Cover: The basis for the cover design was decided in collaboration with the editor, Élise deLanglade. A symbol from each submission was carefully placed into a collage representing the 1991 History Journal as a whole.

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Editor's Note:

Our goal for this year's journal is to present a quality work that represents a wide variety of undergraduate writings and deals with a vast array of subject material. It has been my pleasure to work with an outstanding staff, without them this journal would not contain such diversity. I would also like to extend my thanks to the faculty of the History Department for all their advice and support. Special thanks to Mrs. Kneisley in Publications who offered considerable guidance in achieving the end product. Also, I would like to thank Dr. Behrman for all her advice and experience that helped make this publication what it is.

Élise deLanglade

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An Investigation into the Origins of the Constitution

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Dr. Taylor, Fall 1990

The ratification of the Constitution of the United States of America in 1788 marked the birth of a "distinctly American system of politics."[1] Its framers intended it to be, and it became a "novus ordo seclorum: a new order for the ages."[2] If one is to understand this novus ordo seclorum, one must understand the process by which it was created. This paper will discuss the origins of this American system of politics by examining the ideas set forth by Gordon S. Wood in *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787* and Forrest McDonald in *Novus ordo Seclorum: The Intellectual Origins of the Constitution*. These two works merit inclusion among the more important works on the creation of the Constitution and yet fail to provide a complete picture of the process. The picture is left incomplete not because of insufficient research or faulty interpretation but rather because of the limits of their approaches to the subject.

In order to appreciate the significance of Wood's and McDonald's works, one must examine them within the context of historical scholarship on the Constitution. This body of scholarship has produced many impassioned, controversial pieces. M. E. Bradford encapsulates the root cause of this development: "An academic undertaking with such potent implications for partisan politics is never easily accomplished, and yet no other intellectual enterprise is of such importance to the internal order of the Republic (and therefore to our survival as a nation) as the study of our political beginnings."[3]

Up to 1913, historical scholarship that discussed the origins of the Constitution can best be termed the age of veneration of the founders. The framers of the Constitution were seen as enlightened, disinterested statesmen seeking to save a nation that was drifting towards anarchy and to create a government based on the principles of liberty and republicanism.[4]

Charles Beard cast a dark shadow on this school of interpretation in 1913 by publishing *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*. According to Beard, Leonard Levy claims, the Constitution was "a conservative economic document framed by an unrepresentative minority employing undemocratic means to protect personal property interests by establishing a central government responsive to their needs and able to thwart populistic majorities in the states."[5] Although detailing possible origins of the Constitution, its controversial nature was destined to bring it under intense scrutiny and attack.

This scrutiny came from many angles, but perhaps the most thorough and credible dismantling of Beard's thesis came from two sources: Robert E. Brown's *Charles Beard and the Constitution* and Forrest McDonald's *We the People: The Economic Origins of the Constitution*. These two works were in the forefront of the discrediting of Beard's work.

Into the vacuum created with the destruction of the Beard thesis came a number of new and provocative interpretations. One group (with Jackson Turner Main and E. James Ferguson among its members) followed in the Beard tradition by continuing to stress the relationship between economics and politics. A second group "led by Bernard Bailyn and J. G. A. Pocock, had turned their attention to the role of ideology in the founding of the nation."[6] Wood's *The Creation of the American Republic 1776-1787* and McDonald's *Novus Ordo Seclorum* received their roots from, and extended upon the theses of this second group.

In the preface to *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787* Gordan Wood asserts that his aim is to describe and explain the creation of the unique American system of politics that emerged by 1790.[7] Wood works on the premise that the best way to accomplish this task is through a comprehensive study of how the evolving ideology influenced behavior. In order to conduct this study, Wood found it necessary "to steep myself in the political literature of the period to the point where the often unspoken premises of thought became clear and explicit."[8] Wood sought, in other words, to discern and explain the various definitions and connotations of the various terms and concepts that shaped the changing body of political culture from 1776 to 1787, and to link this ideology to the behavior that resulted in the Constitution. According to John Howe, in attempting to complete these tasks Wood's work has both received an inheritance from and provided an extension of Bernard Bailyn's *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*.[9] In this work (published in 1967), Bailyn completely reoriented the understanding of the coming of the American Revolution by showing the extent to which the intellectual framework of colonial political life determined the reaction of Americans to British policy after 1763.[10] Wood himself acknowledges that his debt to Bailyn is "incalculable" and his work can best be seen as within this tradition.[11]

Forrest McDonald's mentor for *Novus Ordo Seclorum: The Intellectual Origins of the Constitution*, on the other hand, appears to be himself. *Novus Ordo Seclorum* is the climax of McDonald's three-book series on the origins of the Constitution. McDonald's first work, *We the People: The Economic Origins of the Constitution* (published in 1958) was intended to test Charles Beard's *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*. In rejecting Beard's thesis, *We the People* was intended, according to McDonald, to "clear the decks: for different interpretations of the making of the Constitution."[12] His first sequel, *E Pluribus Unum*, "focused on the wheeling and dealing and the interplay between politics and economics which enabled hard-nosed practical men to establish the Constitution."[13] Due to his and others' dissatisfaction with *E Pluribus Unum*, he decided to delve into the intellectual dimension of the founding. The result was the culmination of the series, *Novus Ordo Seclorum*, in which McDonald has attempted to "make a reasonably comprehensive survey of the complex body of political thought (including history, law, and political economy) that went into the framing of the Constitution."[14] According to Richard Beeman, in order to make this survey McDonald has investigated an even more varied intellectual tradition than Wood, including: regional variation of ideas on republicanism, Scottish influences, Lockean notions on natural rights and natural law, the complex body of English law, and varieties of theories on political economy.[15] From these points and with these perspectives, Wood and McDonald departed on their journey to reach conclusions on the various aspects of the origins of the Constitution.

A conclusion reached early in this investigation (possibly before it even started) by both Wood and McDonald is that ideology played a crucial role in the events of the time period. Probably the most important thing to understand here, according to Wood and McDonald, is that it was an ideology in flux. According to John Howe, Wood demonstrates that the ideology of the Americans after independence did not remain static but was instead "debated, clarified, applied to the tasks of constitution making, evaluated against the changing realities of Revolutionary life, and ultimately transmuted into the distinctive federalist republicanism of 1786-1787."[16] McDonald claims that this flux represented a sorting out of intellectual elements of the ideology that, for a period, had coexisted but, due to conflicts among these elements, could no longer do so.[17] As the Americans sought to define themselves and their society the ideology that served as their frame of reference was molded and shaped.

While they agree that this constantly changing ideology plays a crucial role in understanding the period, Wood and McDonald disagree as to exactly what role ideology played. In *The Creation of the American Republic* the "container" of ideology or political culture gives shape to the "liquid" of behavior. Wood claims that "all human behavior can only be understood and explained, indeed can only exist, in terms of the meanings it has. Ideology creates behavior."[18] Men, according to Wood, are not free to act in response to objective reality, but instead act according to the meaning they give to that reality. McDonald believes otherwise. McDonald claims that the founders "did not derive their positions from systems of political theory. Rather, they used political theorists to justify positions that they had taken for nontheoretical reasons."[19] The framers had already formulated their positions from practical experience and only used the ideology as source references to lend credibility to their positions. While McDonald would agree that the theories and ideologies shaped the political perspectives of the framers, to him experience, not ideology, created their behavior.[20]

Of all the ideas entertained in the late eighteenth century perhaps none was so important to the Americans' frame of reference as republicanism. While Wood and McDonald identify the same kinds of republican characteristics, they tend to differ in their categorization of these characteristics. Wood identifies two schools of republican thought, classical and modern, and seeks to demonstrate that republicanism from 1776-1787 represented a succession by the latter of the former.[21] The predominant mode of republican theory in 1776, according to Wood, was classical republicanism. Classical republicanism demanded "the sacrifice of individual interests to the greater good of the whole" and believed that the only way to achieve this sacrifice was through the virtuous character and spirit of individual members of society.[22] By 1787 this theory had been replaced by modern republicanism as the prevailing school of thought. Experience had shown, or so the founders believed, that the American character was incapable of sustaining the classical republic and, hence, began the search for "a republic which did not require a virtuous people for its sustenance."[23] Modern republicanism, as identified by Wood, asserted that "only the institutions of government arranged in a certain manner could manage an unvirtuous people."[24] The Constitution was an attempt, according to Wood, to create a republican government that could survive with or without a virtuous populace. For Wood, the Constitution marked the death of classical virtue-driven republicanism.[25]

The continued existence of the elements of what Wood calls classical republicanism, both during and after the ratification of the Constitution, led McDonald to stress the evolving, yet coexistent, nature of two versions of ideological republicanism: puritanical republicanism and agrarian republicanism. Both versions, according to McDonald, asserted that public virtue was the crucial determinant in the preservation of a republic. They disagreed, however, as to what type of public virtue was needed and how best to encourage it. Puritanical republicanism "sought a moral solution to the problem of mortality of republics."[26] It sought to make better, more virtuous people through a vigilant guard against unvirtuous, uncommunal, and therefore unrepublican behavior. Agrarian republicanism, on the other hand, believed that "independence begat virtue, and virtue begat republican liberty."[27] The key to virtue for the agrarians, therefore, was not regulation of individual character, but rather adequate land to provide for individual independence. McDonald believes that both versions coexisted, interacted, and helped shape the perspective of the framers, and were utilized by the founders at the Constitutional Convention.

Whether or not "classical republicanism" had been eliminated as an ideology by 1787, "modern republicanism" had definitely won the paramount position among republican ideologies by this time. Both McDonald and Wood agree that this triumph occurred because the practical experience of Americans between 1776 and 1787 forced Americans to reexamine their political theories and to reconstruct their government. In this way, both subscribe (to a degree) to the idea of a "critical period."

The political result of the revolution had been a series of democratic, legislature-dominated state governments and a weak, confederal national government. The consequence of this political system was, according to Wood, the perversion of republicanism through "democratic despotism" and "abuses of legislative power."[28] McDonald claims that this despotism was represented by democratic excesses that infringed upon the security of liberty and property in American society.[29]

These experiences, combined with the evident powerlessness of the central government and the uproar over Shay's rebellion, led Americans to re-examine and redefine their political assumptions. During this period "classical political assumptions broke down in the face of challenges by 'modern' republican political assumptions."[30] By 1787 the framers had become convinced "that if American government were not radically and immediately reconstructed, anarchy and then tyranny were soon to come."[31] American ideology, however, dictated that only republican solutions to the problem would be satisfactory. As Americans frantically sought solutions, "republicanism" (as an ideology) was redefined (for Wood - genuinely; for McDonald - according to the desires of the framers), and notions intended to remedy the problems were both introduced and reintroduced. Both Wood and McDonald agree that the ideology of the revolution blended with the experience of the "critical period" of the Confederation to produce a different dominant ideology that was to find its expression in the Constitution.

Wood and McDonald devoted their works to studying the creation and discovering the origins of the Constitution. What do they say about the resulting document? What is the significance of The Constitution of the United States?

McDonald and Wood disagree as to whether the Constitution was a repudiation or a fulfillment of the revolution of 1776. Having just emerged from the "critical period" of the Confederation, the founders, Wood claims, sought to reverse the direction of the government. They thus constructed a constitution that was counterrevolutionary in two ways: 1) it reestablished a place for traditional elitism in American government, and 2) it replaced the basis for a community-oriented (economically) society with a basis for a capitalistic, entrepreneurial society.[32] It is on this basis that Wood terms the Constitution "the repudiation of 1776."[33]

McDonald, on the other hand, sees the Constitution as the fulfillment of the revolution of 1776. In the aftermath of independence the states had formed governments based on state constitutions and the Articles of the Confederation. Experience had proven this system of

government unsatisfactory and demanded a new type of government more in line with American principles and more capable of protecting them. McDonald views the Constitution as the result of this search for workable republicanism.[34] The ideology of 1776 then had not been rejected, but considered, modified, and fulfilled.

The significance of the Constitution, according to McDonald and Wood, is that it provided the foundation for a new and unique system of government that was foreign to the world at that time. McDonald claims that "it provided for a government that would itself be governed by laws, and by laws that conformed to the genius and circumstances of the people."[35] Wood trumpets the value of this provision: "No more revolutionary change in the history of politics could have been made: the rulers had become the ruled and the ruled the rulers."[36]

Such revolutionary changes are not without their costs, as Wood and McDonald recognize. McDonald claims that the founders had "fashioned a frame of government that necessitated a redefinition of most of the terms in which the theory and ideology of civic humanism had been discussed."[37] One implication of this redefinition was that part of the tradition of civic humanism was lost.

Wood is not so concerned with what had been lost from the past as with what was to be lost in the future. John Patrick Diggins claims that the redefinition of terms, according to Wood, represented "a deliberate distortion designed to conceal the elitist aims of the framers in an egalitarian rhetoric."[38] The result of this distortion was a permanent divorce in American politics between ideology and motives which had its consequences for the American intellectual tradition. Never again were political ideologies to be genuinely related to differing social interests.[39] Thus, the framers had "brought the ideology of the Revolution to consummation and created a distinctly American political theory but only at the cost of eventually impoverishing later American political thought."[40] These costs are also part of the significance of the Constitution.

Where, however, do *The Creation of the American Republic* and *Novus Ordo Seclorum* rate among the works of this school of historical thought? Perhaps the best way to demonstrate the importance of Wood's work is not by examining what was said about it but what was done about it. Eighteen years after its original publication, *Creation of the American Republic* was still considered important enough to be the topic for a forum in *The William and Mary Quarterly*. The existence of a symposium of views and reviews of Wood's book by twelve prominent historians nearly two decades after its publication stands as a tribute to *Creation's* lasting importance. Ruth Bloch claims that "Wood's work so overshadows all others on the historical background of the Constitution that it is virtually the only book on the subject (apart from Charles A. Beard's classic) that all American historians know they must know."[41]

Novus Ordo Seclorum has glowing credentials in the field as well. Any time a great historian, such as McDonald, writes a piece that represents the culmination of a lifetime of study it demands the closest attention of students of the subject. *Novus Ordo Seclorum* is just such a work. S. N. Katz claims that it is "the best single volume on the origins of the U. S. Constitution."[42] Richard Beeman summed up the value of *Novus Ordo Seclorum* best when he said that "like almost everything that Forrest McDonald has written, this book is calculated to infuriate some readers and, at the very least, to provoke almost any reader to disagree on specific points."[43] The true significance of McDonald's work is that it is solid enough to present conclusions that must be considered and yet controversial enough to spur the reader on to think for himself.

Although all reviews of *The Creation of the American Republic* and *Novus Ordo Seclourm* are respectful, not all are this glowing. Some historians disagree, not so much with the perceptions of Wood and McDonald, as with the glasses they wear to obtain those perceptions. In other words, some historians have problems with the approach of intellectual history.

One such group of historians are those who can best be categorized as social historians. They claim that, by its nature, intellectual history is so concerned with the ideological writing of the elite that it fails to take into account the rest of society. Gary Nash attacks Wood's approach, claiming that "the political culture of the entire Revolutionary generation cannot be derived from sources emanating from one stratum of the social structure."[44] The same criticism could be made of McDonald's work. Edward Countryman calls for a less synoptic approach to reveal the many different kinds of political culture that pervaded revolutionary era America.[45]

A second criticism can be heard from those who have inherited their approach to history from the Beard School. Their tendency is to look for other, non-ideological influences on political behavior. Jackson Turner Main speaks for this school when he criticizes Wood for failing to give proper credit to the way interests, as opposed to ideology, influenced the debate during the Constitutional Convention of 1787.[46] In fairness to McDonald, this criticism is not as applicable to him as it is to Wood. McDonald provides a more "balanced view of the mixture of ideology and interest that moved the Founding Fathers."[47]

Notwithstanding these criticisms, both *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787* and *Novus Ordo Seclorum* provide masterful, important contributions to the field of Constitutional history. In spite of the apparent fact that there are aspects of the story that have either been left out or under emphasized, one must remember that a historical work cannot try to do too much. The task of a historian is to analyze the past and to attempt to make

significant generalizations about it. A generalization, by definition, is going to leave out some important details. The value of making these generalizations is that it allows one to form a conceptual web that enables one to comprehend the mass of information in a more meaningful way. Both Wood and McDonald have spun such a web.

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Kurt Schwitters: The Link Between Dadaism and Constructivism

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Mr. Tatum, Fall 1990

Dada, as practiced by Kurt Schwitters, and the De Stijl form of the Constructivist movement were styles with such similarities that they could be described as allies in the fight against naturalism in art.[1] Dadaism was an anarchical and cynical movement and Constructivism was considered an optimistic one; however, they went hand in hand. Dadaist work was the destruction of the elements in an old culture but it needed Constructivism to construct them into a new culture. Kurt Schwitters linked the philosophical similarities between Dadaism and De Stijl. [2]

Both Dada and De Stijl originated in neutral countries during World War I.[3] Dada, meaning "yes, yes" in Russian and "rocking horse" in German, had consistent themes of anti-art.[4] The members of the movement were not politicians but artists searching for an expression that would correspond to society's demands for a new art. As enemies of the old bourgeois society, these artists saw a culture about to crumble before the war.[5]

Dada was founded in both Zurich and Berlin. Because of the two different geographical areas, one city located in a neutral country and the other situated in the middle of the war, Zurich Dada was quite different from that of Berlin. (Zurich Dada resulted from a city of "tightened stomachers" and thundering hunger, where rage was transformed into lust for money and questions of forgiveness.)[6] The mass production and "industrialized death" left after the war instigated a desire to go back to the primitive uncontaminated by an older way.[7] Childish innocence became the metaphor for the Dada primitive and Dada became the desire for a new morality.[8]

Cabaret Voltaire was the Dadaists' first meeting place in Zurich and in February 1918 Berlin Dada was born. Club Dada was launched by Richard Huelsenbeck but Raoul Hausmann became the president. Their group attracted a variety of personalities that were more diverse than the Zurich group.[9] Together they rejected the bloody horrors of the Great War and disagreed with Cubism and other modern art styles. Such individuals with penetrating minds understood their existence at a turning point in time. These artists questioned representational art, the exclusivity of art when used for certain social groups, art as a commodity, and the elevation of an artist after achieving his or her intention.[10]

Such questions caused skepticism in the artist's own role in the art world. Dadaists reacted to this by poking fun at high art. They believed the best answer to their doubts was to destroy the ideas of the past culture and to concentrate and reorganize those forms found in the present culture.[11] The self-destructive stance of the Dadaists was accompanied by a deep longing for form and structure.[12] A longing for order attracted many Dada artists to Constructivism.

Constructivism was an international movement derived from a Russian abstract movement and the Dutch De Stijl group, and eventually spread beyond Russia and Holland throughout Europe.[13] Its influence lay in its philosophy which was the concept of harmony and the suppression of individualism.[14] By suppressing individual techniques, artists created a universal style that could be found in architecture and interior design as well as painting. One would not be able to tell who the artist was. Thus, a more ordered society could be created. The struggle of the individual against the universe revealed itself in World War I as well as in the present time. New art brought forward a new consciousness of the time which was a balance between the universal and the individual.[15]

Artists began to see a trend toward collectivization and mathematical exactitude. Technology became the clearest sign of a new age with machines exemplifying a technical perfection that the human hand was incapable of achieving. Through elimination of any reference to objects in nature and any artistic styles through abstraction, man moved closer to mechanization and a universal style. Artists were looking for a complete freedom from external reality.[16] Straight, horizontal, and vertical lines, right angles and primary colors with additions of black, white, and gray became the method used to achieve that freedom. It was a severe restriction of creative terms to the basic minimum.[17]

Theo von Doesburg and Piet Mondrian founded the Dutch Constructivist movement, De Stijl, in the summer of 1917.[18] The movement centered around the new

journal "De Stijl" edited by Von Doesburg, its main spokesman. The idea behind the journal was that works of pure art needed to be interpreted through theoretical writings. Von Doesburg explained, "This periodical hopes to make a contribution to the development of a new awareness of beauty." [19] It was a task to make modern man more aware and receptive to the new abstraction, also known as "plasticism." [20]

Kurt Schwitters was a Dada artist who went in his own direction and ended up with a Constructivist style. By comparing his works with De Stijl artist, Piet Mondrian, one can see how their styles illustrate the alliance between these two movements.

Schwitters "plowed his own Dada furrow" in Hanover. [21] After time spent in the army, Schwitters felt demoralized and endured the rest of World War I in Hanover as an engineering draftsman. [22] After several stylistic progressions, from impressionism to cubo-expressionism, he soon developed his mature style entitled "Merz." "Merz" was the name for his abstracted and assembled works. These paintings and collages clearly illustrate the ideas seen in both Dadaism, an abstraction, and Constructivism, a rebuilding.

Schwitters spoke both for and against Dada but was refused membership into Berlin's Club Dada simply because of Hulsenbruck's dislike for Schwitters' middle class life-style. His absorption in fine art did not permit him to become part of the Berlin Club either. Consequently, Schwitters harbored some animosity toward certain aspects of the movement, but this did not deter his work with Dadaists. [23]

Destruction and construction together form an active polarity that was essential to the internal logic of much Dada art. 24 Schwitters made a commitment to order and purity in his work which he based on the active polarity between destruction and construction. 25 By destroying those materials which he found within society and rebuilding them into a work of art, or better yet, his own symbol of society's order, he was directing expression and shortening the interval between intuition and the realization of the work of art.

There are three crucial factors in artistic work. One is the choice of materials. Another is their distribution and organization on the surface and the third is their metamorphosis into purely formed
elements. [26]

Schwitters explained, "The medium is as important as I myself. Essential in only the forming. Because the medium is unimportant, I take any material whatsoever if the picture demands it. "He was fond of castaway and rubbish of "verbal garbage" from the every day material culture that existed. His decision to work with castaway materials was not an accident. This way he identified what was the center of the Post-War Crisis. It was a devaluation by the war of everything held to be good. Everything had to be returned to a place of honor. [27]

Schwitters commented, "I realize that all values only exist in relationship to each other and that restriction to a single material is one-sided and single-minded." [28] His "Merz" became the sum of individual forms.

His materials were placed into a general grid pattern implicit in the chosen forms. Metamorphosis of materials can be produced by their distribution over the picture surface and reinforced by dividing, overlapping, or painting over them. Both formed and fabricated objects have a kind of "common ground" as pure form, but individual characteristics earn equal rights with painted ones. He has thrown the objects from just being themselves and "sublimated them into a higher structure." [29]

Not all of his collages are abstract. In fact "Merzbild 1A. Der Irrenarzt" (The Alienist) is a portrait of a psychiatrist whose head is filled with jumbled debris of a patient's obsessions. He has used found forms in an imitation of representational painted forms. [30]

"Das Arbeiterbild" was the most impressive of his "Merz" works with large material such as long planks of wood, cardboard, and chicken wire. The lines and circles are analogous to painted ones but they are physically present in a way that painted ones cannot be. [31]

Through Schwitters' collages one can see how he was considered a Dada-Constructivist. Dada produced a state of Tabula Rasa which allowed reconstruction called Constructivism to begin. However, the desire to shake off structure and to search for new structure had to arrive at the same place. In both cases the means had to be the same which was a rejection of traditional modes of composition. [32]

Piet Mondrian was one of the oldest and most mature artists of the De Stijl movement. [33] Like Schwitters, Mondrian experienced the same type of gradual and logical development in his style. They both went through a Fauvist stage. For Mondrian, color became his conveyance of meaning. [34]

Due to his background, Mondrian did not experiment very early. Mondrian was born into a strict Calvinist family and he himself trained to be a drawing teacher. Consequently, he refrained from any experimentation before 1908. His primary aim before 1908 was to represent the mood of the Dutch scenery. Finally, at age 36, he began to deviate by deforming shapes and using unrealistic color. [35]

In 1910, Mondrian veered toward form as he allied with the Cubists. The next year Mondrian's Cubist pictures became more taut and severe. He straightened curves and eliminated diagonal lines and right angles. In fact, he took Cubism farther and pushed it to near abstraction. A Cubism series of variously shaped rectangles on a white background began to appear. The interplay of the colored shapes became cut by the frame as each painting turned into a direct consequence of the one before it. [36]

Disturbed by previous geometric paintings where primary colors were the foreground objects on a background of black and white, Mondrian formed his solution by making the structure independent of color with heavy lines moving through colored rectangles. This way he was able to gain mastery over color and space.[37]

"Tableau II" (1921-25) represents his perfected formula. The structure itself is rather emphatic. It did not simply contain the colored rectangles but functioned as a counterpoint to them.[38]

De Stijl aimed at "conceptions that are not only artistic but that pertain to the formation of a new style of life. "By creating a new visual style it attempted to create a new style for living.[39] Mondrian took this idea and ran with it when he began to transform his studio into a neoplastic work of art.[40] Like Schwitters, he took material from his environment. But, instead of reconstructing the fragment and giving them a higher value in the form of art, Mondrian replaced what he saw with color and line. In essence, he transformed his world into his idea of perfection too, but without using the actual materials themselves. Mondrian insisted that his paintings were, like Schwitters' collages, independent of their sources. To him, "The abstract-real picture will disappear as soon as we transfer its plastic beauty to the space around us through the organization."[41]

Mondrian's De Stijl works stressed the difference between the visual duality of the sexes and consequently, society. By combining the two sexes he created a unity of opposites. Such an idea was his theory to create more unity within society. Mondrian explained, "More or less external femininity and masculinity are a duality of external appearance and therefore cannot form the true unity."[42] This situation was viewed as unsatisfactory and only a unity of an apparent duality. However, a spiritual representation which Mondrian created in his paintings was a unity of a real duality. The female, to him, was stationary, horizontal, and material while the male was moving, vertical, and spiritual. A balance between these two meant happiness and a more ordered society.[43]

Both artists attempted to organize the human experience in a world of doubt and chaos resulting from industrialization and war. The movements of Mondrian's lines and the energy in Schwitters' collected materials attempted to reconcile order through deconstruction, construction, abstraction, and transformation.[44] During such a period of hopeless chaos and demoralization, Dada "subverted traditional laws of art" and, therefore, cleared the way for their "reformulation on new and sounder principles."[45] Schwitters, like Mondrian, is unique in his confidence and equilibrium of his art. Art became the last refuge for constructive action in "a totally insane world."[46]

Endnotes

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2. H. H. Amson, *History of Modern Art*: Third Edition (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1986), 5-7.

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4. Stephen Foster, *The World According to Dada* (Tapei Fine Arts Museum: University of Iowa, 1988), 7.

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6. John D. Erickson, *Dada Performance, Poetry, and Art* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1984), 32.

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8. Timothy O. *Benson, Raoul Hausmann and Berlin Dada* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1987), 141.

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12. Benson, 41.

13. John Elderfield, *Kurt Schwitters* (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1985), 1.

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15. Ibid., 18.

16. Hans L. Jaffe, introduction to *DeStijl: 1917-1931 Visions of Utopia*, ed. Mildred Friedman (New York: Abbeville Press, 1982), 11.

17. Jaffe, *DeStijl*, 11.

18. Foster, 150.

19. Jaffe, *DeStijl*, 9.

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23. Foster, 126.

24. John Elderfield, "On Dada-Constructavist Axis," in *Dada/Surrealism* No. 13, ed. Mary Caws and Rudolph E. Kuenzli (Ann Arbor, MI: Thomas Press, Inc., 1984), 7.

25. Amason, 13.

26. Elderfield, *Kurt Schwitters*, 51.

27. Foster, 124-126.

28. Elderfield, *Kurt Schwitters*, 49.

29. Ibid., 207, 50-51.

30. Ibid., 51.

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32. Elderfield, "On the Dada-Constructavist Axis," 6-7.

33. Jaffe, *DeStijl*, 12.

34. Carel Blotkamp, *DeStijl: The Formative Years* (MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1986), 40.

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36. Jaffe, *DeStijl*, 13-14.

37. Arnason, 333.

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41. Ibid.

42. Blotkamp, 46.

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Stalin's Purge of 1936-1938
A Tool of Totalitarianism and Stalinism

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Dr. Behrman, Fall 1988

"I believe that sometime, from time to time, the master must without fail go through the ranks of the Party with a broom in his hands." [1] These were the words of Joseph Stalin, the undisputed leader of Russia from 1929-1953, in his address to the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1924. These words were spoken just twelve years before he launched a series of purges within Russia which, according to Zbigniew Brzezinski, were "on a scale unprecedented in modern history." [2] Stalin's Purge of 1936-38, distinctive in its immense scope, its methods, and its secrecy, was a vital technique of Soviet totalitarian politics and Stalinism which led to a powerful ordered Soviet state. However, the purge also brought fear, terror, and mass extermination to the Soviet people.

There were two main pillars of Stalin's dictatorship: totalitarianism based on his all-powerful position as leader and the ideology centering around the cult of the leader. The Purge of 1936-38 was employed by Stalin as an effective means to achieve these pillars. The aim of Stalin's totalitarianism was to bring about drastic internal change in Russia. By utilizing his Five Year Plans and purges, he hoped to reshape and reconstruct not only the social structures of Soviet society but also the outlook and the minds of Soviet citizens. Stalin accomplished this change with modern technology: control of communications, education, and police; and mobilization of the masses. Through terror, the "constant and pervading process of mass coercion," Stalin bent the people to his will. [3] He lived by the motto, "historical righteousness will justify transient brutality." [4] Because of its nature, totalitarianism ultimately led to the isolation of the leaders, who became out of touch with the people and insecure. Consequently, the leadership developed a constant paranoia of conspiracy against it and unceasingly endeavored to eliminate the suspicious. [5] The purge became the means not only of terror but also of elimination.

Stalin's ideology was rooted in his theory of socialism in one country. By building and perfecting socialism in Russia, the country could be used as an inspiration and base for oppressed nations throughout the world. Stalin-

ism grew from Stalin's cult of personality. His passionate concern for the state, his emphasis on Marxist revolution, and his ambivalence in disposition are reflected both in Stalinism and his purge. [6] Stalin was a pragmatist who believed that the will was powerless to move men; and apparatus was needed to accomplish his ideology. He found this apparatus in the purge. Stalin was a pragmatist who believed that the will was powerless to move men, and apparatus was needed to accomplish his ideology. He found this apparatus in the purge.

What, then, is the purge, and how is it an instrument of totalitarianism? Brzezinski states that it is ". . . a technique of government of a developed totalitarian dictatorship, for the achievement of specific political and socioeconomic objectives. . . It manifests itself primarily in the ruthless elimination or removal of apparently loyal supporters of the regime." [7] The main thrust of the purge is to eliminate all opponents of the system in power. It carries out the terror essential in the totalitarian system to keep the people insecure and the leader in total power. It strengthens the movement by keeping it pure from contamination, resolving inner struggles for power and providing for the inflow of new members as replacements for those purges. In the initial struggle for totalitarian power the purge is used to cut down competitors from

influential positions, evidenced in Stalin's edging out of Trotsky for political rule. When the struggle is resolved, the purge's bloody procedures commence is two stages, during which remnants of the defeated opponents are destroyed. In the first stage, all organized resistance is liquidated, as in Russia in 1930. The 1934 assassination of Kirov, Central Committee Secretary and party leader, stimulated the second stage, the elimination of potential enemies. In 1935 the purge was aimed at weaker, passive Party elements, and in 1936-1938 it was directed toward dangerous, active elements. [8]

In his utilization of the purge, Stalin hoped to attain many goals. Foremost in his mind was the elimination of potential sources of alternative leadership. The purge was meant to increase centralization and concentration of dictatorial power. A second aim was to preserve the revolutionary fervor and ideological goals of Stalinism. The third goal was the prevention of a Nazi victory within the Soviet Union through destruction of any traces of an active Fifth Column in Russia. Stalin seized this opportunity to justify the liquidation of the opponents who were intent on overthrowing him. He argued that a change of government would weaken Russia's fighting capacity and that, once in power, his opponents would appease Hitler at the expense of Russia. Viewed as the terminator of potential traitors, Stalin would be a hero to the people. [9] A fourth aim was the transformation of society through the elimination of old elements (old administrators) and the introduction of new elements (a new intelligentsia, bred by Stalin). This introduction would eliminate stagnation and emphasize social mobility and promotion, as well as infuse the nation with his ideology. Stalin's fifth goal was to cleanse the Party of undesirable elements, such as careerists and opportunists, in order to maintain its purity and strength. The final aims of the purge were to encourage public support through mass propaganda and to provide an outlet for accumulated hostility resulting from totalitarianism (in which self-expression is suppressed). [10]

The 1936-38 Purge was implemented with devices and methods integral to its success. Propaganda functioned as a useful weapon in its political education and intimidation. The press, notably Pravda, and the radio carried accounts of trials, confession, and the testimony, urging vigilance and self-critique, allowing the masses to expose heretics through denunciation. False denunciation and imagined plots were the result, as lower levels of hierarchy arranged for removal of superiors, and secret police tried to gain favor with the upper ranks through increased victimization. [11] Yezhov, head of the NKVD (the secret police), and director of the Purge, received denunciations and ordered the arrests and executions carried out by the NKVD. For the most part, the purges were conducted with utmost secrecy. In special instances, however, this was not the case. The highlights of the Yezhov Purge were the show trials, in which former leaders of state and party were publicly accused of treason or subversion. They were forced to confess crimes they usually had not committed and to praise Stalin fervently. The majority were then sentenced to death. Trials provided the necessary drama for the Purge, contributing to the load of propaganda and emphasizing to the people the futility of resistance, the strength of the system, and the infallibility of the leader. According to Deutscher, Stalin never appeared in the courts but was "the invisible author, manager, and producer." [13] Stalin's plan for some of his victims ultimately resulted in a bullet in the head; for others it meant forced labor in a concentration camp.

The 1936-38 Purge occurred in two steps: the overhauling of the Party and the overhauling of the Party machinery. The purge of the Party took advantage of the new revision of Party card procedures and the direct secret elections set forth in the new constitution of 1936. The declaration of old membership cards as invalid on December 25, 1935, forced all members either to go through screening or to face expulsion. Only after screening, a process involving the interrogation (and thus purging) of the members, would the new cards be issued. The May 1937 elections saw 55% of Party committee members and secretaries conveniently not reelected; consequently, they were replaced. [14]

During the period of the purge of the party, there were three major trials of former important Party leaders. The first, on August 1936, resulted in the death of Kamenev, Zinoviev, and fourteen other leading Communists, accused of Trotskyite terrorism. The second trial of January 1937 ended with the death sentencing of thirteen men including Radek and Pyatakov, Communists who at first opposed Stalin but then sided with him. Finally, in the third trial of March 1938, twenty-one defendants, all heroes of the October Revolution, including Bukarin, Yagoda, and Rykov, received death. [15]

The overhauling of Party machinery involved the purge of the military and the secret police. June 1937 witnessed the secret trial of Marshal Tukhachevsky and the highest generals of the Red Army, who were accused of planning a coup d'etat. [16] Following their execution, the purge continued through the ranks of the military. The last to die were the officials of the NKVD, specifically Yagoda and Yezhov. Stalin justified this purge as the removal of those who had been guilty of forcing false confessions and punishing innocent people. [17]

Victims of the Purge, other than Party members and machinery, included small landowners, racial minorities and nationalists, economic and government administrators, the mass media, writers, artists, poets, historians, engineers, factory managers, and scientists. Except for the Communist Party, the old intelligentsia, viewed as potentially more dangerous, suffered the most. [18]

The consequences and impact of the Purge of 1936-1938 can be seen in examining its positive and negative results, both immediate and long-term. Many of Stalin's

goals had been met. A new intelligentsia, well-educated and devoted to Stalinist policies, had filled the gaps in Party and administration left by the Purge, combining political and professional leadership and allowing for greater control in both areas. Stalin's new program of social organization had been accomplished. The Purge brought about the consolidation of political power, the solidification of Stalin's control, ad the elimination of potential alternative rule, establishing stability and security in the regime. The Communist Party was strengthened through regulation of the composition of the Party (selection of the best elements and discarding of all others) and through division of Party organizations, which brought leaders closer to the work of the lower levels. [19] A final plus of the Purge was that it may have destroyed the Nazi Fifth Column within Russia, for in 1941 there was no evidence of any such organization. [20] In the eyes of the Soviet people, Stalin was a savior worthy of glorification, "the actual Sun around which communist constellations evolve," according to *Time*, November 15, 1937.

Although the Purge achieved many positive results, it was far from the perfect method of national improvement. It was dedicated to a meaningless terror, instigated by a paranoid despot who used meaningless methods. The great horror was that no one was safe. Insecurity and nervousness were bred among the masses as well as personal mental anguish resulting from loss of relatives and friends. In 1937-1938 about 50% of the Russian people were arrested. [22] Estimates of the death toll from 1936-1938 vary from seven million to twenty-three million people, a staggering amount. [23] In that period the purge eradicated 36% of the Party members, 70-75% of the secretaries of Party organizations and committee members, 80% of the officer corps, and almost 100% of the high command. [24]

The Purge duped the world. Because of its secrecy, even Western writers and investigators present at the show trials, such as Malcolm Cowley of *New Republic*, were led to believe that the defendants were actually guilty of all crimes and deserving of death. No one really knew the extent of the Purge.

Stalin's Purge remains a controversial topic today. The positive transformation of the Soviet Union through the Purge, as totalitarianism and Stalinism were established, is awe-inspiring, yet the great price paid by the Soviet people cannot be ignored. The powerful USSR of modern times had its roots in the Russia created by the Purge of 1936-1938. So, in a sense, the Purge affects the world even today. According to Malcolm Cowley, "The world is still living in the shadow of Stalin's purge." [25]

Endnotes

1. Zbigniew K. Brzezinski, *The Permanent Purge*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), 38.

2. Ibid., 65.

3. Ibid., 27.

4. Ibid., 3.

5. Ibid., 14-17.

6. Helene Carrere d'Encausse, *Order Through Terror*, (New York: Longman, 1983), 218, 219.

7. Brzezinski, 37.

8. Ibid., 8, 26-29, 107.

9. Isaac Deutscher, *Stalin, a Political Biography*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1949), 376-378.

10. Brzezinski, 33, 36, 48, 65.

11. Ibid., 20, 21, 24, 43, 45.

12. Robert Payne, *The Rise and Fall of Stalin*, (New York: Avon Books, 1965), 474, 475, 547, 587.

13. Deutscher, 371.

14. Brzezinski, 55,64, 66, 69, 91, 92.

15. Malcolm Cowley, "Echoes from Moscow 1937-1938," *The Southern Review* 20 (January 1984): 2-4.

16. Deutscher, 379.

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18. Cowley, 6.

19. Brzezinski, 91, 104-115.

20. Franklin, 29.

21. "Our Sun!" *Time*, 15 November 1937, 22.

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Beneficial in its description of the glorification of Stalin by the Communist people during the Purge.

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Useful for its detailed treatment of the show trials and what was behind the scenes," as well as for an estimate of the Purge's death toll.

The Boss and His People in 1938, during the terror. Front row (left to right): Shkiryatov, Beria, Khruschchev, and Stalin. Back row: Zhdanov and Malenkov.

Review of *Black Rain*

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Ibuse, Masuji. *Black Rain*. Translated by John Bester. Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1969.

Black Rain is a powerful and moving story about the bombing of Hiroshima and its effects upon the people. But in the larger sense, the book is much more, for, in *Black Rain*, we witness the forces of life that constantly interact, producing a tension that helps define our existence. Ibuse shows us the complex cycle of life and death, perseverance and surrender, and compassion and anger that become magnified as a result of the atomic bomb. Through the use of imagery we get a glimpse of these forces, which give the book a dual nature: that of opposite realities. Therefore, it will be necessary to explore the use of imagery with regard to these dynamic forces, if we want to truly understand, both cognitively and emotionally, the nature of *Black Rain*.

Throughout the novel the images of life and death are the most obvious to the reader. They evoke tremendously feeling responses; because we only experience life, and we are afraid of death - it is the unknown. The images of life and death are used to illustrate the cycle of creation, death, and rebirth that is central to the novel. The image of carp-rearing is an example of rebirth and an affirmation of life after such a catastrophic disaster. We only know how to live; it is constantly our overriding concern. Whether this is good or bad cannot be fully known; nevertheless, it is all human beings can do. To quote Ibuse, "I glanced at the calendar with its message for the day. 'Never say die,' it said." (p.84) Images of death, along with that horror, destruction, violence, etc., evoke emotions of sadness and pain. We feel for the victims of suffering, especially when we make death more personal by thinking about how we would feel if this terrible catastrophe were happening to people we loved. For example, it is hard to bear the thought of my father "half supporting around the waist, half dragging, a woman whose face, arms, and chest were covered with blood. At each step the man took, the woman's head lolled heavily backwards and forwards or from side to side. Both looked as though they might expire at any moment, but they were jostled mercilessly by the throng." (p.58) In personalizing the situation, these images become particularly effective for me, and I lose my scientific attitude about war. Instead of presenting the image of a necessary and justified act, Ibuse shows the other side, the reality of dropping the bomb. It is important to note that Ibuse does not blame or moralize, he just describes the forces of life and death. This leads to the book's philosophy which "is neither pessimistic nor optimistic. . . [but rather] life-affirming."

The second paradox involves the conflicting images of perseverance and surrender. I am not merely talking about World War II, but of the human condition in general. For, in *Black Rain* we see both images in stunning detail. It is easy to see the connection between this conflict and that of life and death, because perseverance is an attribute of life, while surrender is central to death. So, here again we see both sides of the scenario - not just an optimistic or pessimistic view. Often, the human spirit continues to persevere even in unimaginable situations, like the situation the poor citizens of Hiroshima faced, and it is this drive to live that is especially life-affirming. The best of many images of perseverance comes from the account of Dr. Iwatake, who refused to die: "Every day I had a temperature of 104. My white corpuscle count was two thousand, and the flesh steadily fell from me till I was a skeleton, a living mummy. The burns from my back were inordinately painful—not to speak of those on my wrists and ears. Even when one is only skin and bone, one still feels pain... The debility reached an extreme pitch; time and time again I lost consciousness. At times my heartbeat was inaudible and my respiration seemed to have stopped: a great sore developed on my back, and the membrane of the bladder came away... But I didn't die. It was my wife's cry of anguish at my bedside that brought me back." (p.269) This inspirational account is a good summary of one of the main messages of *Black Rain*: even after enormous evil and suffering, there is still hope for mankind, hope that comes in the forms of perseverance and compassion. Tragically though, not all of the characters persevere, as we witness through Yasuko. She gives up hope and resigns herself to death. Because this is the last image we

are left with, Ibuse is trying to show that the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima represented more suffering and death than its opposites, hope and life, although both are present in the story. We are left with an emptiness, and rightfully so. "Shigematsu looked up. 'If a rainbow appears over these hills now, a miracle will happen,' he prophesied to himself. 'Let a rainbow appear - not a white one, but one of many hues - and Yasuko will be cured.' So he told himself, with his eyes on the nearby hills, though he knew all the while it could never come true." (p.300)

Finally, the images of compassion and anger are constantly displayed throughout the book. A bond has been formed between the inhabitants of Hiroshima that will never be broken. I received a strong sense of the caring and compassion they each felt for each other, while I could also sense a mostly submerged sense of anger at what had happened. These dynamic forces, once again, work to create an atmosphere that is neither optimistic nor pessimistic, but both these forces are life-affirming, for what is a better affirmation of life than human emotions and feelings. A graphic example of compassion and anger is identified when Ibuse says, "He should have been here at 8:15 on August 6, when it had all come true: when the heavens had been rent asunder, the earth had burned, and men had died. 'Revolting man!'" (p.161) Unlike Ibuse, I would like to end on a note of hope, especially when considering our present crises. "The young soldiers and civilians among the patients were all fond of her. Those who itched unbearably from maggots in the burns of their backs would even wheedle her into scratching for them. Those lonely on the verge of death would call for her, and several of them die with their heads cradled on her lap." (p.212)

Hiroshima

by Allen J. Koppenhaver
Chairman English Department

What can a man say when he fills up to drowning
with the anguish of war?
Count off on his fingers, like clothespins, the bodies?
Draw out the jagged statistical line across the blank mind?
Name Auschwicz, Hiroshima...

The closest I ever got to Hiroshima
Was to watch the film
The Japanese made.
The ruins in concrete and flesh
Meant little more than Hollywood props
And it wasn't until the cameraman cut
To the weedpatch of human bodies trampled on the floor
of that uneven field
There in the center of despair
Stood that child
With only moments of flesh on his arms and legs
Stood that child
Dancing away his life in the jangled rhythm of pain
Stood that child
Stood that child
The dream demolishing fire rushing through his blood
Stood that child
That child.

From the Wittenberg Torch, *Volume 55, No 24, 1970*

The Murders of Three Civil Rights Workers

Laura A. Dunikoski, junior, history major
Dr. Behrman, Fall 1990

When Michael Schwerner decided he was going to fight for the rights of black people, he never imagined that one day the Federal Government would be fighting for his. Schwerner and two other civil rights workers, Andrew Goodman and James Chaney, were killed because they wanted to free the blacks from white supremacy. In a small town deep in the south, these three youths were arrested, freed, abducted, threatened, beaten, and killed all in the same night. This intolerable act of terrorism occurred on June 21, 1964, in Neshoba county, in the quiet town of Philadelphia, Mississippi.[1] The killers hoped to deter the movement, but instead they gave it national publicity, only making it stronger. The murders were a violation of civil rights and an important step in the fight against racism. These men were not only fighting for the rights of blacks in Mississippi, but for citizens everywhere.

At the age of twenty four Schwerner already believed in the goodness of all men and had devoted himself to humanity. Although he had a Jewish background, he believed himself to be an atheist. He did not believe in God, but he did believe in God's creation. He felt every man had the potential to be good.[2] Schwerner and his wife Rita went to Mississippi from their home in New York City, because they believed, like many other civil rights workers, in the slogan, "Crack Mississippi and You Can Crack the South!"[3] They were assigned to a black community in Meridian by the Congress of Racial Equality, or CORE. They opened a community center and helped blacks register to vote.

Schwerner was not alone in his fight for humanity. James Chaney, a twenty - one year old black man from Meridian, worked with Schwerner at the community center, and also joined CORE. The other victim, Andrew Goodman, was twenty years old when he left New York City to volunteer for the Mississippi Project. All three men met first in Oxford, Ohio, at the Western College for the Mississippi Project. They taught techniques to the volunteers on how to get the black man to vote, and how to avoid violence from the white supremacists.[4]

Schwerner and Chaney left Oxford, Ohio on June 20 because they heard about the burning of the Mount Zion Methodist Church in Longdale, Mississippi. Schwerner had spoken, just weeks before, at this black church "about the idea of the One Man, One Vote," campaign, which pushed for the registration of black voters.[5] They drove to Schwerner's home and the next day they drove into Neshoba county to the site where the church had once stood. On their way out of the county, Deputy Sheriff Cecil Price pulled them over for speeding.

Price arrested Schwerner on speeding charges around 4:30 p.m., and held the other two men for investigation. They were all freed at 10:30 p.m. after Schwerner paid a twenty dollar fine.[6] The Deputy allegedly escorted them out of town, and that was the last he saw of them. Once on the road towards Meridian, they were chased by several men in cars, and finally forced to pull over. Schwerner and Goodman were taken from the car and immediately shot. The killers thought it was a waste of time to kill a "Mississippi coon," so they beat Chaney up, but eventually shot him anyway.[7] Some of the conspirators took Schwerner's car to a swamp on the outskirts of Philadelphia, and burned it. The others took the bodies to a predetermined grave at a dam under construction and buried them with a bulldozer.

Two days later a telephone tip about the car enabled the FBI to conduct a search for the missing civil rights workers.[8] On August 2, the FBI found the badly decomposed bodies in the earthen dam. They paid their informer $30,000 for the information that led them to the corpses.[9] The FBI suspected the Ku Klux Klan of these murders. It was an unfortunate coincidence that Chaney and Goodman were with him when he entered Neshoba county.[10]

Two men, James Edward Jordan, 38, and Horace Doyle Barnette, 26, informed the FBI of the detailed accounts of the murders of the three civil rights workers. Jordan, a construction worker, was the White Knight of the Ku Klux Klan, and Barnette, a truck driver, was the star witness.[11] On December 4, twenty-one men were arrested on their testimonies and charged with "conspiracy to injure, oppress, threaten and intimidate the three victims in the free exercise and enjoyment of rights secured to them by the Constitution and the laws of the

United States."[12] These men, Philadelphia's Sheriff Laurence Rainey and Deputy Cecil Price, plus other alleged Klan members, could not be charged by the FBI with a federal crime: the violation of civil rights. The Ku Klux Klan members knew that no jury of white men would convict another white man of civil rights abuses.[13]

They were right. U.S. Commissioner Esther Carter dismissed the charges on the grounds that the testimony was hearsay. It was predicted by the FBI that no violation of civil rights case would by prosecuted in "segregationist Mississippi."[14] The reign of terror by white supremacists made it impossible for anyone to convict state law officials and Klan members. Again on January 18, 1965, the FBI arrested sixteen men, plus Rainey and Price, for conspiring to deprive Schwerner, Chaney, and Goodman of their civil rights. This time U.S. District Judge William Harold Cox dismissed the felony charges. He said, "The indictment surely states a heinous crime against the state of Mississippi, but not a crime against the United States."[15]

Three years and four months after the murders, the Federal Government once again tried to prosecute eighteen alleged conspirators. They were all members of the KKK, and it was very unlikely that they would be found guilty by a jury of their peers. Judge Cox was presiding over the trial. The jury was out for three days in disagreement, and when they returned they had a surprising verdict. The jurors found six of the seven men guilty of being at the murder site, including Deputy Cecil Price, the others were found not guilty. Although this verdict was a compromise, it proves that Mississippians believed in justice.[16]

Michael Schwerner, James Chaney, and Andrew Goodman, were killed because the white man in Mississippi had so much hate for anyone who tried to prove a black man was as good as a white man. They fought for all humanity and believed in the civil rights that were guaranteed by law. These civil rights workers did not accomplish much in their short lives, but because of their deaths, nothing was to be the same in Mississippi, for blacks or whites.

Endnotes

1. "The Grim Roster," *Time*, 3 July 1964, 19-20.

2. William Bradford, Huie, *Three Lives for Mississippi* (New York: The New American Library, 1965), 31-32

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4. "The Grim Roster," *Time*, 3 July 1964, 19-20.

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9. Huie. "Untold Story of the Mississippi Murders," *Saturday Evening Post*, 5 September 1965, 11.

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12.. "Mass Arrests in Civil Rights Killings," *U.S. News*, 14 December 1964, 11.

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15. "True to Form," *Time*, 5 March 1965, 25.

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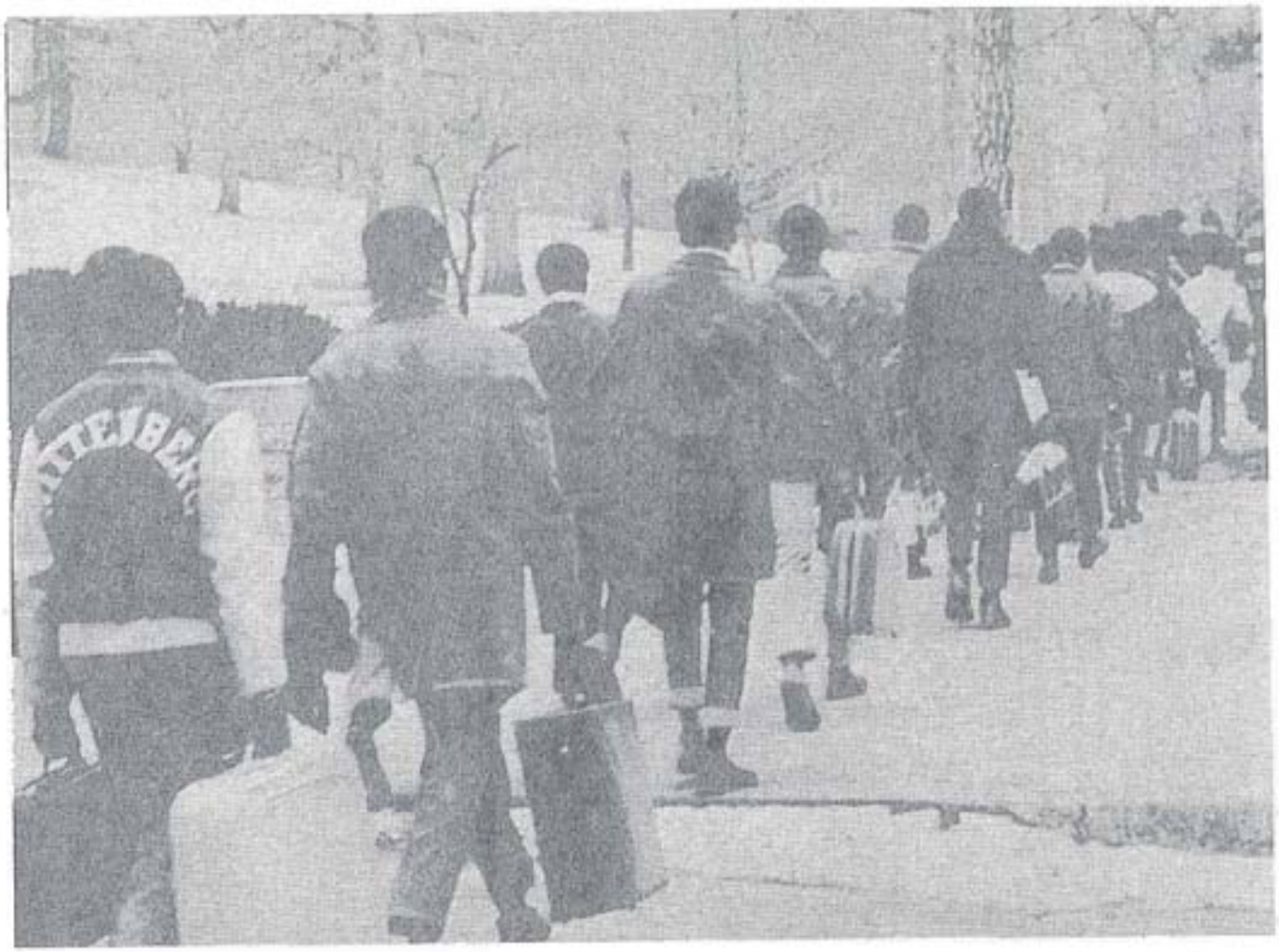
Wittenberg University concerned black student walk-out to Yellow Springs, January, 1968



American Theatre in the 1960s: An Attempt at Revolution.

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The theatre, like every other art form, exists in a constant state of upheaval. New artists rebel against the conventions of the art that came before them, and, if successful, become the establishment against which the next generation rebels in turn. Because of the intensity of unrest in the ranks of youth, especially artistically-minded youth, in the 1960's, this period stands out in the history of American theatre. Although America has never been considered a major force in the world of theatre, the innovations of new companies, Off Off Broadway, and Happenings captured national and international notice (though not all of it positive). New definitions of theatre environments, styles, themes, media, and audiences, however, could not be ignored and, indeed, inspired those theatre-lovers who were discouraged by the commercialism of Broadway and Off Broadway.

Nearly every critic writing during the 1960's agreed that Broadway was a stagnant institution, destroyed by a lack of originality caused by sky-high production costs. Because every Broadway show was a multi-million dollar gamble, experimentation could have been disastrous. Alfred Hansen, a creator of Happenings and experimental art, remarked that Broadway existed "in terms of real estate and property and [was] entirely lacking in nerve." [1] In reaction against this decline, the privately subsidized Repertory Theatre of Lincoln Center came into being in 1963 in order to eliminate commercial pressures from American high theatre. Unfortunately, direction of the Lincoln Center company fell to Elia Kazan and Robert Whitehead, two major figures of Broadway who repeated Broadway's problems instead of solving them; these two directors resigned the next year. Herbert Blau and Jules Irving took over, trying to pull Lincoln Center up to the repertory standards they had previously established at the San Francisco Actor's Workshop. [2]

Even Off Broadway houses, which had been the great avant-garde creation around 1912, began to use Equity actors and elaborate sets in the 1950's, resulting in higher ticket prices and, consequently, less bold experimentation. In fact, Broadway and Off Broadway often ran the same shows, breaking them in for each other. [3] For this reason, the Off Broadway greats, such as Edward Albee, Samuel Beckett, and Jean Genet, became to young playwrights and directors a relatively conservative element in New York theatre. [4]

The theatre movement in the 1960's, however, produced two major independent companies, the Living Theatre and the Open Theatre. The Living Theatre was created in 1959 by Julian Beck and his wife, Judith Malina, and became known throughout the 1960's for its confrontational style and emphasis on non-verbal acting. Members of the troupe lacked formal training in acting, but lived together as a group, studied body movement control, and developed a profound sense of ensemble. [5] Although Beck and Malina created plays (in a loose sense of the word) rather than relying solely on improvisation, these plays were highly unconventional and involved direct verbal and occasionally physical interaction with the audience in order to create a "new spectator." [6] Their most famous work, *Paradise Now*, is described by the company as "a Rite, a Vision, and an Action." [7] As this definition implies, they placed little emphasis on adherence to verbal text and often used words only for their sound patterns. [8] The pace of the "action" was often very slow and the members of the group seemed excessively angry and aggressive, which tried the patience of some critics, including James Schevill, despite his respect for the originality of their concepts. [9] In 1964, Beck and Malina found themselves in trouble with the IRS and were jailed for a short time for contempt of court. Upon their release, the company regrouped and toured in Europe. They still exist, still advocate non-violent social revolution, and are now based in France. [10]

The Open Theatre, an experimental troupe led by Joseph Chaiken, began in 1963 and was influenced by the earlier work of the Living Theatre. [11] Chaiken maintained a similar philosophy that the events of the theatre should be "experienced," not watched, and that text was not the most important element of drama. [12] Like the Living Theatre, The Open Theatre developed a ritualistic drama based upon emotions and employed "vertical time," a concept in which people of all historical times are connected by myths and archetypal images. [13] Unlike the Living Theatre, however, the Open Theatre utilized

actions with quick, tense rhythms that seemed more attuned to American urban life. They also strove for more unity between word and action, rather than focusing upon action alone. [14] For this reason, the Open Theatre was a more rounded theatrical experiment than the more popular and long-lived Living Theatre.

The heart of the theatre revolution, however, was Off Off Broadway, distinct from Off Broadway by "some $19,980 [per production] and a deep artistic chasm." [15] Tiny theaters sprang up in the coffee houses and lofts of New York City, the first "official" Off Off Broadway house being the Cafe Cino, opened by Joe Cino in Greenwich Village in 1960. [16] Most or all of the actors were amateur, the playwrights were brand new, and the directors were unpracticed, but all were socially-aware risk-takers. Many of these artists were influenced by the theories of Antonin Artaud, the most radical artistic experimenter of the 1930's in Paris. He called for "no more masterpieces" and the substitution of "culture," a universal, unifying expression, for "art," a singular, divisive expression. [17]

Productions most often consisted of a "short, incisive play form dealing with the subject matters of a cult-oriented underground," and, like the Living and Open Theatres, strove to actively involve their small audiences, usually made up of young liberals. [18] They also shared the view that "physical motion is spontaneous while language is reflective," thus "repudiating words as restraints on the freedom of the theatrical occasion." [19] The ultimate expression of this physicality was, of course, sex, and the Sexual Revolution diminished the taboos that would have stifled sexual contact as a form of theatrical communication. Many productions involved nudity, several incorporated miming of sexual acts, and a few resulted in audience members stripping to participate in "group gropes." [20] Political issues were also addressed, and anti-war drama reached its height in 1969 with the production of three major plays: *Viet Rock*, a reaction against the Vietnam war; *Dynamite Tonight*, a repudiation of the Cold War; and *MacBird*, a parody of *MacBeth* using American political figures.

Politics also entered Off Off Broadway in a more subtle manner. The New Politics of most fringe artists consisted of a translation of their vision from a participatory democracy into an egalitarian approach to theatre. In part, they were disgusted by what they viewed as a capitalist mass society intent upon world domination. Fringe artists reacted by creating their own artistic worlds in which each element—actor, director, audience member—was given equal creative power. [21] Closely-knit companies and small theater spaces, that didn't have lighting to separate audience from stage, were crucial to the realization of this ideal. These elements, when combined with the energy and creative spirit of new playwrights such as Sam Shepard, drew the admiration of previously jaded New York critics and bohemian theatre-goers.

The Third Theatre, however, had the paradoxical misfortune of becoming popular. For the first time in the history of American theatre, the fringe element became the "glass of fashion and the mold of form." [22] By 1967 or 1968 (dates are impossible to pin down in this type of analysis), the style became less experimental and more dependent upon the themes established by the avant-garde artists earlier in the decade. Off Off Broadway tried, in its own shocking way, to please its own followers just as Broadway had tried to cater to its middle class audience.

Although fringe artists claimed to be influenced by the non-conformist concepts of Polish director Jerzy Grotowski, Grotowski himself condemned them as imitative and stated that they clung to five or six "pet slogans" based upon "group hysteria" instead of vitalism. [23] Robert Brustein, one time admirer of the Third Theatre (his name for Off Off Broadway), echoes this sentiment. He grew to feel that these productions were dominated by "stereotyped political assertions" and "simple-minded nihilism." [24]

Luckily for the broad sweep of the theatre movement, artistic development did not limit itself to the New York environment; regional experiments flourished. Events took place across the nation, the most publicized being Otto Piene's Boston "sky events," George Brecht's "events," "environmental happenings" in Los Angeles, street-parade-house events in Washington, San Francisco's Bread and Puppet Theatre, and the formation of Ann Halprin's Performance Community and Richard Schechner's Performance Group in New York. [25] New "properties" came into use in American theatre: balloons, sculpture, and outdoor settings, to name but a few of the less shocking. In 1966, a nine-evening piece performed at the 69th Regiment Armory Festival in New York involved music, dance, painting, film, television, and advanced technology, thus introducing new combinations of media to the stage. [26] James Schevill even proposed a "Living Room Theatre" to replace television in private homes. [27] As diverse as they were, all of these concepts had in common the goal of unifying a community through a participatory theatrical event.

Perhaps the most talked-about and bizarre new development of the 1960's, however, was the Happening. Historically, the concept of a Happening is reminiscent of the Dadaist movement of the 1920's. The term was coined in 1959 by the first and greatest Happening-creator, Allen Kaprow. [28] Finding a concrete definition, though, is a chore. Michael Kirby, for example, himself the creator of a few Happenings, defines a Happening as "a form of theatre in which diverse elements, including nonmatrixed performing, are organized in a compartmented structure" with an "alogical function." He explains that "nonmatrixed" refers to the ambiguity or elimination of an

established time and place, while "compartmented structure" is the organization of a Happening into individual, self-contained units of action. [29] Even with the seeming complexity of this definition, Kirby admitted that several Happenings do not conform to it. Martin Esslin tried for a more generalized definition, stating that a Happening was a "poetic vision that was lived through in three-dimensional space and biological time." [30] Considering the ambiguity of this attempt, perhaps the most accurate definition must be attributed to the New York Park Department, who stated in the *Wall Street Journal* of November 14, 1966, that "if you can define it, it's not a true Happening." [31]

In fact, Happenings took many forms. Some, including those of Kaprow, tended to be far more rehearsed and formal than the public realized. [32] Others planned only a basic action or theme and left the participants to improvise the rest. At a California university, for instance, a resident Happening artist invited the student body to a large parking lot, divided them into two groups, gave one group a large vat of peanut butter and the other a vat of jelly, then let them do with it what they would. [33] Salvador Dali created a Happening in New York in which he opened a manhole, then lowered himself down into the sewer in a basket, inviting spectators and members of the press to join him. [34] In these instances, Kirby's criteria of "alogical function" seems to be satisfied. Critic Nicholas Calas goes so far as to declare that "Happenings thrive on the death of ideology." [35] These events captured the American fancy because of their eccentric, often humorous "themes," which relieved the tension of the more intense avant-garde drama.

The impact of these Happenings and new theatre movements was undeniable. The conventional drama of Broadway and Off Broadway no longer satisfied sincere art lovers who saw that intellect and emotion could both be expressed in bold new ways. University theaters also began to value experimentation more than traditional dramatic training. [36]

The ultimate goals of the movement were not realized. It did, indeed, shatter the stagnant theatrical tradition, but instead of continuing to develop in new directions, it allowed itself to become its own stagnant tradition. By the end of the 1960's, rapid expansion and experimentation had slowed and artists obeyed Artaud's demand for "no more masterpieces" in its most real and negative sense. Thus, a revolution occurred, but did not fulfill the hopes of those who had fought for it.

April 7-11, UT presented "America Hurrah" which was designed by Steve Rausch. It was done in three parts: "TV," "Interview" and "Motel," and is a portrait of American life as a horror story of the plastic age. Director Bob Herrig stated that if the play were a success, it would drive the audience away wanting to vomit and never wanting to enter the theater again.

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2. Robert Brustein, *Seasons of Discontent: Dramatic Opinions 1959-1965* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), 18-20.

3. Speech of Harvey Damaser, American Drama, Wittenberg, Spring 1990.

4. Alvin B. Kernan, *The Modern American Theater* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1967), 116.

5. James Schevill, *Break Out! In Search of New Theatrical Environments* (Chicago: The Swallow Press, Inc., 1973), 306.

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7. Schevill, 305.

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23. Brustein, *The Culture Watch: Essays on Theatre and Society, 1969-1974* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf 1975), 4-5.

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26. Lil Picard, "Up and Down Mad Avenue." *Arts Magazine* (November 1966), 8.

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28. Martin Esslin, "The Happening," in *Break Out! In Search of New Theatrical Environments* by James Schevill (Chicago: The Swallow Press, Inc., 1973), 205 and 205, and Lawrence Alloway, "Art in Escalation." *Arts Magazine* (December 1966), 40.

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30. Esslin, 201.

31. Quoted in Alloway, 43.

32. Hansen, 7.

33. Damaser, speech.

34. Anon, "Note From the Underground." *Arts Magazine* (March 1966), 13.

35. Nicholas Calas, "Spectacles for Bohemia." *Arts Magazine* (February 1967), 13.

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Honda Coming to Ohio

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> On a flat piece of land that was once a cornfield, in one long, low beige-colored building set behind towering oak trees, more automobiles were being manufactured than in any other plant, in any single location, anywhere in America. They were being built by three thousand high-school graduates straight off the farm, by former waitresses, barbers, and store clerks, almost all of whom had never worked on an assembly line before. Their average age was twenty-eight, all lived within thirty miles of the plant, and only four of them were union members.
>
> David Gelsanliter, *Jump Start*

The time was 1980 and the place was Marysville, Ohio, a suburb of Columbus, when Honda of America Manufacturing, Inc. (HAM) made the historic announcement that it would construct an automobile plant on a site adjacent to the three-year old Honda motorcycle facility. The decision represented a new era in U.S. motor vehicle manufacturing, because for the first time in history, a Japanese automaker decided to build cars in the United States. "The Honda decision was years in the making, initiated long before international economics and talk of trade restraints suggested such action to others."[1] In December of 1980, ground was broken for the $250 million, one million square foot facility. Today, the "Marysville Auto Plant is the most integrated auto manufacturing plant in North America. The mammoth building houses stamping, welding, painting, plastic injection molding, assembly, quality assurance and other operations."[2] Thus, Honda of America has given the Ohio economy a "symbolic boost" and the "nearby communities a big shot in the arm."[3] The construction and planning of the Marysville Auto Plant represented the first stage in Honda's growth—a company willing to take risks and move fast.

In essence, Honda's unique corporate philosophy towards achieving goals and solving problems is their recipe for success. According to Executive Vice President, Hideo Sugiura, Honda's "Company Principle" is based on four different parts: 1) New market development, in order to understand the potential needs of the customer and of societies; 2) Employee integration with management, in pursuit of a common goal; 3) Internationalization and local community relations, to be recognized as good corporate citizens; and 4) Direct approaches towards corporate goals and problem solving—free from all precedents, customs, or popular views.[4] Moreover, when Larry Miller, author of *American Spirit: Visions of a New Corporate Culture*, addressed HAM's associates during a company visit, he said;

> I have found that in every healthy corporate culture there is a common understanding of the philosophy, values and visions upon which decisions and practices are based. The management practices—the structure, systems, skills,, styles and symbols—are consistent with the philosophy. This is clearly the case at HAM.[5] Thus, by applying their own particular corporate philosophy Honda has not only become the fourth largest manufacturer of automobiles in the United States and a leading exporter of automobiles from the United States to Japan, but also a consolidated corporate identity.

Unfortunately, fear and prejudice marked the attitudes fostered by several Americans and industrial leaders when the Japanese auto-companies, like Honda, made plans to build cars in the United States. Questions like these: "So how high are the Japanese really aiming? Was it merely a foothold in the American auto industry they were seeking when they began cars here, or dominance?"[7] However, to understand these questions and apparent fears, one must realize the United States' motor vehicle history throughout the late 1970's and early 1980's. First of all, it was no mystery that 1980 was a terrible year for the United States' motor vehicle industry. Retail sales of domestic cars and trucks were at a 19-year low of 8.3 million units. For the first nine months, General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler each lost $1.5 billion

before taxes. In two years' time, almost 2,300 domestic dealers [went] out of business and some 140 parts plants [had] been closed. And, for most of [1980], the effects of auto unemployment [had] been costing the American economy close to one million jobs.[8] Furthermore, the economy was facing a recession, associated with high gasoline prices, rising interest rates and inflation. In the spring of 1979, the Iranian Revolution convinced the American public that the high gas prices were a reality, and the need for smaller, compact cars would be a necessity. The Japanese "—having lived with high gasoline prices for years—had always concentrated on small cars and had been steadily raising production capacity for auto exports."[9] Thus, Japan's Honda plant was already prepared for the change in the U.S. domestic demand.

Yet, the widespread distress was not caused by foreign imports alone. "The U.S. International Trade Commission concluded in November 1980 that increased auto imports to the United States had not been the cause of the American automobile industry's crisis."[10] Nor did the industry's misery represent a marketing problem for General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler. The Japanese automakers, particularly Honda, "penetrated the very heart of the domestic industry, challenging managerial mindsets and traditional, often obsolete, relations between producers and suppliers, management and labor."[11] Thus, while the Big Three's share of the market had dropped within the last twelve years, the Japanese car companies were on the "verge of taking over the American auto industry."[12] For several years the Detroit auto-makers dominated production, technology, labor relations, "and drew into its orbit thousands of suppliers dedicated to stamping, welding, and forging metal. If you thought cars, you thought Detroit."[13]

In the case of Honda, their dedication and commitment to America was and still remains genuine. Former Governor James A. Rhodes spoke on December 2, 1980 at the Marysville Auto Plant ground-breaking ceremonies At the ceremony he said,

> Honda made the decision to manufacture automobiles in America long before the question of foreign imports was an economic issue or concern in this country. Ohio and Honda have a relationship that will grow stronger in the years ahead, because we want to prove to the world that through cooperation and goodwill we can achieve any goal.[14]

Furthermore, a 1987 *Columbus Dispatch* lead editorial article read:

> Anyone who might have been skeptical about Honda's commitment to industrial expansion in Ohio may now move to the rear of the class . . . Honda's continued investment here sends a positive signal to other companies who may wish to take advantage of the state's work force and centralized location.[15]

Honda took a risk in constructing the Marysville Honda Plant and realized that the company could probably be more successful in the United States, considering Japan's "land prices had skyrocketed, the government was still unfriendly, and Toyota and Nissan had a monopoly on the best sales outlets."[16] In 1972, Honda's purchasing advisor, Shige Yoshida, came to the United States to possibly buy American companies to make parts for certain Honda products. Yoshida met with Governor Rhodes who pitched Ohio, and James Duerk (director of the state economic and community department), who distributed a packet of inducements. "The inducements detailed why Ohio was the place to build an auto plant. The state was the transportation center of America; it was within five hundred miles of two thirds of the U.S. and Canadian populations. It had low taxes, a skilled work force, and had been among the first states to complete a network of interstate highways."[17] Eventually, the plants' construction culminated six years of planning, "during which many factors were weighed. Those which tipped the scale in favor of an Ohio location were a ready supply of skilled labor, close proximity to a large number of parts suppliers, and a genuine pro-business attitude at the state and local levels."[18] Eventually, Honda's executives reached their final decision, also at a time when the U.S. auto manufactures were "drumming up congressional support for restrictions on automobile imports, which [in 1980 accounted] for 20 percent of the U.S. market."[19] Nonetheless, at the start of 1980, Honda had built its Marysville motorcycle, auto and engine plants with a total capital investment of $2 billion.[20]

The second stage in HAM's successful growth period was on November 1, 1982, with the production of the Accord 4-door sedan. Soon after, the Reagan administration imposed import quotas on Japanese cars. Yet, the appeal for the new Honda Accord, in addition to other models, was so incredible that "[In 1985,] buyers [waited] up to six months to get their hands on one, and buyers would pay dealers $500 to $3,000 more than the sticker price for some models."[21]

In fact, *Car and Driver* magazine had picked the Honda Accord as one of its "Ten Best Cars of the Year." The Honda Accord had been rated in *Car and Driver* since 1983 and continued through 1984, '85, '86, '87, and '88, every year manufactured at Marysville. In making its 1988 selections, the magazine editors wrote: "In case you haven't noticed, Honda is rapidly becoming an American car company . . . The car that has made much of this possible is the Accord. This is the compact sedan that feels right to both import and domestic buyers."[22] By

1989 the Honda Accord was rated as America's number one selling car, according to industry sales reports, with sales of 362,707 units. Gelsanliter said that an article in *The Washington Post* described the Honda Accord as "America's dream car." The writer said:

> Two kids, a cat or a dog, cable TV, a health club, a home in the suburbs, and a Honda in the driveway. It doesn't get any better than that for most Americans. The car in the drive way would have been a 1957 Chevy once, or a 1965 Mustang, but last year 362,707 American families bought a new Accord. That's 14,000 more than bought a Ford Taurus and almost 30,000 more than bought a Ford Escort, America's best-selling car in 1987 and 1988. [23]

Throughout the past twelve years, HAM has sustained quality and a strong reputation by structuring its U.S. operations on its Japanese companies. For example, before it started building the 1986 Accord, Honda "flew 200 workers representing all areas of the factory from Marysville to its plant in Sayama, Japan, near Tokyo, where the new Accord had been in production since the spring [of 1985]." [24] The workers from the Marysville plant stayed from two weeks to three months in Japan, and learned the Japanese way of production and management. Hence, when they returned to the United States they taught their co-workers "how to do it the Sayama way." [25] After only three years of auto production HAM officially became the fourth largest automaker in the United States, "surpassing American Motors Corporations, Volkswagen and Nissan in domestic production." [26]

Honda had also managed to keep the United Auto Workers (UAW) out of its operations, even though "there were constant struggles with union organizers." [27] In the early 1980's, the Big Three and the UAW pressured the Japanese "to build cars in America with union labor, management and labor assumed they would quickly create a level playing field." [28] Yet, Honda was not interested in the UAW and successfully resisted their organized attempts at the Honda factory.

Honda had several reasons for not unionizing. First of all, Honda generally hires young workers with little industrial experience and also hires relatively few minorities. "As a result, the transplants enjoy lower health care costs and less costly pension liabilities." [29] In 1988, the Equal Employment Opportunity commission brought job discrimination charges against HAM. Thus, HAM "paid $6 million to about 370 blacks and women as a result of the charges." [30] According to David Gelsanliter, in his book *Jump Start*, "these were people who 'were offered and have accepted positions . . . but were previously not hired at the time of their original applications.'" [31]

The main issue for Honda in the discrimination complaint was that the company had a "restricted hiring radius that excluded Columbus, thirty eight miles to the Southeast, which had central Ohio's largest black population. It also excluded nearby Springfield and Lima, that likewise had sizable black populations." [32] Thus, the people not willing to move within the hiring radius and risk not getting a guaranteed job, complained instead to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Eventually, Honda resolved the issue by enlarging its hiring radius "to include Columbus, Lima, and Springfield, agreed to stop giving preference to applicants referred by its own associates, and began seeking references from black ministers in the area." [33]

Of the seven Japanese transplants in America, only three are unionized, because they have business relations with the Big Three companies. HAM workers have not experienced the rewards of lifelong devotion to the company that their Japanese counterparts have. "If the UAW's blandishments persuade enough of them, some of Honda's cost advantage over Detroit rivals would evaporate." [34] Honda prefers to remain neutral, letting the employee decide whether or not he/she would like to join the UAW.

The success of Honda in the United States also heavily depended on how they blended their culture with Americans. Honda took a lot of risks, untypical of most Japanese companies who were characterized for their tradition of conformity. Honda can also be seen as the "most entrepreneurial and the least bureaucratic of the Japanese companies." [35] Honda tried to do things in America that it had not been practicing in Japan. For instance, while Nissan was manufacturing its simplest and easiest-to-build car and truck models in Smyrna, and Toyota's NUMMI and Georgetown plants were clones of its plants in Toyota City, Honda brought to America a huge production engineering staff as well as combining seven-engine-making operations—a feat it had never attempted before. [36] Therefore, it was vital to send a large number of key Japanese managers and other executives to stay in America for as long as three to five, sometimes seven years or more. "Some [executives] may never go home." [37] A 1988, April edition of *Business Week* magazine, cited in its cover story that HAM plants are the force that "catalyzed a process that can be called the Americanization of Honda." Still, the east-west cultural transition has been difficult for several reasons. According to *Cleveland's Plain Dealer*:

> Marysville never did warm up to the idea of Japanese living in their midst, and consequently

> the company's center of operations shifted to Bellefontaine, where local residents established a cultural center and went out of their way to make the Japanese *feel comfortable. Such courtesy counts for a lot with the Japanese.* [38]

According to Gelsanliter, residents of Marysville were urged to develop the international friendship center. The Mayor of Marysville, Tom Nuckles, told Gelsanliter about "receiving hate mail, and his wife, Patricia, of being accosted in the supermarket and criticized for helping 'those people.'" [39]

Furthermore, it is also difficult for some Americans to work with the Japanese because they have trouble communicating with them. Problems in communication are caused by the Japanese's ability to understand one another without words, and not being direct or upfront. "Having lived packed together in one small part of a not very large island, they have learned not to be confrontational." [40] Americans feel uncomfortable with the Japanese behavior of being vague and ambiguous. According to Kinko Ito, a former professor of Sociology at Wittenberg University in 1987/1988, "the Japanese are afraid to call a spade a spade." [41]

In an article from the magazine Business Marketing the author explained how difficult it was to achieve intercultural understanding. The author compared the situation to the scenario in the movie "Gung Ho," which is about how American and Japanese cultures clash in a small industrial town. "A failing automobile factory has closed because of competition from imported Japanese cars. The employees invited a Japanese car maker to reopen the plant and manufacture Japanese cars in America." [42]

The movie delineated clashing work ethics in a comical exaggeration. The author of the article said that he "wasn't laughing; there was too much truth in it. 'Gung Ho' portrayed character traits which are amusing only if you are not associated with those who have them." [43] Fortunately, at Honda, intercultural misunderstandings have not been a serious problem. According to Gelsanliter, many "Americans at Honda prefer working for the Japanese to the Americans they had worked for before. . . and like the identical uniforms." [44]

Honda's individualism as a Japanese auto maker could be also reflected in the way the company supports and promotes environmental issues. For instance, according to a March issue of *Forbes Magazine*, Honda is currently planning to "reforest most of Ohio." [45] The writer poetically described shivering in the knifelike Ohio winter winds, 1,300 scrawny pines lining the frozen earth outside Honda's Marysville, Ohio manufacturing complex. [46] Each tree was planted by a new employee "whose name tag is securely fastened to the trunk." 47 Bob Watson, Honda's former plant manager, explained in *Forbes Magazine* that the idea originated in the United States and as "quickly as the employees' tiny pines take root, the factory is growing." [48]

Evidence has proven that Honda is growing rapidly. "In 1983 Marysville produced a mere 55,000 cars." By the end of 1984 the auto production rate almost tripled. Honda's growth continued in 1984 by building a factory in nearby Anna, Ohio, "to make Civic engines; before all 1984 Honda engines had been built in Japan." 49 In January of 1986, HAM increased its auto production by 20% to a total of 360,000 Accords and Civics a year until 1988. "On September 17, 1987, Honda announced its five-part strategy for establishing in the United States a self reliant motor vehicle company which would be an important part of Honda's international operations that have resources to compete in the world market." [50] In order to maintain Honda's competitive edge, the company has invested "about 5% of gross sales [in research and development], compared with an average of 4% for U.S. carmakers. [51]

These advances represent Honda's fast-moving and ambitious executives and associates. Moreover, it represents Honda's determination to be a leader in the industry that has developed a strong corporate presence in Marysville, Ohio, as well as all over the United States. The company is committed to "innovative products of the highest quality," and has thus become a model of American industry for today's generation and for those to follow.

Endnotes

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(5) Honda Wing, "10th Anniversary 1979-1989" (Marysville: Honda of America Mfg., Inc., September 1989) 2.

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(28) Treece, 31-32.

(29) Ibid., 32.

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(31) Gelsanliter, 92.

(32) Ibid., 93.

(33) Ibid., 95.

(34) Rice, 33.

(35) Halberstan, 717.

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(37) Ibid., 229.

(38) Dirck, The Cleveland Plain Dealer, 9E.

(39) Gelsanliter, 230.

(40) Ibid., 170.

(41) Ibid., 157.

(42) James S. Nortellaro, "Japan's Management Imperialism." Business Marketing. February 1989, 62.

(43) Nortellaro, 66.

(44) Gelsanliter, 230.

(45) Michael Cieply, "Meanwhile, back in Marysville." Forbes. 12 March 1984, 127.

(46) Cieply, 127.

(47) Ibid.

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(49) Ibid.

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