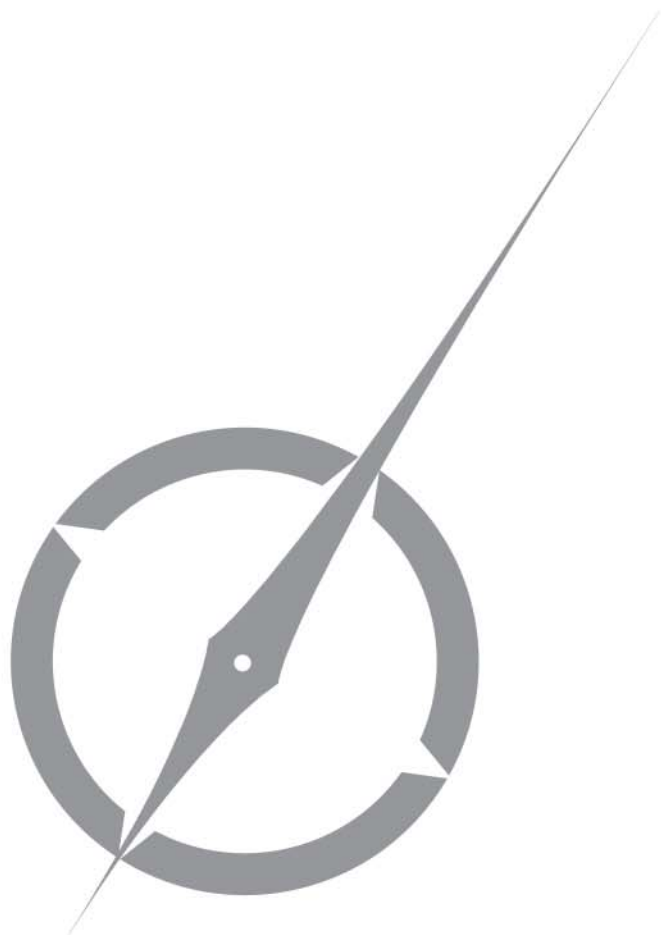


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Dedicated to Jeanne Jackson



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Editor-in-Chief

CHARLSIE WIGLEY

Assistant Editor

CLAIRE BURNS

Staff Advisor

JEANNE JACKSON

This year has produced a number of questions involving the ethics, effectiveness, and evolution of leadership on this campus. The Birmingham-Southern community has directly learned the startling impact that leadership can have on our lives. Now, perhaps more than ever before, there exists the opportunity and need for us to discover and critique the boundaries of leadership through learning, challenging, and re-imagining possibilities. As Keith Grint writes in *Leadership: Limits and Possibilities*, "Leadership is not just a theoretical arena but one with critical practical implications for us all and the limits of leadership—what leaders can do and what followers should allow them to do – are foundational aspects of this arena. Leadership, in effect, is too important to be left to leaders." It is this axiom that guides the study of leadership and reminds us of the calling that we, as both leaders and followers, must answer in order to continue progress "forward ever."

Like a compass that points us to a destination, the *Compass* seeks to foster an academic discussion on the concepts of leadership and service. By showing the evolution of followers' attitudes towards the infamous John Brown, Walter Lewellyn provides a case study on radical leadership in "Waiting for Superman: The Pottawatomie Creek Massacre and the Legend of John Brown." MK Foster, in "Virgins and Pokerfaces: A Comparative Analysis of Madonna's and Lady Gaga's Leadership in Gender Representation," analyzes how two popular cultural icons have redefined the limits of gender representation through their creative and transformational leadership. Based on a study of the memory of political leadership in post-war Vietnam and Cambodia, Will Breland, in "Reinvention and a Painful Transition: Perspectives on Post-War Vietnam and Cambodia," offers commentary on how past leadership continues to impact the progress of both nations today. Sarah Kate Masters' "Ours Will Not Go: Jimmy Carter and the Boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympics" explores the political motivations and historical context of President Carter's decision to boycott the 1980 Moscow Olympics. In "Getting 'In' to Get 'Out': A Comparative Literary Study of the Civil Rights Movement and the American Indian Movement of the 1960s and 1970s," Kait Talley compares and contrasts the rhetoric and literature of both movements and how those applications impacted the leadership of each movement. Drawing on personal experience, Ginny Nix's "Kayla's Mother and Those Like Her: Ties Between All Types of Mothers" provides a reflection on service and how it has led to a greater understanding of literature and self-identity. Professor Kent Andersen concludes our discussion with "Process and Trajectory: Reflecting on Mary Catherine Bateson's 'Continuity and Change: Two Sides of a Paradox,'" a reflection on the process of leadership in higher education.

I would like to personally thank Claire Burns, Patricia Hansen, the Student Government Association, Donald and Ronne Hess, and the Office of Communications for their invaluable assistance and support throughout the publication process. Finally, I would like to recognize Jeanne Jackson whose commitment to leadership and service on and beyond this campus has been nothing short of visionary. As Jeanne has decided to accept a position as Chief Executive Officer of the Women's Fund of Greater Birmingham, the *Compass* wishes to formally honor her inspirational guidance by dedicating this issue to her. We thank you Jeanne for all that you have given to Birmingham-Southern and look forward to watching your future accomplishments in the greater Birmingham area.

Charlsie Wigley

Editor-in-Chief, *Compass*

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Waiting for a Superman: The Pottawatomie Creek Massacre and the Legend of John Brown

Walter Lewellyn

Walter Lewellyn

I wrote this paper for Doctors Hubbs' and Lester's Practice of History Seminar. John Brown would have been a fascinating enough character by himself to inspire this research, but what really intrigued me was how a group of men and women as seemingly enlightened and thoughtful as the Transcendentalists came to support one of America's earliest home-grown terrorists. The conclusion I reached was a disturbing reminder of the moral compromises that are so common in radicalism.

Walter Lewellyn is a junior history major from Bluff Park, Alabama. Walter is a member of the Honor Council and BSC Film Club. He also holds membership in Phi Alpha Theta.

On the night of May 24, 1856, five men—the youngest, Drury Doyle, mutilated as he attempted to flee from the massacre of his father and older brother, was not yet twenty—were murdered outside of their cabins along the Pottawatomie Creek. They were members of the proslavery Law and Order party, politically active in the proslavery territorial government, and died for their escalating proslavery threats against the abolitionists in the Pottawatomie territory. Their murderers were members of the Pottawatomie Rifles, free staters deeply affected by news of the sacking of the abolitionist headquarters in Lawrence just days prior. One of the posse's number, Theodore Weiner, was a local shopkeeper who had already been subject to violent confrontations with the victims. Four others were loyal sons who hacked the proslavery men to death themselves, and who suffered the first of their countless regrets as they washed the blood and gray matter off of their broadswords in the creek. Their leader and father, John Brown, murdered no one, but it was he, more than anyone who wielded a sword or fired a rifle that night, who would ultimately be defined by the massacre. Amongst historians, there is a predictably robust diversity of opinion on John Brown, one of American history's most controversial figures, and the Pottawatomie Creek massacre, perhaps his most controversial act. As the righteous fervor of the abolitionist cause was subsumed by the moral ambiguity of the Gilded Age, the historical consensus—previously dominated by dishonest and heavily politicized biographies of Brown from such amateur biographers as James Redpath—turned decisively against Brown.¹² For years, only one biography of Brown written after Reconstruction, Oswald Villard's highly sympathetic *John Brown: A Biography Fifty Years After*, stood to counter the anti-Brown faction.³ With the 1970s came revisionist reappraisals of Brown, notably from Stephen B. Oates, who was subject in turn to further revision in Robert E. McGlone's recent *John Brown's War Against Slavery*.⁴ The scope of historiography on Brown has ranged from martyr to madman to liar to Calvinist fanatic to, in McGlone's view, "a pilgrim obsessed with destiny."⁵

Historians are no less divided on Brown's role in and motivations behind the Pottawatomie Creek massacre. Long influenced by hearsay and unreliable accounts, Brown's historians have both exonerated him of involvement—due in large part to Redpath's deceitful biography—and placed him at the scene of the crime, smoking gun in hand, having used his complete sway over his followers to carry out the massacre.⁶ Moreover, Brown's possible motivations vary wildly. Perhaps he was, as McGlone and Louis A. DeCaro argue, swayed by a legitimate fear of the pro-slavery faction's threats against free staters in the area.⁷ Or maybe, as has been consistently argued by those in the anti-Brown faction, Brown was finally overtaken by a simmering madness. Perhaps his deeds were nothing less than a sort of proto-terrorism; perhaps they were simply the acts of a horse thief.⁸⁹

For all the disagreements about Brown and the origins and nature of Pottawatomie, there is a clear historical consensus on the reaction to the massacre amongst the abolitionist movement. Pottawatomie, though more morally ambiguous than Harpers Ferry, nevertheless elevated Brown into a violent folk hero among pacifists. His success in becoming an icon well before his death, despite his association with one of the more infamous episodes in American history, can be attributed to three salient factors: the extremely

poor and politically selective coverage of Bleeding Kansas in the North, which bordered on propaganda; Brown's combination of charisma and timeliness; and the willingness of abolitionist leaders, notably Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau, to be deceived in exchange for a hero.

It is critical to investigate the context for the massacre, because it illuminates both John Brown's character and the rationale he would later provide to the abolitionists who, to borrow a phrase from Robert Penn Warren, manufactured his martyrdom. Compared to the rest of Kansas at the time, Pottawatomie was peaceful.¹⁰ The threat of violent action from proslavery Southern emigrants, however, weighed heavily on the predominantly moderate abolitionists in the area. The territorial government was as much an enemy as the Border Ruffians; the Cato court, presided over by the intensely proslavery Alabamian Sterling G. Cato and in which several massacre victims were involved, actively worked against abolitionist interests, as did Samuel Lecompte, head of the territorial supreme court. The "sacking" of Lawrence, whose reputation was inflated by both hearsay and propagandizing from Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune*, was conducted by a Kansas sheriff aided by a small army of Missourians.¹¹

The sack of Lawrence had major repercussions in Pottawatomie. The fact that Lawrence, the relative stronghold of the state's abolitionist movement, could be so easily assailed deepened the Browns' standing concerns about Osawatimie's precarious position; doubly worrisome was the fact that Osawatimie had a printing press, which would make it an even more appealing target to Ruffian raids. Simmering tensions boiled over, and it was decided among Brown's party that, in the apparent nadir of the free state cause in Kansas and in the face of what seemed to be imminent danger, something had to be done: "We must show by actual work that there are two sides to this thing and that they cannot go on without impunity."¹² In some ways, the Pottawatomie Creek massacre was a forerunner of modern terrorism; it was an act of the weak against the strong, who, frightened and unable to use traditional political avenues to accomplish their goals, used violent action to terrorize their political enemies instead.

Though the possibility remains that John Brown was merely insane, the wealth of practical concerns weighing heavily on him in the days before the massacre indicate that the murders weren't merely the actions of a deranged fanatic.¹³ Certainly those who followed Brown weren't under some mystical sway, as in the case of Jim Jones or David Koresh; Brown's followers were motivated by personal fears as much as by Brown's charisma. Though Brown's turn to violence was exacerbated, in DeCaro's view, by "a theology untouched by pacifism," the massacre was also the result of personal fears and the recent death of Brown's father, who had originally inculcated abolitionism in Brown.¹⁴ When Brown discussed his actions in Kansas with the leading lights of the abolitionist movement, then, they heard the explanations of an extremist yet essentially rational and dynamic man, not the rantings of a lunatic.

Outside of Brown's accounts, which omitted any mention of the massacre, the influential abolitionists who would bankroll his missions in Missouri and Virginia and be most responsible for creating the John Brown legend learned of events in Kansas by the same means as other Northerners: through the *New York Tribune* and other newspapers of the abolitionist press. Both were factually unreliable and biased to the point of dishonesty, and the difficulties in determining what was going on in Pottawatomie were compounded by the news of the sacking of Lawrence and, more importantly, the infamous caning of Charles Sumner by Preston Brooks.

Although hampered by an unpopular reputation for fanaticism, the abolitionists were highly successful in turning Kansas into a cause célèbre, and no paper was more influential than the *New York Tribune*.¹⁵ Its strategy, as laid out by Editor Horace Greeley: "We cannot admit Kansas as a state; we can only make issues on which to go to the people at the Presidential election."¹⁶ The *Tribune* balanced a need to publicize the sufferings, real or fabricated, of the abolitionist cause in Kansas while simultaneously exaggerating the movement's strength. Its reporters were forced to strike this uneasy balance, but were nevertheless the most widely circulated source of Kansas news in the North, and treated accounts of the Potawatimie Creek massacre as hearsay only.¹⁷

Other papers, such as William Lloyd Garrison's famous *Liberator*, were equally meticulous in their omission or distortion of area reports of the massacre. Though the massacre was never mentioned contemporaneously by the *Liberator*, *Lowell Daily Citizen and News*, or *Boston Daily Atlas*, all three papers circulated the same report of an "infernal outrage" and "dreadful atrocity" committed against an abolitionist family near Pottawatomie Creek just two months later.¹⁸ Despite a pipeline into the events of the area and access to local newspapers, the Northern press was unquestionably biased in its reportage of events in Kansas, just as much as the Missourian newspapers calling for bloody vengeance for the massacre.¹⁹ In addition to omitting accounts of the massacre, the abolitionist press also actively intervened on Brown's behalf. In an 1860 issue of the *Liberator*, with Brown's memory still being canonized after Harpers Ferry, an editor asserted that not only was Brown not at Pottawatomie, but also that any accusation to the contrary was simply a "malignant attempt to injure the fame of one who...was the purest embodiment of exalted self-sacrifice."²⁰

Compounding an already unreliable stream of information about the massacre was its timing: it came immediately after two stories ripe for sensationalism, the sacking of Lawrence and the caning of Charles Sumner. Lawrence's fall to proslavery forces was highly dramatized by the *New York Tribune*, as seen in their use of the word "sack" to describe the event as if it were a bloody abolitionist Alamo, when in fact the lone casualty of the day was a proslavery settler killed by falling rubble. Brown's Pottawatomie Rifles were stopped outside of Lawrence by news of its "sacking," which encouraged, in part, the eventual massacre. The caning of Sumner was even more infamous, fully diverting the Northern press from mention of Pottawatomie for weeks and prompting scathing denunciations from countless editors and Ralph Waldo Emerson.²¹

Even with these distractions, however, within three weeks Brown had been associated with the murders at Pottawatomie. Both the *Chicago Press Democrat* and the *New York Tribune* had published reports featuring witnesses' affidavits placing Brown at the scene of the crime; even as those newspapers labored to demonstrate that the accusations were false by smearing the accusers, anyone with pretensions to objectivity regarding Brown could still have learned of the massacre.²² Moreover, a widely circulated government document, the Howard Committee Report, included a minority report by Mordecai Oliver detailing the facts of the massacre and implicating Brown.²³ Had the abolitionists that John Brown came into contact with wished to learn more of the massacre from someone other than Brown himself, they could have done so. Instead, they chose to take at face value the words of the man most invested in distancing himself from the act.

Brown met Emerson and Thoreau through Franklin Sanborn, a young Concord teacher, eventual Secret Six financier of the Harpers Ferry raid, and neighbor of the two transcendentalists, who entertained Brown during his early 1857 visit to Massachusetts for fundraising, lecturing, and keeping a low profile after the massacre.²⁴ On the surface, Brown won the support of leading abolitionists through a combination of being in the right place at the right time, his outstanding personal magnetism, and an inability, willful or otherwise, of his audiences to understand the violent implications of his rhetoric. The most compelling reason for Brown's success, however, lay in the fact that while those transcendentalists could see something of themselves in Brown as a New Englander and Puritan. Brown represented to them something far greater than what they could achieve: a "pure idealist" and "transcendentalist saint," a living example of their teachings; a hero and man of action, through whose deeds their lives could be made meaningful; and a man willing to sacrifice everything, like Christ, to purify the evil of slavery, a sacrifice none of his benefactors were willing to make.²⁵

Brown arrived in New England at the national low ebb of abolitionist power. Losing the fight in Kansas, silenced by violent Southerners, suffering under the apathetic mismanagement of Franklin Pierce and doomed to suffer four more years under James Buchanan, the abolitionist cause was ready for a hero. In Brown they saw both a leader and someone who represented the trials of abolitionism made flesh. At a meeting at the Concord Town House, with Emerson and Thoreau in attendance, Brown commanded the crowd's attention with stories of state-sanctioned Ruffian crimes in Kansas and the murder of his son Frederick by a proslavery minister. He also brought a chain to attest to the arrest and marching in chains of two of his other sons by federal troops. Naturally he neglected to mention the Pottawatomie Creek massacre or abolitionist violence in Kansas, but reports of both were, as previously discussed, in short supply in New England, and after such a forceful speech no one was willing to investigate Brown further.²⁶

In addition to his timeliness and the relevance of his story, Brown's charisma was also a critical factor in his success that night. He was a man of a surprising eloquence, and spoke with a conviction previously unheard of in abolitionist circles. Brown spoke "without ever giving the least vent to his pent-up fire," Thoreau noted; "It was a volcano with an ordinary chimney-flue."²⁷ Also setting him apart and elevating him to the status of hero was his promise of action. His speech was made to raise funds for his private war against slavery, and he left with a sizeable haul, including donations from both Thoreau and Emerson.²⁸

A final factor in Brown's success in rousing support and money was the simple fact that his words had been in part misunderstood; Brown's apocalyptic language was taken merely as hyperbolic rhetoric, when in fact it directly represented his Manichaeic view of the struggle against the slave power. In his speech at Concord, Brown claimed that it was "better that a whole generation of men, women and children should pass away by a violent death than that a word of either [the Bible or the Declaration of Independence] should be violated in this country"; Emerson, who after some deliberation nodded his consent and later recorded the statement in his diary, clearly misunderstood the literal intent of Brown's message.²⁹ When speaking of his son Frederick's murderer and other Border Ruffians, Brown said that "they had a perfect right to be hung." Thoreau wrote that Brown was admirably "[telling] the simple truth, and [communicating] his own resolution." Franklin Sanborn, however, who knew despite Brown's claims to the contrary his involvement in the massacre, wrote, "Brown had in his mind, then, no doubt, the five victims of his Pottawatomie executions."³⁰

In part due to these misunderstandings, Brown's time on the lecture circuit was an unqualified success in terms of raising money and gaining notoriety. Though Brown resented being reduced to a "beggar," he raised funds critical to his emancipating raids into Missouri and met the men who would become the Secret Six backers of Harpers Ferry.³¹ Never one to reject the charity of others—the cavalry swords used in the massacre were donated by an Ohio abolitionist—Brown made invaluable contacts in the Secret Six and Charles Blair, a foreman who supplied Brown with knives and pikes.³² His fame was increasing as well in New England, largely due to his ability to project himself as a military hero while distancing himself from the Pottawatomie Creek massacre. When he first arrived in Kansas, Brown was spurned by the famed abolitionist preacher Henry Ward Beecher, who pompously informed Brown, "I am Beecher." After becoming a "celebrated hero" in his own right, Brown ran across Beecher again on a train ride, only to be praised by the politically astute reverend; Brown rebuked Beecher, saying, "I am Brown."³³

Brown entered New England a penniless fugitive from justice and left a relatively well-supplied hero. Critical to Brown's success and informed abolitionists' willingness to overlook Pottawatomie were the resemblances abolitionist leaders saw in Brown. Like them, he was a New Englander, and his unwavering devotion to destroying slavery was, in Thoreau's estimation, an extension of characteristic New England virtues: "He was by descent and birth and New England farmer, a man of great common sense, and as practical as that class is....He was like the best of those who stood at Concord Bridge once, on Lexington Common, and on Bunker Hill, only he was firmer and higher principled than I have chanced to hear of as there."³⁴ Brown was fit to be a hero because he came from a bloodline of heroes, essentially trustworthy because of his Northern pedigree. He also reminded leading abolitionists of their Puritan forebears. Wendell Phillips, the aggressive abolitionist preacher, wrote of Brown after Harpers Ferry: "You cannot expect a real Puritan Presbyterian, as John Brown is—a regular Cromwellian dug up from two centuries—in the midst of our New England civilization...and not have him show himself as he is."³⁵ Brown was the incarnation, perfectly timed to address the pressing evil of the day, of a longstanding tradition of heroism and moral purity that New England abolitionists could easily relate to.

Even more important than the qualities Brown shared with his abolitionist admirers were the characteristics they could never possess such as outsized personality traits and a record of deeds that were ripe for idealization. After his capture and voluntary martyrdom at Harpers Ferry, Brown was canonized as a saint of transcendentalism. His motives came from an unquestionably pure source—the restless drive to crush slavery—and he was willing to sacrifice anything to see his dreams realized; through this crucible of idealism, any of Brown's controversial actions could be rationalized and justified.³⁶ Thoreau summed up the "transcendental reasoning" defense of Brown perfectly: "The question is not about the weapon, but the spirit in which you use it."³⁷ Wendell Phillips, seeing Brown as the perfect ideal of the Higher Law doctrine, wrote in his eulogy, "Whatever argument excuses *them* [disciples of civil disobedience], makes John Brown a saint."³⁸ Had the abolitionists known about Pottawatomie, then, they could have easily explained it away in the same spirit as Harpers Ferry because of the ideal Brown represented.

Brown was also idealized as a hero and man of action before and after his death. Though he was never a highly astute military mind and saw little success outside of scattershot raids into Missouri, Brown was represented as the final answer to the aggression of the slave power. In his eulogy for Brown, Thoreau said that Brown "resolved that he would never have anything to do with war, unless it were a war for liberty," and noted that "it was through his agency, more than any other's, that Kansas was made free."³⁹ This view of Brown's work in Kansas clearly reflected Brown's own accounts of his exploits, but, incorrect as it was and ignorant of the private wars that befell Kansas after the Pottawatomie Creek massacre, it was standard among abolitionists.⁴⁰ Living vicariously through Brown was undeniably a factor into this willful ignorance and need for a hero; Emerson was personally unwilling to break the law to oppose slavery, and Thoreau was ready to compromise his doctrine of passive resistance for a perfect, uncompromised hero.⁴¹ Moreover, resentment of proslavery abuses blinded abolitionists to Brown's own crimes; in a eulogy for Brown, Beecher intoned in awe, "One man—and sixteen followers!—he seizes two thousand brave Virginians and holds them in duress....This poor, child-bereft old man is the manliest of them all."⁴²

Brown represented many things that the abolitionists could idealize yet not attain, not the least of which was his willingness to die for the cause, the ultimate proof of his transcendentalism. The tendencies to idealize Brown present from his first tour of New England found their fullest expression in Brown's martyrdom. Emerson, who was always the most cautious of Brown's noteworthy supporters, famously opined that Brown's death would "make the gallows glorious like the cross."⁴³ Louisa May Alcott, in a poem eulogizing Brown, wrote, "Living, he made life beautiful—/Dying, he made death divine."⁴⁴ Brown's willingness to die, obvious from the beginning and the eventual proof of his honesty, was the critical factor blinding his abolitionist supporters to his violent nature. Like Christ, Brown voluntarily took upon himself lesser sins in order to purge the greatest sin of all, slavery. In that view, the murder of five proslavery thugs could only be a venial offense.

John Brown was readily accepted by the abolitionist movement despite the Pottawatomie Creek massacre for a number of reasons: reportage of the massacre was selective and biased, and Brown's own reports on Kansas omitted any mention of it; Brown arrived at a moment when abolitionism most needed a hero and acted every inch the part; and most importantly, Brown represented both a familiar and an ideal hero to abolitionism's intellectual leaders and possessed seemingly transcendental characteristics to excuse such a deed. The John Brown legend was a fantasy from the beginning, indulged in by otherwise judicious men who were willing to squint in order to find a savior.

Notes

1. James Redpath, *Echoes of Harper's Ferry* (Boston: Thayer and Eldridge, 1860); Stephen B. Oates, *Our Fiery Trial* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1979), 22. Included is a quote from Redpath, who knew Brown personally from his time reporting on (and actively supporting Brown) in Kansas, claiming that Brown was "incapable of anything selfish or base." W.E.B. DuBois, *John Brown* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007) falls squarely within Redpath's pro-Brown faction.

2. James C. Malin, *John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-Six* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1942) is the most influential of the anti-Brown histories, "scientifically" documenting Brown's monomania and accusing him of being a liar and criminal, as detailed by Oates in *Our Fiery Trial*, 29-35; Hill Peebles Wilson, *John Brown, Soldier of Fortune: A Critique* (Lawrence: Privately published, 1913); Gilman M. Ostrander, "Emerson, Thoreau and John Brown," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 39 (March 1953): 713; and M.M. Quaife, "Bleeding Kansas and the Pottawatomie Murders," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 6 (March 1920): 556-560 all fall squarely within the pre-Oates, anti-Brown historiography.

3. Oswald Garrison Villard, *John Brown: A Biography Fifty Years After* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1943).

4. Stephen B. Oates, *To Purge This Land with Blood: A Biography of John Brown* (New York: Harper Collins, 1970); Robert E. McGlone, *John Brown's War Against Slavery* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009). Merrill Peterson, *John Brown: The Legend Revisited* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2002) and Louis A. DeCaro, *"Fire From the Midst of You": A Religious Life of John Brown* (New York: New York University Press, 2002) are recent studies that fall within the more sympathetic faction represented by Oates.

5. McGlone, *Brown's War*, 325.

6. *Ibid.*, 129-130.

7. *Ibid.*, 120-128; DeCaro, "Fire," 232-233.

8. Oates, *Our Fiery Trial*, 33-34; McGlone, *Brown's War*, 134-140.

9. David M. Potter, *The Impending Crisis* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), 213. Potter offers the heavily biased view of Hill Peebles Wilson, a Kansan who wrote and privately printed a polemical critique of the John Brown myth.

10. This includes Osawatomie which was incorrectly linked to Brown because of his moniker, "Old Osawatomie."

11. Potter, *Impending Crisis*, 207-209.

12. John Brown, quoted in DeCaro, "Fire," 234. The descriptions of Pottawatomie after the sack come from DeCaro, "Fire," 228-233, and McGlone, *Brown's War*, 120-128.

13. McGlone, *Brown's War*, 148-149. Much of the evidence cited for Brown's madness, outside of historical assumptions, come from hearsay in letters, an extremely suspect psychological diagnosis of "monomania," and a supposedly incriminating daguerreotype of Brown reprinted in McGlone, 148. While Brown certainly could have been insane, the "scientific" arguments proposed by Malin are underwhelming.

14. DeCaro, "Fire," 234.

15. Potter, *Impending Crisis*, 218-219.

16. Qtd. in Potter, *Impending Crisis*, 219.

17. *Ibid.*, 223.

18. *Boston Daily Atlas*, July 23, 1856; *Liberator*, July 25, 1856; *Lowell Daily Citizen and News*, July 26, 1856.

19. Oates, *To Purge This Land with Blood*, 141-142.

20. *Liberator*, February 24, 1860.

21. Potter, *Impending Crisis*, 208-210, 220-221; Oates, *Purge*, 144; Ostrander, "Emerson, Thoreau and John Brown," 715.

22. Potter, *Impending Crisis*, 221-222.

23. *Ibid.*, 223.

24. DeCaro, "Fire," 240; Ostrander, "Emerson, Thoreau," 718; Peterson, *Legend Revisited*, 167.

25. Emerson, qtd. in Ostrander, "Emerson, Thoreau," 720.

26. Oates, *Purge*, 196.

27. Quoted in Ostrander, "Emerson, Thoreau," 720.

28. Oates, *Purge*, 197.
29. *Ibid.*; Ostrander, "Emerson, Thoreau," 720-721.
30. Thoreau and Sanborn qtd. in Ostrander, "Emerson, Thoreau," 721.
31. DeCaro, "Fire," 240-243.
32. *Ibid.*, 234, 243.
33. Story recounted in DeCaro, "Fire," 241-242.
34. Henry David Thoreau, "A Plea for Capt. John Brown," in *Echoes of Harper's Ferry*, ed. James Redpath (Boston: Thayer and Eldridge, 1860), 18-19.
35. Wendell Phillips, "The Lesson of the Hour," in *Echoes of Harper's Ferry*, 55.
36. Ostrander, "Emerson, Thoreau," 720-724.
37. Qtd. in Ostrander, "Emerson, Thoreau," 724-725.
38. Phillips, "The Lesson of the Hour," in *Echoes of Harper's Ferry*, 59.
39. Thoreau, "Plea for Capt. Brown," in *Echoes of Harper's Ferry*, 18.
40. Ostrander, "Emerson, Thoreau," 719.
41. *Ibid.*, 717.
42. Henry Ward Beecher, "Untitled Sermon," in *Echoes of Harper's Ferry*, 261.
43. Qtd. in Ostrander, "Emerson, Thoreau," 723.
44. Louisa May Alcott, "With a Rose, that Bloomed on the Day of John Brown's Martyrdom," in *Echoes of Harper's Ferry*, 98.

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Virgins and Pokerfaces: A Comparative Analysis of Madonna's and Lady Gaga's Leadership in Gender Representation

MK Foster

I want your ugly. I want your disease. I want your everything as long as it's free. I want your love and all your lovers' revenge. You and me could write a bad romance.¹ You've indicated your interest. I'm educated in sex, yes, and now I want it bad.² But don't call my name. I'm not your babe.³ I won't tell you that I love you. Kiss or hug you. Can't read my Pokerface.⁴ I'm a free bitch, baby.⁵

A few montaged words from the lyrics of Lady Gaga, pop mega-star, myth, and “monster,” forces society to a crisis point. Here and now is a moment wherein society must examine exactly how celebrity leads culture and, more specifically, gender. The fact that a person who endorses a “freak” identity ranks with national figures, such as Oprah Winfrey and Barbara Walters, and magazines, such as *Forbes* and *Time*, as one of the most influential individuals in the world today begs society to question what that says about our world today. A public fear of her—her lit-cigarette sunglasses, her meat dress, her bubble-filled piano—is only outweighed by a duly noted fascination with her—awe that speaks in her astronomical record sales, her thriving online fan-base, and her undeniable influence on societal discourse about gender and gender politics today.

Years from now, when cultural historians assess gender in the latter half of the twentieth century and the beginnings of the twenty-first, they will point to two popular recording artists more so than any others and name them leaders in representing and critiquing gender: Madonna and Lady Gaga. While contemporary society has both adored and criticized them for their refusals to conform to “safe” existing models of famous females, such as Bush-era “plastic pop singers” Jessica Simpson and Britney Spears, Madonna and Lady Gaga have not only maintained their eccentricities; they have, in fact, raised the stakes for the role of those with celebrity in their representations of gender. Through their respective employments of Creative and Transformational Leadership, these women have deconstructed gender, transformed gender, advanced gender, and ultimately redefined gender. Today, though just breaking the surface of her career, Lady Gaga is both amplifying and redirecting Madonna's legacy, employing her creative and transformational leadership in gender as scaffolding for her own work. Moreover, as a creative and transformational leader, Lady Gaga is pushing cultural notions of gender farther than Madonna ever did in her work in her work and is now effectively prompting a change in societal understandings of gender itself.

This analysis of Lady Gaga uses the concept of Creative Leadership as a model for understanding Lady Gaga's amplification of creative representations of gender previously expressed by Madonna. Lady Gaga is using creative leadership to redirect Madonna's creative message of female empowerment to be one of universal gender empowerment. Most importantly, she is using transformational leadership to reshape and transform current understandings of gender in society and is, in this capacity, superseding Madonna's work as a transformational leader. For the purposes of comparison in this paper, the assessment media of choice will be each artists' songs and music videos.

MK Foster

This paper is an extension of MK's LS 400 Capstone Seminar presentation. When asked about her thoughts on this project, she simply stated, “as Lady Gaga quoted before, ‘I'm obsessively opposed to the original.’”

Mary Katherine “MK” Foster is a senior English major, creative writing minor from Birmingham, Alabama. Aside from participating in the Distinction in Leadership Studies program, MK is editor-in-chief of the *Quad*, president of Sigma Tau Delta, historian of Mortar Board, and a member of Omicron Delta Kappa and Zeta Tau Alpha Fraternity.

Creative Leadership

Developed by Gerard J. Puccio, Mary C. Murdock, and Marie Mance, chairpersons of and teachers with the International Center for Studies in Creativity at Buffalo State College, Creative Leadership, in essence, identifies creativity as “doing something in an original way that is at the same time useful [or capable of achieving something]” (Puccio 21). Within this theory, successful leadership performance is inextricably linked to “an individual’s capacity to use his or her creative problem-solving skills to resolve complex social problems” (21) (16). In this capacity, when creativity is at its most effective state, meeting the highest possible levels of both novelty and usefulness, it is able to fuse with a person’s leadership performance, allowing them to effectively move their followers towards social change (21) (23). Puccio, Murdock, and Mance also identify eight different styles of Creative Leadership, among which are forward incrementation, or “leadership that attempts to lead an organization or field forward in the direction it is already going,” and redirection, or “leadership that attempts to redirect an organization or field from where it is heading toward a different direction” (Puccio 14). Within this sphere of Creative Leadership, we can easily identify Madonna as a creative leader in forward incrementation and Lady Gaga as a creative leader in redirection.

Creative Leadership: Madonna’s Forward Incrementation

When assessed through the lens of Creative Leadership, Madonna exemplifies the creative leader of forward incrementation, as she is one who “attempts to lead an organization or field forward in the direction it is already going” (Puccio 14). In the instance of gender, we find Madonna enacting Puccio, Murdock, and Mance’s creative problem-solving and taking up the momentum of second-wave feminism, in order to further advance and empower women. According to cultural critic Susan J. Douglas in *Where the Girls Are: Growing Up Female with the Mass Media*, Madonna draws on a number of her proto-feminist and feminist predecessors and moves forward to “aggressively [take] control of her own sexuality, and [affirm] that it [is] healthy and liberating for a woman to express her sexual desires, whether they [are] threatening to men or not” (287). Here, Madonna’s employment of Creative Leadership, takes the shape of what I will call her “manipulation of the male.”

In her “Open Your Heart” song and video, Madonna creatively evades the question of decimating female sexuality by using her sexuality as a device for her “manipulation of the male.” In the video, Madonna portrays a peep-show dancer and performs for an audience of varied men. Her lithe puppet-woman motions and apparent tether to the gaze of each male seemingly indicate a masculine control over her. Still, Madonna is sharper than that, as Susan J. Douglas points out, when she says, “in several of her videos, [Madonna] pretended to be under masculine control, only to reveal, at the end, that it was all a performance and that she had nothing but contempt for and [complete immunity to] male sexual power” (Douglas 287). Herein, the singer’s video and song cross one another. As she swishes and snaps her way across the observational stage, Madonna commands the “you” in her lyrics to “unlock” and “open [his] heart” to her love (“Open Your Heart”). She recognizes the gender-based control that she has over men and is unafraid to work this control for all it is worth. The video, in fact, emphasizes that Madonna is actually the one watching the male figures, who appear to be caged in their cubicle viewing cells. Despite seemingly traditional power structures at work in this video, she is the one in charge of the “lock” of a man’s heart, while he thinks he is holding the key (“Open Your Heart”). In the end, she is the one with the last laugh as she dons male attire, skips out of the peep show theatre, and heads off into the sunset. In this capacity, Madonna creatively “[exhibits] that womanhood [is] a series of costumes and poses and shove[s] in everyone’s face how mutually exclusive these roles for women [are]” (Douglas 288); she effectually leads women out of confinement to societal roles that tell them that their “pleasure [must] depend on the permission of another” (“Justify My Love”).

Creative Leadership: Lady Gaga’s Redirection

When assessed in terms of Creative Leadership, Lady Gaga is representative of the creative leader of redirection, for she “attempts to redirect an organization [or] field...from where it is heading toward a different direction” (Puccio 14). In the instance of gender, we find Lady Gaga enacting Puccio, Murdock, and Mance’s creative problem-solving as she picks up where Madonna left off in terms of Creative Leadership in gender. This gender torch-taking on Lady Gaga’s part then allows her to follow through as a creative leader in her own right, amplifying and redirecting the momentum of her predecessor. For Lady Gaga, gender representation is not only the “manipulation of the male,” as Madonna’s was, but it is also a manipulation of gender itself; it is a game that gender-bends and

gender-blends; it is a push for universal gender empowerment, an empowerment of all sexes and all orientations.

In social critic Vanessa Grigoriadis's estimation in "Growing Up Gaga," a *New York Magazine* article about the rise of the mega-star, "[Lady Gaga] wants to promote images of as many...sexual combinations as are possible on this Earth;" Lady Gaga wants, as she herself has said in another interview, "women—and men—to feel empowered by a deeper and more psychotic part of themselves. The part they're always trying to desperately hide." (4) (Allison 3). This in mind, in her "Pokerface" song and video, Lady Gaga creatively redirects Madonna's "manipulation of the male" to manipulate gender itself by blurring the differences between sexes. As the video opens, Lady Gaga is reborn a new Venus out of a swimming pool sea and presents herself as a new type of gendered being. From here, the singer alternates between scenes of herself participating in a clothes-on mixed group orgy, playing Strip Poker with a mixed group, and playing out a dissatisfied traditional heterosexual bed scene. Structuring and framing these scenes is footage of Lady Gaga singing alone while haloed by a disk in the background. In this image, the singer presents herself as looking like a pre-Lapsarian woman with the camera zoomed-out and like a postmodern man in shiny wig and glitter make-up drag with the camera zoomed-in; here, she is a true divinity of androgyny, one who is playing a Texas Hold Em' game of God with gender. "Can't read my...pokerface," Lady Gaga claims, asserting the fact that no man, or woman, can tell her orientation; "can't read my...pokerface," she says because she has manipulated gender to an indiscernible, pokerfaced point. Affirming this gender game is postmodern gender theorist Hélène Cixous who asserts that "bisexuality [is] a fantasy of a complete being..." and is the subduing of the fear of confinement to a single gender.

Bearing this concept in mind, Lady Gaga not only uses Creative Leadership to redirect Madonna's work, but also to amplify it, to blow it up to next possible level of gender (159). She evokes a gender that becomes non-gender, and therein a non-issue, because of its inclusion of all sexes. In all this creative redirection and blending of the genders, Grigoriadis reminds us that Lady Gaga, describes herself as "a girl who likes boys who look like girls, but she's also a girl who likes to look like a boy herself or, rather, a drag queen, a boy pretending to be a girl" (4). Here, science breaks down, and vertigo sets in, as Lady Gaga leads us to see that gender bends; she leads us to understand that all sexes and all orientations can and should be free to express themselves without fear, shame, or oppression.

Transformational Leadership

When we look at Transformational Leadership, we are essentially looking into the dynamic notion of leaders and followers working to raise one another to higher levels of motivation and "morality." According to Bernard M. Bass, a late Binghamton University professor and director of the Center for Leadership Studies, "Transformational leadership raises leadership to the next level...inspiring followers to commit to a shared vision and goals...challenging them to be innovative problem solvers, and developing followers' leadership capacity via coaching, mentoring, and provision of both challenge and support" (4). With this theory in mind, we can easily identify Madonna and Lady Gaga as transformational leaders.

Transformational Leadership: Madonna's Gender Message

As a predecessor to Lady Gaga, Madonna enacts Transformational Leadership, as she inspires her followers, challenges them, and develops them as leaders in gender. Through her control of her sexuality in her seeming loss of control, Madonna transforms herself and "empowers her followers to do the same"; she effectively demonstrates and represents exactly how women can transform themselves and achieve the things they want most in life—success, status, and even sexual fulfillment. For Madonna, this transformational leadership comes down to pushing the envelope of known social conventions and "[using her sexuality] any way she sees fit" (Ward 132). Hence, in songs and videos, Madonna, "'denaturalizes' sex and gender and encourages us to play with [them as] constructs" (133).

In "Papa Don't Preach," Madonna complicates the classical notions of "virgin" and "whore." "Papa don't preach—I'm in trouble deep," she says, sounding like a wounded, confused virgin; "Papa don't preach—I've been losing sleep," she says, sounding penitent and contrite ("Papa Don't Preach"). And these words would be enough to convince an audience of her fallen Mary state—were it not for the fact that while she sings these virgin lyrics in the video, she is cavorting about an empty observation stage in a black corset and skin tight black capri pants like an adult entertainer. "I've made up my mind," she declares to the camera, running her hands along her torso and up over her head burlesque-style, "I'm keeping my baby—yeah, I'm gonna' keep my baby" ("Papa Don't Preach"). According to Susan J. Douglas, "Madonna offered women a host of masquerades to try on...one of her favorite

plays was to portray a virgin one minute and a whore the next, even suggesting that some virgins were whorelike and some whores virginal" (288). Thus, in deconstructing two patriarchal-society-driven stereotypes, Madonna transforms her followers and herself; she, herein, attains sexual power, confidence, and independence, through pretending to lose control of herself in her sexual desires.

Transformational Leadership: Lady Gaga's Gender Message

It is the followers in the Transformational Leadership equation who catch Lady Gaga's attention and set her apart from and ahead of her predecessor. Through her intense interest in and care for her fans, or "Little Monsters," she cultivates a "vision" of revised societal gender notions within each of them, as well as herself (Bass 4). "I grew up a freak, an outcast," Lady Gaga says in her *Vanity Fair* interview with writer Lisa Robinson; "and I'm you," she concludes, drawing a direct connection between her and her followers that she often makes known (286). Thus, for Lady Gaga, Transformational Leadership, through her creative amplification and redirection of Madonna's legacy, inspires and motivates her fans and herself to lead culture and redefine gender.

In discussing Lady Gaga's transformation and ultimate surpassing of Madonna's gender legacy, Pulitzer-nominated journalist Maureen Callahan says of Lady Gaga in *Pokerface: The Rise and Rise of Lady Gaga*, "She took direction from Madonna...but she's done it even more brilliantly" (89). It is, in fact, this notion of calculated intellect that has allowed one to supercede the other in terms of Transformational Leadership in gender representation. Madonna, while cunning in the design and execution of her gender-driven pieces, ultimately places the spectacle of her work over its inherent message, the shock value over the value promotion. For example, it is the peep-show dancer over the woman taking charge and reversing the Panopticon in play. While spectacle is beneficial to followers in presenting them with new ideas, it is not necessarily effective in promoting a long-term concept.

Though she does make a spectacle of herself in a number of ways, Lady Gaga's focus is not entirely in surface details, but in her representations of gender empowerment at work behind these details; for her it is about the message at hand and, specifically, it is, more often than not, the gender-driven meaning that counts. She transforms and leads through subversive gender gestures, but she does not stop with a hair-bow made of hair. Lady Gaga also exhibits characteristics of a transformational leader by inspiring and challenging her followers through another twist on Madonna's legacy: her control over her sexuality through overt gender ambiguity. In other words, she is leading a specific evacuation of all gender absolutes and a specific enfranchisement of a blurred and blended gender that empowers its subject to cross societal boundaries and to control its employment of chaos.

In her "Love Game" song and video, Lady Gaga motivates her followers to take control of their own sexual drives and needs through a promotion of gender ambiguity, a promotion of sexual role reversals and change-ups as a means of power. In this piece, Lady Gaga is, at any given moment, a woman, a man, or both at once. As the video opens, she is a woman parading through a subway station with a literal "disco stick" cane in her hand. "I wanna' kiss you, but if I do then I might miss you," she says, initially acknowledging both her identification as a woman and the societal limitations placed on women in intimate situations ("Love Game"). Still, she controls the angry barking female within her and changes up sexual roles. As soon as these lyrics leave her, Lady Gaga immediately begins to turn to a more masculine identity, losing her lady white leotard and jacket for black leather and metal studs and treating sex with a certain male objectivity. She propositions the lover "you" in her song with another gender game, saying "don't think too much—just bust that stick—I wanna' take a ride on your disco stick" ("Love Game"). She then joins up with a street gang and, over the course of the video, proves herself to be one of the guys. The piece then moves to alternations between representative images of Lady Gaga as a woman dressed as a man who has sex in a subway ticket booth like a woman and as a completely nude woman turning explicit tricks for two men at the same time. The message here is simple; she cannot lose this "love game" because she is in control of both sides of the gender line. The power here is also simple; she is in complete control of her sexuality because of her uninhibited ability to switch and blend genders. It is this message and this power that Lady Gaga translates to her followers, which then allows them to rise together, leader and followers transformed in gender in ways above and beyond Madonna, who, in this comparative analytic light, appears to almost be a proto-Gaga.

Curtain

This assessment prompts important questions and insights regarding celebrity within society. What role does celebrity play in leading a cultural shift? The case of Lady Gaga suggests a leading role, and, when it comes to redefining societal perceptions of gender, it is a star. What does it say about our world that an artist like Lady Gaga is able to lead social revision? It suggests that it is time for a change. Using Creative Leadership, Lady Gaga

has amplified and redirected Madonna's legacy of empowerment through gender representation and, using Transformational Leadership, she has managed to transform gender as we understand it today and, herein, supersede her predecessor. "When you stick to who you are, you carve out a space for yourself that nobody can steal from you," and it is exactly this notion of fidelity to selfhood that drives and empowers Lady Gaga in all of her work with and for gender. She's not playing games here; no pokerface necessary.

Notes

1. Lady Gaga. "Bad Romance." 2010.
2. Lady Gaga. "Love Game." 2009.
3. Lady Gaga. "Alejandro." 2010.
4. Lady Gaga. "Pokerface." 2009.
5. Lady Gaga. "Bad Romance." 2010.

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Reinvention and a Painful Transition: Perspectives on Post-War Vietnam and Cambodia

Will Breland

Will Breland

The concept for this paper was born while I was studying abroad in Thailand, Vietnam, and Cambodia during Interim of 2009. While visiting each of these countries, I noticed the truly dichotomous nature of how the Vietnamese and Cambodian people viewed their past leaders. A couple of semesters later, I took Dr. Bob Slagter's class, Politics and Society in Southeast Asia. As my final project in the class, I researched what effect these views of leadership, along with a host of other factors contributed to Vietnam's rapid post-war development and Cambodia's lagging approach to economic and political stability.

Will is a senior History-Political Science Interdisciplinary Major from Decatur, Alabama. A former president of the Student Government Association, Will has also been heavily involved with BSC's College Democrats chapter. He is a member of Phi Eta Sigma, Alpha Lambda Delta, Omicron Delta Kappa, and Phi Alpha Theta. During the summer of 2009, Will served as a Hess Fellow at VOICES for Alabama's Children and was a finalist for the Harry S. Truman Scholarship. He is also a member of Sigma Chi fraternity.

Introduction

"The war was like a ball of fire, like [the American's] napalm. It made us fight harder for survival, yes, but we also lost a part of our identity. Perhaps we are still trying to recover it," remarked Nguyen Dinh Thi, a Vietnamese novelist, poet, playwright, and former soldier in an interview with American journalist Robert Shaplen (Shaplen 195). Author and founder of the Documentation Center in Cambodia, Craig Etcheson stated, "Cambodia's epic saga of havoc is so complex and confusing that scholars do not even entirely agree on how to name all the ruin" (Etcheson 3). Indeed, violence, colonization, and brutality are features that have littered the historical trajectory of Vietnam and Cambodia. Despite the great natural beauty and rich past of these respective lands, historians and social scientists alike cannot ignore this great strife and tragedy that ensued throughout the history of these lands. This is especially true of Vietnam and Cambodia in the mid-twentieth century. The Cold War had hit its very peak and two nations, the United States and the Soviet Union, were clashing against each other with the backdrop of Southeast Asia as its front line. However, it is equally, if not more, important that the post-war response be studied and properly articulated. After such a harrowing past, one can derive the future of these nations from the efforts taken toward their development and progress.

In this essay, a particular emphasis will be placed on the post-war experience which included: the Vietnamese and Cambodian memory of political leadership, coercive political tactics by each of these states, and the presence or lack of economic and political reform. Through this, the assertion will be made that the presence of war and the ensuing post-war experience set each of these nations on two distinct courses: one that would define Vietnam as an emerging force on the world stage and the other that would leave Cambodia to convalesce from the brutal violence that ravaged its past and struggle toward positive transformation in a constantly globalizing world.

Images of Leadership

Ho Chi Minh: Charismatic, Passionate, and Confident

While each of these nations possess similar wartime experiences, their histories and societies begin to diverge when one examines the role that certain political figures play in the nationalistic mindset of the nations' citizenry. In Vietnam the main figurehead during wartime, the post-war period, and even today was and still remains to be Ho Chi Minh. In understanding the influence of the leader within the spirit of Vietnam, his political writings that advocated for unequivocal autonomy must be examined. In the epilogue of his political biography of Ho Chi Minh, Pierre Brocheux asked, "Was Ho Chi Minh a true patriot entirely devoted to the independence of his country and the liberation of his people?" (Brocheux 183). Although Ho had been a prominent national figure on the Vietnamese political scene, he did not rise to the level of mythical standing until late in the year 1945 (Duiker 99-101).

Arguably, from a public image standpoint, the most defining moment in Ho's push for Vietnamese independence was his delivery of the Vietnamese Declaration of Independence. Alluding to the passages from the Americans' call for autonomy nearly two centuries earlier, Ho pronounced, "All men are created equal. The Creator has given us certain inviolable rights: the right to Life, the right to be Free,

and the Right to achieve Happiness.... Vietnam has the right to be a free and independent country, and in fact is so already" (Young 10-11). The crowd's response was enormously affirmative. After Ho's death, the Vietnamese military leader and politician, Vo Nguyen Giap, commented that the speech was, "the first great festival of the country.... The beautiful autumn sunbathed Ba Dinh Square which from this moment had entered history. It left a trailing echo. Vietnam had been reborn" (Young 11). Furthermore, it is generally accepted that even though he was a staunch supporter of the "cause of Marx and Lenin," Ho Chi Minh was most passionate about the Vietnamese independence movement (Brocheux 186). Ho was quoted as saying both, "It was patriotism, not communism, that inspired me," and, "I follow only one party: the Vietnamese Party" (Karnow 1-2).

Still the political implications of Ho Chi Minh's popularity prompt questions as to how this affected Vietnamese nationalism. In order to explore this topic in greater detail, it is vital to one's comprehension of Vietnamese culture and society to realize the sheer magnitude of the nearly universal admiration of the nation's father of independence. Some have even gone so far as to call this high level esteem characteristic of a mass personality cult (Brocheux 180). The earliest example of this affection for the political leader was found in the familial sentiments of his fellow countrymen. For example, during the height of his eminence on the world political stage, the Vietnamese people, and especially women and children, began to refer to him as "Uncle Ho" (Brocheux 181). William J. Duiker provided a perceptive indication as to exactly why this was the case. In assessing the impact of Ho Chi Minh on Vietnamese wartime successes, the author averted the practical and strategic accomplishments of the man and instead focused on his personal charisma and the spiritual tenants that guided his fight for revolution (Duiker 328-329).

Of Ho Chi Minh, Duiker wrote, "He is best known as the living symbol of the Vietnamese revolution. For more than a generation his personality, embodying the qualities of virtue, integrity, dedication, and revolutionary asceticism, transcended issues of party and ideology and came to represent, in an Eriksonian sense, the struggle for the independence and self-realization of the Vietnamese nation" (Duiker 329). He was, in short, the role model for a nation and the exemplar for a generation. A second example of this sort of mythical status bestowed upon the former Vietnamese leader was exhibited in the tumultuous and rather bizarre affair involving his entombment. The matter actually began well before the death of "Uncle Ho," when the revolutionary leader requested in his "Testament" that his body be cremated and placed into four urns which were to be located in four different temples at each corner of the country, similar to that of Confucius (Brocheux 180). However the Politburo censored the document and the government used the body as a device to create a pilgrimage site to attract people in the South, so as to accelerate the reunification process (Brocheux 180). Additionally, Ho Chi Minh repeatedly commanded that his birthday not be made into a national celebration, requesting instead that a celebration of the nation's birthday occur (Brocheux 180-181). Yet again, his request was not honored and both the government and the Vietnamese citizens instituted Ho Chi Minh's birthday as a national holiday (Brocheux 181).

Sihanouk and Lon Nol: Compulsive, Authoritarian, and Hesitant

Conversely, the most recognizable wartime leaders in Cambodia did not elicit the same type of constructive nationalism that was present throughout Vietnam in the latter half of the twentieth century. The period of time between the initiation of American involvement in Vietnam and the commencement of Operation Breakfast can best be described as complex and unstable. From 1955 until his removal from power in 1970, Prince Sihanouk, the father of Cambodian independence, maintained a great level of neutrality in the escalating conflict between the United States and Vietnam (Tully 133). This so-called impartial policy was not satisfactory to the American government especially after it became evident to them that communist outposts had been set up in the eastern border regions of Cambodia (Tully 149). As a result, in March of 1969 the U.S. government began its massive, secret bombing campaign, which included immense loss of civilian life, farmland, and forests; the neutral Sihanouk was powerless to stop it one way or another (Tully 149). Despite the fact that earlier in his period of influence Sihanouk had made legitimate achievements, such as education reform (increased funding to twenty percent from its previous six percent share under French colonial rule) and health reform, his personal authoritarian style and ethos of incompetence and corruption sparked a shift in power (Tully 138-140). It became evident that the days of power were numbered for the once seemingly unopposed Sihanouk (Chandler 196-197).

By the time America had entered into mass and open conflict within Cambodia in 1969 and 1970, Lon Nol had all but taken over as the leader of Cambodia. One anecdote that suitably described the leadership of Lon Nol transpired on the day of the coup d'état against Sihanouk. Before dawn, Sisowath Sirik Matak, the cousin of Sihanouk, entered Lon Nol's house and ordered him to sign a document that authorized the ousting of Sihanouk from power. Lon Nol refused and Sirik Matak hastily responded, "Nol my friend, if you do not sign this paper, we will shoot you!" Lon Nol immediately burst into tears, had to compose himself, and then without hesitation,

acquiesced (Chandler 197-198). Indeed, the leadership of Lon Nol was plagued by indecision, contradictions, and compulsive outbursts (Tully 158-159). By the end of his period in power, the fiercely pro-American leader became nearly wholly reliant on aid from the United States (Tully 157-158). It was this mishandling of leadership that suppressed nationalistic attitudes, provided no direction to an already troubled nation, and created the political maelstrom needed for the Khmer Rouge to assume a takeover.

Post-War Coercive Political Tactics ***Vietnamese Reeducation***

Thus far, this essay has depicted nationalism in Vietnam to be a largely advantageous facet of their political culture. However, it is impracticable to omit some of the more coercive elements of post-war Vietnam. The prime example of this form of oppression is the “re-education” camp. In 1961, amidst the brewing conflict between Vietnam and the West, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam instituted the use of concentration camps for “re-education,” or “reform of the mind” to deal with presumed counterrevolutionaries (Porter 172-173). From a legal standpoint, limited evidence was required to sentence a suspected insubordinate to a concentration camp for years on end. Furthermore, the National Assembly voted in 1967 to define “counterrevolutionary crimes” as “opposition to any governmental policy” (Porter 173). However, it was after the fall of Saigon that the camps began to be used in massive numbers (Porter 174). Former soldiers, political leaders, civilians, journalists, and writers that totaled as many as 300,000 were herded into twenty-one camps scattered throughout the country (Porter 174-175).

From the onset, the official purpose of the camp was to adjust the political views of persons whose views did not match that of the unified Vietnamese government. However, after hostilities broke out with China and the economic crisis hit its apex, the camps were used as devices of expediency and separated people from potential dissident elements of society (Porter 175). Conditions at the camps fluctuated, but almost all of the camps utilized torture as a means of interrogation, and food and medical supplies were constantly at inadequate levels (Porter 175). It was not until the mid to late 1980s that the process of disbanding these camps was initiated. In 1984, the National Assembly voted to eliminate re-education camps as a form of punishment, yet in 1987 those within the People’s Committee of Ho Chi Minh City who were especially concerned with the security of the state passed an ordinance that required “concentrated reeducation” for “past or present counterrevolutionary elements” who “refuse to be re-educated” (Porter 175-176). However, in 1988 nearly all of the prisoners of the camps were released from their incarceration (Porter 176).

Pol Pot and Cambodian Genocide

Without question, the most defining and horrifying experience in the Cambodian memory were the events surrounding Pol Pot’s rise to power and the ensuing Cambodian genocide. The Khmer Rouge officially came into power on April 17, 1975, following their siege on Phnom Penh (Chandler 236). Naturally, as the leader of the Communist Party, Pol Pot was named “Brother Number One,” the new leader of Democratic Kampuchea (Chandler 237). Immediately after their occupation of Phnom Penh, the Khmer Rouge began a mass evacuation of the city. The streets littered with guerillas, many of whom had never left their villages in the Cambodian countryside, carried AK47 rifles, pointed them at the population, and ordered them to return to their home villages (Tully 175). This harrowing exodus from one of the largest cities in all of Southeast Asia was only the very beginning of the Khmer Rouge’s brutal reign. The leadership of the Khmer Rouge was determined to start their “great transformation” of Cambodian society on the day that Phnom Penh fell and that is exactly what happened (Tully 177).

Immediately upon taking the city, there was a “Special Centre Assembly for Cabinet Ministers and all Zone and Region Secretaries.” At this meeting, Pol Pot listed the following objectives that would come to be the basis for his desired utopian society: “evacuate all people from all towns, abolish all markets, abolish Lon Nol regime currency, defrock all Buddhist monks and put them to work growing rice, execute all leaders of the Lon Nol regime beginning with the top leaders, establish high-level cooperatives throughout the country with communal eating, expel the entire Vietnamese minority population, and dispatch troops to the borders” (Tully 178). Pol Pot’s vision of a utopian Kampuchea, a purely Khmer society, consisted of among other things: strict communalism, the eradication of religion, the absence of intellectuals, flawless physical characteristics, and no dissention (Tully 183-185). Anyone who stood in the way of this grand plan was to be either worked to death or executed. Indeed, the numerous killing fields dispersed throughout the ravaged nation is evidence of this fact (Chandler 138). In the end, this gruesome regime would capture the lives of an estimated 1.7 million individuals, leave thousands of children and families displaced, and set back the nation countless years both economically and socially (Tully 181-183). Eventually, the Pol Pot regime was driven out of power and into exile by invading Vietnamese forces in 1979 (Tully 193-194).

Post-War Economics and the Road to Reform *Doi Moi and Reform and Cambodia after the Khmer Rouge*

Years of collectivist economic and agrarian policies typified Vietnam in the post-war period. Quite simply, these policies proved to be ineffective (Morley and Nishihara 3-4). One of the most telling examples as to why these economic policies did not succeed can be found in the state of agricultural lands and family farms in Vietnam which continues to be a controversial topic (Tria Kerkvliet 1). At the onset of the post-war period, governmental officials in Vietnam advocated that villagers pool their land, labor, and resources, so as to farm collectively (Tria Kerkvliet 2). After years of following this agrarian policy, it was evident that there was a growing lack of productivity and an increasing amount of discontent among farmers (Tria Kerkvliet 9). Three reasons for the farmers' discontent were a lack of trust among villagers, the existence of declining living conditions, and dissatisfaction with how local leaders were managing collectives (Tria Kerkvliet 9-10). In response to the growing dissatisfaction, a reluctant National Assembly passed the so-called Doi Moi reforms, a set of economic reforms based around the ideas of ownership, decentralized management, and a resurgent private sector (Selden and Turley 1). In 2006, Fortune Magazine named Vietnam the second fastest growing economy in Asia and the Doi Moi reforms were essential to this shift in economic standing (Chandler and Prasso 1).

On the contrary, Cambodia has yet to make any substantive push for reform on the economic front. While Vietnam has proven itself as an emerging force in an ever-globalizing world, Cambodia remains one of the poorest nations on earth (Tully 229). Between one third and one half of the nation's population lives in abject poverty (earning less than one dollar a day), fifty percent of Cambodia's children under the age of five are underweight, and nearly fifty percent of the nation's budget is composed of foreign aid (Tully 229). Another reason for Cambodia's lack of economic reform is the fact that few natural resources are available for trade. Therefore, the nation is forced to rely almost solely on its two major industries: textiles and tourism (Tully 147). In this sense, the nation of Cambodia has begun to market and capitalize from its devastating past. In Phnom Penh many motorbike drivers are trained to automatically assume that tourists wish to visit the killing fields (Tully 171).

Conclusion

While both the post-war Vietnamese and Cambodian experience included more wars, political transitions, and historical figures, this experience was dominated by the elements of society discussed in this essay. Based on these societal facets, one can reason how Vietnam would become such a presence on the world. Similarly, one can also understand why the nation of Cambodia has yet to emerge as a viable entity on the world stage. Both of these nations had to recover from great losses of life in brutal wars and murderous genocide. Vietnam benefited from the constructive nationalistic pride instilled in it by its great historic leader, while Cambodia still struggles to recover from the treacherous xenophobia introduced by the Pol Pot regime. The former nation enjoys vast amounts of natural resources and economic reforms in which to reap the full benefits of those supplies. The latter must subsist with limited natural resources and depend on the dreadfulness of its past for monetary benefit. Ultimately, the remaining panorama is a picture of a nation that has risen through strife and adjusted to the times, and a picture of one that has yet to do so.

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'Ours Will Not Go': Jimmy Carter and the Boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympics

Sarah Kate Masters

Sarah Kate Masters

I completed the research for this project during my Senior Research Symposium in History. I plan to pursue a Masters in Sports Management, so I enjoyed being able to combine my interests to produce a paper that dealt with the political implications of sports in society. I would like to thank Dr. Levey, my faculty advisor for guidance and support during the research process.

Sarah Kate Masters is a senior history major from Auburn, AL. Sarah Kate is a participant in the Distinction in Leadership Studies Program. At BSC, she has served as a Southern Ambassador, Hilltop Host, Teaching Assistant, and an American Sign Language Intermediate Interpreter. She is a member of Chi Omega Sorority.

On March 22, 1980 President Jimmy Carter stated, "I cannot say at this moment what other nations will not go to the Summer Olympics in Moscow. Ours will not go. I say that without any equivocation. The decision has been made."¹ The boycott of the 1980 Moscow Summer Olympics is a unique historical event in United States history. However, there has been relatively no debate on what motivated President Jimmy Carter to call for the boycott in the first place. Most historians identify the singular cause to be the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan, yet current historical examinations do not go far enough.² What about the Soviet invasion caused the United States to boycott the Olympics? Was the boycott a response to the humanitarian issues that resulted from the offensive or, was Carter motivated to boycott because the invasion threatened U.S. oil? While differentiating between these two views are important, historians must also identify if Afghanistan was the only cause. The essential question is this: did any other factors motivate Carter to pursue the boycott?

Historiography

David Hulme argues that while the boycott was indeed designed to punish the Soviet Union for invading Afghanistan, it was also a way for Carter to regain political legitimacy in the United States.³ With his re-election campaign well underway, the proposed boycott allowed Carter to combat the negative assessment his foreign policy decisions had previously received. In addition, it enabled him to display American moral resolve against the human rights violations in Afghanistan. Furthermore, because Americans were outraged at the apparent lack of progress with the Iranian hostage crisis, the proposed boycott had the possibility to shift the focus away from Iranian issues and to restore faith in Carter's leadership.⁴ Although other historians, such as Christopher Hill, David Kanin, and Alfred Senn, do address the distraction from the Iranian hostage crisis, they do not identify it as a direct catalyst that motivated Carter to call for a boycott in the first place.⁵

Hill, Kanin, and Senn all identify the invasion of Afghanistan as the singular cause of the decision. However, it is essential to note that Kanin breaks Afghanistan down into two distinct categories. He finds that human rights violations motivated Carter to boycott the Olympics, but additionally he suggests that Carter was motivated by the threat to American oil interests in the Persian Gulf caused by Soviet presence in Afghanistan.⁶ Jerry and Tom Caraccioli echo Kanin sentiments by discussing the "Carter Doctrine"—Carter's State of the Union address on January 21, 1980.⁷ They argue that Carter's primary concern with Soviet presence in Afghanistan was his belief that the Soviets were using Afghanistan as a stepping-stone to control the world's oil supply. Additionally, oil interests are discussed in numerous newspaper articles covering the motivations of the decision.⁸

Perhaps the most important factor that tends to be ignored by historians is the Soviet propaganda surrounding the Moscow Games. It was commonly known by the International Olympic Committee and the citizens of both the Soviet Union and the United States that the Soviets pointed to the IOC bid to Moscow as international legitimization of communism and Soviet foreign policy. Hulme argues that Soviets believed the Moscow Olympics were

the most important event for Russia since World War II.⁹ Had the Soviets not placed so much emphasis on the Moscow Games' significance, the idea of a boycott would not have been as alluring to Carter. This is because Carter recognized that the occasion could potentially humiliate the Soviets during their anticipated moment of glory.¹⁰ Baruch Hazan, a professor at the Institute of European Studies in Vienna, wrote *Olympic Sports and the Propaganda Games* solely to emphasize the importance of Soviet propaganda in the foreign policy decisions surrounding the Moscow Olympics.¹¹ Not only does Hazan identify propaganda prior to the boycott decision, but also, he additionally examines the Soviet counter campaign that began once the American boycott decision was made. The Soviet propaganda campaign was such a crucial factor in the boycott decision that it is difficult to imagine the decision being made without it.

Historians have identified that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan led President Jimmy Carter to call for a boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games. However, instead of simplifying to one factor, five need to be addressed. The humanitarian issues brought about by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the threat to U.S. oil supply because of Soviet occupation in the Persian Gulf region are two reasons. Additionally, Soviet propaganda surrounding the Olympics is identified, along with the American hostages in Iran, and Carter's upcoming re-election campaign. As opposed to the haphazard arguments made by previous historians, all five motivations significantly influenced President Carter to call for boycott. Ultimately, while each motivation is noteworthy and represents in some way Carter's leadership, this paper will illustrate why the two most significant motivations were oil and Soviet propaganda.

Oil

Prior to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Carter was coping with oil shortages on American soil. During his famous speech nicknamed the "Crisis of Confidence" he stated that the oil crisis in the United States was the "moral equivalent of war."¹² The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan only heightened tensions surrounding oil in the Persian Gulf and forced Carter to retaliate as a means of securing American interests in the Middle East. Although it became clear later that the USSR invaded Afghanistan to keep the Communist puppet government that had been set up in power, the United States assumed that the invasion was an attempt to gradually seize control of strategic regions of the Persian Gulf.¹³ According to John Dumbrell, Carter interpreted the Soviet invasion as a "direct grab" for ninety percent of the world's oil.¹⁴ For instance, Carter argued that because the invasion of Afghanistan put Soviets within 300 miles of the Strait of Hormuz, American oil interests were being threatened.¹⁵ Additionally, Carter was alarmed because he believed that Afghanistan was only the beginning of a Soviet campaign to seize control of larger portions of the Middle East. This section of the globe contained almost two-thirds of the world's exportable oil, on which the United States was largely dependent. These signs point to why Carter argued, at the height of the Cold War, that control of Middle Eastern oil could not pass into the hands of Soviets.¹⁶

As a response to the Soviet invasion, Carter issued a series of statements outlining his plans for retaliation against Soviet aggression during his State of the Union address on January 23, 1980. In what is more commonly referred to as the "Carter Doctrine," Carter begins by saying that he will do everything in his power to punish the Soviets for their actions, stating that the invasion of Afghanistan is the most serious threat to world peace since World War II.¹⁷ He goes on to say that it is not enough to verbally condemn the actions of the Soviets, but a measurable response must be initiated. This speech is the first time Carter publically mentions the possibility of an Olympic boycott as a response to the Soviet invasion. Additionally, and most importantly, he says that action must be taken to protect American oil interests in this region of the world. Carter states, "Let our position be absolutely clear: Any attempt by an outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America, and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force."¹⁸

Although during his presidency Carter was infamous for issuing idle threats, he was determined to make the American people understand his seriousness.¹⁹ If the Soviets attempted to take any portion of the Persian Gulf, there would be an American military response.²⁰ He continued the address by stating that naval security in the Indian Ocean had been increased, and that naval and air facilities in northeast Africa and the Persian Gulf would soon be utilized by American forces. Additionally, Carter increased the Defense budget as a response to the invasion and revitalized the Selective Service System by requiring registration for eligible citizens.²¹ Although the registration for the Selective Service System was unpopular with younger Americans, the majority of citizens supported Carter's stance.²² Carter was determined to let the Soviet Union know he would not stand idle while his country was being actively threatened. The economic predicament that the invasion caused required a firm reaction from American leaders. Carter ended the speech by informing Americans that dependence on foreign oil was a

threat to the security of the nation. This statement had powerful implications throughout the country, informing Americans of the gravity of Soviet actions.

One of the most significant options to demonstrate disapproval of Soviet actions was a boycott of the 1980 Summer Olympics, scheduled to be held in Moscow. Carter, along with Vice-President Walter Mondale, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski, and Defense Secretary Harold Brown, decided that an Olympic boycott would be an appropriate reaction to Soviet aggression.²³ Because the Soviet Union equated the Olympic bid to Moscow with international recognition and approval of Soviet foreign policy, Carter knew that American participation was not an option.²⁴ The goal of the boycott was to deny Soviets the feeling of approval that they sought. While this might not have had a measurable effect on the situation in Afghanistan, it would force the Soviets to think twice before attempting to threaten American interests in the Persian Gulf.

For Carter, the boycott was a visible stance that required relatively little sacrifice on the part of the United States.²⁵ Other than American athletes and a minute number of businesses, the boycott essentially cost Americans nothing. It did however, publicly humiliate the Soviet Union and display American national resolve.²⁶ After the State of the Union address in January 1980, Carter had to turn the proposal for a boycott into a reality.²⁷ He was aggressive in his dealings with the United States Olympic Committee, essentially forcing the group to comply with the decisions made by his Administration. Carter sent an overt message to the Soviets by declaring that the United States did not support Soviet foreign policy and would not legitimize Soviet actions with participation in "Ivan's backyard."²⁸ Carter believed that if the United States boycotted the Olympics, other countries would follow. He specifically targeted Middle Eastern and African oil producing companies in this campaign—sending Muhammad Ali, an African-American Muslim, as the ambassador for the campaign. The goal was to make other nations aware of the threat the USSR was posing on the free movement of oil worldwide.²⁹

Throughout the boycott controversy, Carter repeatedly addressed the issue of foreign oil. Not only did he state that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was a direct threat to U.S. oil interests, but he also increased defense spending and military presence in the Persian Gulf, along with reinitiating the draft registration as a response to Soviet aggression. This irrefutable evidence clearly demonstrates the significance of foreign oil in Carter's decision to boycott the Moscow Games. Carter implemented measurable responses to the invasion, and the symbolic response that followed was the boycott of the Olympics. This response was a way for Carter to definitively say that he did not support Soviet foreign policy and would not interact with the Soviets until they ceased to threaten the world's oil supply.

Propaganda

Aside from oil interests, Carter was motivated to boycott the Olympics because the Soviets themselves associated the bid to Moscow as international recognition of their status as a world superpower. The Soviet propaganda machine placed so much emphasis on the Olympic Games that the idea of a boycott was a smart tactic.³⁰ Senate Democratic Leader Robert Byrd stated that the boycott was going to be used as a means to punish the Soviets for aggression in Afghanistan.³¹ This idea of punishment has been echoed by historians, such as Hulme who finds punishment to be one of Carter's two aims; ultimately, to boycott the Olympics would deny the Soviets a colossal propaganda victory. Carter himself states that although the U.S. had no desire to use the Olympic Games as a method of punishment, the Soviet Union's emphasis on the Games forced the method to be exercised.³² Short of a declaration of war, an Olympic boycott was the only action the United States believed could get the attention of the Soviets.

Although Carter gave the Soviets an ultimatum—withdraw from Afghanistan by February 20, 1980 and the United States would participate in Moscow—the statement was never meant to actually force withdrawal. Even if the Soviets had decided to leave Afghanistan, the date Carter chose did not give them enough time to do so. Instead, the threat was designed to exhibit the United States' "moral integrity and its capacity to endure sacrifice for a just cause."³³ Essentially, the boycott was a symbolic way to denounce Soviet authority.³⁴ Had the USSR not placed so much importance on the Games, it is arguable that the United States would have had to conceive another method of retaliation. However, the propaganda surrounding the Games played into Carter's plan—maximum retaliation at a minimal cost.³⁵ The boycott had the power to publically embarrass the Soviet Union and demonstrate American dedication to the free world.³⁶

After the boycott was finalized, the Soviets reacted exactly as Carter had anticipated. Not only were they embarrassed by situation, but the nation's leaders proceeded to mount a counter campaign in reaction to Carter's proposal. The Soviets were unwavering in stating that the boycott had nothing to do with Afghanistan. Rather, they argued that the proposal was premeditated by Carter to rob the USSR of the international legitimacy they sought.³⁷ The Soviets accused Carter of warmongering and were relentless in stating the American boycott was intended to

ruin the Moscow Olympics, undermine détente, and revive the Cold War.³⁸ On January 31, 1980, a week after President Carter announced the proposed boycott, the Soviet Olympic Committee released a statement: "It is absolutely obvious that the issue is a preplanned and coordinated hostile act directed against mutual understanding and friendship among nations, against peace and progress... serving a policy of blackmail and hegemonism."³⁹ Rather than addressing the Afghan issue, the Soviets attributed the boycott to Carter's personal ambition and desire to harm the international reputation of the USSR. The Soviets published an unfathomable amount of articles concluding that Carter's hunger for re-election was the primary reason for the boycott. While this may indeed have been one of Carter's motivations, it was certainly not the only one. The idea of "Olympic blackmail" was also a widely circulated theory—the belief that Carter was purposely sabotaging the Soviet Union to discredit them in some way. They described this as Carter attempting "to cover the sun with one finger."⁴⁰

The back and forth nature of the propaganda and counter propaganda campaigns that surrounded the boycott demonstrate the reasons the boycott was proposed in the first place. Carter was motivated to punish the Soviet Union through such means because he understood the legitimacy they wished to gain through hosting the Games. This symbolic measure was an effective method of retaliation because it weakened the international image of the USSR and brought the Afghan invasion to the forefront of global politics. While the Soviet counter-campaign did weaken the solidarity and intended effect of Carter's boycott, the boycott's effect was still significant.

Re-election Campaign

Carter's third motivation, discussed less often by historians, was the upcoming American presidential race. Carter was running for reelection as the incumbent against Ted Kennedy in the Democratic primary, as well as against Ronald Reagan in the national race. However, Jimmy Carter was not known as a decisive or consistent leader.⁴¹ The fact that there was opposition to Carter from his own party points to waning faith in his ability to lead. Additionally, the Iranian hostage crisis was well underway during Carter's re-election bid, and progress was dangerously stagnant. At a low point in his campaign Carter needed something to restore the nation's faith in his leadership. The boycott of the Moscow Olympics seemed to be the perfect solution.⁴² The boycott could shift the attention of the American people from Iran to Afghanistan. While the hostage crisis would still be a factor, the boycott would display Carter's commitment to protecting the nation from acts of aggression. The boycott was a mechanism to rally the American people and boost morale. At one point, Carter even proposed to have the Olympics moved from Moscow to another location.⁴³ This scheme sent the International Olympic Committee over the edge. Lord Killian, President of the IOC, was infuriated with Carter's ignorance of Olympic policies and released a statement saying there was absolutely no possibility of the Games being moved from Moscow. Killian went on to say that Carter's proposals were tactless and infuriating and only demonstrated that Carter was "scrambling for his political life." Furthermore, he told Counsel to the President Lloyd Cutler: "In this country the Magna Carta rules, not Jimmy Carter."⁴⁴

Despite this opposition, the boycott was supported by U.S. citizens—sixty-three percent of the United States population supported Carter's plan.⁴⁵ While Carter's re-election attempt failed, the boycott was still used as a sign of political ammunition. Vice President Walter Mondale and First Lady Rosalynn Charter used the boycott along the campaign trail, trying to demonstrate Carter's firm stance on the situation in Afghanistan.⁴⁶ Despite these attempts, Ronald Reagan decisively beat Carter in the presidential race, 489 electoral votes to Carter's forty-nine.

Iranian Hostage Crisis

Throughout Carter's presidential campaign the Iranian hostage crisis was a constant news headline. After the news of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan broke, it too became a contentious topic of discussion.⁴⁷ As a result, these two current events became linked in the minds of U.S. citizens and the American government. As the boycott of Moscow became more and more likely, the question of how it would affect the situation in Iran began to circulate. Carter was determined to convince Iran that the real threat to their sovereignty was the Soviet Union, not the United States. Carter stated that, "the unwarranted Iranian quarrel with the United States hampers their response to [the Soviet Union], which is a far greater danger to them."⁴⁸ The Soviet presence in Afghanistan, Carter argued, threatened Iranian national security and economic stability. The proximity of Soviet troops to the Iranian border should have been much more worrisome than a squabble with Americans. However, Iranian president Bani-Sadr refused to play any role in the Afghan issue. With U.S-Iranian relations strained over the hostage situation, Iran had no desire to get involved in a disagreement between Americans and Soviets.⁴⁹ In the end Bani-Sadr did decide to boycott the Olympics along with the Americans, however, the decision was designed to punish the Soviet

Union not to gratify the United States. Equally displeased with the U.S. and the USSR at that time, the Iranians decided not to deal with either superpower. Rather, they maintained the prolonged hostage situation and kept their athletes at home.⁵⁰

Carter's inability to convince Iran of the looming Soviet threat was a setback in his attempt to make headway in the hostage crisis. With a failed rescue mission, resulting in eight American deaths, under his belt Carter could not afford any more mistakes. In large part, Carter hoped that the boycott would overshadow the shortcomings of his leadership with the Iranian fiasco. While Carter openly acknowledged his part in the failed rescue mission, he hoped the boycott could counter some of the negativity associated with Iran by shifting the focus of the American people.⁵¹

Humanitarianism

The fifth and final motivation behind Carter's decision to boycott the Moscow Olympics was the humanitarian issue that resulted from the Afghan invasion. The idea of a boycott was first brought up in 1978, in response to the treatment of Soviet citizens and foreign visitors in Moscow. Carter, however, responded to these suggestions by saying that he would not boycott the Olympics. It was not until after December 1979, when the Soviets invaded Afghanistan, that Carter considered the boycott a viable option.⁵² He ferociously denounced Soviet aggression and stated that it would be unconscionable to participate in Moscow while Soviets were bloodily suppressing the innocent people of Afghanistan.⁵³ Furthermore, Carter described this "brutal invasion" as an act of aggression against Muslims, stating that the Islamic world should be "justifiably outraged."⁵⁴ Carter described the boycott as a mechanism to inform the Soviet Union of American indignation over the invasion and to demonstrate American dedication to the preservation of world peace. Carter argued that the only way to ensure Soviet understanding of the American position was to be consistent, resolute, and predictable. Through this policy Carter hoped to prevent future Soviet acts of aggression that would ultimately lead to war.⁵⁵ As a result of the Afghan invasion, the Soviets tested Americans' willingness to stand up for weaker, third-world nations who were victims of aggression.⁵⁶

Not only did the Soviet invasion raise humanitarian issues within Afghanistan, but it also shed light on issues within the Soviet Union itself. Prior to the Games, all Soviet citizens who were suspected as governmental dissidents were systematically removed from the city of Moscow.⁵⁷ Furthermore, foreign journalists were detained for publishing negative statements about the host country. For example, the Moscow Olympic Committee singled out a writer from London's *Daily Mail* for publishing an article discussing the issues in Moscow. Four journalists were also arrested for attempting to photograph a demonstration in the Red Square that was held to protest the imprisonment of homosexuals.⁵⁸ This brutal treatment of foreigners received international attention. Stories were published about Soviets threatening sports officials, visitors, and journalists alike. The USSR prohibited the media from discussing anything but the actual sporting events. Additionally, only Soviet citizens who actually lived or worked in Moscow were allowed in the city during the Games. President Carter openly worried about the safety of athletes and visitors traveling to Moscow. This did nothing but solidify American opposition to participation in the Games.⁵⁹ The Soviet Union responded to American accusations of human rights violations by stating that Carter's decision to prohibit U.S. athletes from competing was itself a human rights violation.⁶⁰ This combative attack and counter-attack is indicative of the hostilities surrounding the boycott and the Cold War in general. Ultimately, while other factors weighed more heavily on the decision to boycott, the humanitarian issues surrounding the Games did contribute to Carter's decision-making process.

Outcome of the Boycott

Carter's decision to boycott the 1980 Moscow Summer Olympics was motivated by five factors. Most importantly the threat to foreign oil, caused by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, drove Carter to openly rebuke the USSR for their aggression. Secondly, the reason a boycott was proposed in the first place was a result of Soviet propaganda surrounding the Games. The international prestige that the USSR wished to gain through hosting the Games made American retaliation that much more significant. Carter's re-election campaign and the Iranian hostage crisis were also contributing factors to the president's decision to boycott. Additionally, the Soviet's inexcusable human rights violations forced Carter to take drastic measures to prevent future threats to global tranquility. The effectiveness of the boycott, however, is still in question. Did the boycott have the impact Carter intended? Can it be considered a success? In order to measure the success of the boycott, the positive and negative effects must be examined.

On the positive side, the boycott did rob the Soviet Union of the international legitimacy and prestige that

they had hoped to gain as a host country.⁶¹ The boycott humiliated the Soviets and shed light on their many military and diplomatic shortcomings. Furthermore, as a result of the boycott, the USSR was not able to conceal the atrocities of the Afghan invasion or consequent international outrage over this from its citizens.⁶² Additionally, Carter was successful in preventing the Soviets from benefiting economically from the Games. As a result of the boycott, the number of foreign visitors expected in Moscow dropped from 300,000 to 70,000. Far fewer people were able to compete or witness the Olympics in person; therefore, Soviets lost a tremendous amount of projected revenue.⁶³ Along with this, Carter's grain embargo and the prohibition of American goods being sent to the USSR for Olympic purposes hurt the Soviet Union significantly.⁶⁴ One other positive outcome can be found in the shift of media coverage from the actual sporting events, such as the facilities and events, to problems with Soviet foreign policy.⁶⁵

On the other hand, the boycott did not have quite as significant an affect as Carter intended. The counter-propaganda campaign mounted by the Soviets weakened the intended impact of the boycott. Because the Soviets refused to accept that the proposal was a result of the Afghan invasion, the United States had a more difficult time getting their message across. The Soviets argued that Carter had planned this blackmail campaign all along and was using the Afghan invasion as an excuse to sabotage the USSR.⁶⁶ Additionally, as a result of the counter-campaign, Soviet citizens still believed the Moscow Games legitimized their nation.⁶⁷ Non-Soviet versions of the boycott controversy were not circulated to the general Soviet public; therefore, the Kremlin was still able to create the desired Soviet response. Although citizens were now aware of the outrage over the Afghan invasion, the Soviet government was able to prevent citizens from associating that foreign policy issue with the Olympic bid to Moscow.⁶⁸

One of the primary criticisms Carter receives is that the boycott did not actually force withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. However, Carter stated from the beginning of the boycott campaign that this was not the intended result.⁶⁹ The February 20th deadline he put in place was merely an arbitrary date meant to demonstrate American willingness to give the Soviets an opportunity to vacate. Carter never expected this threat to have any effect on Soviet foreign policy.⁷⁰ The downside of the boycott, however, was that no other response to Afghanistan followed its implementation.⁷¹ While the grain embargo and other measures were taken prior to the boycott, Carter did not follow through with any other sanctions after the completion of the Games. This allowed the Soviet Union to discredit the United States for failing to enforce previously made statements and threats.⁷² Other than the economic setbacks Moscow experienced, the only damage Carter's boycott was able to create was ideological.

Carter also admitted that while he believed the boycott was necessary, it was also personally damaging to his political career.⁷³ Soviets were able to point to the boycott controversy in the United States, prompted largely by Carter's critics, primarily athletes and those within the United States Olympic Committee, by arguing that Carter's decision was not wholly supported by American citizens.⁷⁴ In Carter's memoirs he states, "I knew the decision was controversial, but I had no idea at the time how difficult it would be for me to implement it or convince other nations to join us...we had to struggle all the way, the outcome was always in doubt."⁷⁵ If Carter's decision had been completely supported by the USOC and American athletes, the boycott probably would have had more of an impact on the Soviet Union. The dissidents, however, are extremely important, because they gave the Soviet propaganda machine ammunition to fire back at the United States.⁷⁶

As historians revisit the issues surrounding the Moscow boycott, most conclude that Carter's actions were futile.⁷⁷ The boycotts positive effects are difficult to locate, yet the failures are apparent. The intense controversy surrounding the boycott weakened any measurable affects it could have had. Furthermore, the boycott caused significant setbacks in preparations for the Los Angeles Summer Olympics in 1984. Of the minority that continues to support Carter's decision, most applaud him for having the gumption to mount a global attack against the USSR. To this end and a conclusion to this assessment, Howard Cosell added in 1985, "I will always admire President Carter for having the guts to spoil [the Soviet's] party."⁷⁸

Notes

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3. Derick L. Hulme, Jr., *The Political Olympics: Moscow, Afghanistan and the 1980 U.S. Boycott* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1990).
4. Ibid.
5. Guttman, *The Olympics*; Senn, *Power, Politics and the Olympic Games*; Kanin, *A Political History of the Olympic Games*; Hill, *Olympic Politics*.
6. Kanin, *A Political History of the Olympic Games*.
7. Jerry Caraccioli and Tom Caraccioli, *Boycott: Stolen Dreams of the 1980 Moscow Games* (New York: New York Chapter Press, 2008); Jimmy Carter, *State of the Union Address: "Carter Doctrine"*, January 23, 1980.
8. Dave Kindred, "Boycott Still Makes Sense, Boycott Makes Sense," *Washington Post*, April 4, 1980, D1; Barry Lorge, "White House Clout Could Make Moscow Boycott Stick, Carter Clout Key Factor," *Washington Post*, April 4, 1980, D1.
9. Hulme, *The Political Olympics*, 17.
10. Ibid.
11. Baruch A. Hazan, *Olympic Sports and Propaganda Games: Moscow 1980* (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1982).
12. Jimmy Carter, "Crisis of Confidence" Speech, July 15, 1979.
13. Jimmy Carter, *White House Diary: Jimmy Carter*, (New York: D&M Publishers, Inc., 2010), 388, 396.
14. John Dumbrell, *The Carter Presidency: A Re-Evaluation*, (New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), 201; Carter, *White House Diary*, 394.
15. Caraccioli, *Boycott*, 59-60; Carter, *Carter Doctrine*, 1-4.
16. Carter, *White House Dairy*, 395.
17. Carter, *Carter Doctrine*, 1-6; Carter, *White House Diary*, 391.
18. Ibid.
19. Dave Kindred, "Boycott Still Makes Sense; Boycott Makes Sense," *Washington Post*, April 4, 1980, D1.
20. Carter, *White House Diary*, 391.
21. Caraccioli, *Boycott*, 60.
22. George Gallup, "Olympic Snub Favored by the Majority," *The Newark-Star Ledger*, March 16, 1980, A9.
23. Carter, *White House Diary*, 393.
24. Hazan, *Olympic Sports and Propaganda Games*, 133; Kanin, *A Political History of the Olympic Games*, 118.
25. Hulme, *The Political Olympics*, 19.
26. Ibid.
27. Carter, *White House Diary*, 403.
28. Senn, *Power, Politics and the Olympic Games*, 186; Tom Seppy, "President: Our Security at Stake," *Trenton Times*, April 4, 1980, D3-4; Kevin Klose, "U.S. Sees Widening Boycott of Olympics; Tass Assails 'Pressure, Blackmail'; Soviets Say Carter Used 'Blackmail' for Olympic Boycott Vote," *Washington Post*, April 14, 1980, A1; Kindred, "Boycott Makes Sense", D1.
29. Hill, *Olympic Politics*, 124, 132; Barry Lorge, "Carter's Decision on Olympics Boycott May Be Known Today," *Washington Post*, January 20, 1980, A14.
30. Hulme, *The Political Olympics*, 17; Kanin, *A Political History of the Olympic Games*, 118; Senn, *Power, Politics, and the Olympic Games*, 178; "The Word on the Olympics: NO," *Washington Post*, March 31, 1980, A22.
31. Lorge, "Carter's Decision", A14.
32. Hulme, *The Political Olympics*, 18; Jimmy Carter, "The President's News Conference," February 13, 1980. 1-4.
33. Hulme, *The Political Olympics*, 19.
34. Seppy, "Our Security," D3-4, Klose, "U.S. Sees widening Boycott of Olympics," A1.
35. Hulme, *The Political Olympics*, 19; "The Word on the Olympics," A22.
36. Kanin, *A Political History of the Olympic Games*, 118, 122.
37. Hazan, *Olympic Sports and Propaganda Games*, 132; Kanin, *A Political History of the Olympic Games*, 122.
38. Hazan, *Olympic Sports and Propaganda Games*, 131; Hulme, *The Political Olympics*, 78.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid., 133.
41. Kindred, "Boycott Makes Sense," D1.
42. Klose, "U.S. Sees Widening Boycott of Olympics," A1; Hill, *Olympic Politics*, 130; Kanin, *A Political History of the Olympic Games*, 118; Senn, *Power, Politics and the Olympic Games*, 176; Guttman, *The Olympics*, 150; "Soviets on Attack; President Accused of 'Blackmail'; Official Scoffs at Calls to Boycott Olympics," *Washington Post*, January 14, 1980, D1.

43. Carter, *White House Diary*, 389, 391.
44. Hill, *Olympic Politics*, 122; Kanin, *A Political History of the Olympic Games*, 118; Guttmann, *The Olympics*, 151.
45. Gallup, "Olympic Snub," A9; Kanin, *A Political History of the Olympic Games*, 118.
46. Ibid.
47. Carter, *White House Diary*, 392.
48. Carter, *Carter Doctrine* 1-6.
49. Kanin, *A Political History of the Olympic Games*, 141.
50. Ibid.
51. Carter, "The President's News Conference," February 13, 1980, 1-5; Carter, *Keeping the Faith*, 477-483; Senn, *Power, Politics and the Olympic Games*, 76.
52. Kanin, *A Political History of the Olympic Games*, 116.
53. Carter, *Keeping the Faith*, 481.
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58. Senn, *Power Politics and the Olympic Games*, 184.
59. Kanin, *A Political History of the Olympic Games*, 114-116.
60. Ibid., 122.
61. Carter, *White House Diary*, 449.
62. Ibid., 145.
63. Hill, *The Olympics*, 129.
64. Carter, *White House Diary*, 413.
65. Hulme, *The Political Olympics*, 78.
66. Hill, *The Olympics*, 129.
67. Hulme, *The Political Olympics*, 79.
68. Ibid.
69. Carter, *White House Diary*, 390.
70. Hulme, *The Political Olympics*, 19; Seppy, "Our Security," D3-4; Klose, "U.S. Sees Widening Boycott of Olympics," A1.
71. Carter, *White House Diary*, 388.
72. Kanin, *A Political History of the Olympic Games*, 145.
73. Senn, *Power, Politics and the Olympic Games*, 187.
74. Carter, *White House Diary*, 415.
75. Carter, *Keeping the Faith*, 472, 482, 526; Hill, *The Olympics*, 131.
76. Caraccioli, *Boycott*, 148.
77. Senn, *Power, Politics, and the Olympic Games*, 187.
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Getting 'In' to Get 'Out': A Comparative Literary Study of the Civil Rights Movement and the American Indian Movement of the 1960s and 1970s

Kait Talley

"Ho Uway Tinkte. A Voice I will send. Throughout the Universe, Maka Sitomniye, My Voice you shall hear: I will live!" (Crow Dog 260)

Kait Talley

This paper stems from Civil Rights and Justice with Dr. LaMonte and Literature of the American Indian with Dr. Sprayberry. "Getting 'in' to Get 'out'" questions the definition of leadership and evaluates the status of human rights by showing connections between two movements for social justice in American history.

Kait Talley is a junior English major and political science minor from Pinson, AL. Aside from being involved with the Distinction in Leadership Studies Program, Kait served as a Hess Fellow with Vital Voices in 2010. She has been involved a liaison with First Light Women's Shelter as well as being a member of Residence Life, College Democrats, Alpha Omicron Pi, YWCA Collegiate Legislature, Sigma Tau Delta, Omicron Delta Kappa, Alpha Lambda Delta, and Phi Eta Sigma

In 1990, that statement ended the first edition of *Lakota Woman* written by Mary Crow Dog with Richard Eroses. Twenty years later, the book is still acknowledged as an important piece of American Indian literature, in part because of Mary Crow Dog's use of this moving and audacious narrative voice. Unfortunately, American Indian novels have also been controversial. How is the literary world to know the extent of the use of the simple word "with" or "and" on the title page of a novel to signify the "help" of a White man or woman to write a novel? An important fact about American Indian literary history is that even books that seem bold or authentic were likely not authored by American Indians because the true rebels would not have attended White schools long enough to become literate (Sprayberry). This sets up a very important issue about Native American culture that has only begun to surface in the last two decades since the publication of *Lakota Woman* in 1990.

The most recent movement organized for American Indian rights, known as the 1970s American Indian Movement, or AIM, shares much in common with the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s. The movements are similar because they were both born from a desire for better education and unity through religion that mobilized followers. A contributing factor to AIM's fate was that they used the same rhetoric to get "out" of the system that the Civil Rights movement used to get "in." This tactic is shown in literature regarding both movements; ultimately, AIM's connections to land over race and value of a collectivist society over individualist are the elements that make the American Indian Movement unique.

First, it is important to understand the status of American Indians in the United States that led to the American Indian Movement. In the 2009 PBS documentary *We Shall Remain*, which was written, directed, and acted in by Native Americans, Comanche writer Paul Chaat Smith states, "Every decade through mid to the end of the twentieth century shows Pine Ridge as the poorest jurisdiction in the United States. So there's poverty and then there's reservation poverty" (*We Shall Remain*). Peter Matthiessen's acclaimed book *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse* explains how this reality connects with AIM's creation. Matthiessen writes:

...In 1968, AIM came into existence as a direct result of the termination and relocation programs that dumped thousands of bewildered Indians into the cities. Even those who received job training found themselves faced with open racism and discrimination... 'receiving the lowest wages for the dirtiest, most onerous work, and living in the worst conditions of urban blight and official neglect.' In the first year, AIM's main concerns were jobs, housing, and education... (Matthiessen 36)

In statistical terms, Professor Gary D. Sandefur explained in his article "American Indian Reservation: The First Underclass Areas?" that a quarter of the population of American Indians lived on reservations by 1980.

He continues by stating, "Most of these reservation Indians lived in what could...be described as underclass communities. One criterion used to define an underclass area is that over 40 percent of the households have incomes below the poverty line. By this criterion alone, 18 of the 36 Indian reservations which had populations of over 2,000 in 1980 were underclass areas" (Sandefur 37). The Navajo reservation is the largest reservation classified as underclass, and half of its population was living at or below the poverty line by 1980 (Sandefur 38). However, Pine Ridge is indisputably the poorest district in the United States and belongs to the Lakota Sioux tribe (*We Shall Remain*). Although the status of reservation life has not greatly improved since the 1980s, there is one thing that has dramatically changed the economic status of numerous Indian families: the growing popularity of American Indian literature.

Rising in celebrity as one of the most popular Native authors, Sherman Alexie reflects on his own experience with life on an Indian reservation in his 1993 introduction to *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fist Fight in Heaven*:

I was rich, rich, rich. Okay, to be more accurate, I was middle class, middle class, middle class. But that was a huge leap. I was the first Alexie to ever become middle-class and all because I wrote stories and poems about being a poor Indian growing up in an alcoholic family on an alcoholic reservation... And in writing about drunken Indians, I am dealing with stereotypical material...When I write about the destructive effects of alcohol on Indians, I am not writing out of a literary stance or a colonized mind's need to reinforce stereotypes. I am writing autobiography (Alexie xxi).

Alexie is not the only American Indian to rise to the "middle class" because of his writing. In fact, literature has connected and will continue to connect the American Indian population not only with greater economic stability, but also with the opportunity to make readers more aware about the current state of reservations in America. By acknowledging the truth that many Indians in the twenty-first century are suffering from alcoholism, and treating it in a humorous way, Alexie is also allowing his readers to relate to the characters who are not only victims, but also people who make mistakes. Alexie also notes, "[These stories] are the vision of one individual looking at the lives of his family and his entire tribe, so these stories are necessarily biased, incomplete, exaggerated, deluded...but in trying to make them true and real, I am writing what might be called reservation realism" (Alexie xxi).

Alexie interestingly chooses not to define "reservation realism" in the hopes that his readers will experience *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fist Fight in Heaven* on their own, separate from his intentions. This is important because, as mentioned earlier, there is much that is unknown about the authenticity of many American Indian novels. Authors such as Sherman Alexie are vital because they allow readers to see personal reflections on "reservation realism" for what they are: stories. When evaluated closely, American Indian literature is also valuable because it shows how many Native authors are building bridges between the history of oppression for Native people and other cultures, specifically the African American population.

Before understanding the specific connections between AIM and the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s and '70s, one must become aware of the spirit, philosophy, and goals of the American Indian Movement. Author Barbara Kingsolver poses the argument for sharing cultural experiences in her article "The Spaces Between" when she states, "Godspeed the right of each of us to speak for ourselves and not be spoken for, but I cannot suffer a possessiveness of stories" (Kingsolver 154). In the essay, Kingsolver is using this quote as a direct response to criticisms of her fictional writing that suggest she is doing a disservice to Native Americans by telling their stories to the people who have oppressed them since the fifteenth century and possibly before (Sprayberry). However, this is also relevant for scholars of AIM and Native American history itself as a reminder to not speak for groups to which you do not belong. For this reason, this paper will allow the American Indian Movement to define itself. This is done partly out of respect for those voices who have been lost for centuries because of White oppression, and also as a hope that one day human rights advocacy for American Indians will not be needed because their voices will finally be heard. Therefore, the American Indian Movement will first be addressed philosophically through the words of Birgil Kills Straight in 1978:

Things will never be the same again and that is what the American Indian Movement is about ...They are the catalyst for Indian Sovereignty...AIM was born out of the dark violence of police brutality and voiceless despair of Indian people in the courts of Minneapolis, Minnesota...AIM was born because a few knew that it was enough, enough to endure for themselves and all others like them who were people without power or rights...AIM is first, a spiritual movement, a religious re-birth, and then the re-birth of dignity and pride in a people...The American Indian Movement is attempting to connect the realities of the past with the promise of tomorrow...They are people in a hurry, because they know that the dignity of a person can be snuffed by

despair and a belt in a cell of a city jail...Sovereignty, Land, and Culture Cannot endure if a people is not left in peace...The American Indian Movement is, then, the Warrior Class of this century, who are bound to the bond of the Drum, who vote with their bodies instead of their mouths...Their business is hope (Birgil Kills Straight).

This passage's definition of the American Indian Movement is important for several reasons. First of all, the text's rhetoric is steeped in the American Indian spirit of collectivism, showing a huge difference between the American Indian Movement and the Civil Rights Movement. One could argue that a contributing reason for the Civil Rights Movement's success in the 1960s was because they respected the American way of leadership and elected individual leaders. Even though many people today still associate Martin Luther King Jr. as the sole leader of the Civil Rights Movement, he was one of many leaders (LaMonte). In fact, others disagreed with him, such as Stokely Carmichael and Malcolm X, by advocating for more aggressive action which led to disorganization in the movement.

Comparatively, one of the possible reasons for AIM's lack of success is a refusal to allow one or a few leaders to speak for the movement, an unofficial rule for successful movements in America. Though ignored by AIM, this tactic is effective because when one person speaks for a movement, and the followers seem to be in line with the rhetoric, the movement has more unity with its message and goals. AIM's history is similar to the Civil Rights Movement because it faced a very similar snag in the unity of its organization by not allowing a few to speak for many. This eventually led to viewers outside the movement, and perhaps even the history books that tell the story, confused about what AIM stood for and was trying to accomplish.

However, AIM's rhetoric continues to speak for the movement as shown in the creed written by Birgil Kills Straight. This document is significant because it shows one of the many disconnects between the American Indian Movement and the Civil Rights Movement. As articulated in the passage, the American Indian Movement stems, essentially, from a desire for restoration of land. American Indian culture values connection to land first and foremost rather than connection within the Native American race. This is commented on directly in *Lakota Woman* when she relates, "The feeling of pride in one's particular tribe is standing in the way of Indian unity" (Crow Dog 82). Native Americans do not usually see themselves as "Indians," but as "Lakota Sioux," "Navajo," "Pueblo," "Cherokee," and "Spokane" because of that connection to land, place of birth, and family. On the other hand, Black America found its unity and connection through race and a need for restoration of human rights, due to the racist oppression they faced. In *Eyes on the Prize*, Bernice Johnson states, "We didn't belong to Albany, Georgia, as a people...We belonged to Black people. Nationally Black people were doing something and we would say, 'when is it going to happen here?'" (Williams 164).

Throughout the Civil Rights Movement, activists and followers alike fostered unity between all ages that stemmed from this connection to race. A young Black man, such as Stokely Carmichael, leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), could easily relate to an older Rosa Parks; this was not because of ideology or location, but because of race. Native Americans did not have this unifying connection to race, but interestingly enough, they did not see it as a necessity when choosing to use the tactics of the Black Civil Rights Movement in the '60s to promote their own movement in the 1970s. In *Lakota Woman*, Mary Crow Dog states, "We took some of the rhetoric from the Blacks, who had started their movements before we did. Like them we were minorities, poor and discriminated against, but there were differences.... The Blacks want what the whites have which is understandable. They want in. We Indians want out! That is the main difference" (Crow Dog 77). The question this paper is trying to answer stems from this very quote; if leaders of the American Indian Movement, such as Mary Crow Dog, recognized the divide between the eventual goal for Indians and Blacks- one group wanting 'in' the American system and one wanting 'out'- why did they try to use the same tactics? Perhaps the only answer is that American Indians wanted so far 'out' of contemporary American society that they purposefully chose to implement tactics that would draw attention to their movement, while still reminding Whites that they were responsible for the oppression of American Indians.

While there were major differences between the two movements, they shared common tactics as revealed in literature by and about American Indians. In *Lakota Woman* by Mary Crow Dog, the author reflects on her 1970 publication entitled *Red Panther*, which was obviously inspired by the Black Panther subgroup of the Civil Rights' Movement. She states that the idea stemmed from a 1970 visit to her boarding school from "first hippie they came across" named "Wise" who "told us of people called the Black Panthers, Young Lords, and Weathermen. She said, "Black people are getting it on. Indians are getting it on in St Paul and California. How about you? Why don't you put out an underground newspaper...Tell it like it is. Let it all hang out" (Crow Dog 36). This is one of the most essential connections between the Civil Rights Movement and AIM because although Mary Crow Dog was not present at AIM's creation, she was a vital member of the urban militant group that later emerged. Mary Crow Dog

also co-wrote *Red Panther* with “full blood girls I used to hang out with...Charlene Left Hand Bull and Gina One Star” (Crow Dog 36). Mary Crow Dog reflects:

We wrote about how bad the school was, what kind of slop we had to eat...the way we were beaten. I put all my anger and venom into it...It was the kind of writing that foamed at the mouth, but which also lifted a great dead weight from one’s soul (Crow Dog 37).

As mentioned earlier, the harsh realities of Indian boarding schools described above are still much improved from their conditions in the 1950s and before. Upon reading *Red Panther*, Mary Crow Dog’s own mother defended to the Principal, “...when I went to school here [in the 1950s]...I was a treated a lot worse than these kids are... These girls have it made” (Crow Dog 37). The 2009 documentary *We Shall Remain* supports this claim by stating, “between 1960s and 70s nearly 100,000 Indian children were sent to one of 500 boarding schools scattered across the states”. AIM leader Dennis Banks reflects on his time at an Indian boarding school during an interview with the production team of *We Shall Remain* and explains:

One dark day in the lives of Indian children...it is the day when they are forcibly taken from those who love and care for them to boarding school to be taken to be remade into white kids... I had to be two people: Nowa Cuming and Dennis Banks...Dennis Banks had to be real protective of Nowa Cuming, and he was still there (*We Shall Remain*).

Believing that these stories needed to be heard, and despite threats of serious reprimands by the school board, Mary Crow Dog still published and publicized *Red Panther* with a vengeance. She spent a good part of 1970 placing the pamphlets on cars, schools, anywhere that it would be picked up and read (Crow Dog 37). This is a vital connection with the Civil Rights Movement and Black America’s search for equality because followers were mobilized when they were made aware of the realities of education for Black children. Fortunately for the Civil Rights Movement, publicizing the status of schools, teamed with other tactics of the movement, eventually brought positive change in legislation. Yet, the American Indian Movement still has not seen a significant improvement in their schools. This not only speaks to the importance of education to both movements, but it also expresses the necessity of reliable literature, such as *Lakota Woman* and *Eyes on the Prize*, that continue to tell the stories revealing existing conditions of minorities..

Another connection between the Civil Rights Movement and AIM that is also shown through literature is unity in religion. However, this is best depicted in later writings by authors who were not necessarily involved in the 1970’s AIM movement and are intentionally reflecting on the history of Native oppression in America. Joy Harjo’s poem “Strange Fruit,” based on the Billie Holiday song, is a direct response to the 1986 lynching of Jacqueline Peters and illustrates the oppression by White America on both peoples, Black and Indian. For African Americans, unity through religion was realized through use of gospel music and the leadership demonstrated by preachers. For Native Americans, it was a slightly different experience. Native Americans used story telling. Navajo author Luci Talaponso states in her poetry collection *The Women Are Singing*: “To know stories, remember stories, and to retell them well is to have been ‘raised right’...For many people in my situation, residing away from my homeland, writing is the means for returning, rejuvenation, and for restoring out spirits to the state of ‘hohzo,’ or beauty, which is the basis of Navajo philosophy (Tapahonso xxi).

This, in many ways, expresses religion for Native People because a state of ‘returning,’ or beauty for Navajos is especially where they find the presence of God. By using story-telling and poetry to connect the oppression of Blacks and Indians in America, Joy Harjo and “Strange Fruit” are showing not only the power of sharing stories, but also the common unity both social groups found through religion. When Harjo writes, “We have too many stories to carry on our backs like houses, we have struggled too long to let the monsters steal our sleep, sleep, go to sleep,” she is connecting the movements in a visual way in order to suggest an end to oppression (Harjo 11).

John (Fire) Lame Deer comments on the story-telling aspect of maintaining tradition and religion in *Lame Deer Seeker of Visions*. Lame Deer, a Lakota Sioux and AIM activist, states, “For us Indians there is just the pipe, the earth we sit on and the open sky...That smoke from the peace pipe, it goes straight up to the spirit world. But this is a two-way thing. Power flows down to us through that smoke, through that pipe stem...” (Lame Deer 3). The “power” Lame Deer refers to is the realization of a vision provided by Father Peyote. Here Lame Deer is referring to his own quest to become a Medicine Man, but he knows that it cannot be realized if he does see a vision and tell his story to others. For Lakota Sioux especially, Father Peyote is their church and helps his believers become acquainted with their “*nagi*,” what one might call soul, spirit, or essence. “One can’t see it, feel it or taste it,” but it is known to be

true because of faith (Lame Deer 6). This demonstrates the necessity for Native Americans and Blacks alike to tell stories and share religion. Birgil Kills Straight says it best in the creed: "AIM is first a spiritual movement, a re-birth" (Kills Straight). However, how does one gauge the success of the rebirth of a people? Only the participants of AIM could evaluate the rebirth of their own culture, but the personal stories of people involved all support the idea that AIM was successful in becoming reacquainted with their religion, their traditions, and their way of life (*We Shall Remain*). Without this connection to religion, AIM and the Civil Rights Movement may never have been successful or unified.

The last connection between the Civil Rights Movement and the American Indian Movement is articulated in what the Lakota Sioux refer to as "time in memoriam" (Sprayberry). While this cannot by nature be defined, time in memoriam is essentially a connection of past, present, and future in the 'now.' This is perhaps best expressed through Luci Talaponso's poem "It Has Always Been This Way," when she states, "You are here. Your parents are here. Your relatives are here. We are all here together" (Talaponso 18). Sherman Alexie also alludes to this state of being in *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fist Fight in Heaven*, when he writes,

Your past is a skeleton walking one step behind you, and your future is a skeleton walking one step in front of you. Maybe you don't wear a watch, but your skeletons do, and they always know what time it is...Now, these skeletons are made of memories, dreams, and voices. And they trap you in the in-between, between touching and becoming....That's what Indian time is. The past, the future, all of it is wrapped up in the now. That's how it is (Alexie 22).

This concept of time in memoriam is vital to understanding AIM for those with a more Western concept of time. Reminiscent of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, AIM felt that they were forcing the world to understand their reality by willingly walking into known racist businesses in North and South Dakota, drawing attention to their 1972 takeover of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and taking over the site of Wounded Knee in 1973. While the Civil Rights movement used similar stages of racist businesses and government agencies to perform non-violent direct action, AIM wanted action, violent or not. An unnamed Lakota Sioux woman featured in "We Shall Remain" reflected on the movement when she stated, "We've always been peaceful and pretty much mind our own business... I believe time has come that we must commit violence in order to be heard...in order to wake the people" (*We Shall Remain*). For followers and leaders alike of both the Civil Rights Movement and AIM, a restoration of human rights and land lost in the 1960s and 1970s provide restitution for the past, present, and future of their people. Therefore, neither AIM nor the Civil Rights' movement makes sense without time in memoriam. AIM leader Carter Camp remembers:

Americans would like to think that American Indian history is something in the past...I'm one generation removed from the genocide of my tribe, and every tribe in this country has a time of horror where they were confronted by this invader... some almost 500 years ago...but as they come across the plains, our time of horror came in late 1800s, and we remembered it very well (*We Shall Remain*).

The "time of horror" that Camp refers to is the 1890 massacre of three-hundred people, mostly women and children, who were attacked and killed by the United States as a result of Lakota Chief Big Foot's attempt to gain access to a reservation at Wounded Knee. Camp recalls his time in AIM and reflects, "Nearly 100 years later, Wounded Knee is still sacred land... I went [in 1973] and put sage from the bush at Wounded Knee all over me and said to the ancestors 'we're back, we're returned' (*We Shall Remain*). However, one of the most important similarities between the Civil Rights movement and AIM is what the protests meant to its people. Camp recalls the 1973 siege at Wounded Knee much like many Civil Rights' activists might remember the marches: "if [the United States army] came and killed us, everyone would know because the media was there...[either way] the media would tell our story to the world" (*We Shall Remain*). The divide between the two movements, once again, is most obvious in the leadership.

While Civil Rights' leadership may have been split about non-violent direct action, the leaders were usually easy to identify. Many people wished to be associated with leaders such as Ralph Abernathy, SNCC, and Martin Luther King Jr., and the movement fed off of this enthusiasm and devotion to its leaders. For AIM, followers were less leader-centric. One scene in the documentary *We Shall Remain* depicts five representatives from different Indian nations being bombarded with media's questions about their AIM membership. While the individual answers may have differed, all five chose to be mysterious and simply say, "I didn't say I was in it, and I didn't say I wasn't." Whatever the case, AIM's supporters rallied behind Russell Means when he stated, "we were about to be obliterated

culturally – our spiritual way of life, our entire way of life was about to be stamped out and [AIM] was a rebirth of our dignity and self pride" (*We Shall Remain*).

For the most part, Native Americans were making a statement to the world. The American Indian Movement was not about specific legislation being passed or particular senators being elected. AIM was a reaction to its members being "angry about losing our land, losing our language, being ripped off of our ability to live as Indian people" (*We Shall Remain*). The same unnamed AIM leader expressed: "We wanted to give our lives in such a way that would bring attention to what was happening in Indian country, and we were pretty sure we were gonna have to give our lives (*We Shall Remain*).

AIM's rhetoric, as Mary Crow Dog mentioned, was similar to the Civil Rights Movement because of the goal to draw attention to historical oppression and racism. Martin Luther King Jr.'s "Letter from a Birmingham Jail" expressed a recognition that "justice prolonged is justice denied," and Americans can and should break the law when their human rights have been violated. AIM shared this belief. As FBI agent Joseph Turnpike stated in 1973, "Being nice to the government wasn't working for any other group," so AIM had no reason to believe it would work for them. In the words of Birgil Kills Straight and AIM's creed, "AIM was born because a few knew that it was enough, enough to endure for themselves and all others like them who were people without power or rights...AIM succeeds because they have beliefs to act upon" (Birgil Kills Straight).

For AIM, the movement was successful because their fate was not wrapped up in the government. Because they had given up on government long before any movement, AIM felt they could get 'out' of American society by using the same rhetoric the Civil Rights Movement used to get 'in'. In comparison to the Civil Rights Movement, literature by and about American Indians values a collectivist society over individualist and uses more of a connection to land instead of race. However, the Civil Rights Movement and AIM were similar in their foundations in religion and mobilization through publicizing the state of education for children. Ultimately, AIM was about getting heard – a mantra that still resides today through the words of *Lakota Woman*: "Ho Uway Tinkte. A Voice I will send throughout the Universe, Maka Sitomniye, My Voice you shall hear: I will live!" (Crow Dog 260).

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Kayla's Mother and Those Like Her: A Reflection on the Ties that Bond Mothers

Ginny Nix

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When I initially found out that I would be required to spend 15 hours of my first college semester fulfilling a service-learning requirement for Literature and the Social Experience, my first reaction was to think of it as an inconvenience. I must qualify this by saying that I don't consider myself to be a selfish person; I have spent a considerable amount of time as a counselor at Special Session at Camp McDowell. From my experience with Savannah, a young autistic girl, I have learned lessons on how to interact with special needs children which has proven beneficial to my time volunteering at Urban Kids in Birmingham. At Urban Kids, I met Kayla who instantly reminded me of Savannah and equally challenged my perception of children living in difficult situations. While initially discomfited by the service-requirement, I have come to see these experiences as vital to my understanding of poverty, social stigmas, literature about poverty, and, most importantly, myself.

Ginny Nix is a freshman from Birmingham, AL. Ginny is a member of Alpha Omicron Pi Sorority. She works as a counselor at Special Session at Camp McDowell, a week-long overnight camp for mentally and physically handicapped youth and adults.

I do not serve as a counselor at Special Session at Camp McDowell solely for my own enjoyment, although I do find joy in my time there. I staff this camp because I learn from it, and because it makes me extremely uncomfortable at times. The discomfort that I have felt in situations at Special Session is the same kind of discomfort I have been met with while spending times at Urban Kids Ministries, located in the West End of Birmingham, specifically with a little girl named Kayla, whom I was drawn to because of my recent work with autistic children. The results of my discomfort, from both Urban Kids and camp, have turned out to be the same. I have been lucky enough to peek behind the curtain of a young girl's life and learn about what makes her laugh and what makes her frustrated. In spending time with Kayla over the span of a few months, however, I have become attached in a way that I could not become attached to the girls I worked with at Special Session over the course of one week.

I have become attached to Kayla's mother, although we have never met. In getting small bits of information from Kayla about her mother, I have learned that she is divorced and taking care of Kayla on her own. From other classmates, I have learned that Kayla has a twin sister with Cerebral Palsy who has a low quality of life. In spending time with Kayla and getting to know her, I have learned about the strength and love of a mother who is working hard to provide for her two beautiful twin girls on the salary of a single, black woman in a town where job opportunities are slim. And possibly most importantly, I have learned what *inconvenient* really means.

I have learned that driving five miles to hang out and read with a grade-schooler for an hour every couple of weeks is not inconvenient. I have learned that not being able to go to the gym one day in order to help a kid do her homework is not inconvenient. Living a life in which you are trying to provide for yourself and two other children while constantly being hit with the realization that you just do not seem to be good enough, smart enough, or the right color, or gender, to make ends meet, and still not being able to make your child's life easier – *that is inconvenient.*

Literature and the Social Experience has helped me draw connections between experiences before and after I began college as well as links between my service work and characters read about in the course's required reading. The most evident connection I made between these experiences are links between motherhood that I see between Kayla's mother and Caroline Payne, a single mother from David Shipler's *The Working Poor*. Caroline Payne is introduced in the second chapter of *The Working Poor*, entitled "Work Doesn't Work"; this title refers to working women who are unable to reach their full potential due to the social barriers and stereotypes that continually hold them back, a theme that Shipler develops when describing women in the chapter.

In the book, Caroline is a single, white female whose three life goals are to earn a college diploma, move from a homeless shelter to a home of her own, and obtain a "good paying job" (50). Though she completes the first two goals, she is unable to find a lucrative career. She has had many low-paying jobs, one being earning "46 an hour in a Vermont factor that made plastic cigarette lighters and cases for Gillette razors" and another earning "\$6.80 an hour stocking shelves and working cash registers at a vast

Wal-Mart superstore in New Hampshire" (50). Shipler describes Caroline as being a dedicated worker who is rarely late, rarely takes sick days, and who is more than willing to fill in when needed in order to get more hours (51). In an interview with the manager of the Wal-Mart where Caroline worked for quite some time, she was described as having a lot of potential to "move up" (51).

Unfortunately, as the story repeatedly points out, Caroline never does move up. She never gets promoted or a raise and she does not understand why. Throughout the chapter, Shipler tells of countless jobs that Caroline worked at and eventually was fired from or quit because of low wages. Caroline is not the only one who is affected by the consequences of her low paying jobs. Though Shipler does not go into depth about Caroline's three children from her first marriage, he does interweave the story of her fourth child, Amber, throughout the chapter (56). As Amber grows up, Caroline begins to notice that her daughter was not developing as quickly as most children do and, after being tested, Amber is diagnosed with a learning disability (57). Amidst this difficulty, Caroline further struggles to take care of Amber both financially and emotionally. Caroline learns that Amber's father has been sexually abusing Amber and consequently divorces him. While attempting to deal with child protection services, Caroline herself gets accused of abusing her daughter (57-58). Throughout the story, Caroline is moving around with Amber trying to find the one job that will pay her enough to cover the extra help and care that Amber needs because of her disability. Unfortunately no job pays enough, and social security payments to Caroline are never sufficient (59).

What connects Caroline Payne to Kayla's mother is a strength that is rare in mothers. This strength is one that comes from choosing to work with the difficulties that you have been dealt in life by adjusting to barriers that exist instead of attempting to evade personal responsibility. In Caroline Payne's case, it is working relentlessly to make enough money to not only feed her family, but also to send her daughter to schools that can provide her with the extra help she needs and that Caroline believes she deserves. In Kayla's mother's case, it is braiding Kayla's hair once a month and putting pink bows in it. It is making sure Kayla has glasses free of scratches despite the fact that she is quite active. It is sending Kayla out into the 65-degree weather in a parka when everyone else is warm in a light sweater while she is already caring for a sick daughter at home. By documenting the struggles of a woman attempting to care for her child despite economic hardship, Shipler is able to share with the world a non-fiction story in an engaging way. This engagement with the text has strengthened my own understanding of Kayla's situation and helped me further understand the difficulties brought on by economic and social circumstances. Ultimately, both mothers can be categorized as "single" and "working," but the extra efforts they make to ensure their children have the best that they can provide set them apart as particularly strong individuals.

In addition to a connection between Kayla's mother and Caroline, clear correlations can be made between Kayla's mother and Arlene, a character from Helena Maria Viramontes' "Miss Clairiol." "Miss Clairiol" tells the story of a single mother and her relationship with her grade school-aged daughter. The story begins with Arlene and her daughter Champ shopping at K-Mart. While they shop, Arlene demonstrates a lack of manners and what could be characterized as an "unconventional" parenting style. After asking her daughter which hair dye she should buy and spitting her chewed gum onto the floor, they initially leave the store without any mention of paying for the hair dye (Viramontes 78). The rest of the story is set at their home, while Arlene is preparing for a date. Arlene chats with Champ and yells at her to bring her bobby pins (79). While Arlene bathes and puts makeup on, Champ makes herself some soup without whining, and Arlene ultimately leaves for her date without waving goodbye to her daughter.

The similarities between Kayla's mother and Caroline can be found in their parenting style. While Kayla's mother seems to go the extra mile to make sure that Kayla is comfortable, warm, and stylish, Arlene demonstrates this extra care in a different way. One example of this is when Arlene describes what she plans to tell Champ when she first gets her period, saying she will "tell her about the first time she made love with a boy, her awkwardness and shyness forcing them to go under the house, where the cool refined soil made a soft mattress"(80). This is important because it is a shadowing of the truth; the text mentions that in actuality Arlene's first time was with "a guy name Puppet who ejaculated prematurely, at the sight of her apricot vagina..."(80). The fact that Arlene would make up a lie to make sex seem beautiful speaks to her care for her daughter as well as the respect she has to even engage in the conversation at all. Many mothers are too embarrassed or do not care enough to tell their daughters about sex so the fact that Arlene chooses to talk to Champ about it speaks to the care she has for her daughter. In this respect, though different from the care that Caroline and Kayla's mother showed their daughters, Arlene's concern is notably comparable.

Aside from similarities in parenting, Caroline's and Arlene's stories share similarities in the style in which they are written. In *The Working Poor*, David Shipler describes the life of Caroline Payne clearly and uncensored. Since many of the events that make up the life of Caroline and Amber are often considered adult issues, any

attempt to shade the bitter reality of their situation would come off as disingenuous. Because of this, Shipler takes little creative license by sticking mostly to the facts. By using this tone, he not only gives off the impression that the events happened exactly the way they are described in the novel, but he also his nonchalant, monotone voice comes off as stoic and shocking at times. For example, when explaining how Caroline first learned of her daughter's sexual abuse, Shipler states in a calm and unbiased way that "They took [Amber] to the hospital, where a doctor confirmed that she had been penetrated" (58). He then goes on to describe how Amber was questioned, resulting in a restraining order made against Amber's father, Vernon Payne (58). Immediately following this chain of events, Shipler begins a new paragraph on an entirely new subject. The manner in which Shipler accounts for the information he was given about Caroline and Amber's lives serves the purpose of representing the harsh, unforgiving world that Caroline, Amber, and all characters in *The Working Poor* encounter daily, making readers perceive accuracy and a measure of sympathy.

In an attempt to seem more realistic, Helen Viramontes uses interesting techniques in order to make her fictional story about a mother and daughter read like a non-fiction story. The most important tactic she uses is telling the story from a third-person omniscient point of view. By telling the story from an outside view, the reader feels as though he or she is watching the scenes unfold in front of them contemporaneously, as opposed to feeling like he or she is reading about the events after they have already happened. This technique helps in two ways – first by helping readers understand the text and second by allowing Viramontes to convey realistic elements in a fictional text. Viramontes seems to have written this story with the sole purpose of sharing the real-life account of a mother and daughter who share an unconventional relationship, and she successfully does that by letting readers see inside the minds of the two characters.

While I originally was upset that I would have to spend money on gas, venture into what I had been told was a "dangerous" part of town, and interact with strangers for a 1-Y class, through making connections to these mothers, I have found a new level of understanding that could not have been possible without the service component to the course. I have come to understand what it means to learn from my time at Urban Kids and not see it as purely charity work. Reading the short stories and poems for class and discussing them has helped me understand why it is so important to discuss issues of gender, race, and class. Throughout the course, my professor, Dr. Tatter, often asked if the issues that my classmates and I read about and discussed were still relevant to our lives or our generation. While my classmates often said no, I found myself answering yes every time. An issue of gender, race, or class, whether it is only an issue in one school, one neighborhood, or one city, is still an issue. If people, especially young people who have time to learn, choose not to address these issues, either by ignoring them or pretending they do not exist, then they will not go away.

Prior to this experience, I did not see myself as being directly affected by the trouble Kayla's mother has in finding a job. However, because Dr. Tatter required that I spend time with children like Kayla, I began to care for Kayla and her well-being, and in that way, I *am* affected by the issue of race and gender that her mother faces. I have begun to worry about families like Kayla and the limitations they face. I have learned about children through service-learning. I have learned about the families of children who still live in an impoverished neighborhood despite the fact that they have working parents. More than anything though, I have learned about myself. I have realized that it does make a difference in the grades of fifth-graders if they study for their vocabulary test the day before at a reasonable hour with the support of others instead of waiting until late at night when their mother gets home from work. I have learned that going to Urban Kids does strengthen the sense of community between Birmingham-Southern College and the West End, and, through this, have found the ultimate lesson: a chance to see myself with the same strength that Kayla's mother, Caroline, and Arlene share.

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Process and Trajectory: Reflecting on Mary Catherine Bateson's "Continuity and Change: Two Sides of a Paradox"

Prof. Kent Andersen

Prof. Kent Andersen

In some work I've been doing lately I came across a piece by educator and anthropologist Mary Catherine Bateson. The argument she makes invariably led me back to materials I've taught in LS 200: Leadership Theory and Practice. My audience and purpose are somewhat limited, focusing only on Bateson's argument in this particular address; a fuller understanding of her body of work might force a revision, but the examples I use in my analysis and the issues she and I both address struck me as appropriate for sharing with the college community. Bateson's idea that we should recognize continuity in change resonates in a way that feels appropriate given the events of the last year.

Kent Andersen earned his BA from Iowa State University and his MA in Literature from American University. He joined the faculty at BSC in 1999, and says his greatest accomplishment while here was helping to re-imagine the general education curriculum this academic year. He's taught in the Leadership Studies Program since 2002, and has participated in January term service-learning travel projects in San Francisco, Washington, DC, and Chennai, India.

In her 1995 address to the University Council on Educational Administrators, anthropologist Mary Catherine Bateson invites administrators and their constituencies to adopt an attitude of openness that will help them cope with change, although she does not advocate for any particular educational reform. Her argument turns on two key claims. First, she says, people should understand an important paradox: any situation can exemplify both change and continuity. She urges us to "emphasize the constancy that underlies reform or change" (7). Second, she urges administrators and their constituencies to avoid thinking that reform is something that can be won, like a war, arguing that, "We will never get it exactly right" (6). Rather than imagine a terminal point, our attitude towards reform should be one of openness to the ongoing and uncertain process of adaptation and adjustment—what she refers to as "system maintenance" (6)—a process much like tending a garden, raising children, aging, or balancing on a tightrope. Reform, she argues, should be seen "as part of a maintenance function; not something that will ever be done once and for all" (7). I find much to celebrate in Bateson's argument—indeed I am in fundamental agreement with her core ideas—but the attitude she asks us to adopt fails to specify the criteria for evaluating any specific reforms, and thus risks committing an error she urges us to avoid: engaging in reform for the sake of reform. Her position on reform needs more than an attitude—as valuable as that attitude might be—it also needs a purpose for reform, a trajectory for change.

What I like about Bateson's argument is its emphasis on a process rather than a fixed state of affairs. Groups err, Bateson argues, when they adhere to "a belief that with the next change it will be possible to get it right, once and for all" (3). This view assumes that implementing a reform will "move from an unacceptable, unsatisfactory state to an acceptable, satisfactory state" (3). That is, one assumes that one can fix—in both the sense of repair and the sense of stabilize—a situation. As a consequence, implementing the reform means that "nobody is going to be allowed to make any further change" (3). After all, why implement further changes if the problem has been fixed by a stabilizing solution? In contrast to this position, Bateson encourages us to see how any situation represents both change and continuity. Consider, for example, the decision to change to online registration at the college where I work. Traditionally, faculty and students met in the auditorium where students, after prior consultation with their advisors, registered for courses by having staff members enter their preferences into a computer program. In this case, moving to online registration represented change, since it meant that students would no longer register in an auditorium with faculty available to assist them, but would do so from the privacy of their rooms. Bateson's approach, however, can help us see how changing to online registration might also be understood as continuity, since it retains the core value of autonomy already present in the previous practice: students were always free to choose the courses they wanted once they'd discussed them with a faculty member. Understanding this paradox is important, since it highlights how groups often stabilize the wrong elements in their culture,

frequently at the expense of acknowledging changing circumstances. In the case of registration at my institution, the circumstances had changed, since new technology now made online registration possible. In that new context, insisting, as some faculty did, that faculty and students gather in the auditorium altered the meaning of the registration process: it sent the message that the faculty want to control a student's choices, just the opposite of the professed value.

To resolve the paradox of change and continuity, Bateson argues, requires recognizing different levels of analysis. She says, "Often... people balance off change and constancy at the wrong levels, freezing the specific and letting the more abstract change by default" (2). Fixation on a specific practice rather than an underlying value is reminiscent of Alfred North Whitehead's notion of misplaced concreteness. Whitehead uses this idea to identify the error of treating an abstract as if it were a concrete and thus missing what's really important. Educational theorist Etienne Wenger uses the more neutral term reification, by which he means the "the process of giving form to our experience by producing objects that congeal this experience into 'thingness'" (58). For Wenger, reification is a normal part of social practice and occurs whenever groups project their practices onto an object. For example, in the United States in the 21st century it is virtually impossible to function without a government issued identification card. If you hope to travel, purchase goods, or prevent yourself from arrest when pulled over for speeding, you must have an ID. The ID takes the abstraction—who you are—and congeals it into a specific form: the driver's license.

The logical error Whitehead cautions us to avoid is mistaking the ID card for your identity. To feel the ease with which one might commit this error, simply imagine yourself in a strange town without your ID, without your cell phone, or without any other identifying papers or cards. Obviously, you don't cease to be you, but it might feel as if you've lost your identity or that you've been displaced, since you can no longer participate in the usual way. In other words, it might be difficult to *continue* to operate in the face of this *change*, and so one might resist it or even fear it. In the case of registration at the college, changing to online registration has a similar effect and feel for some faculty members, particularly those who have participated in the specific routine in the auditorium for several years. Changing the routine violates one's sense that things can continue in the proper or usual way. Understanding this logic leads Bateson to argue that, "It is difficult to persuade people to accept a change unless you make them aware of the level at which it represents a continuity and present it as a new way of doing what they have always believed was important to do" (2). In short, change can be less frightening when understood not as disruption, but as continuity with underlying values.

To demonstrate the power of this distinction between levels of analysis, let me take one more example from my home institution. This past summer the college faced a severe budget shortfall, the remedy resulting in the elimination of 30 faculty positions and over 50 staff positions. Among other changes, the loss of faculty necessitates that we revise our curriculum, since we can no longer deliver the one designed for a larger faculty. Despite the reduction in faculty positions, some faculty members remain wedded to the old curriculum, convinced, in part, that it represents the stability of their programs and thus their employment. Although we have engaged in an open and deliberative curricular revision process that has sought to clarify values for ourselves, some faculty remain committed to the older, unsustainable curriculum. Bateson employs the metaphor of a tightrope walker to exemplify such misplaced focus. The tightrope walker must adjust in order to maintain balance on the wire. Imagine, she says, if we took the walker's "bamboo pole and [froze] the angle" (6), thus leaving the tightrope walker "unable to make the compensatory constant changes to maintain the necessary continuity of staying on that line" (6). The bamboo pole is like our curriculum. Freezing or "fixing" it in its current state rather than changing it may disable the institution from making the adjustments required for maintaining balance. A new curriculum, for example, can articulate what makes us distinctive, thus attracting more students and retaining the ones we have. The innovation of a new curriculum would help restore our reputation, already damaged by the financial crisis. Without change, however, faculty would be stretched and our message unclear. In short, like the tightrope walker with the frozen pole, the institution could fail.

Confronting complex problems like a budget crisis or a curricular revision requires that groups engage in adaptive work. In *Leadership Without Easy Answers*, Ronald Heifetz defines adaptive work as "developing the organizational and cultural capacity to meet problems successfully according to our values and purposes" (3). Simply put, adaptive work is learning. Faced with an adaptive challenge—a problem that can't be addressed "by the application of current technical know-how or routine behavior"—individuals and groups develop new competencies and strategies (Heifetz 35). In the attitude Bateson encourages, doing adaptive work appears to be an inherent part of life. She says, "We have all been in situations, often voluntarily, where we didn't know the answers and had to learn along the way" (6). For example, she points out how raising children and aging require that we develop new capacities. Because the child and the body change in unpredictable ways, both childrearing and aging require "acting in uncertainty" (6). We can't know all the facts or have established routines for coping with each

new situation. As a result, we must act with a “sustain[ed] a commitment to... constant learning” (Bateson 6). Echoing Heifetz, Bateson argues that, “Institutional reform is a kind of learning. It isn’t just the same thing being tried again and again” (6). We have to adjust and adapt to new contexts in order to maintain our balance. She says, “Oscillation is a constancy, the necessary process of system maintenance” (6).

For all the richness in Bateson’s emphasis on learning and the critical utility in her notion of continuity in change, the metaphor of “system maintenance” is potentially problematic. Bateson’s language shows that she does not have in mind the kind of mechanical or technical maintenance one might associate with an automobile or with scientific management where individual components may be swapped out with ease in order to keep the system functioning. Scientific management would suggest mastery in a way clearly out of joint with Bateson’s thinking about authority where she wants to “take people away from the illusion that they can know what they need to know” and thus not have all the right answers (6). The problem of reform, she insists, is not “something to be gotten over with, like going to the dentist” (3). Learning, reform, and adjustment are not technical problems. Instead, she employs the metaphor of a “cybernetic system,” suggesting a dynamic, perhaps even chaotic system of interrelated parts that no one person or group can fully understand (6). The term “cybernetic” calls up images of thinking and learning machines, perhaps even science fictional images of the cyborg, a human-machine hybrid. As she says, “We are talking here about a cybernetic system in which you achieve desired constancy by frequent corrections, by a necessary back and forth, a controlled oscillation” (6). For Bateson, the image is constant motion, frequent adjustment, and fine-tuning, but never finished or exact completion. In short, her focus again is on the process, not a fixed state.

It is an appealing image, but it begs a question: whose constancy? What is the point of all this movement and change other than not falling off the rope? What, exactly, are we trying to get right even if we are never quite making it? Who or what guides our adjustments? While we may never reach a utopian state—and may not even see it as desirable—what utopian impulse guides our actions or is inherent and hopeful in the reforms we support, propose, and employ? What’s missing from Bateson’s formulation is a clear purpose, a trajectory that propels reform forward. She needs more than an attitude of openness; she needs direction. Political activist Michael Albert’s ideas about reform in *Thought Dreams: Radical Theory for the 21st Century* are instructive here. Albert distinguishes between two types of reform: reformist reforms and non-reformist reforms. Both of these he distinguishes from revolution. Revolution, in Albert’s view, refers to a fundamental change in role structures in one or more and eventually all aspects of society. For Albert, revolution is a neutral term that allows him to describe any fundamental change in role structures. For example, a shift from feudalism to capitalism fundamentally changes—revolutionizes—economic relations. However, Albert seeks a type of revolution that, as he says, improves “the situation, conditions, and prospects” of people (30). In other words, Albert seeks liberation from oppression.

In terms of educational reform, Albert would likely support the pedagogical approach articulated in Paulo Freire’s *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. In this book, Freire contrasts his preferred model of problem-posing education to the dominant banking model of education. Whereas the banking model denies “people their ontological and historical vocation of becoming more fully human” by treating them as objects and thus serving the interests of the oppressors, problem-posing education “bases itself on creativity and stimulates true reflection and action upon reality, thereby responding to the vocation of persons as beings who are authentic only when engaged in inquiry and creative transformation,” and thus serves the interest of the oppressed by working in dialogue with them to achieve liberation from their oppressors (65). For both Freire and Albert the critical issue is not simply change and constancy, but the trajectory towards liberation that change ought to take. A continued commitment to liberation requires a distinction between two kinds of reform: non-reformist reform and reformist reform. For Albert, “a non-reformist reform... has as its criteria of success not only winning some particular policies and demands, but also creating the conditions from which more gains might be won in the future” (155). In other words, a non-reformist reform brings us closer to liberation by changing important elements of the situation; it takes place within a broader trajectory towards improved conditions. In contrast, Albert says, “a reformist reform is one that’s an end unto itself” (155). It serves either no purpose or maintains existing systems of oppression. Bateson doesn’t make this distinction, saying only that, “learning and reforms are both examples of change in the service of continuity” (6). She appears to mean all learning and all reforms, but in Albert’s view all reforms are not equal. Even for Bateson, reforms as “ends unto themselves” are undesirable since she argues that reformers face the danger of “becoming addicted to change” (2). Yet, without a clear trajectory or criteria for deciding which reforms to implement, Bateson may fall victim to just this addiction.

Late in her essay, Bateson provides the image of a spiral to explain the oscillation between restrictive, authoritarian reforms and permissive, open ones. She says, “I like to think, as we are dealing with this oscillation, that this recycling of old issues is more like a spiral than just a pendulum” (6). The metaphor of a spiral reveals the

limits of Bateson's thinking. For one, the trajectory of a spiral is unclear. Depending on one's perspective in relation to a spiral, it may spiral up or down, left or right, suggesting, variously, that things are getting better or worse, or moving backwards or forwards through time. Assuming Bateson sees the spiral's movement as indicative of progress and improvement, however, reveals another limit to Bateson's thinking. It may mistakenly suggest that progress and improvement are inevitable, that they happen by virtue of simply engaging in reforms. But there is no guarantee of progress. Spirals may move in increasingly smaller circles if the debate about what to do becomes increasingly narrow. All the discussants may operate under a shared paradigm, ignoring other viable options because they don't confirm this paradigm. In his discussion of the banking concept of education, for example, Paulo Freire argues that, "there are innumerable well-intentioned bank-clerk teachers who do not realize that they are serving only to dehumanize" (56). My point is that we can neither assume that the debate between reformers is a full and hearty one or that it is moving in the right direction. Without a clearly articulated trajectory, reform becomes pointless, even harmful.

Bateson's principle of the continuity in change is insightful—indeed, I think it's essential—but we must also recognize that not all changes serve the same purpose or take the same trajectory. Seeing change as continuity hardly matters if we, as administrators or educators, help people adjust to situations that dehumanize. Our reforms may unwittingly serve the interests of oppressive systems, particularly if we unreflectively adhere to a set of values at odds with the goals of liberation. Not all reforms are equal because not all reforms share the same underlying values. The tightrope walker needs to not only maintain balance on the line, but also attend to where the line goes. The required attention to the broader trajectory proves even more important when we acknowledge—as Bateson surely would—that liberation is not a state to be won, but an ongoing process.

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