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I can strike you at the strangest moments: that need to "figure things out," to "put them in perspective," to "decide what it means." If the existentialist never feels the need to evaluate the meaning of events, I am the opposite. I compulsively try to put things in scale. I am turning 40. For some of us, including me, this last event raises a very big question, the one about the evaluation of our lives. I cannot claim to have finished thinking about this, but I can report that a large part of my answer came out of recent conversations with two statues.

A larger-than-life stone sculpture of the ancient Egyptian King Mycinerus stands in Boston's Museum of Fine Arts. His face and body are stylized, impossibly powerful and blank. Looking up at Mycinerus (one has to look up) I felt small and anonymous. If the sum of my life can be set equal to the volume inside an average horse or any other object of comparable size, the measure of this statue of my life, and I want you to understand my calculations. So, I will give form and scale to the events from it might be represented as follows:

For the fact that I made a living as a chauffeur in Manhattan (a quail's egg), twice nearly killed in accidents (the root system of a rhododendron), six times a guest on local radio or television talk shows (another quail's egg), and countless times lost in imagining the details of complex plans of action or objects to be constructed (a walk-in closet). Because I intend to continue living, I will not attempt a complete catalog of events to this moment. Instead, let's assume that the volumes accounted above cumulate to the equivalent of the space inside a suburban bedroom, then multiply that amount by a factor of seven for what I have been unwilling (or unable) to recall. This, then, can be labeled one unit of "Levin Life-Volume" (LLV). But I am not quite finished. I feel a kinship with the person who carved the tiny servant sculpture, not only because I know how that ancient artisan used his blade to carve ribs in a block of wood, but because we have both lived ordinary lives in our times. I have visited his work several times now, and will continue to do so with that private feeling of knowing him. He is my link across 4,500 years of time.

For the furniture and guitars I built (did you find one of them?) the equivalent of a grapefruit. For the ability to recognize the Big Dipper and having seen (dimly) Halley's Comet, a radish seed. For each of the following, the last joint of the thumb of a grown woman: the Great Wall of China, the equator of the earth, the Mississippi River. For having made many good friends, and twenty or so dear ones, two more horses. For the fact that I wrote a novel, a first edition of which might be purchased for a thousand dollars. For being more than likely that the measure of his life, if I could know it, would be the equal of mine. And for imagining you and your children and the events of your everyday life, another 4,500 years into the future, I claim more LLV's and so on. And however bizarre the method of my measures, they are of some comfort to the owner of an ordinary life.

William Levin
Reflections of a Freshman Senator

John Kerry

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ver a year has passed since I joined the United States Senate, and after reflecting on my first 12 months representing the people of Massachusetts, three major areas of concern occupied the bulk of my time: legislative initiatives that will benefit Massachusetts, working with local cities and towns to help them meet their needs and alleviate their concerns, and aiding constituents from across the Bay State with individual problems.

As has been the case for the last few years, issues relating to the budget and the budget deficit have been of high priority by Congress. Of special interest to me was the 1986 Budget Resolution which called for state and local governments to pay for Medicare and Social Security for state and local employees. Because of the harm that could befall states and local government from this Resolution, I testified before the Senate Finance Committee and helped postpone to September 30, 1986 the date that this would happen for Medicare and totally eliminate mandatory Social Security coverage for new hires. This change in the proposed legislation will save Massachusetts $7 million in 1986 and $25 million in 1987. We do not solve our deficit problems by passing the cost of our deficit reduction efforts onto state and local governments, especially when they are already reeling from reductions in housing programs, economic development assistance, industrial revenue bonds, and the elimination of general revenue sharing.

One positive way of reducing the budget deficit, however, can be found in the Gramm/Rudman/Hollings amendment, of which I was one of the original Democratic cosponsors. The bill provides for a balanced budget by 1991 and mandates that the President submit a budget each year that meets the prescribed targets for reducing the deficit. It forces clear accountability and leadership on the President and the Congress on how revenue is being spent and sets up a framework for hard choices to be made on which programs are maintained and which are eliminated or reduced.

Because the budget reduction legislation has the potential of cutting deeply into necessary social welfare programs, I was pleased that amendments I sponsored were added to this bill. They protect Social Security cost-of-living adjustments as well as cost-of-living adjustments for recipients of Supplemental Security Income and veterans’ pensions. Another amendment calls on the federal government to report on the amount of revenue which could be raised through increased and improved tax enforcement and collections. The idea behind this measure is to find new revenue without raising taxes. The amendment is similar to an initiative by Governor Michael Dukakis which brought in more than $200 million in new revenues for Massachusetts.

Although much of the attention in Congress has been directed to the effects of budget deficits on the health of the nation’s economy, we in Massachusetts know that a key to the success of the economy lies with the small businesses. The strong Massachusetts economy with over 100,000 small businesses is a living testament to the importance of local entrepreneurs. To better represent the Massachusetts small business men and women, I chaired the first Small Business Committee field hearing since President Reagan announced his tax reform plan. The hearing was held in July in Boston and explored the effects of tax simplification proposals on small businesses. As the tax reform bill winds its way through Congress it is essential that we in the legislative branch maintain close contact with the business community and determine the impact of a major tax bill on the small business men and women.

In connection with small business and the economy, I was also concerned that the Small Business Administration was not meeting its special responsibility to Vietnam veterans. My office conducted a survey of 87 of the 1000 SBA offices around the country to determine each office’s response to typical questions asked by Vietnam veterans seeking help in starting a business. The results showed that while many SBA offices know of the agency’s mandate to assist Vietnam veterans, more than 35 percent of the local offices did not know about specialized programs and 79 percent were unaware of the existence of the SBA’s own veterans’ business resource council. I have brought this survey to the Senate Small Business Committee which is now looking at ways to improve the SBA’s handling of veterans’ requests.

On another veterans’ issue, I was able to secure an agreement to extend the Emergency Jobs Training Act until March 1986 and sponsored a bill to restructure employment training and job placement services for Vietnam veterans. The legislation extends the Act for three years, establishes a computerized national job bank and enhances counseling and support services for unemployed Vietnam and disabled veterans.

Also of interest to me in the past two sessions of Congress is the Economic Equity Act which has been the cornerstone of equity measures for women. The Act would improve equity in the areas of pensions, child care, insurance, employment and education. In particular I am committed to an enhancement of the child care aspects of the act which would strengthen the excellent programs Massachusetts has put into place.

Although legislative work occupied a good deal of my time I still found that one of the most rewarding aspects of being a Senator is the opportunity to talk and listen to the people. Since becoming a U.S. Senator I’ve discussed budget cuts with local artistic organizations, given speeches to high schools on the issue of war and peace, and met with mayors and citizens of various Bay State cities and towns to discuss their needs. Moreover, my staff has handled more than 3000 cases of Massachusetts residents who required assistance with some personal issue. Those cases dealt with topics ranging from immigration and housing to tax and veterans’ issues. I was pleased to see that in over 50 percent of the cases we were able to achieve a resolution, and we continued to work on the remainder.

As I move into my second year in the Senate, I remain committed to helping the people of Massachusetts and representing their interests in Washington.
The Portrait

Marjorie L. Payne

I recently sat as a model for a portraiture class. My friend, Janet, was taking the class taught by a local artist of some reputation and they had no model for their final session. I would be doing them a favor, she assured me. It was an opportunity to meet an artist whose work I admired so I agreed. Janet didn’t know and, indeed, I had forgotten myself until that very moment, that I had had some experience in the modelling field. I recalled that hot July morning nearly ten years ago, visiting old friends recently moved to New Orleans. For a lark, a “touristy” thing to do, my husband and I arranged to have a portrait done by one of the street artists who are the main attraction on a summer morning in the Vieux Carre. I remember sitting under the awning that filtered the strong southern sun. Even in the heat I was amazed to find that forty-five motionless minutes could pass so quickly. But it was just for a lark and it was fun to watch the passers-by as they watched the artist at work. I was enjoying just being alive and loved and in that place.

Vividly, I remember my first sight of that portrait, the misty charcoal image looking back at me: the eyes, my eyes, full of, what? melancholy! plaintiveness! sadness! I had sat there (I thought) full of festive spirits and the artist had seen and captured a mood, a feeling, a life of which I had no knowledge and whose nature, to this day, I cannot define. With a few strokes of charcoal she had destroyed my sure sense of who I was, as completely as, a starburst, the cracks radiating from my shoulder. Only an eyesore, then, the por­ sat under the glare of an overhead lamp -- a eyes trying to identify this woman and every now and then. Masking tape held the against the wall, studied and puzzled over discovery the source of her sorrow. After a I would come across it and peer into the glass that protected the image. It had no knowledge and whose nature, to never been framed and hung but had stood to see yourself when you least expect it and to hear the woman at the desk say, “Oh, you’re the lady in the portrait. Such sensitivity. And an excellent likeness.” I won­ dered how long that bit of me had been leaning there and how many people had seen it and recognized the face. What a disquieting thought! I had been six thousand miles away but this image, this indefinable portion of myself in paper and chalk, had stayed behind without my knowing, propped up against the gallery wall, exposed and vulnerable.

Well, I bought the portrait. “For posterity,” I said. “It’s very flattering,” I said, “and the price is so reasonable.” Now it is framed and hung on the livingroom wall, in a corner, between two windows, level with the eye. My friendship with it is not a totally easy one. Ancient taboos and superstitions hover between us. Have I cheated the gods of time! Stolen a cog from their ravaging wheel? Perhaps there is a moment lurking just ahead when people will say to my husband, “How fortunate that you can see and remember her as she was just before...” Perhaps I feel safer hanging on the wall in my own home, less vulnerable than crushed in a portfolio who knows where, chalk flaking off, smudging and blurring me. I try not to think of the slightly distorted portions of me caught in the other sketches made that morning. When I glance at the portrait I wonder if I will come to fear the future and despise its toll while this mute image mocks me with its advantage. I remind myself again that these are superstitions, irrational non-realities, and I push them back into the dark corners. This is just chalk and paper. Nothing more. But the blue eyes meet mine across the room, not harboring some private, unspoken sor­ row, but thoughtful, straightforward, looking out at the world with confidence and an eager curiosity. “Are you my friend?” I ask. “Can I trust you?”

One day soon the novelty of its presence will wear off and it will fall into the background of landscapes and family photographs. One day soon I shall walk down the hall, turn the corner to the stairs and not glance in to see if it (or I) has changed. One day soon I shall tell myself, “I really did look like that once.” One day too soon.

Marjorie L. Payne is a Senior majoring in English at Bridgewater State College.
The Polish Resistance Movement in the Second World War

Chester M. Nowak

The European Resistance Movement provides us with one of the more engaging and captivating stories of the Second World War, and the Polish Resistance Movement has a central place in that story. Yet, the history and the struggles of the Polish Resistance are not well known. Few people are aware, therefore, of the Polish Underground’s reports about the German extermination of Jews and about German preparations for the invasion of the Soviet Union; the penetration of the German rocket center at Peenemünde by Polish agents, or the fact that Poles delivered into Allied hands the plans and actual parts of German V-2 rocket engines. Even many professional historians remain unfamiliar with such facts. No study of European resistance during the Second World War which does not include the resistance in Poland can be considered complete. As Colonel Harold B. Perkins of the British SOE pointed out, the Resistance in Poland was “...the largest and best organization in Europe” (Nowak, Courier From Warsaw, pp. 236). But at the time few people knew much about it.

After their defeat by the German Army, and the subsequent occupation of Poland by the might of the German Reich and that of the Soviet Union, the Poles responded in a most natural way. The whole of the Polish society went underground, and within this clandestine realm they created a Secret State which took control of the resistance against the occupying powers.

The genesis of this Resistance followed the usual patterns of spontaneity and command. In a society whose state institutions are destroyed by a violent act of war and occupation, any resistance must initially be a spontaneous one. Under such circumstances, groups of individuals tied by some previous common bonds—be they prewar membership in social, fraternal, or political organizations, or more recent wartime experiences—such aggregates of individuals formed clandestine groups which shaped their own goals and activities. It is here within the nature and the dynamics of these early secret organizations that we find the source of the variety and complexity of both the resistance organizations and their clandestine activities. In Poland this spontaneous aspect of resistance in its scope and intensity soon reached the level of a revolutionary mass movement that was unique to Poland. Hence, writers and artists organized to carry on literary and artistic activities forbidden by the occupying authorities. Actors performed forbidden plays and musicians played forbidden music in private and in public concerts. Writers produced hundreds of books which were published, printed, and distributed by the underground. Journalists too published in the underground press, and during the years 1939-1945 there were more than 2,000 underground papers and periodicals published in German occupied Poland; some of them were published continuously through the war in large editions. Polish educators ran a whole system of secret secondary schools based on a prewar curriculum which the Germans considered too elitist for a “sub-human” species such as the Poles. In Warsaw alone there were two secret universities and one polytechnic institute continuing their educational functions under the German noses.

Since the majority of the officers of the prewar Polish Army were either in German and Russian prisons or abroad, there was a shortage of trained military personnel, and the underground had to train most of its own cadres. Consequently, all through the war there were numerous officers’ candidate schools, non-commissioned officers’ schools, and other military schools training the military cadre for the clandestine army. Even the scouts got involved, and from the very beginning performed “little sabotage,” which included such activities as writing anti-German slogans on walls and destroying German property. Individually these activities may have seemed unimportant, but in their totality they had a positive impact upon the Poles and made the Germans feel unwelcomed and insecure.

Political parties of all persuasions also went underground. They published their own presses and journals and formed their own military detachments. By the end of 1939, at the very beginning of the German and Soviet occupation, there were approximately 140 such secret groups and organizations. This spontaneous process continued throughout the war, and as one group was liquidated another took its place. We must remember that all of this occurred under the most difficult and strenuous conditions of clandestine operations, and under the watchful eyes of a cruel occupier who had at his disposal the mobilized machine of a totalitarian state. All of these activities were, of course, Verboten and punishable by a trip to a concentration camp— or death.

The growth and the diversification of such spontaneous activities and organizations made unification an important early objective of the movement. This unification was to be achieved by the command aspect of the resistance, which brought order into the chaos of spontaneity by providing the movement with the structural means for the unification of its actions, organization, and plans. What we are witnessing here is a healthy reaction of a society in a state of war responding to the conditions of foreign occupation that called for a total mobilization and total resistance. Interestingly, many historians of the Resistance Movement seem to have missed this point and the obvious fact that the major objective of the Resistance was to resist, and to resist by all the means at its disposal. Thus in Poland, resistance included the whole of society which reacted spontaneously in a variety of ways to a common danger. It was a society which was directed by a set of common values and
rules strongly entrenched by a long tradition of national resistance. These traditional values and rules were in turn reinforced by the underground courts and the legitimate structures of the Underground State.

In the Polish case, the source for the legitimacy of the Underground State was the fact that both the Resistance and the Polish Government abroad were recognized by the majority of the Poles as the bona fide legal extension of the prewar Polish State. Because there was no question of legitimacy, the differing political orientations of most resistance groups did not hinder the process of unification. Consequently, by 1944 the resistance movement in Poland was successful in unifying most of its military units under a single command and in consolidating most of its political activities under the central authority of the Secret State.

Politically, the process of unification and centralization had began in February of 1940 with the formation of a Political Coordinating Committee (Polski Komitet Porozumiewawczy, PKP). By 1944 the PKP had unified most of the political groups, with the exception of the Communists and a small radical faction of the National Democrats who refused to join the unified resistance organization. Thus, the formation of the PKP in 1940 was the real beginning of the Polish Underground State. It was headed by a Delegate, who by 1944 held the rank of a Deputy-Premier within the Polish Government of National Unity in London. The first of the Delegates was the prewar Speaker of the Polish Parliament, Cyrzyl Ratajski; and the last Delegate, after Stanislaw Jankowski, was Stephan Korbonski, who today resides in Washington, D.C.

It must be understood, however, that under clandestine conditions, this process of unification and centralization was a gradual one. But in the end, in Poland the resistance movement became the most unified and the most centralized in Europe. It was the only resistance organization with all the comprehensive infrastructure of a legitimate state, ranging from civic and civil institutions on both the central and local levels, to a well organized military structure.

By the end of the September Campaign, just before the Polish Government left the Polish territory during the days of September 17-18 of 1939, Marshal Eduard Rydz-Smigly, the Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Army, appointed General Michael Tokarzewski to organize the underground resistance in both parts of occupied Poland. Colonel Stefan Rowecki became his Chief-of-Staff. Later, Rowecki was to be the first commander of the unified underground army, which by 1942 was known as the Home Army (Armia Krajowa, AK).

The first of the underground military units formed was named the Service for the Victory of Poland (Sluzba Zwyciestwu Polsce, SZP). But it was Tokarzewski’s Union for Armed Struggle (Zwiazek Walki Zbrojnej, ZWZ), organized in November of 1939, which became the vehicle for the unification and centralization of the underground detachments. And in February of 1942, General Wladyslaw Sikorski, the Prime Minister of the Polish Government in London, and the Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Army abroad, renamed the ZWZ the Home Army (Armia Krajowa, AK). By that time the ZWZ had about 100,000 men, who by 1943 were joined by 40,000 men of the Peasant Battalions (Bataliony Chlopiskie, B.Ch.) of the Polish Peasant Party (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe PSL). Another 40,000 troops of the Peasant Battalions joined the Home Army in the spring of 1944. Simultaneously the majority of the 70,000 nationalist troops of the National Democratic Party also joined the Home Army. But some detachments belonging to the Radical Faction of the Nationalist Party would not place themselves under the unified command of the Home Army. The Polish Workers’ Party (Polska Partia Robotnicza, PPR -- the wartime name of the Polish Communist Party, which earlier in 1938 was dissolved by the Comintern) with its Peoples’ Army (Armia Ludowa, AL) also stayed outside the Secret State. In addition, the detachments of the Polish Peoples’ Army (Polska Armia Ludowa, PAL), which was under the control of a radical left-wing socialist faction, also refused to unite with the rest of the Resistance. Although the Communists and the Radical Socialists were neither politically nor militarily powerful, they were supported by the Soviet Union. The Polish Socialist Party (Polska Partia Socialistyczna, PPS) and their military units, however, were an integral part of the centralized Resistance.

By the spring of 1944 the Home Army (AK) had about 350,000 men who for a clandestine army were not badly trained. But they were poorly armed. The Poles had access only to arms they were able to hide after the 1939 campaign and those captured from the Germans. The British dropped some supplies through the war, but they were helpful only in small sabotage activities and were inadequate for arming such a large number of men. It seems that the military potential of the Polish Home Army was never understood by the Allies. In fact, in early 1944 at a meeting in Washington held between the American authorities and the then Prime Minister of the Polish Government in London, Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, and the Chief of Operations of the Home Army, General Stanislaw Tatar, a final and irrevocable decision was made not to include the Polish Home Army in Allied Operational Plans. By that time the die was cast. Earlier, as a result of the Tehran Conference of 1943, it was decided that Poland and Eastern Europe were to be left in the Soviet sphere of influence. Thus, at the 1944 meeting in
Warsaw Uprising

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Platoon

final stages of the war, to be carried out

war all plans and training of the Home

Army were directed toward this general

Allied and Soviet operations. Through the

govern themselves, and free to determine

their own destiny.

tive of the Polish Home Army was to

prepare itself for a general uprising at the

liberation of the Polish capital so that

the Poles could act in their own country as

hosts to the advancing Soviet armies. The

Russians and their communist allies, who

initially called for such an uprising, were to

condemn it as an adventurous act hostile to

the Soviet Union. Marshal Stalin for exam-

ple wrote to President Roosevelt denounc-

ing the Polish insurgents as a "group of

criminals who have embarked on the War-

saw adventure in order to seize power..." (Churchill, Triumph and Tragedy, p. 130).

The uprising was designed to last three
days until the Red Army, already at the
Warsaw suburbs, would enter the city. Instead the fighting lasted for sixty-three
days, from August 1st to October 3rd. At
Stalin's order the Red Army stopped its
advance, and Warsaw and its people were
sacrificed to the Germans. The halting of
the Soviet Army was not based on military
grounds, as is still claimed by Soviet his-
torians. Rather it was basically a political
decision aimed at the destruction of the
Polish Underground. Even later when the
Red Army finally reached the other side of
the Vistula River and regained control of the
eastern suburbs of Warsaw, the Russians
extended only sporadic help which merely
prolonged the agony, and did not insure
victory. Earlier, the Western Allies had
reluctantly flown-in limited supplies in
planes manned by Polish pilots and Allied
volunteers, most of them from South Af-
rica and New Zealand; but their losses were
extremely high. On September 18 the Rus-
sians finally permitted the USAAF to fly a
large sortie, flown by the planes from the
390th Bomb Group. Most of the needed
supplies landed on German positions.

As a result of the sixty-three days of
fighting Warsaw was destroyed, and what
remained was burned and blown up by the
Germans on a direct order of Adolph
Hitler. In the end the Warsaw Insurgents
lost over 20,000 men killed and wounded;
16,000 of the soldiers became POWs,
including the staff of the Home Army and
its commander, General T. Bor-Komorow-
ski. About 5,000 of the troops escaped.

The losses among the civilian population
of the city were equally high. Over 250,000
civilians were dead. Fifty thousand were
killed in mass executions, and sixty thou-
sand were sent to German concentration
camps. Half a million were shipped to labor
camps in Germany, and another half mil-
million were left homeless and were dispersed.
The Germans lost 310 tanks and armored
vehicles, 340 trucks and cars, 22 artillery
pieces, three planes, and over 30,000 men
killed.

The rest of the Home Army outside of
Warsaw continued to fight under the plans
of Operation Tempest, but by then they
knew that their cause was lost. Now, they fought only for posterity. By February of 1945, after the Russians had overrun most of Poland, the Underground Army was officially dissolved, but many continued to fight. Many of the Home Army troops were disarmed by the Russians and shipped to Siberia. And in March of 1945 the leaders of the Polish Secret State were arrested and taken to Moscow, where in June of 1945 they were put on trial before a Soviet court and condemned to Russian prisons. Back at home former members of the Underground -- over a million of them -- were shipped to Soviet concentration camps of the infamous Gulag Archipelago. Most of them never returned home.

The Second World War cost the Poles a great deal in human and material sacrifices. Most of the country was destroyed, and as a result of the German and Soviet policies of extermination the Polish losses were enormous. Over twenty percent of the population was killed. Two and a half million Polish Jews alone were killed by the Germans in the ovens of Auschwitz and other places of execution. It must be remembered that Poland became the most decimated country in Europe, and these losses were inflicted upon Poland by both the Germans and the Russians.

After the war the Russians and their ideological followers attempted to deny the very existence of a viable Resistance in Poland. For the last forty years they have tried to denigrate the memories of the Polish Underground State, and to defame the wartime sacrifices of the Polish people. They claim now that the country without a Quisling was a country of Quislings; that the Poles, who fought the Germans with such a fanatic persistence, fought them the least. This kind of propaganda was not well received by the Polish people, and in fact it had a reverse effect. The Poles took it as an insult and as a denial of their wartime sacrifices, freely placed upon the collective altar of human freedom. Today in Poland the interest in the heroic deeds of the wartime Resistance is greater than ever before.

However, forty years of propaganda can leave its marks, and we can even see it in such supposedly scholarly works as those of the young sociologist Jan Gross, and in the vitriolic anti-Polish work of amateurish historians like Shmuel Krakowski. Furthermore, the 1985 review of Krakowski’s book in the American Historical Review, and the ensuing correspondence, reveals how little American historians seem to know about the matter. Of course, American unfamiliarity with everything Polish or East European is well known by now, and it is best represented by the “joy-fool” acceptance of the wartime German propaganda about the Polish cavalry charging German tanks. This story, by the way, is still being repeated in the American press and in American schoolrooms today! The answer to the question why such stories are so easily accepted by some might provide us with food for thought, and might also provide us with some insights into the American psyche. After all, attitudes like this seem to be so long and continuous history in America. And after the war -- just as before -- Poland and the Poles were seldom presented in a positive light, be it in American press, literature, or films. The Poles were usually presented -- if not as outright stupid -- at least as dull, slovenly, and untrustworthy. Such negative stereotypes serve to dehumanize people. That is how the Nazis arrived at their ideas of subhuman races. Once these racist teachings were accepted it was easier for Germans to accept as morally acceptable all atrocities against such “subhuman” groups as the Jews and the Poles.

Stereotypes like these were also common during the war, even in some surprising quarters. During the war leading western politicians loved to refer to Poland as the “Inspiration of Nations” and as “a country without a Quisling.” However, their true feelings were quite different. President Roosevelt, for example, never was an admirer of the Poles. This is best illustrated by his reference to Poland as a country which was “a source of trouble for over five hundred years…” (Churchill, Triumph and Tragedy, p. 372). And Winston Churchill had similar views of Poland as a country which was “Glorious in revolt and ruin; squalid and shameful in triumph. The bravest of the brave, too often led by the vilest of the vile! And yet there were always two Poles; one struggling to proclaim the truth and the other grovelling in villany” (Churchill, The Gathering Storm, p. 323). Now, if this was true of Poland, would not such a description fit everybody else?

No wonder that with such attitudes at Teheran and Yalta both Roosevelt and Churchill so easily condemned Poland and the whole of Eastern Europe to a new tyranny and slavery. But were their actions right, and were they just? These are the questions that have puzzled many ever since. And on that subject General Bor-Komorowski was to write after the war: “To conduct world peace at the expense of injustice and wrong done to small nations is a dangerous experiment. It can only result in acute political tensions and a perpetual smouldering of grievances -- a most precarious state of international affairs, so clearly demonstrated by our present times” (Komorowski, The Secret Army, p. 396).
Inhabitants of the Azores, a cluster of mid-Atlantic Portuguese islands, might almost be said to exist in a time warp. Life is slow-moving and many attitudes prevalent a century or more ago in the rest of the Western world remain unchanged here.

Education is a case in point. Whereas in most fast-paced modern cultures it is taken for granted that a young person must possess at least a bachelor’s degree if he or she hopes for success in a business or profession, in the Azores the situation is quite different, and has been so for a long period.

A study of Portuguese immigrants to New England published by Donald Taft in 1923 indicated that the newcomers carried with them their negative attitudes towards schooling.

Portuguese children leave school almost invariably at the earliest possible moment and almost never attend high school. ... These evidences of educational backwardness are hardly greater than would be expected of children coming from homes more often illiterate than not, where education is not part of the family mores, and where more income is desired and sometimes greatly needed.¹

Twenty-six years later, in 1949, conditions were substantially unchanged. In a study of Portuguese-American speech patterns, Leo Pap wrote:

There has been a close relationship between the low literacy of the Portuguese, their rural background and their attitude toward schools. The average American...is tempted to expect greater appreciation for educational opportunities among poorly educated immigrants. The fact is, however, that most Portuguese immigrants had little craving for education and only reluctantly sent their children to school, because in the simple rural economy in which they
had grown up, they had not learned to see the economic advantage of education.  

Again in 1960, Ira Sharkansky could write of "the traditional Azorean disregard for education" as he examined the integration of Azorean immigrants into a New England mill town.  

Aware of these earlier findings, I was not surprised, when I visited Sao Miguel, the largest island of the Azores, in the course of my doctoral research in 1974 and again in 1978, to encounter similar attitudes.  

In 1967 the legal school-leaving age in the Azores had been raised from 12 to 14 or until the sixth grade had been completed, which usually amounted to the same thing. In 1974, seven years later, at the time of my first visit to the islands, Sao Miguel parents were still not reconciled to the new regulation.  

Although some of the other Azorean islands experienced a 1960s surge of upward mobility that saw young people turning from farm work to the teaching profession, on Sao Miguel the vast majority of rural parents felt that their children did not need more than minimal education "to take care of a house and have babies" or "to learn to feed the pigs."  

Their resentment, keen in 1974, remained quite evident on my second visit in 1978. By the spring of 1985, on a third visit, although I noted more awareness of the importance of education in the poverty-stricken village of Rabo de Peixe, I found no child over age 12 in the local school.  

Early school-leaving continues to be a problem among children still living in the Azores as well as among those who have emigrated to the United States. This is true despite efforts to change education policy in the Azores and the continuing emphasis on completing school in America. Seeking to discover why this situation obtains, I conducted studies in 1976, 1978 and 1985 focusing on the possibility that the parents of these students teach them attitudes towards education that result in early school-leaving.  

Before summarizing my research, I think it will be helpful to describe some aspects of the Azorean educational system and the attitudes that persist within it.  

Primary education on the islands begins at age 6 in the populous areas where infant schools are available, at age 7 in more rural districts. Most schools hold two sessions daily in order to accommodate more children.  

The primary school curriculum is divided into basic and preparatory cycles according to the chart below:  

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<td>1 2 3 4</td>
<td>5 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Children in the basic cycle are normally 7 to 10 years old, while those in the preparatory cycle are 11 and 12. As noted above, the usual school-leaving age is 14, unless a child completes the basic and preparatory cycles earlier. Nor need a child remain beyond age 14 if he has not completed the cycles by that time.  

The basic cycle is taught in two phases, grades 1 and 2, then grades 3 and 4. Pupils are automatically promoted to grades 2 and 4, but must pass examinations to go into grades 3 and 5.  

The curriculum offers grammar, history, mathematics, geography, natural science, biology, English or French and a smattering of music, physical education, manual arts and drawing. Religion and morals are available but not mandatory.  

I visited many village schools on the island of Sao Miguel, the largest of the Azores. Teachers are for the most part conscientious and appear to be regarded with real affection by their pupils, who in the more remote areas come to know them very well, since in those districts, the teachers move from first through fourth grade with their pupils. Some educators feel that this arrangement is good for little children, easing the transition from grade to grade; while others feel that teachers would gain more specialized experience by remaining at the same grade level. For their part, some parents object to the practice because they feel the teacher becomes all-important to the child, superseding the mother and father; while others cite the advantage of children being well known by the teacher.  

Village teachers, however, tend to be among the less qualified applicants for teaching positions. My conversations with officials confirmed my observation that the better candidates, both from the standpoint of experience and ability, are awarded what are considered the plum positions in the island towns, especially in Ponta Delgada, capital city of Sao Miguel.  

In a culture nearly 100 percent Roman Catholic, some schools begin the day with prayer. Although the practice is not officially encouraged, crucifixes are displayed in most classrooms, and there is usually also a picture or statue of the Blessed Virgin. In at least one village school I visited, I also observed a large poster encouraging religious vocations.  

Classes are fairly small, usually numbering from 25 to 27 pupils. Until 1973, boys and girls were taught separately whenever possible, but classes are now integrated, over the protests of many village parents, who cling to male/female stereotypes and would like to see girls prepare for marriage and homemaking and boys directed towards farm tasks and assumption of the modest leadership roles available in village society.  

A uniform methodology obtains in primary schools. In reading, arithmetic and science classes, for instance, the teacher reads a story or explains a portion of the text, after which discussion follows, usually with the teacher asking questions and children responding. There is much rote teaching and little opportunity for creativity, nor are there provisions for gifted children.  

Discipline seems not to be a problem. I noted that even the youngest pupils remained in their places and paid close attention to what was being discussed. Teachers are notably patient and seem truly interested in their charges.  

Testing is rudimentary, confined to classroom assignments. Standardized testing is used mainly to determine promotion. Intelligence tests are not administered and only in the city of Ponta Delgada did there seem any appreciation of the concept of intelligence quotients.  

State-operated secondary schools are located in major population centers throughout the Azores. Students from remote villages must board away from home during the school year if they wish to pursue their education, but the government is beginning to provide centers and/or financial aid for such students.  

The five secondary schools on the island of Sao Miguel are typical. Each offers a six-year general course, with the equivalent of an American high school diploma awarded after the 5th year. The secondary
cycle (see chart below) adds physics and chemistry to the preparatory curriculum.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Secondary Education</th>
<th>College preparatory year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
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<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Many Azorean students continue their education through 9th grade, usually completing it by age 15. No diploma is given but achievement of this level usually gives a young person preference in the working world. Secondary school is completed by 11th grade, roughly the equivalent of a American 12th grade, but a student planning a university career must complete 12th grade.

A Recent Study

It is apparent that the styles of education in the Azores and in American schools, such as those in Southeastern Massachusetts, are very different. Yet the dropout rates of Azoreans in both systems suggest that attitudes towards education seem to carry over after immigration to the United States despite a new style of education and pressures to assimilate into American culture. To examine this hypothesis, I conducted a comparative study of student attitudes towards school leaving.

The Samples

In Sao Miguel and Southeastern Massachusetts a questionnaire was administered to 184 students between ages 12 and 14. (Fourteen is the legal school-leaving age in the Azores.) All Azorean respondents lived on the island of Sao Miguel and for the most part attended a secondary school in one of the larger school districts.

They were randomly selected from class lists in the five major secondary schools: Capelas, Ponta Delgada, Povoacao, Ribiera Grande and Vila Franca.

In Southeastern Massachusetts the questionnaire, with slight revisions reflecting the change in locale, was administered to 30 boys and 30 girls, largely in Fall River, New Bedford and Taunton areas. The questionnaire was given in Portuguese to the Azorean students, while those in Southeastern Massachusetts were given a choice of Portuguese or English. In Southeastern Massachusetts, respondents were ages 14 to 16, 16 being the legal school-leaving age in Massachusetts. All were immigrants from Sao Miguel and had attended school there.

Measures Used

The questionnaire first sought information regarding the students’ backgrounds and their plans with regard to immigration. Its body consisted of 13 statements, to the first 11 of which the students were asked to respond according to the following scale:

- Agree totally
- Agree
- No opinion
- Disagree
- Disagree totally

The last two statements were in multiple-choice format. The 13 statements follow:

1. When a student goes to another country he should be taught in his native language.
2. In general, students who leave school at age 16 do so because of parents.
3. In general, parents feel that education is very important for their children.
4. It is easy to find a job without a diploma from high school (without a high school education).
5. Education is more necessary for boys than for girls.
6. Schools should teach only reading and writing.
7. Everyone should be obliged to have a high school education.
8. Students who have left school in the Azores should not be obliged to return to school in the United States.
9. Most of my friends have already left or are planning to leave school at the age of 16.
10. In general, students who come to the United States do well in school.
11. If you live in the United States, it is important to learn to speak English.
12. Most students leave school at 16 because (choose one or more answers):
   - They do not like school.
   - Parents want them to earn money to help pay bills at home.
   - They want to earn money for themselves.
13. I am in school because (choose two answers):
   - I want to get a good job.
   - I like to learn.
   - My parents want me in school.
   - It is the law.

All statements were designed to elicit information about student attitudes towards school leaving. However, because previous studies have shown that parental pressure is the main reason for early school leaving, four statements (2, 3, 12, & 13) measured the influence of parental attitudes.

Percent "Agreeing" or "Agreeing Totally" with statements 1-11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>S.E. Mass</th>
<th>Azores</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Native language</td>
<td>51.6%</td>
<td>63.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Parents request</td>
<td>55.0%</td>
<td>55.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Education important to parents</td>
<td>65.0%</td>
<td>91.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Easy to get job</td>
<td>13.4%</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Boys need better schooling</td>
<td>16.6%</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Reading and writing</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. High school needed</td>
<td>65.0%</td>
<td>90.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Should not have to return to school</td>
<td>26.7%</td>
<td>36.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Friends leave at 16</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
<td>48.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Friends leave at 14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Students do well in U.S.</td>
<td>43.3%</td>
<td>53.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Important to learn English</td>
<td>81.7%</td>
<td>98.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1
Results

Item 1: In both systems more respondents agreed than disagreed that students should be taught in their native language. In discussing this topic with students it became clear that they felt it necessary to learn English while retaining an understanding of their own culture and language.

Item 2: A large percentage of students from both areas stated that parents felt that education was very important for their children. However, in discussion afterward it was apparent that the usual parental definition of education was limited to the ability to read and write.

Items 4, 6: Most students felt that obtaining a good job was more easily accomplished with a high school education and only a few felt that the schools should teach only reading and writing.

Items 7, 8: Most students felt that a high school education was important and supported the concept of obligatory schooling for students coming to the United States who were over 14 and under the legal Massachusetts school-leaving age of 16.

Item 9: In Southeastern Massachusetts 75% of respondents stated that most of their friends had already left school or were planning to leave at the age of 16 and in Sao Miguel about 50% of the respondents stated that most of their friends had or would leave as soon as they reached the legal age for doing so. It is noteworthy that every Azorean respondent said that he/she would leave at age 14, while in Southeastern Massachusetts only four said that they would remain in school beyond age 16.

Items 5, 11: Almost all in both areas felt it was important to learn English and most felt it was as important for a girl to be educated as for a boy. Many other similarities between the groups emerge from a study of tables 2 and 3 below.

In 1976, when I published my doctoral dissertation, one of my major conclusions was that early school leaving among Portuguese immigrant children was largely due to parental pressure frequently dictated by economic need. I found that school authorities, community officials, students and the parents themselves were in general agreement that Portuguese immigrant children leave school early because of parental...
insistence. The main reason given by parents is that the youngsters are needed to help at home, either by going to work themselves or by caring for younger siblings so that both parents can work.

In addition to economic reasons, parents want their children to leave school because they see little value in formal education. Coming from communities where cultural advantages are minimal, where libraries are nonexistent and where the only reading material is an occasional newspaper, they do not see education as a value. Most parents feel that children need only enough schooling to keep them from being cheated in a business transaction. Formal education is viewed as a deterrent to family advancement because it deprives the family unit of the help children can give their parents.

My most recent research shows a slight improvement in the school-leaving picture but nonetheless parental pressure remains a strong factor.

In the 1965 study 55% of respondents agreed to the statement: "In general, students who leave school at the age of 14 (16) do so at the request of parents." In 1976 with a somewhat different population but the same statement 90% of the respondents agreed. The decrease is indeed notable but 55% remains a disturbing figure.

The response to the multiple choice statement #12 about reasons for leaving school occasioned considerable concern on the part of educators. An alarmingly high 95% of emigrants and almost 92% of Azoreans agreed that most students leave school because parents want them to help pay bills at home.

Parental attitudes are indeed the crux of the school-leaving problem and must be taken into account in any strategy designed to solve it. Like most parents, Azorean mothers and fathers want the best for their children; educators must labor to convince them that the best includes not only short-range material goals but also the intangible, incomparable prize of a well-furnished mind.

NOTES
3 Ira Sharkansky, The Portuguese of Fall River: A Study of Ethnic Acculturation, Middletown, Conn., Wesleyan University, 1960, p.43.
TWO CHEERS
FOR
PORNOGRAPHY

Steven Sanders

The existence of pornography from the earliest times and in virtually every culture attests to a remarkable universality and persistence. Of course, popularity is no proof of legitimacy. How, if at all, can pornography be justified? This question has no easy answer. Indeed, if one may judge from the controversy, consensus is far from being reached on the question of pornography. I shall suggest some things that can be said in favor of pornography, though I am by no means giving my unqualified endorsement -- hence, only two cheers for pornography. Naturally, I expect some readers to disagree with me, so I will also explain why recent objections to pornography either neglect or obscure the issues.

The Value of Pornography

In attempting to justify pornography, let's first consider its value. It will be obvious to anyone who has read Hustler magazine or seen the film Deep Throat that pornography has a limited and narrowly focused appeal. It caters to the desire to read about or view sexual display and activity. Consequently, pornography can be a benefit to those who have such a desire. By a "benefit" I mean something that is itself, or leads to, an experience which anyone who cares about himself or herself may reasonably want. Now, pornography is beneficial in a number of ways: as a means of employment, as a tool in therapy, as an escape from boredom. However, its main claim to beneficiality is as a source of entertainment and recreation -- it gives people pleasure.

What, then, are the pleasures of pornography? There is first the pleasure of viewing persons we find attractive and activity we find entertaining. And there is of course the pleasure of sexual desire itself. Closely tied to this is the pleasure of the recognition of the intention that one be sexually aroused, a pleasure not confined to pornography, but found also in flirtation and other forms of sexual play. In pornography, sexual arousal is produced by means of the reader's or viewer's recognition of the intention to produce this effect. This gives pornography a structure of reflexive recognition and thus helps to explain how pornography as a representation of something might fall under freedom of expression protection. Then there are the pleasures for which pornography is often an impetus, pleasures which have their locus in consensual sexual activity. In addition to these benefits, reading or viewing pornography can be a profoundly normative experience, causing us to consider what it means to be human. The distinctively human activities and practices depicted in pornography have, to say the
least, a certain meretricious buoyancy: they stimulate the imagination and provoke both the moral and aesthetic consciousness. They open us to new erotic possibilities, challenging us to reflect upon our ideas of beauty, normality, and sexuality.

There are, of course, alternative sources of these experiences, as well as alternative experiences. What is more, the experiences to which pornography is instrumental are by no means the sole benefits in life. But that they are benefits seems indisputable, and one could only question them by referring to other values with which they might conflict.

**Pornography and Feminist Ideology**

The suggestion that pornography is beneficial is not new, but it is one that many people are accustomed to dismiss very casually. Discussions of pornography tend to neglect its benefits and concentrate on its alleged harms. Most recently, radical feminists have argued vociferously that pornography is harmful to women, and have proposed legislation in Minneapolis, Indianapolis, and Cambridge that would give a woman grounds to sue anyone who had anything to do with the manufacture or sale of material she thought degraded her. These proposals have met with some success, and the momentum clearly seems to be with anti-pornography activists. I have little sympathy with their approach -- though I support the aim to eradicate anti-female violence -- for reasons which will be clear shortly. But let me note here that the assumption of a direct causal connection between exposure to pornographic materials and violence against women has not, to date, been justified by reliable empirical studies. While the preponderance of evidence fails to support any such direct causal connection, the controversy continues.

A major problem for those who advocate censoring pornography is defining terms. What does it mean to say that something is pornographic? What makes a magazine or film pornographic? How are we to define pornography? If we cannot answer these questions, how can we possibly give any meaning to the concept of pornography? According to some liberals and free-speech absolutists, this is precisely what we cannot do. But before embracing any hasty conclusions, let's look at the way the 1970 Presidential Commission on Obscenity and Pornography dealt with the problem. Es-

choring such highly emotive terms as 'pornography' and 'obscenity,' they instead used terms and expressions such as 'erotic,' 'explicit sexual materials,' and 'sexually oriented materials.' Whatever problems this policy may have produced, it is clearly preferable to the most frequently employed alternatives. For example, in *Take Back the Night: Women on Pornography*, a collection of feminist essays, Dr. Diana Russell writes that "Pornography is explicit representations of sexual behavior, verbal or pictorial, that have as a distinguishing characteristic the degrading or demeaning portrayal of human beings, especially women." In her contribution to the same volume, Helen E. Longino defines pornography as "verbal or pictorial material which represents or describes sexual behavior that is degrading or abusive to one or more of the participants in such a way as to condone the degradation." If we were to accept these definitions, it would seem not unreasonable to call for the censorship of pornography. The problem is that these definitions assume the very point that is being disputed by those who would defend pornography. There is a simple way to illustrate this question-begging procedure. Would Russell and Longino be willing to let conservative pro-life advocates define feminist pro-choice literature as "material that describes the violation of the rights of the unborn child in such a way as to endorse the violation"? Surely these substantive moral conclusions -- that the pro-choice position endorses the violation of rights, that the unborn have rights -- are to be established, if they can be established at all, by argument and evidence and not by verbal fiat. Similarly, since the very question at issue in recent debates over pornography is the substantive moral claim that pornography degrades women, this claim needs to be supported by reasons and not by biased definitions.

The fact that there is so much disagreement over the meanings of key terms creates problems for opponents of pornography. For example, a number of writers have insisted that there's a difference between pornography and erotica. And yet no one, to my knowledge, has been able to provide criteria for distinguishing between the two that isolates the former without threatening First Amendment guarantees of freedom of speech and expression with respect to the latter. Erica Jong's contribution to a forum on "The Place of Pornography" published in a recent issue of *Harper's* illustrates the lengths some will go to make the distinction. "Erotica," she writes, "celebrates the erotic nature of the human creature, attempts to probe what is erotic in the human soul and the human mind, and does so artfully, dramatically. Pornography, on the other hand, serves simply as an aid to masturbation, with no artistic pretensions and no artistic value." Note the false opposition, as if the only alternatives are art or masturbation. If pornography has only a masturbatory intent and effect, of course it should not be considered art. But why cannot pornography be art? This Jong does not tell us, though by linguistic device she pretends to have proved it cannot. Her view implies that "artistic pornography" is a self-contradictory expression. In consequence, when critic and novelist Susan Sontag writes in
defense of the aesthetic value of the pornographic novel The Story of O, she is contradicting herself, however persuasive her arguments may seem.

Such difficulties are endemic to the enterprise of defining pornography, and the reason is not far to seek. The contentions that "pornography degrades women," that "pornography has no artistic value," and that "pornography is antifemale propaganda" (Susan Brownmiller) are morally motivated. Those who propose them do so because of prior moral beliefs about how women should be treated, about the purpose of art, about the nature of sexual exploitation. Because the sharp distinctions between pornography and art are stipulations, they cannot be refuted. But perhaps the extent to which they are question-begging is now clear. Equally clear, in consequence, is that any attempt to toss a ring around pornography is bound to appear arbitrary. First, because the way we think about pornography both partially determines, and is determined by, our view of its normative value. And second, because the term 'pornography' designates a continuum rather than a dichotomy; a range of cases across a wide spectrum. At the very least, pornography involves explicit representations of nudity and/or sexual activity, and contains elements of fantasy and exaggeration. It abstracts somewhat from the normal web of human feelings, attachments, and circumstances. But any attempt to pick out one of these features as the essence of pornography is implausible. And if a whole cluster of different factors is involved, there is no special reason to think that they must all be present, or present to the same degree, in every instance of pornography. To be sure, some pornography deals in bestiality, the use and abuse of children, and violence against both men and women but especially women. Nothing in what I have written is intended as a defense of such stuff, and the presence of these elements is neither necessary nor sufficient for pornography.

If we reflect upon the basic values of pleasure, privacy, and freedom that are placed in jeopardy by censorship, it becomes clear that ideologically-motivated definitions of pornography have implications that pose a considerable risk to those values. For these reasons it is preferable to define pornography in less doctrinaire, more nearly neutral terms. I shall use the term 'pornography' to refer to materials that explicitly depict nudity and/or sexual activity in a manner usually having little or no artistic or literary value, typically for the purpose of arousing and entertaining its audience. This definition too has its drawbacks, but at least it avoids the forms of definitional bias identified above. (I do not know whether it avoids all others.) It does not make bold claims of artistic or literary merit on behalf of pornography, yet it does not rule out the possibility that there is, or can be, genuinely artistic pornography.

Sex and Ideology

Any assessment of pornography ultimately must confront our attitudes about sex. A great deal is made by feminists, in particular, about the attitudes towards sex and women embodied in pornography. Since those who attack pornography are, alas, often as doctrinaire about sex as they are about pornography, some clarification is in order. But first we need some background.

Radical feminists are prone to see such disparate activities and practices as fashion, science, prostitution, marriage, and pornography as expressions of male hostility and contempt and thus as manifestations of male oppression. Bound up with this tendency is another which, while not essential to feminism, is often found in tandem with it. Some feminists tend to argue a priori, ignoring empirical evidence and insisting that whatever the facts concerning, for example, exposure to pornography and violence, pornography is intrinsically bad. Now, while a priori arguments are put forward as if they were empirical, as sometimes happens under the pressure of ideological consistency, the result can be arguments designed to confirm what the arguer already "knows" to be necessarily correct. Let's consider an example from the work of Ann Garry, a philosopher who regards pornography as morally objectionable on the grounds that it degrades women. In her article on "Pornography and Respect for Women," Garry considers whether it is possible to have pornography with non-sexist, morally acceptable content. She believes there is nothing in the concept or definition of pornography to rule out such a possibility. "Nonsexist pornography," she writes, "could show men and women in roles equally valued by society. Characters would customarily treat each other with respect and consideration. There would be no attempt to treat men or women brutally or thoughtlessly." Nevertheless, Garry thinks such nonsexist pornography would still degrade women. Why? We can imagine a film in which the main character is a high ranking female Army officer treated with respect by both men and women, whose various sexual encounters are explicitly depicted. Or consider a film in which the protagonist is a female urologist who diagnoses illnesses brilliantly, treats patients with great sympathy, and also has sex with them (these examples are Garry's). "But is the content of such a film," Garry asks, "morally acceptable if it is shown to a typical porno audience today?" Her answer is that "an audience of today is likely to see the 'respected' urologist and Army officer as playthings or unusual prostitutes - even if our intention in showing the film is to counteract this view." You see, Garry knows in advance of any empirical evidence
what a "typical" porno audience is like and what their reaction will be. This question is not settled by precise observation and testing; rather, her theory dictates a priori the answer she must give. Thus, Garry does not consider the possibility that the "typical" audience for pornographic films today consists of heterosexual couples who rent "adult" (X-rated) videocassettes for viewing together at home.

I could cite other examples of this retreat to the a priori, but instead let me quote Susan Brownmiller, who reduces this kind of thinking to absurdity. "But does one need scientific methodology in order to conclude that the antifemale propaganda that permeates our nation's cultural output promotes a climate in which acts of sexual hostility directed against women are not only tolerated but ideologically encouraged?" The disturbing feature of responses like these (as, in fairness, Garry herself points out) is that they raise the suspicion that it would be beside the point to look for empirical evidence against them, for their authors give every appearance of intending to provide, whatever the facts may be, accounts that will obviously eliminate from consideration any attempt to defend pornography.

With this background, it is perhaps easier to understand how the theme of male oppression actually functions in much radical feminist polemic. It is meant both to explain various institutions, activities, and practices, and to condemn them. In her examination of radical feminist social and political philosophy, Alison M. Jaggar makes this quite clear: "Contemporary radical feminists...now perceive most social interaction between women and men as some form of prostitution. Thus, they believe that almost every man/woman encounter has sexual overtones and typically is designed to reinforce the sexual domination of men." Brownmiller, Jaggar, Garry, and others thus speak as though "prostitution is the archetypal relationship of women to men";

that "pornography by its very nature requires that women be subordinate to men and mere instruments for the fulfillment of male fantasies"; and that "to treat a woman as a sex object is automatically to treat her as less than fully human."

Rather than try to survey all the considerations that have been put forward for these claims, let's consider the main point of one recent and influential attempt to support the feminist anti-pornography position. The work of Ann Garry, already referred to, is representative. "As long as sex is connected with harm done to women," she writes, "it will be very difficult not to see pornography as degrading women." Garry supports this astonishing view with a complicated argument which focuses on language. She claims that the words we use in our thinking and speaking about sex are "harm-linked" words. Now, since words like 'fuck' and 'screw' can be used to indicate harm, it would appear that our conception of sex is one in which, in Garry's words, "the active male screws, harms, the passive female." Garry is quite correct to observe that some of the vocabulary of sex can be used to indicate harm: someone may express hostility by yelling "fuck you," or convey the idea that he or she was taken advantage of by speaking of "getting screwed." But such words are hardly the only ones we have for speaking about sex. It seems unlikely that a sensitive and literate speaker of English would choose "fuck" or "screw" as his preferred ways of referring to sexual intercourse. But even if he did, we would need to know a great deal about his intentions, background beliefs, and circumstances before we would be entitled to conclude that he thought about sexual intercourse in terms of harming women. The feminist argument is seriously flawed in its overemphasis on the context of harm in which sexual language is sometimes used and its neglect of other contexts. Their account founders on the reductive impulse to see everything as a manifestation of a single, universal phenomenon, male oppression.

Conclusion

To return to the theme which gives the title to this essay. In recent years, pornography has been a topic of discussion in connection with questions of censorship; or as an expression of male hostility and contempt for women; or as an example of the commercialization of sex; or as a consequence of the weakening of the family unit or the decline of intimacy in technological society. But the question of the benefits of pornography has interest in its own right, and needs to be more widely discussed. The idea expressed here, that pornography is instrumental to experiences which any person may reasonably want, suggests that the dismissive attitude many people take toward pornography may well be mistaken. Indeed, when we contemplate those things that are placed at risk by censorship, we may find ourselves driven to the conclusion that our cavalier treatment of pornography is indefensible.

Robert Ward

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Real Music About Things That Matter:
The Survival of Folk

Following a decade-long slump, folk music is enjoying a return to popularity. The term "folk" should refer to music made by common people, not to the media definition of folk music that elicits visions of hay bales, hootenannies and country hicks. Although many younger music aficionados may not understand this, there once was a time when American musical tastes were not dictated by MTV, force-fed radio programming or even the money-hungry corporate record business. Musicians were able to entertain the public even if they had not made videos. Before electric guitars, Walkman units, microphones, stereo television, or even electricity, people managed to amuse themselves with tunes and styles of music learned and performed around the home.

For years, there were no mass-market media to convey these sounds to the general public, and as a result, musical trends were generated and perpetuated along various geographical and socio-economic boundaries. Bluegrass thrived in the mountains of Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia, while New Englanders kept alive a rich tradition of music from the British Isles. Texas swing was played in the Panhandle and klezmer music in settlements of American Jews. Blues licks abounded in the Mississippi delta and other Southern locations, a direct offspring of the African tradition brought to North America by slaves. Black spirituals begat blues and the blues begat jazz as well as that radical art form, rock and roll. Segregated by the swamps and bayous of Louisiana, transplanted Arcadians developed a unique form of music called by the name of their former homeland, its syllables twisted by time. Their Cajun music is yet another example of an art form indigenous to a certain area that has remained insulated from outside influences.

As America became the so-called melting pot of the world, immigrants brought rich musical traditions with them. These musical styles were in place well before the development of an apparatus that would spread them to the mass market, and it wasn't until the early 1960s that folk music was spread across the nation on commercial radio stations. During that period, a healthy folk scene captured the imagination of the country as performers offered a brand of music that incorporated many of the above-named styles.

There has always been a fair amount of "I love you, baby" sentiment in the words of American songs, but the 60s folk movement offered music that featured meaningful lyrical statement. Performers like Woody Guthrie and The Weavers made musical protest statements in support of the labor movement and other causes for quite some time before their music reached a widespread audience. The folk music spreading like wildfire throughout the coun-
try formed the musical edge of a new age. Social and political upheaval was in the wind, and the new music was its form of public expression; its composers and performers spoke the language of change.

The musical traditions of the past soon gave way to folk music as a way of expressing anti-war sentiment. Acoustic music had been important in protest movements prior to the Vietnam War, but now there were more listeners. The most unpopular war in the history of the United States drew opposition from a wide range of socioeconomic groups. Musical expression of the anti-war sentiment found its way to the public through radio and television. Although the anti-war movement was the dominant social cry of the time, other philosophies found voice in folk music, including the emerging women's liberation movement and the black power/civil rights movement.

With the full force of American media loosed on these formerly simple songsmiths, people from even obscure locations became the oracles of a generation. Hibbing, Minnesota's Bob Dylan and his contemporaries sold thousands of records, appeared frequently on television, and rose to the pinnacle of a musical empire that had become larger than the American music industry of a few years before. Major recording labels wooed the artists, and tens of thousands flocked to concert halls for live appearances of the new age soothsayers. By the 1970's, rock and roll began to dominate public musical tastes, and protest issues failed to generate the same excitement as they had in the previous decade. Record companies became fat with profits reaped from sales to affluent record-buying Americans. No longer concerned with social content, rock and roll and the record buying public slid easily into the good-time sex and drugs quagmire. Ironically, concern with personal sensory experience derived from the 60s experimentation in free love and mind expansion, but was tragically altered to fit the new hedonistic society.

An economic recession in the latter half of the 1970s served as the crucible for the fleeting yet memorable musical period called "disco." Derived from the 60s dance clubs, the new discotheques, the new dance clubs featured flashing lights and "go-go girls." They were the pinnacles of self-absorption and fatalistic living. With skyrocketing unemployment and dismal prospects for the future, America's youth took to the dance floor, undulating to a thumping bass beat and consuming that most hedonistic of drugs, cocaine. One-night stands and a general devil-may-care attitude ushered in the 1980s before a new musical form pushed disco into the museum of popular fads. Punk and New Wave gave voice to the frustrations of a new generation tired of the disco lights and angry at forces beyond their control which had seemingly mortgaged the future.

Meanwhile, the folk sound had been abandoned by the media in general and record companies in particular. Despite the fickle record-buying tastes of the public, long-sequestered musical forms remained alive in the various corners and back rooms of the country. Nurtured over decades, this music was not about to be forgotten along with other temporary trends. Small clubs and coffeehouses around the country maintained performance forums for unknown artists, while a network of independent record companies picked up where corporate artist's rosters left off. The economic depression that struck the country in the late 1970s hit the record companies hard. Lavish banquets and long limousines were part of a lifestyle to which corporate record executives had become accustomed, and when the bottom fell out, they hit the ground with a thud. The result was a radical trimming of the lists artists presented on the major labels, and Top-40 radio stations were encouraged to push a select Top-30. The emphasis was on the marketing of a few superstar names. If a performer couldn't fill an arena with screaming fans, he or she was not considered marketable material. For musicians, having one's work recorded is the chance to leave a permanent mark. Many folk artists passing through during the period of music industry cutbacks failed to have that opportunity. "There's nothing more ephemeral than a song," said Greenwich Village folk legend Dave Van Ronk in an interview last year. "A record is your posterity in a sense." "There are so many people that I would like to hear on record and I can't, and that's very frustrating for me, and more frustrating for them," he said. Van Ronk is a living example of a performer who was once commercially successful (in record com-
pany terms) who was set adrift when times got tough. His recording "Teddy Bear's Picnic" was a major hit in the early 1960s.

After some years, people got tired of being spoon-fed the same old formula-rock; the angst of punk lost its intensity and mindless heavy metal rock became the domain of the under-14 set. Previously ignored acoustic musicians began to get a bit more attention from the media, but their resurgence has come primarily in the live appearances. Venues which had been struggling for years suddenly became a bit more populated, and a circuit began to develop where artists could play and sell their independently-pressed records.

A major difference between the current folk revival and the experience of 25 years ago is the level of musicianship. Folk and acoustic performers today feature meaningful lyrical content, and, more often than not, a superior mastery of their musical instruments. "I believe in folk music, and it's worth doing," said 60s folk icon Tom Paxton in a 1984 interview. "The folk scene is booming right under people's noses. There's more good quality music in the folk idiom right now than there ever was in the 60's," said Paxton. Radio programs such as "A Prairie Home Companion" from Minneapolis, and "The Flea Market" from Chicago, are attracting national audiences during their weekly broadcasts. Both programs feature folk music in the truest sense, presenting both nationally known performers, and eclectic practitioners of the more obscure forms, such as bluegrass and Cajun music. "The younger crowd is getting disillusioned with heavy metal and the other standard fare," said popular folk singer Tom Rush of Cambridge and New Hampshire. During his days at the now-defunct Club 47 in Cambridge, Rush gave early exposure to works by James Taylor, Jackson Browne and Joni Mitchell, who would eventually become folk superstars. He has been aggressive in keeping the music alive, and now actively promotes younger folk artists that he feels have talent and potential.

Bob Dylan, the biggest folk name of them all, agrees with Rush's assessment of modern-day musical boredom. "The same limp sentiment dominates the record charts, the kids are getting a raw deal," said Dylan recently. "Nobody's telling them anything through music anymore. They're just getting a lot of consumer products that aren't doing them any good," he said. "Sooner or later they're going to rebel against it all." While contemporary folk writers aren't harping on the the anti-war theme anymore, they find plenty of other topics. Audiences will pay attention to music with a political message "as long as you're not preaching to them," said Paxton, who has made a career of veiling his sentiments with rapier-like wit and a healthy dose of humor. Folk music will continue to thrive, but it will probably never reach the mass media levels it hit in the 1960s. "There's more of it (folk music) around than five or six years ago, and that's because people are tired of the same old rock and roll recycled and presented as new," said Dave Van Ronk. "There's still not much mass media interest though, and that's what characterized the folk movement of the 60s," he pointed out. "However, pop music is getting boring to more and more people."

Happily, individuality is as much a hallmark of music listening as it is of other facets of life, and there will probably always be a market for music that reflects that aspect of human nature. Folk music will remain a means to perpetuate musical forms inherent in a particular culture and will continue to provide a forum for new performers. Playing and listening to folk music has a certain inevitability. "As musical tastes shift, folk will go on being played at the grass-roots level, where it started," said Jim Hirsch, director of the well-known folk music instruction school, The Old Town School in Chicago. Tom Rush probably sums it up best. "Folk music offers the same things it offered to me and my cohorts back in the 60s: real music sung by real people about things that really matter to them."
The jewelry on these pages as well as on the cover of this issue of the Bridgewater Review is the work of John Heller, a member of the Bridgewater State College Art Department. He holds Bachelor of Fine Arts and Master of Fine Arts degrees from Pratt Institute where his major areas of work were clay and metal. Since joining the Bridgewater faculty in 1968 he has continued an active studio production in both these areas.

Heller has been active in arts organizations, holding office on the local, state, and national levels. He serves the Brockton Art Museum/Fuller Memorial as an advisor on contemporary crafts and has organized over a dozen exhibitions at Brockton and other museums. In 1980 he was awarded a Commonwealth of Massachusetts Crafts Fellowship. His work is shown at a number of galleries in New England and New York.

The challenge of working with sculptural forms in jewelry, which demands a wearable scale, has led to my combining different metals and finishes. Whether I mix metal colors or add stones to the piece, I am conscious of how the piece functions sculpturally.

NECKLACE: 14K gold with Australian matrix opal and fresh water pearls; center section, 1\(\frac{1}{4}\)" x 1\(\frac{1}{8}\)", detaches to become pin.

PIN: Sterling silver and 14K gold with rose quartz, 3" w.
The diverse ways precious metal can be worked encourages experimentation and the development of personal style no matter whether the techniques to be investigated are traditional or experimental. Since I’ve continued to work in clay and would like my work in metal to relate to my work in clay, I’ve found that the lost wax process* seems a logical way to make jewelry which has this connection. The wax from which the jewelry is first made is malleable as is the clay, and seems to demand from me a great amount of surface texture and sculptural massing.

The challenge of working with sculptural forms in jewelry, which demands a wearable scale, has led to my combining different metals and finishes. Whether I mix metal colors or add stones to the piece, I am conscious of how the piece functions sculpturally.

“My work is different enough from much of what is commercially available that I know that it will not appeal to everyone. That is perfectly acceptable to me since each piece I make is unique and is not reproduced. Quite a bit of the work I do is on commission: to work with an individual’s taste and interests, especially when they have offered me a compliment by asking me to make something for them, may be the most satisfying work of all.”

* Casting – the “lost wax” process – has been used by artists for thousands of years. The artist first creates an object from wax or other burnable material taking care with both the form and surface of the piece since the final casting will reproduce the wax very accurately. The completed wax is embedded in a plaster mold which is heated until the wax has burned out, as a candle disappears when it burns, leaving a cavity in the mold. The plaster holds the surface of the original wax in exact reverse. When the burnout is complete melted metal is poured into the mold. When it cools, the plaster mold is broken away and the metal object is revealed. The casting is then cleaned, polished, and finished.
ANGER
The Misunderstood Emotion

by
Carol Tavris
Simon and Schuster, Inc.
New York: 1982

Americans have mixed attitudes towards anger. At one time anger was thought to be a very destructive emotion which should be suppressed at any cost, but it has more recently been seen as a healthy emotion whose suppression entails a physical and psychological price. We are advised by the "anger industry", psychotherapy, that within many a tranquil person is a furious one crying to get out and that blocking this anger can produce depression, guilt, anxiety, family problems, psychosomatic illness, and even suicide. Some of us dutifully follow this advice and express our anger at every thwarted wish, cleansing our systems in the process. Yet, we are also aware that anger may be dangerous, that it can have serious social consequences. So, others, fearing the loss of control that anger may bring, suffer injustice in silence. Most of us who don't react in these extreme ways remain ambivalent about how to respond.

Carol Tavris challenges many of the prevailing assumptions about anger, particularly those of psychologists and psychiatrists of the "ventilationist" persuasion. Those who recommend ventilating one's anger do so on the basis of several questionable beliefs, in large part a distortion of the legacies of Darwin and Freud. These beliefs are, first, that anger is an instinctive, biologically based response to threat or the frustration of goals and desires. Since anger is an instinct, attempting to suppress it will ultimately fail. Second, anger is a form of emotional energy which can be "dammed up," "spill over" and possibly "flood" the system. Third, if the outward expression of anger is prevented, anger turns inward, resulting in neurosis, depression, guilt, and psychosomatic illness. Fourth, catharsis, treated by many today as nearly synonymous with emotional venting, empties the emotional reservoirs and prevents aggression and all the other ills associated with blocked emotions. Catharsis may be achieved in various and sundry ways, ranging from "talking it out," exercising, shouting, playing sports and watching violent movies, to pouting a pillow.

Tavris disputes each of these beliefs. Rather, she views anger as a social event, a form of communication. To be sure, anger is in part a product of our biological heritage. However, unlike animal aggression, which may occur more or less automatically in response to certain stimuli, human anger is influenced by judgment and choice.

For example, whether or not we become angry in a given situation depends upon our interpretation of that situation. Behind every incidence of anger is the belief that someone is not behaving as he or she ought to behave. Furthermore, the message of anger is, according to Tavris, "Pay attention to me. I don't like what you are doing. Restore my pride. You're in my way. Danger. Give me justice." Thus, anger is a message to another with a desired social objective. As with any other communication, we choose to express it.

Tavris cites extensive research evidence in support of her thesis, evidence which also provides partial answers to some perennial questions about anger. Does suppressing anger cause illness, specifically high blood pressure and heart disease? Conversely, does expressing anger reduce stress? Tavris concludes that either expressing or suppressing anger seems to be related to elevated blood pressure. How should these apparently contradictory findings be explained? The critical variable is not suppression versus expression but rather the persistence of stress, which is in turn associated with high physiological arousal. Suppressing our anger is undesirable if, by not revealing our feelings, we allow the stressful situation to continue. However, expressing anger can also be harmful if it subjects us to continued stress (as may happen if we alienate friends and spouses or get fired). The anger strategy which seems to work best is reflecting, waiting until we have calmed down, and then trying to reason with the person who has made us angry. Anger deals with other common questions. Does "talking it out" anger get rid of it? Most people think so, but the evidence suggests that "talking it out" rehearses the emotion and might make one worse off by providing a label and justification for one's feelings. Should one always remain quiet? No. Remember that anger is a social communication with consequences. Discussing your anger can sometimes lead to practical solutions to a problem. When is the expression of anger cathartic, or calming? Tavris reports that aggression is cathartic if you retaliate against the person who you feel deserves the blame, if your retaliation inflicts an appropriate degree of harm (not more and no less) to the target, and if your target doesn't retaliate against you. Unfortunately, these three conditions are seldom met.

Does alcohol release anger? Alcohol soothes angry individuals as often as it inflames them. Tavris suggests that alcohol merely provides one with a social excuse to behave in ways that might be otherwise threatening or uncomfortable.

Which sex has the anger problems? Tavris produces some interesting statistics. Very few studies have found any sex differences in proneness to or expression of anger. Males are more aggressive than females, but only to strangers. In the home, neither husbands nor wives are more aggressive. And this lack of sex difference includes direct physical aggression. Wives are apparently just as likely as husbands to be physically violent towards their spouses, but less likely to use fists, guns, and knives, and thus less likely to cause serious injury.

Tavris has not answered all the questions one might have and her book is at times rambling and anecdotal. Yet, she is always thought-provoking. No one who reads her book will ever again think of anger as something which "just happens" to us. Anger is a social tool which we choose to use. Although anger may have destructive consequences, both to others and to ourselves, it can also be used morally to rectify wrongs.

David Richards
Associate Professor
Psychology Department

A MAGGOT

by
John Fowles
Little-Brown
Boston: 1985

John Fowles is, not surprisingly, up to his old tricks. I say "not surprisingly" because we have sufficient and increasing evidence from his store of novels, articles, and interviews to suggest quite clearly not only where he has been but also where he might be going. Surely a writer can carve out new territory; but A Maggot, his most recent novel, though markedly different in plot and material from The Magus, The Ebony Tower, and Daniel Martin, and even The French Lieutenant's Woman which is set...
in the same Dorsetshire countryside, bears a striking resemblance to his earlier work in structure and theme.

Simply, thus unfairly, stated, Fowles, like many of his predecessors in the tradition of the English novel, places his central character in a mysterious, sometimes personally threatening situation, moves him through a series of self-revealing crises which force him to assess himself and make crucial self-defining choices, and then demands that he act on his decisions. Usually, he incorporates an open scene in nature for critical events, a literal green world, which becomes a recurrent device in his novels, one that identifies Fowles with the ancient pastoral tradition. (Serious critics beware; Fowles holds little regard for academics; "classics-stuffed Strasbourg geese," he once called them). Thematically, the course of events usually brings the main character to understand that the only true freedom for the individual is the freedom he shapes by his own choices, that his identity is not to be bestowed by society or by tradition but by his own freely chosen acts. For Fowles, the individual must pass from self-delusion through self-analysis to choice. Fowles' obsession with this motif manifests itself in what in The Magus he calls "god games" in which one character manipulates situations through disguise, deceit, or, sometimes, truth, to force the main character to choose, in effect, to create himself.

Nicholas Urfe of The Magus (whatever ending is read), Charles of The French Lieutenant's Woman (again, regardless of ending) and Daniel Martin of that novel instantly come to mind as examples. Fowles' existential humanism is clear, firmly stated at the end of Daniel Martin. Reflecting on the late Rembrandt self-portrait, Daniel Martin tellingly muses: "It is not finally a matter of skill, of knowledge, of intellect; of good luck or bad; but of choosing and learning to feel...No true compassion without will; no true will without compassion." Fowles' philosophic position extends to include an aesthetic position which not only postulates the artist as shaper, as manipulator controlling his own god games but also emphasizes the artist as observer of his own process of creation, as observer of his own work. The emphatic position of the self-regarding self-portrait of Rembrandt at the end of Daniel Martin acts as a perfect symbol of Fowles' notion of the artist as artist. In the novels, Fowles' use of double time -- historic past and narrative present, of art observed, serves this purpose as does his use of the intrusive author. A Maggot follows the same structural and thematic course.

Fowles uses the term "maggot" in its eighteenth-century meaning, which he explains in his "Prologue" to mean "a whim or quirk...an obsession with a theme." The maggot of his novel, the seed from which the story springs, is a fleeting, imaginary picture of a "small group of travellers, faceless, without apparent motive...in a deserted landscape...." From this modest scene Fowles gives his faceless group a local habitation and a name, and fashions an intriguing novel of adventure, mystery, suicide, suspected murder, deceit, sex and love, and, importantly, faith. Woven into the fabric of his material are consistent patterns of play-acting and stage directing, of known lying and suspected falsehood.

Fowles brilliantly invokes the spirit and flavor of eighteenth-century England (much as he did for the nineteenth century in The French Lieutenant's Woman) by interlacing copies of pages from the Gentleman's Quarterly at strategic points in the narrative, by incorporating political and sociological commentaries by the intrusive authoritative voice (when were undergarments adopted by eighteenth-century gentlewomen; what was the attitude of the clergy toward change and property), by re-creating the pompous reports of the officious lawyer, and by recapturing the eighteenth-century idiom in the dogged interrogations of the witnesses.

The opening narrative, striking in its control of detail and rhythm, carries the riders, five men and one woman, from London, through Salisbury, by Stonehenge, to Dorset on a mission whose true purpose is known only to one member of the group; the others, however, believe they do know. The party is comprised of his Lordship, the main figure of the party, second, his deaf/dumb servant who thinks he knows but is unable to indicate in words his understanding, then an actor, chosen for both his ability and his diplomacy, a serving man who lives by day to day labor, and, finally, a London whore, drafted for purposes known only to the Lord. After a stay at an inn the party travels to a deserted place, to be the vehicle for the discovery of truth and the rule of property.

On the surface, the interrogations form the center of the novel. They seem designed to be the vehicle for the discovery of truth and in a way they are. We want to know the true identity of the members of the little band of travellers; we want to know their mission; and, especially, we want to know what happened to the Lord, Rebecca, and the deaf/mute in the cavern which is the core of the novel. Fowles presents varying versions of the incident in the interrogations, ranging from satanic copulation to divine revelation. One version comes from Jones, the servingman, who reports the incident as seen from his hidden vantage point outside the cavern and embellished by what he tells us Rebecca told him. Two additional versions come from Rebecca herself, one of which she insists is deliberately distorted, the other she quietly protests as the truth. Finally, objective investigators inspect the scene, within and without the cavern, and report their find-

KANSAS

Kansas lies down because the rest of the country won't. It rolls on one side then the other, verdant or brown. Here the earth speaks only to the earth. When people came they were told to rest or else continue on. Because Kansas knows the value of sleep, night hangs just above the waist, and in daytime the sky rests on any hand held up to it.

Fran Quinn

Ayscough, lawyer, rationalist, sceptic, protector of vested property interests and guardian of the status quo. In such a confrontation, of course, no middle ground can be reached. Rebecca has accepted Christ and faith; Ayscough believes in empirical evidence and the rule of property.

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Book Reviews continued

Crime and Human Nature

by

James Q. Wilson
and
Richard J. Herrnstein
Simon and Schuster, Inc.
New York: 1985

The crime problem has received a great deal of attention in recent years from academicians, politicians-policymakers, law enforcement personnel, the general public and the mass media. The increasing magnitude and tenacity of crime have created a coalition among these groups in efforts to analyze and control this problem, but the coalition has not always been harmonious. For example, politicians use the crime issue in seeking election, but not necessarily to effect meaningful crime control policies; law enforcement agencies use it to obtain additional firepower, but not to improve community relations; the mass media use the crime problem to titillate and reinforce fears, stereotypes, and as bait in the competition for readers and viewers. The public fear of crime is used to justify protection...at any cost.

The crime problem has also brought to fruition an interesting, if not dangerous, relationship between academicians and policymakers. Increasingly, theories of criminal behavior are advanced which are more directed toward controlling the offender than to clarifying conditions which tend to produce high levels of crime.

The empirical base of the crime problem is rather clear. Young, urban males commit a disproportionate number of crimes. No matter the attempt to redirect or rehabilitate these individuals, innovative programs have not been successful. The fact that a substantial proportion of criminals are repeaters brings into question the ability of the criminal justice system to deter crime, let alone to rehabilitate offenders.

As a result, policymakers and some crime researchers have shifted their attention to identifying repeat offenders (recidivists) in order to facilitate successful prosecution and imprisonment. Consequently, there has been a gradual but steady shift in the search for the causes of crime from social and environmental explanations to individual and personal ones. The Wilson and Herrnstein essay on criminal behavior reflects these interrelated trends.

Crime and Human Nature is a megabook (twenty chapters and over 500 pages) on the crime problem, written both to document the problem and to set forth a general theory of criminal behavior based upon individual differences in susceptibility to crime. It is a rational view based on the psychological theory of behaviorism, which assumes that "...people, when faced with choice, choose the preferred course of action...a person will do that thing the consequences of which are perceived by him or her to be preferable to the consequences of doing something else."

According to Wilson and Herrnstein, involvement in crime is simply a matter of choice, a decision based upon the rational calculation of consequent rewards and punishments. Theoretically, the larger the ratio of the net rewards of crime to the net rewards of non-crime, the greater the tendency to commit the crime.

Wilson and Herrnstein suggest that this theory is particularly applicable to individuals who commit repetitive predatory street crimes (aggravated assault, murder, larceny, robbery). Moreover, the fact that predatory crime is a matter of concern in all societies and in all historic periods indicates something more than a mere universal concern with crime and social order. People in different societies rank the seriousness of specific offenses (murder, robbery, theft, incest) in similar ways regardless of the individual characteristics (age, sex, education and social class) of respondents to crime surveys.

To Wilson and Herrnstein, crimes are committed by a certain "type" of person and are the result of a rational decision-making process. It is not that non-criminal individuals are entirely crime free, it is just that they do not commit repetitive predatory crimes.

Who are the criminal individuals? According to the authors, there is mounting
evidence that offenders are differentiated by physique (they are mesomorphic males); by intelligence (they are from the low/normal or borderline percentile distributions on standard tests of intelligence); and by personality type (they are generally psychopathic). The personality psychopathy is then the salient force which constitutes the essential base of criminality. This type is characterized by hyperactivity, impulsivity, distractibility, poor judgement, lack of internal motivation, deficient sense of guilt, anxiety, and deficiency in learning, as manifested in the failure to learn or profit from past experience or punishment.

To Wilson and Herrnstein, these personality attributes of psychopathy are critical because they affect the offender's ability to realistically calculate the rewards for non-criminal over criminal behavior. We are told that "...the relevance of (psychopathy) to criminal behavior can hardly be overestimated, for crime often pits a quick gain against avoiding a remote punishment. Because of (psychopathy) the offender is driven toward the wrong end of the choice."

The authors adduce an impressive array of family, educational, media, constitutional and other data to support both their rational choice theory and their program for the effective control of crime.

The answer to the crime problem seems to be the development of a calculus of punishment that would increase the risks of crime. It is interesting that Beccaria, writing in 1764, with the admonition that the punishment should fit the crime, also thought a calculus of punishment could be developed to deter repetitive criminal behavior.

Wilson and Herrnstein's argument that personal conditions affect the rational choice to commit crime synthesizes a growing compendium of literature used to support an emerging nationwide correction policy of punishment by incapacitation. In the Commonwealth, this policy is reflected in the Governor's presumptive sentencing bill, prison construction program and advocacy of state control of county lockups legislation, which are currently under consideration in the Legislature. Thus, academic research and political policy concerns are joined.

Crime and Human Nature should be a controversial book; for those interested in the mysteries of deviant behavior, it is well worth reading.

Richard A. Henry
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Sociology Department

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**A Poem For My Father Upon Finding A Brittle Piece of Moss With A Twig In It**

I

The light green hair of earth, matted and snarled,
twisted around a twig. The winding thatch will not open.
The twig remains stuck -- a nest with a sword beside it,
a crossroad where branch and fur meet, old friends crossing a stream
and if they part they are still entangled.

There is a tea smell down in the earth
like horse hay left in a long abandoned barn;
it still gives off odor.

The stems of the moss are hand-shaped, fingers of a poor one grasping nothing.

II

Old nest, my father! The green of his life did not leave
when the brittleness came. His sword, a hat pin
caught in his mother's hair.

Old nest! Old hounds baying over hills.
My father standing in snow, off any path, somewhere
where the fox would run, somewhere where the rabbits scatter.
He knew where the treasure was, the silent places, the names of things
I do not notice now. Stepping along a path
or walking paved streets I cannot hear his voice;
and at those parties where wine flows easy and conversation
is like the hum of spent machinery, I cannot remember
his face, or how tall he was,
and only when I brush apart the bushes do I remember
the way he could rumble through the bushes or go softly.

I left him, it seems to me, standing in snow
the hounds running farther and farther away.

Fran Quinn

Fran Quinn was born in Easthampton, MA in 1942. He taught on every level
from pre-school to graduate school. He has worked for the Commonwealth of
Massachusetts Council on the Arts and Humanities in the Poets-in-the-School
program. A founding member of the Worcester County Poetry Association, Inc.,
Mr. Quinn conducted a radio program on poetry for seven years. He has read
throughout the United States and also in Canada. He lives in Worcester, MA,
and this is his first collection of poems.
Do Mushrooms Have A Sex Life?

When people learn of our research on mushrooms, they usually assume that we cook our subjects after we have dissected them. In fact, the honey mushroom, the particular variety we study, is highly edible, and each fall, during the brief period when the familiar mushrooms appear, collectors harvest baskets of the prized fungi from stumps or from the bases of old trees. Nevertheless, the only mushrooms we have eaten have been supplied by grocery stores or restaurants. Having studied the honey mushroom for over twelve years, we feel that it would be a little like eating an old friend.

Species of the honey mushroom (Armillaria mellea spp.) live throughout temperate regions of the world. Their name reflects the fact that many are honey colored. However, the group as a whole ranges in color from bright yellow to dull brown, usually having minute scaly outgrowths on the cap and when young, a collar around the stalk.

Reportedly good to eat, the honey mushrooms are also "eaters" themselves and do a great deal of damage in the process. In fact, horticulturists and forest pathologists on six continents are very much interested in this mushroom because of its devastating effects on crops and both commercially managed and natural forests. Clumps of these mushrooms are often seen in the eastern United States at the bases of dead or dying trees and tree stumps. Severe infestations occur west of the Rocky Mountains, especially in California, where they cause root rot of fruit and nut crops, ornamental trees and shrubs. To date, over 600 species of plants have been reported to be susceptible to attack by this fungus. In addition to parasitic attacks on living plants and saprophytic growth on dead or dying trees, the honey mushroom is sometimes involved in mutually beneficial relationships with several species of trees and with at least two species of orchids. Honey mushrooms, therefore, show a diversity not only in appearance but also in their nutritional relationships with plants.

When studying the life cycles of mushrooms, it becomes apparent that, in general, the mushroom’s reproductive cycle is surprisingly similar to our own. Like human beings, mushrooms reproduce sexually: they form sex cells which, like the human sperm and egg cells, have half the number of chromosomes found in other body cells and are therefore referred to as "haploid." These sex cells eventually fuse to produce somatic cells (cells other than reproductive cells) with double the number of chromosomes and are called "diploid." The idea that such simple organisms as mushrooms have the same kind of reproductive process as human beings seems quite remarkable.

Although mushrooms definitely do have a sex life, not all of the details of that sex life are understood in all species. (Mushrooms are notably secretive about these matters.) We were interested in studying the honey mushroom in particular to learn exactly how and when certain cells become haploid and others become diploid (fig. 3). We know that the honey mushroom produces four kinds of spores (sex cells) which appear under its cap in fall. These spores drop to the ground and germinate; compatible pairs of germinated spores mate and form cells containing the diploid number of...
chromosomes (cell type A). This part of the sexual cycle has been duplicated in the laboratory. Since compatible matings generally result in the formation of a mushroom, we then wanted to find the exact location within the mushroom of diploid cells and the specific manner in which the diploid cells give rise to haploid cells, such as those found in cell type B.

In order to do this, we carefully removed tissues from specific parts of freshly collected honey mushrooms. We used a DNA-specific stain to find out whether the cells were haploid or diploid. (DNA is the hereditary material of which genes are primarily composed.) The DNA-specific stain attaches only to the DNA and causes DNA to fluoresce when it is illuminated through a microscope with particular wavelengths of light. The amount of light emitted by the fluorescing DNA is proportional to the amount of DNA present and can be quantified by a photometer attached to a microscope. A haploid cell, for example, emits only half the light that a diploid cell emits when subjected to excitation wavelengths of light.

Material for study was readily available in the fall, as we have at that time a cluster of honey mushrooms in our backyard in Bridgewater. This is very convenient, as it made the collection of fresh samples at just the right stage of development a simple matter. As we began to quantify the DNA content of cells in close proximity to cell type B, we were surprised to find that every cell was haploid. Thinking that the source of diploid cells must be farther from cell type B than we had thought at first, we sampled cells from the cap and stalk of individual mushrooms. To our surprise, we were still unable to find diploid cells. Our current thinking is that diploid cells of "type A" must occur in one of the earlier stages of the life cycle which is completed below ground prior to formation of the familiar "mushroom" stage above ground. We have collected samples of various subterranean tissues of honey mushrooms and are continuing to look for the diploid "type A" cells.

The haploid condition of cells in the honey mushrooms was unexpected based on previous mycologists' (scientists who study fungi) reports. In order to determine whether our Bridgewater honey mushroom was an aberrant form or whether honey mushrooms are composed of haploid cells in general, we wrote to mycologists in the northeastern United States and requested samples for study. We even enlisted the help of family members living in Worcester. Thirteen mycologists responded, including seven from New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts whose samples were fresh enough to study using our technique. Again we found that all samples have mushrooms composed primarily of haploid cells. It now appears that what looked like an unusual condition in our isolated form of the honey mushroom is the general rule in this group of fungi rather than the exception.

Although our finding is of interest primarily to a rather restricted group of biologists, the classical mycologists, it has an implication which is of interest to a much broader group. Based on what is known about the process of haploidization (diploid cells becoming haploid) in other organisms, the presence of haploid cells in the stalk and cap of a mushroom suggests that a genetic mosaic may exist in these organisms. That is to say that cells with different combinations of somatic chromosomes and genes may exist, side by side, within the body of individual mushrooms. This varies considerably from the situation in humans and most other diploid organisms where somatic cells have the same chromosomes. We are attempting to test the genetic mosaic hypothesis by recovering individual cells from the stalk region of individual mushrooms and testing them for among-cell genetic variation. If it turns out that honey mushrooms are genetic mosaics of several different cell types, this information may be useful in understanding their broad range of colors and host nutritional relationships. This, in turn, may provide insight into determining a control for this devastating plant pathogen.

Although the fact that honey mushrooms do have a sex life has long been known, many details of that sex life still remain mysterious.

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They've taken the C's out of Economics and now the word is Eonomis. But perhaps you weren't aware that each letter had a special significance.

The E stands for efficiency: that is what Economists study. The two O's stand for organization through efficiency. The N stands for national, which is one way of looking at the economy while the I stands for individual which is another way. The M stands for market which is the type of economy we have, while the S stands for socialist which is the type we don't have.

But what do the two C's stand for? Before we answer that question, we must determine who are the infamous "They" who've taken the C's out of economics. You've undoubtedly heard your conservative uncle, brother, (yourself?) complaining about "...all those people living better on welfare than I am living on my salary."

"Those people" is an acceptable euphemism for non-printable terms referring to certain ethnic groups.

But are the poor really "They"? What about business, which is asking for givebacks and paybacks while unemployment is still high and prices still rising, albeit slowly. We also have the new breed identified by journalistic acronym: the young Urban Professional. The YUPPIE creed seems to be "he who dies with the most toys wins the game." I'm not sure what game they're talking about, but if it's life they're referring to, a family of four making less than $10,609 a year (the poverty line) might find it difficult to join in.

Then there is the present Republican administration which has not only punched holes in but would like to totally dismantle the social safety net. Poverty and hunger are on the increase in the U.S. for the first time in years.

At the same time the Administration is attempting to inflict a tax increase on the middle class in the guise of tax reform. This must be done to reduce the deficit, which has grown at record proportions to support the President's military spending spree. The Credo is 'guns not butter.'

These are "They."

Now we can answer our question. The two C's stand for Care and Compassion, two virtues which our government freely displays to benefit Africa or the American farmer, but which are rarely directed toward the poorest of our own citizens, except during the yuletide season. There are approximately thirty five million people below the poverty level in this country, most of them women, children, old people and cripples. What do we do with them? Cut their food stamps and "let them eat Ketchup?"

Where did these two C's come from? For me they appeared in my first college economics course, taught by a professor Jack Prince at Marietta College in Ohio. The students of my era were mostly "Daddy Republicans" out of the 50's. We looked upon college as a means to a good or better job. We wanted upward mobility and in that sense we weren't any different from the student of the 80's. We wanted the big car and house, the 2.3 children and the two martini lunch. We were taught that there's more to life. To Jack Prince, economics was people and values and ethics and care and compassion. What was care and compassion in those classes? Care was wondering why there were so many have-nots in the world and compassion was wanting to do something about it. I took four more courses from him and caring and compassion were an integral part of all of them.

When I first started thinking about this essay, I was going to end it by asking "Where do we go looking for these two C's?" I was going to suggest that the appropriate place to start would be the mirror. However, Americans are among the most generous people of the world. We probably give more away than any other country, yet the system is not working. Private charity is not doing the job. Government programs have failed.

Poor people need enough money to attain some minimum standard of living. I am suggesting that every person be guaranteed this minimum standard of living. I would set the minimum level at $10,609 per year for a family of four.

My conservative uncle is turning in his grave screaming "What about incentive to work?" I would build this into the system by taxing people 50 cents for each dollar they earn. Thus a family of 4 that earns $1000 would get the basic $10,609, plus the $1000, minus the $500 they are taxed. They would be $500 better off than if they did not work.

I recognize that this would be a difficult undertaking, but then poverty is difficult too.

Stanley Antoniotti
Chairperson
Political Science and Economics Department
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