stones and set candles at God's shrine." (*Karamazov*,781) (The devil must be hung-up on mercantilism: this is his second desire for transmogrification into the soul of a merchant's buxom lady!)

Ivan listens impatiently as the devil assures him that his (the devil's) bourgeois dreams are all futile. He is indispensable to the world: "Without trouble and suffering what could be the pleasure of it? It (the world) would be transformed into an endless church, it would be holy but unbearably tedious." (*Karamazov*,782)

With feverish intensity, Ivan asks the Devil if there is a God. Somewhat solipsistically the burgher-Satan answers:

Well, if you like I have the same philosophy as you, that would be true. *Je pense, donc je suis*, I know that for a fact, all the rest, all these worlds, God and Satan— all that is not proved, to my mind. Does all of that exist of itself, or is it only an emanation of myself, a logical development of my ego which alone has existed forever; but I must stop, for I believe you will be jumping up to beat me directly. (*Karamazov*,782)

As raconteur and philosopher, Ivan's devil is a composite of bore and stand-up pedagogic comedian. One of his stories concerns a man who had repudiated all— laws, conscience, and faith, etc.—only to find, "very much against his principles," that there was a heaven. He is divinely compelled to walk for a billion or more years to atone for his scepticism. After much reluctance, the man walks a quadrillion kilometres and is admitted to heaven where he sang hosannah so loudly that some of the celestial inhabitants refused to shake his hand. He had become too reactionary too rapidly! (*Karamazov*,784)

Now Ivan is convinced that the devil is "his dream," for he had told the same story at the age of seventeen to a classmate in Moscow. Ivan quickly denies the

validity of "his devil," a denial which doesn't even vaguely disconcert the devil: "From the vehemence with which you deny my existence, I am convinced that you believe in me." (*Karamazov*,785) The devil vacillates between irony and the vaudevillian's rancid humor. He tells Ivan to disbelieve in him completely, only that Ivan will come to accept him as a reality. The devil performs one ostensibly good verbal deed in Ivan's behalf:

I shall sow in you only a tiny grain of faith and it will grow into an oak tree—and such an oak tree that, sitting on it, you will long to enter the ranks of the hermits and the saintly women, for that is what you are secretly longing for. You'll dine on locusts, you'll wander into the wilderness to save your soul." (*Karamazov*,785)

Ivan is vexed and perplexed: the "scoundrel is working for the salvation of his soul!" But the devil's seriousness is ephemeral, "One must do a good work sometimes. How ill-humoured you are!" (*Karamazov*,786) He promptly reverts to some comedic anecdotes, gleaned largely from his voyeuristic presence at confessionals. One has to do with a Jesuit priest who is consoling a despairing young marquis who had lost his nose by telling him that Divine Providence has protected him from "ever getting his nose pulled." The marquis goes home and commits suicide over his lost nose. Another involves a young French girl who is confessing the sin of fornication. Through the grating of the confessional the priest exclaims, "*O Sancta Maria*, What do I hear? Not the same man, again, how long has this been going on? Aren't you ashamed? 'Ah, *mon père*,' answers the sinner with tears of penitence, '*Ça lui fait tant de plaisir, et à moi si peu de peine!*'" (*Karamazov*,786)

Ivan persists in seeing the devil as presenting all of his (Ivan's) old ideas, stupid and worn-out, under the guise of something new. He once more derides the jocular, ironic devil as a mere flunkey and the devil responds by telling Ivan that he knows him as the brilliant young author of two poems entitled *The Grand Inquisitor* and *The Geological Cataclysm*. Wrathfully, Ivan forbids him to speak of the author of *The Grand Inquisitor*. But the devil is neither flustered nor hurt. With assurance, he tells Ivan how to prepare the new scientific world: simply destroy the ideas of God and immortality and a new man-god will emerge. *He will banish the old morality and the old notions of conscience and make all things permissible and possible.* (Italics mine) (*Karamazov*,790) Although these are "scientific concepts" that Ivan himself has often articulated with enthusiasm, they seem to infuriate him and to increase his delirium.

As the devil begins to speak louder and louder, Ivan snatches a glass from the table and throws it at the diabolical intruder. His "Lutheran wrath" belies his reputation as Ivan the Sphinx, Ivan the stone, Ivan who would make all things permissible and possible. Meanwhile, his brother, Aloysha, is knocking frantically

at the door. The devil, with typical bourgeois acerbity, reminds him that his brother is standing in a blinding snow storm unfit for a dog. Aloysha has come to tell him that the murderer, Smerdyakov, has hanged himself. Ivan can only scream! "It was not a dream! No, I swear it was not a dream, it all happened just now!" (*Karamazov*, 791)

VI. Conclusion

The canon of Karamazovian criticism is voluminous, but the enigmatic depth, multiple ambiguities and viscerality of Dostoevsky's art do not lend themselves to facile and/or convincing explications. So, too, it is with Ivan's devil. Is Dostoevsky simply saying, after the manner of William Golding's *Lord of the Flies*, that the devil and/or depravity lie within each one of us? Hardly, the Calvinistic concept of innate depravity is too simple to apply to Ivan's deceptive and even complex Satan. Is Ivan's devil, Ivan's *döppelgänger*? Yes and no: yes, because the reefer-jacketed, fiftyish gentleman echoes many of the concepts that Ivan fervidly espouses in the novel; and no, because he embodies much that is superficial, bourgeois and materialistic, characteristics that are alien to Ivan's deeply honest, rational and probing mind.

Whereas Ivan loved the sticky leaves, women, the blue sky and the tombs of European culture, his devil often reminds one of the Rotarian or a Babbit with a plump, acquiescent wife and memberships in a number of mind-numbing, role-playing social clubs. Ivan's devil might be happy as one of the masses, as a joiner, as a mechanical church-goer, a player of innocuous games, a raconteur of mild smut, a catcher of colds and a user of Ben-Gay.

On the other hand, Ivan's devil is also something of a sphinx and a stone. Like Ivan, he is an agnostic and a solipsist; he doesn't know whether there is or isn't a Satan or a God. If these divinities exist, he regards them as solipsistic emanations of one's consciousness. Both are Cartesians; both are fond of the Grand Inquisitor; and both can be cynical and misanthropic. Ivan himself regards the gentleman-Devil as an incarnation of "his nastiest and stupidest ideas and feelings," as a retreat of his tritest and most worthless concepts and ideas. The devil remains calm, insolent, and cheerfully loquacious throughout the confrontation. Conversely, the fever-wracked Ivan experiences a series of agonizing emotions, from deep anger to uneasy agitation to morbid curiosity. His "Lutheran wrath"—he throws a glass of water at the devil at the end of their meeting—is provoked by the devil's recitation of Ivan's own credo: abolish the ideas of God and immortality and everything becomes permissible and possible. Whether Ivan's devil was "real" or hallucinatory, the *angst*-riven struggle has had a profoundly therapeutic effect upon Ivan. He has achieved a meaningful catharsis or exorcism, a purgation of the narcissistic, cynical and misanthropic elements in his complex and searching psyche. He is not reborn like his brother, Mitya, nor does he become a Christian, let alone a Christian mystic. But after the exorcism of his devil, he becomes a more com-

passionate, sensitive, and love-conscious human being. Indeed, his devil was more than a mere hallucination: "No, I swear it was not a dream, it all happened just now!" (*Karamazov*, 792)

Bibliography

- Abercrombie, Lascelles. *Romanticism*. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1963.
- Alighieri, Dante. *The Divine Comedy*. The Carlyle-Okey-Wicksteed translation, New York: Random House, 1950.
- Baudelaire, Charles. *Journaux Intimes*. Paris: Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1926.
- Baudelaire, Charles. *Les Fleurs du Mal*. New York: New Directions, 1955.
- Donaldson, E. Talbot, translator. *Beowulf*. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1973.
- Dostoevsky, Feodor. *Crime and Punishment*, Jesse Coulson, translator. New York: Vintage Books, 1961.
- Dostoevsky, Feodor. *The Brothers Karamazov*, Constance Garnett, translator. New York: Vintage Books, 1961.
- Eliot, Thomas S. *Collected Poems and Plays*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1955.
- Gayley, Charles M. *The Classic Myths in Literature*. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1911.
- Kazin, Alfred, editor. *The Portable Blake*. New York: The Viking Press, 1964.
- Lawrence, D. H. *A Preface to the Grand Inquisitor*. New York: Hogarth Press, 1936.
- Milton, John. *Paradise Lost*. New York: Random House, 1961.
- Parrot, Thomas and Ball, Robert. *Elizabethan Drama*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958.
- Praz, Mario. *The Romantic Agony*, Angus Davidson, translator. New York: Meridian Books, 1956.
- Robinson, F. N. *The Poetical Works of Chaucer*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1933.
- Tillyard, E. M. W. *The English Epic and Its Background*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1954.
- Unamuno y Jugo, Miguel de. *Abel Sanchez*, Anthony Kerrigen, translator. New York: Henry Regnery Co., 1951.
- Watt, Homer W., translator. *The Second Shepherd's Play*. New York: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1971.
- Wilson, Colin. *The Outsider*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1956.

