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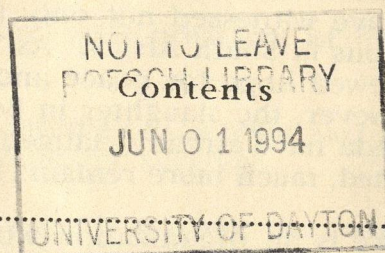
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CONCERNED PHILOSOPHERS FOR PEACE NEWSLETTER

Vol. 14, No. 1

Spring 1994



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The Quest for Peace: Recent Successes and Remaining Challenges

Near the beginning of this century Gandhi led protests against racial segregation in South Africa, and for the 27 years of his imprisonment Nelson Mandela was the leading symbol of the injustices of South Africa's system of apartheid. Now, as this century comes to a close, we have witnessed not only the dissolution of the Soviet Union but also democratic elections in South Africa. As Nelson Mandela assumes the presidency of South Africa, renewed hope for peace and justice are understandable and, to an extent, justified. However, the slaughter in Bosnia has not ended and the recent ethnic massacres in Rwanda have already claimed 100,000 to 200,000 lives. So, while much has been accomplished, much more remains to be done.

Concerned Philosophers for Peace is an organization which concerns itself with the full range of issues pertaining to peacemaking. In fact, this year's annual conference is on the theme of "Peacemaking"--from domestic conflict resolution to humanitarian intervention. (See p. 20) Moreover, this issue of the newsletter provides several aids for addressing the problem of violence and the quest for peace.

This issue begins with Ron Santoni's fitting tribute to John Somerville, a concerned philosopher for peace who dedicated his life to improving relations with the Soviet Union and to the elimination of nuclear weapons. In response to the continuing slaughter in Bosnia, Duane Cady informs us of how to bring Bosnian students to the United States. As a reminder that many people in this region recognize and affirm nonviolent alternatives, we reprint Paul Churchill's essay on the philosophy of Vaclav Havel which originally appeared in *Just War, Nonviolence and Nuclear Deterrence*, edited by Duane L. Cady and Richard Werner.

Two items that can aid those of us who teach courses on war and peace are also included. In an article on Civil War photography, Laura Duhan Kaplan discusses two very different portrayals of that war and suggests how presentation in class of these contrasting styles can provide students with a very useful visual aid. On a lighter note, she and Charles Kaplan have prepared a "musical anthology" on war and peace. The contents of their tape and information on how to order it are provided. Finally, this issue ends with a review of Steven Lee's *Morality, Prudence, and Nuclear Weapons* and the selected bibliography on linguistic violence that I prepared to accompany my 1993 CPP Presidential Address.

While much remains to be done, this issue of the newsletter provides continued evidence that philosophers are making noteworthy efforts. I hope that you will find several items in this issue to be useful and that you will submit additional items to aid us in our quest for peace.

William C. Gay

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AN APPRECIATION

John Somerville, 1905-1994

John Somerville, co-founder and first president of IPPNO, died on January 8 in El Cajon, CA, at the age of 88.

John was a dedicated teacher, prodigious scholar and a tireless activist in behalf of peace, human decency, and planetary survival.

A New Yorker by birth and academic nurture (he completed his undergraduate and graduate degrees at Columbia), he taught for 30 years at The City University of New York before moving to the United States International University in California in 1967. During his 35 years of teaching he published widely and served as visiting professor or special lecturer at 14 major American and foreign universities.

A scholar of ethics and social philosophy, and an internationally known expert on Marxism, he worked relentlessly against The Cold War and in behalf of dialogue between Soviet and American philosophers. His efforts led to the first bi-national conferences of American and Soviet philosophers--in Mexico City in 1963 and New York City in 1964. Sometimes judged controversial by the paranoid standards of McCarthyism, John persisted in placing personal integrity and global reconciliation above personal or academic advancement.

Since 1972, the year of his official retirement, John provided us with a model for creative maturing. His clear and powerful writings continued to take him and his works to diverse places and journals. At the age of 70, he wrote his first play, *The Crisis: The True Story of How The World Almost Ended*. Concerned with the ethical issues and dangers inherent in Kennedy's handling of the Cuban missile crisis, this play has been translated into many languages and produced widely inside and outside of North America, including Japan and Sweden. His second play, *The Last Inquest*, also produced by numerous university drama groups, followed his first play.

Committed to the cause of world peace and the prevention of nuclear omnicide, John was the first American philosopher to mobilize us professionally against the horrors and inhumanities of the nuclear threat and to provide us with a vocabulary for the threat of nuclear extinction. International Philosophers for The Prevention of Nuclear Omnicide (IPPNO) and The Union of American and Japanese Professionals Against Nuclear Omnicide are but two of the organizations which owe their birth and life to John's inspiring work, energy and organizational skills. To all of us his message was and is unambiguous: "Those who take no action against [nuclear] weapons are, in effect, casting their votes for omnicide."

Among many honors, John received the Bertrand Russell Peace Award and, from The Board of Directors of Promoting Enduring Peace, the Gandhi Peace Award for "demonstrating the highest traditions of Gandhi." He was also awarded the degree Doctor of Humane Letters from Denison University.

John Somerville beautifully integrated the life of inquiry and passionate scholarship with the life of active concern for humankind. He brought together many of the

principles for which institutions of higher learning claim to exist and by which civilizations endure.

We shall miss John greatly, but his work and inspiration will live on in all of us whom he touched. In untold ways, the human community has been enriched by his life.

Ronald E. Santoni
Visiting Scholar and Visiting Fellow
Yale University

Editorial Note: John Somerville is survived by his wife of 64 years, Rose Somerville, Professor Emerita of San Diego State University; his sons Greg of New York and Kent of El Cajon; and two granddaughters, Susan of New York and Tara of San Francisco.

Scholarships for Bosnian Students

The war in Bosnia has created hundreds of thousands of refugees. The West only grants refugee status if victims can document having been tortured or politically imprisoned. Since students are eligible for education visas, they needn't document torture or imprisonment to enter the West.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation (active internationally since WW I in disarmament, civil and human rights, refugee assistance and other peace activities) has been working in conjunction with the Jerrahi Order of America (a muslim refugee group) to relocate 581 Bosnian refugee students to colleges and universities. About 22 students have come to the US for the current spring term. Those remaining in the former Yugoslavia who still hope to leave the war and continue their educations need colleges and universities to offer them scholarships to cover expenses, and a signed federal I-20 form to apply for a student visa.

Please explore the possibility of your institution sponsoring a Bosnian student. To receive student profiles for admission review, contact Helen Morgan at (914) 356-0588. Hamline has sponsored Emir Ibrahimasic and he began spring semester with us in February. Since I have been through the sponsorship process, I would be happy to answer any questions. We can't stop the war, but we can make a huge difference in the lives of individual students directly affected.

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Vaclav Havel's *The Power of the Powerless*
and the Philosophy of Nonviolence*

R. Paul Churchill

The George Washington University

It is now generally recognized that Vaclav Havel's long essay, *The Power of the Powerless*, is one of the great contributions to the literature on nonviolent resistance and should be given honors comparable to Thoreau's classic essay on civil disobedience, Camus's *Neither Victims Nor Executioners*, Martin Luther King's "Letter from Birmingham Jail," and the best of Tolstoy's letters on Christian anarchism or of Gandhi's articles in *Young India*. Indeed, like the rest of this great seminal literature, Havel's *The Power of the Powerless* has exerted a crucial, formative influence on nonviolent social change. This essay, and especially its widely discussed "parable of the greengrocer" was regarded as the "basic text"¹ for Czechoslovakia's "velvet revolution" of November 1989. And because of the influence of his writings, as well as his role as an opposition leader, Havel himself became known as the "conscience of the nation."²

But, in addition to its historical significance as the basic text for an actual nonviolent revolution, *The Power of the Powerless* is a great work because of the universality of its message. Although Havel's essay was addressed first and foremost to alienated and powerless fellow citizens suffering under the "psychology of captivity" peculiar to bureaucratized totalitarian systems, his vision of authentic existence and empowerment can be generalized to contexts outside of Eastern Europe. Moreover, Havel makes it clear that the oppressiveness of totalitarianism is only the fullest expression, or avant garde, of immoral forces in modern civilization that are systematically brutalizing the lives of us all. Thus, Havel has much to say to all persons committed to nonviolence and the formation of societies in which "living in dignity" and "living in truth" are genuine realities. Indeed, in the compass of a mere seventy-three pages, Havel covers so many important issues relating to the motivation of individual resistance to oppression--the possible effectiveness of powerless people against a regime with unlimited violence at its disposal and the necessity that successful resistance be nonviolent--that his text might be regarded as offering a catalogue of principles to be covered by a complete theory of nonviolent resistance.

The Power of the Powerless presents a number of intertwined arguments that together make up what I will call an "empowering ideology." In my judgment, this

* Editorial Note. This essay originally appeared in *Just War, Nonviolence and Nuclear Deterrence: Philosophers on War and Peace*, edited by Duane L. Cady and Richard Werner (Wakefield, NH: Longwood Academic, 1991), pp. 97-108. It is reprinted by permission of the author and the holders of its copyright, Duane L. Cady and Richard Werner.

¹ Amos Elon, "Prague Autumn," *The New Yorker* (January 23, 1990).

² Paul Wilson, "Introduction," Vaclav Havel, *Disturbing the Peace: A Conversation with Karel Hvizdala*, trans. by Paul Wilson (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990), p. xiv.

empowering ideology is best understood as consisting of six related but separable themes. These six can be summarized as follows: (1) an analysis of oppression that explores the psychology and mechanisms of domination and that relates oppression to moral and cultural crisis, (2) a theory of the individual's emancipation from oppression as involving self-renewal and a quest for authentic existence based on reverence for the truth, (3) an insistence on accepting responsibility for one's actions and an avowed willingness to make great personal sacrifices, (4) an emphasis on nonviolence as the only type of action consistent with reverence for the truth and the quest for authentic existence, (5) the rejection of the traditional means-ends dichotomy in politics and of consequentialist reasoning more generally, and (6) an account of the nonviolent transformation of society that explains how the formerly "powerless" can gain control by understanding the social reality of power and that identifies the crucial weak links of oppressive regimes against which nonviolent resistance should be directed.

Although it is unusual to find discussion of all six themes in a single text, each has been addressed previously by at least one other major writer on nonviolence, and often addressed with clarity, eloquence and power. Thus, even though Havel does not draw self-consciously on the traditions of pacifism or "non-resistance," and rarely refers to other seminal or analytical works on nonviolence, there are obvious points of comparison. For example, we can find strong similarities between Havel and the analysis of oppression in Adam Michnik's *Letters From Prison*.³ Like Gandhi, Havel traces the roots of political oppression to a moral crisis in Western civilization. Like Gene Sharp in *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*,⁴ Havel's view of the effectiveness of nonviolent resistance is underwritten by a careful dissection of the phenomenon of power, by the identification of the crucial weak links in the system of domination and by attention to the ways in which resisters can, through a process akin to "political karate," apply pressure at these weak points. Havel's emphasis on "living in truth" in nonviolent struggle bears interesting similarities with Gandhi's reliance on Truth, or Satya, and his conception of *Satyagraha*. Finally, by renouncing narrow means-ends calculations, Havel joins company with a large number of activists who have embraced nonviolence on moral grounds.

It is obviously important to undertake a comparative study of Havel's text in relation to the other great, guiding literatures on nonviolent resistance. This would enable us to determine whether--despite the diverse political and cultural contexts from which they drew intellectual support--they share a common core of ethical principles or a converging social or political philosophy. Such a comparative analysis would provide a crucial foundation for a general philosophy of nonviolence. But it is also well beyond the scope of this short paper. Instead, in this paper I will explore another kind of "grounding" for our ideas and beliefs about nonviolent resistance: in particular, the way Havel's "empowering ideology" may be grounded in his broader and deeper philosophical perspective.

It just so happens that, in addition to *The Power of the Powerless*, Havel is the author of two influential philosophical essays, the open "Letter to Dr. Gustav Husak" and "Politics and Conscience," and the extended conversation recently published as *Disturbing the Peace*--all of which suggest interesting connections between nonviolent action and broader philosophical themes. Moreover, attention is now

³ *Letters From Prison and Other Essays*, trans. by Maya Latynski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

⁴ (Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers, 1973).

being given to the philosophical depth of Havel's long "meditations" written during the years of his imprisonment (1979-1982); these meditations were sent out of prison in his letters to his wife, and published as the collection called *Letters to Olga*. It is clear from these texts that Havel is the most philosophical of all the major writers on nonviolence and that, drawing upon the thought of philosophers such as Hegel, Heidegger, Patocka, Levinas and Belohradsky, he already has done much to fashion a place for a philosophy of nonviolence within the currents of phenomenology and existentialism. So my objective in this paper will be to suggest, albeit briefly and tentatively, how Havel's "empowering ideology" might be grounded in the "worldview" and "metaphysical vision" of these other meditations. I shall confine my efforts to discussing the connection between these meditations and just one theme of *The Power of the Powerless*: the view that emancipation from oppression requires self-renewal and a quest for authentic existence based on reverence for the truth.

I choose to discuss this one of the six themes of Havel's "empowering ideology" because of its logical priority. In the case of Havel, as with Gandhi, one must first understand violence and nonviolence in their "spiritual" or metaphysical senses before one can fully appreciate the political significance of nonviolence. But even limited to the discussion of one theme, this is necessarily a speculative and treacherous undertaking: speculative because Havel does not claim to have developed a complete and self-consistent philosophy, and treacherous since there is the obvious danger of badly misrepresenting his thought. Despite all of this, I hope at least to be able to suggest the richness of Havel's philosophical meditations as a source for reflections about the philosophical grounds for nonviolence and to incite interest in the possibility of a philosophy of nonviolence.

Havel starts with a philosophical assumption similar to Hegel's (and Heidegger's) on the relationship between human consciousness and Being. Havel says, "for Being first had to call itself into question, through man, so that through his search for the 'meaning of life,' through its own manifestation in the world that surrounds him and ultimately through the encounter of one with the other, Being could return to itself and be fulfilled."⁵ Havel characterizes the human as a "thrownness"; that is, as the creature that has "fallen out of Being and therefore continually reaches toward it...."⁶ At the center of our existence as humans, therefore, is the search for meaning: "man is 'questioning Being' ... or rather the one through whom Being can inquire after itself"⁷ and "the meaning of Being itself, if it can be put that way, reaches out to us."⁸

But human consciousness and the "re-creation" of the world through consciousness is problematic from the outset, for Being manifests itself as two simultaneous but opposed tendencies. On the one hand, Being is manifest as the will toward contraction and homogeneity: the dissolving and blending together of all its particular expressions.⁹ In this connection Havel speaks of the second law of thermodynamics and the tendency of the universe toward entropy. When it is manifest in human consciousness and intentionality, Havel refers to this tendency as

⁵ Vaclav Havel, *Letters to Olga: June 1979-September 1982*, trans. by Paul Wilson (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1989), p. 265.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 319.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 265.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 301.

the "order of death" because of its obsession with structure, order and uniformity as ends in themselves.

But Being simultaneously wills itself to be anti-entropic: to cultivate and strengthen the uniqueness of all its richly varied manifestations and to develop in the direction of ever higher forms. Havel refers to this movement toward transcendence as the "order of life." Its essential character, Havel says, is its movement "towards the fulfillment of its own freedom"¹⁰ and he adds that "it refers not just to itself but beyond itself as well ... by throwing open the question of its own meaning."¹¹ The presence of the order of life in individual consciousness is the "will to self," that is, "the will of a person to be what he is or wants to be, to be himself. And ... to defend and enlarge the self."¹²

Havel makes no secret of his view that, as creatures uniquely "thrown out" by Being and as part of the biosphere, our allegiance should belong to the "order of life." He says that "[e]very attempt by man ... to oppose that tendency is a negation of his own essence, a betrayal of consciousness and a destructive act of self-denial."¹³ Moreover, he refers to the order of death as "diabolical" and as "the bastard son of Being, the offspring of indifference to the meaning of Being and vindictive fear of its mystery...."¹⁴ Nevertheless, human consciousness is possessed by both tendencies and the ever-present tension between them represents itself as what Havel calls the "problem of identity."

The "will to self," the will to one's own identity as a distinct self, requires both the expression of difference or uniqueness and the integrity that comes from continuity and self-recognition. Identity therefore requires finding stability and sameness within one's diversity.¹⁵ And hence, acquiring the sense of "wholeness" that comes with identity requires, first, that even as we yearn for transcendence, we acknowledge our own frailty and limitation--that we find and respect the boundaries between the "I" and the "non-I," and second, that we relate to the "non-I" as the "background" against which our efforts at transcendence have meaning, or as the "absolute horizon" at which we aim: in effect, "as the originator, the bearer and the giver of meaning...."¹⁶

A life of integrity, wholeness and identity--in a word, authentic human existence--is a project requiring the unceasing effort to balance contrary tendencies in the soul and a project undertaken in the presence of constant doubt. Havel says that it "is a kind of permanent balancing act between the unattainability of Being and succumbing to existence-in-the-world"¹⁷ and "an endless tension between the living

¹⁰ Vaclav Havel, "The Power of the Powerless," *The Power of the Powerless*, ed. John Keane (London: Hutchinson Press, 1985), p. 29.

¹¹ Havel, *op. cit.* (1989), p. 198.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 301.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 268 & 302.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 338.

experience of meaning on the one hand, and its unknowableness on the other."¹⁸ It is a project that can succeed only when life is infused with hope, wonder, humility and a spontaneous respect for the mystery of Being.¹⁹ And it is always at risk of being overwhelmed by the order of death. First through the "temptation to Nothingness"--the abandonment of questioning, of the search for meaning; and second, through the hubris involved in substituting for the "absolute horizon" our human rationality as the source or origin of meaning.

While the "temptation to Nothingness" has a constant lurking presence in human experience, Havel believes that the rise of modern civilization--with the advent of scientific rationality--marked the historical beginning of domination by the "order of death." The followers of Galileo and Machiavelli were the initiators of politics as a rational technology of power. They "freed" human reason from the constraints and realities of particular personal experience and they insisted that, because science rises above individual subjective "truths," it can replace them with a superior, trans-subjective, trans-personal truth which is truly objective and universal.²⁰ The consequences of this scientific and rational "breakthrough" were two: those manifestations of human life that make for diversity--including personal conscience--were decreed to be subjective, wholly private and irrelevant, and were pushed into internal "exile"; at the same time, by crashing through the boundary of the natural world, humankind abolished its relationship with the "absolute horizon" as the source of meaning and relegated the sense of mystery, awe, and empathy with the natural into the same dustbin of private irrelevance. As Havel says, "Man rejected his responsibility as a 'subjective illusion'--and in place of it installed what is now proving to be the most dangerous illusion of all: the fiction of objectivity stripped of all that is concretely human, of a rational understanding of the cosmos, and of an abstract schema of a putative 'historical necessity'".²¹

Europe proceeded to force on most of the world all that today has become the basis of this rational technology of power: anonymity and depersonalization because of its reduction to a mere technology of manipulation by managers, bureaucrats, and *apparatchiks*; *a priori* innocence because it does not grow from a world in which words like "guilt" and "innocence" retain their meaning but is instead legitimized by science, cybernetics, ideology, law, and abstraction--"that is, by everything except personal responsibility to human beings as persons and neighbors"²²; omnipotence because it is not constrained by human limits but instead is "grounded in an omnipresent ideological fiction which can rationalize anything without ever having to brush against the truth."²³

Havel maintains that it is a grave error to believe that the growth of this anonymous, rationalized power serves the "universal welfare." The real consequence of this scientifically calculable and technologically achievable "universal welfare" is the capacity to do great evil with indifference: "that millions of people will be sacrificed

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 360.

²⁰ Vaclav Havel, "Politics and Conscience" in *Vaclav Havel, or Living in Truth*, ed. by Jan Vladislav (London: Faber and Faber, 1990), p. 138.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 144.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

to this illusion in scientifically directed concentration camps is not something that concerns our 'modern man'."²⁴ In the essay "Politics and Conscience" Havel argues that this anonymous, technological power is in the possession of no one; rather it has acquired a kind of "automatism" and we are being dragged along by its self-momentum. And in *The Power of the Powerless* Havel explains how power is exercised in the service of ideology, which in turn, legitimizes that same power. Havel says, "it is as though ideology had appropriated power. . . as though it had become dictator itself."²⁵ In fact, the inner aim of the totalitarian system--"the convex mirror of the inevitable consequences of rationalism"--is not the preservation of power in the hands of a ruling clique, but the social phenomenon of self-preservation--of a kind of automatism. Its essential characteristic is its "introversion"--a movement toward becoming ever more completely and unreservedly itself--that is, permanent, unchanging, and final. This automatism of power is the exact opposite of transcendence toward something beyond itself; indeed, it is in fact an objective manifestation--on the largest of social scales--of the "order of death."

But this autonomous power requires the continual suppression of the stirring in consciousness of the "order of life." Therefore, it must oppose absolutely every expression of individuality. It must require that reason and conscience be consigned to it as the higher authority. "The principle involved here," Havel says, "is that the center of power is identical with the center of truth. . . the highest secular authority is identical with the highest spiritual authority."²⁶ But because power does not serve genuine human needs, its movement toward auto-totality is not consistent with the truth and it is therefore necessary for power to cloak itself in deceit and hypocrisy. Ideology pretends that the requirements of the system derive from the requirements of life. "It is a world of appearances trying to pass for reality," Havel says, and adds, "It offers human beings the illusion of an identity, of dignity ... while making it easier for them to part with them."²⁷

For example, in his parable of the greengrocer Havel points out that the real meaning of the slogan the greengrocer displays in his shop window is not its trivial semantic content, "Workers of the World Unite," but a definite and subliminal message: "I am afraid and therefore unquestionably obedient." But because the sign, on its textual surface, suggests a level of disinterested conviction, it "helps the greengrocer to conceal from himself the low foundations of his obedience."²⁸ Moreover, the greengrocer thus declares his loyalty in the only way the system is capable of understanding--"that is, by accepting the prescribed ritual, by accepting appearances as reality, by accepting the given rules of the game."²⁹

Of course, the greengrocer's displayed slogan makes only a small contribution to the general panorama of life, for similar slogans are everywhere: on lamp posts, walls, and in offices, other shops and apartment windows. And these slogans perform their functions as codes only because everyone is drawn into the illusion. "Metaphorically

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

²⁵ Havel, *op. cit.* (1985), p. 33.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 31.

speaking," Havel says, "without the greengrocer's slogan the office worker's slogan could not exist, and vice versa. Each proposes to the other that something be repeated and each accepts the other's proposal ... by exhibiting their slogans, each compels the other to accept the rules of the game."³⁰

The greengrocer and his fellows are accomplices of the system and captives of its lies and falsifications. Havel notes that it does not really matter that individuals do not believe in these mystifications, as long as they behave as though they did. And this is what Havel calls "living within a lie." As he says, "It is enough for them to have accepted their life with it and in it. For by this very fact, individuals confirm the system, fulfill the system, make the system, are the system."³¹

It is just because victims are also accomplices that the oppression of autonomous power cannot be ended by traditional political means. Havel asserts that the idea of violent revolution is not radical enough; reform cannot result from the victory of any traditional political conception. It will have to derive from the fundamental reconstitution of people: from an "existential revolution." One must begin by destroying totalitarianism in the soul: by extricating the self from terrible involvement in the mechanisms of totality. "One day something in our greengrocer snaps. . . He rejects the ritual and breaks the rules of the game. He discovers once more his suppressed identity and dignity. He gives his freedom a concrete significance. His revolt is an attempt to live within the truth."³²

For Havel, "living within the truth" begins with the attempt to set the fundamental dimensions of our humanity free from their private exile; it begins by redefining our basic values--trust, openness, responsibility, solidarity, and love--in terms of our concrete experiences and emotions--and by the effort to ensure conformity between these values and our public behaviors. One begins to say aloud what one thinks, to express solidarity with fellow citizens, to refuse to comply with demands that sacrifice dignity, and to regain control over one's sense of responsibility. These first steps lead to deeper transformations of the self: to trusting in the voice of conscience more than in any abstract speculation, to assertions of one's dignity as an irreplaceable human being, and even the willingness to sacrifice oneself for what makes life meaningful. Paradoxically, as Havel notes, without this attitude toward life, individuals cannot have the courage to oppose absolute public schemes that lead to the actual sacrifice of individual lives.³³

Havel believes that when individuals seeking to live within the truth reach a critical mass in a society, then political revolution is inevitable. First, because a coterie of individuals, seeking to be true to their deepest sensibilities and refusing to compromise their dignity even to the point of death, present the only force that the system of autonomous power--depending as it does on falsity and complicity--cannot destroy. Second, because of its very nature, the "order of life" cannot impose limits on itself: the aims of life ineluctably seek to expand the space available for them. Thus non-compliance based on commitment to human values must lead inevitably to civil disobedience and to the formation, via "citizen initiatives" of a "second society" and a "parallel *polis*."

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 39.

³³ Havel, *op. cit.* (1990) p. 152.

But Havel also believes that, through the recovery of the expression of human values in our lives, we open ourselves once again to the transcendent. Indeed, it is especially in one's conscience that one is most attentive to the demands for self-identity and integrity, and it is therefore through the voice of conscience that Being once again begins to manifest itself as the "order of life." Thus by "living within the truth" we rediscover the boundaries between the "I" as questioner and the "non-I" as "absolute horizon." We experience again the awe and mystery of the "absolute horizon" and we accept that there is something in the order of Being which exceeds our competence. Thus "living within the truth" leads to the recovery of our essential activity as humans--the search for the meaning in life.

Thus the "existential revolution" set in motion by individuals seeking to live within the truth is a nonviolent revolution in two senses. First, it is a nonviolent political revolution against particular oppressive regimes dominated by autonomous power, just as the "velvet revolution" of Czechoslovakia in November, 1989. Second, it is a more general nonviolent revolution against the domination in modern civilization of the "order of death." And thus the "empowering ideology" of *The Power of the Powerless* which laid the groundwork for chartism in communist Czechoslovakia and for the looming revolution of 1989, and especially Havel's confidence in nonviolence, is based not alone on appeal to selected and abstracted moral principles, nor alone on empirical analyses of its effectiveness. Rather, both this "empowering ideology" and Havel's confidence arise out of his metaphysics. There is therefore an odd but wonderful parallel between Havel and Marx, for the beliefs of both in the practicality of revolution and social change are deeply rooted in their philosophies of human consciousness and ultimate reality. But if Marx had turned Hegel upside down, Havel attempts the restoration: speaking before the Congress of the United States and as President of Czechoslovakia, Havel declared: "Consciousness precedes being, and not the other way around, as the Marxists claim. For this reason, the salvation of this human world lies nowhere else than in the human heart, in the human power to reflect...."³⁴

³⁴ *The Washington Post*, February 22, 1990, p. A28.

Visions of War:

Using Civil War Photography in a War and Peace Course

Laura Duhan Kaplan

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One of the aims of teaching a course in war and peace studies is to get students to "see" war differently. For example, in a news story about the U.S. victory over Iraq, where they formerly saw the proud efficiency of U.S. forces, we hope they will also see the random suffering of Iraqi children. When they look at a group of young soldiers we want them to see the ambivalence and ambiguity: soldiers who are simultaneously frightened and brave, obedient and proud, saviors of one nation, tormentors of another. In this brief essay, I suggest using U.S. Civil War photography to show students that it is literally possible to see war in different ways. By focusing their cameras on different aspects of the war, different photographers convey different senses of the war. It is important for students to understand the different attitudes, and also to see why the attitudes are often self-confirming: because they both dictate and result from what is seen.

Gardner's *Photographic Sketch Book of the Civil War* (New York: Dover, 1959) includes the visions of a variety of photographers, only sloppily unified by Gardner's bubbly text celebrating the bravery of Union soldiers and chronicling the destruction of Southern landmarks. A careful reader of photographic credits can discern the individual visions of the photographers represented. For example, Alexander Gardner sees and shows the heroism of officers and the grandeur of the cause. T.H. O'Sullivan sees and shows the anonymity of war and the ingenuity of soldiers in the face of their poverty. Obviously, very different scenes motivated each of these artists to exclaim, "What a great war photograph this would make!" To contrast their visions, I will describe four negatives taken by each, including photographs of buildings, soldiers and casualties.

Both Gardner and O'Sullivan photograph structures in themselves and as a backdrop for other subjects. Gardner is fascinated by the grand brick mansions and bridges in their rural Southern settings, a grandeur that reflects on the buildings' Union captors. O'Sullivan shows off the ingenious rough and ready structures that soldiers build with the materials at hand, the pliable Norfolk Pines. He also photographs tawdry houses, once beautiful, but now neglected or marred and scarred by the war.

Plate #29 by Alex. Gardner, "Lacy House, Falmouth, Virginia, December 1862," shows a three-wing, two-story brick mansion with many porches and many chimneys, a mansion that once supported a Southern county seat. Plate #24, also by Alex. Gardner, "Scene in Pleasant Valley Maryland," shows a group of Union officers, their wives, and a servant posing on the front porch of a large country house, built in the style of a Southern mansion, displaying tall Doric columns before the front door. The men are in dress uniforms or suits, the women in Sunday dresses. The steps they cluster on are concrete; around the steps and columns, vines climb trellises and hang from roofs.

In Plate # 22 by T.H. O'Sullivan, "Signal Tower, Elk Mountain, Overlooking Battlefield of Antietam, September 1862," the signal tower, a newly built and temporary structure, stands in a clearing cut out of the rough brush. Long logs alternately

piled crosswise in a cut-off pyramid, it stands no more than ten feet high. Plate #42, also by T.H. O'Sullivan, "Trossel's House, Battlefield of Gettysburg, July 1963" shows the side-yard of a large country house after a battle, after the casualties have been cleaned out. The white picket fence is partially torn down and the yard is littered with equine corpses. In one part of the yard, dead horses lie back to back, head to head, in a clump, their stiff hind legs raised off the ground. The horses are well back in the midground of the photograph and none of their individual faces are visible.

When photographing soldiers, Gardner sees and celebrates the formal beauty of war, while O'Sullivan observes and magnifies the plain. Gardner photographs the strategists of war and O'Sullivan portrays the pawns. In so doing, Gardner clearly shows us the faces behind the plans and O'Sullivan deliberately blurs them.

Plate #45 by Alex. Gardner, "Studying the Art of War, Fairfax Court-house, June 1863" is a formal portrait of five Union officers in full dress uniform who squarely dominate the photograph. Three rest on the ground, sheathed swords laid across their thighs. One of these officers stares off into the distance, his arm propped over a book conspicuously titled *The Art of War*. A second consults a book together with a fourth kneeling officer. A fifth officer stands, hand on hip, a pleasant look of concentration on his face, gazing down at the open book.

Plate #34, by T.H. O'Sullivan, "Group of Confederate Prisoners at Fairfax Courthouse," shows a group of several hundred clean and well-dressed prisoners standing in a field, packed tightly together in the shape of a neat rectangle. The prisoners are flanked on either side by equally tightly packed groups of Union guards. Prisoners and guards are indistinguishable save for their uniforms and the large rifles, tall as their bodies, held by the Union guards. No individual faces are visible, and the men's bodies are like tiny matchsticks standing between the long shrub-filled foreground and the distant background which fades off into the mist.

A pair of photographs of corpses shows each photographer to have a different vision of death in wartime. For Gardner, death can be beautiful if it is informed by a cause; a corpse can even be beautiful when preserved by the gentlemanly rules of war, neither mutilated nor looted. For O'Sullivan, death in war is not pretty, corpses are not respected, and the large numbers of casualties render all anonymous.

Plate #41 by Alex. Gardner, "Home of a Rebel Sharpshooter," shows a beautiful young man, now a beautiful corpse, lying in front of a nest of grand boulders. The young man's eyes are closed, his mouth is slightly open, one hand rests on his waist. His hat lies on the ground by his head; his still buckled pouch is at his side; his rifle is propped up against the rocks. No torn clothing or gaping wounds mar the young man's beauty.

Plate #36 by T.H. O'Sullivan, "A Harvest of Death," shows a rough grass field littered with corpses. The face of one, toward the foreground, is visible. His arms splay out to the sides, his knees have jerked up, his mouth, surrounded by dirt, forms a large round O. His pouch, its contents scattered, sits open by his now claw-shaped hand. Other bodies, faces hidden from the camera, lie close to his. Still others dot the background, as the field of corpses fades out into the mist of distance, like an ellipsis.

By choosing to see (and making us look at) different details of the war, each of the photographers constructs a different attitude towards war. Gardner's photographs celebrate the glory and passion of those dedicated to *The Art of War*. For Gardner, the war makes sense: dedicated officers working in their grand headquarters give

strategic continuity to a string of battles. O'Sullivan, on the other hand, calls our attention to the cold indifference of war. No well-known landmarks or leaders charm his lens; he sees only the rough life and anonymous death of the uncelebrated.

If you choose to show these photographs to your students, two options are available. You can put the Sketchbook on reserve in the library and assign students to look at it, or you can choose selected plates and show them to your class as slides. Check with your school's media center, slide library or art department to find out if the slides exist; if not, consult with a staff member in one of these offices to find out how to make slides.

Book Review

Steven P. Lee. *Morality, Prudence, and Nuclear Weapons*. Cambridge University Press, 1993. 448 pp. ISBN: 0-521-38272-6. \$64.95 cloth.

Steven Lee makes a strong theoretical case for both the immorality and the imprudence of nuclear deterrence. Still, he argues, in practice, the threat of nuclear war may be with us forever, only to be resolved on a case by case basis.

How does Lee answer the question: What kind of nuclear policy, if any, deserves both moral and prudential endorsement?

- Deontological moral considerations (both Just War Theory and deterrence as hostage-holding) seem to lead to the conclusion that nuclear deterrence is immoral.
- Consequentialist moral considerations as well as prudential considerations seem to lead to the conclusion that nuclear deterrence is preferable.
- So we are left with an apparent dilemma between, on the one hand, two different deontological moral considerations and, on the other, consequentialist and prudential concerns. To answer our question we will remove the dilemma.
- When we unpack the consequentialist and prudential considerations we find that the world would be better had nuclear weapons never existed, that conventional deterrence in a nonnuclear world is prudentially and, consequently, morally preferable to the introduction of nuclear deterrence. Yet when we consider the instability created by unilateral nuclear disarmament and the ease and advantage of nuclear rearmament should mutual disarmament occur, from the practical perspective of a world where nuclear weapons and the knowledge of how to make them exist, a world gone MAD, both unilateral and mutual nuclear disarmament seem unacceptable.
- If, however, nuclear weapons could be delegitimized so that their use became unthinkable in the way in which cannibalism is now unthinkable, then mutual disarmament becomes both prudentially and morally preferable and the dilemma is resolved. In order for this to be accomplished, war and the aggressive resolution of international conflicts must also be delegitimized since any international aggression can escalate.
- On the national level, minimum deterrence is a first-step in the direction of the delegitimization of nuclear weapons. This is so even if it must be unilateral, although mutual is preferable. On the individual level, the constant reminder of the devastating effects of nuclear war and the potential for any war or act of international aggression to escalate to a nuclear war is a first-step toward delegitimization.

- Thus, the short run policy to answer our question is minimum nuclear deterrence. In the long run, we should work toward the delegitimization of both nuclear weapons and international aggression so that prudent mutual nuclear disarmament can occur.

Lee argues that the popular belief, that the demise of the Soviet Union is the end of the nuclear problem, is false. We merely await the proper international conditions between two nuclear powers to return and these conditions, Lee argues, are extremely likely.

By avoiding reliance upon any single moral theory, Lee avoids the weaknesses of that theory. By dovetailing moral and prudential concerns he avoids criticisms of utopianism from political realists. Even if the premises of his argument are questionable, as premises always are, the wisdom of both his approach and his conclusions speak for themselves.

Lee's work is an encyclopedia of the literature on nuclear deterrence. He attempts to balance the theoretical with the practical, the moral with the prudential, peace with security. The book is a *tour de force* and a must for those interested in the nuclear deterrence debate.

Rick Werner
Hamilton College

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William C. Gay

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Music for War and Peace Studies

Charles Kaplan, Laura Duhan Kaplan, and the students in Laura's and Barbara Thiede's "War, Peace and Justice" course have produced a musical anthology exploring themes of war and peace, drawing on popular music from the 1960s through the 1990s. All segues connect songs both musically and thematically, and humor, surprise and philosophical gravity animate the tape. The contents of the tape are as follows:

Side A: War

National Lampoon, "Those Fabulous Sixties" (1972)
Edwin Starr, "War" (1970)
Bob Dylan, "A Hard Rain's A-Gonna Fall" (1962)
Peter Gabriel, "Red Rain" (1986)
Crosby, Stills and Nash, "Wooden Ships" (1969)
The Youngbloods, "Get Together" (1969)
The Rolling Stones, "Sympathy for the Devil" (1968)
Black Sabbath, "War Pigs" (1970)
Franklin Delano Roosevelt, "Day of Infamy" (1941)
U.S. Military Academy Band, "When Johnny Comes Marching Home" (1860s/1991)
Pink Floyd, "The Wall" (1979)
Elton John, "My Father's Gun" (1973)
Joan Baez, "The Night They Drove Old Dixie Down" (1960s)

Side B: Peace

Arlo Guthrie, "Last Night I Had The Strangest Dream"
John Lennon and the Plastic Ono Band, "Give Peace a Chance" (1972)
John Lennon, "Imagine" (1971)
Procol Harum, "Conquistador" (1969)
Paul Simon, "Peace Like a River" (1972)
Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young, "Woodstock" (1970)
U2, "In the Name of Love" (1988)
Barry Maguire, "Eve of Destruction" (1965)
Edie Brickell and the New Bohemians, "A Hard Rain's A-Gonna Fall" (1989)
Peter, Paul and Mary, "If I Had a Hammer" (1962)
USA For Africa, "We Are the World" (1985)
Ken Levy, "Toilet Flush" (1970)
Mahalia Jackson, "Down By the Riverside"
Bary Sadler, "Ballad of the Green Berets" (1966)
Jackson Browne, "For America" (1986)
Billy Joel, "We Didn't Start the Fire" (1989)

If you wish to order one copy of the anthology for educational use only, please send a blank 90-minute cassette tape and \$1.00 to cover mailing costs to: Laura Duhan Kaplan, Department of Philosophy, UNC Charlotte, Charlotte, NC 28223.

CPP Election Results

Steven Lee has been elected the 1994 President of Concerned Philosophers for Peace and will deliver his Presidential Address at the seventh annual conference of Concerned Philosophers for Peace at Villanova University on October 1, 1994.

CALL FOR PAPERS

7th Annual CPP Conference at Villanova

The seventh annual conference of Concerned Philosophers for Peace will be held at Villanova University, which is near Philadelphia. The conference will begin at 9:00 Friday morning September 30 and conclude late Saturday evening October 1, 1994. The conference host is Joseph Betz of Villanova. The theme of the conference is "Peacemaking." It ranges from domestic conflict resolution to humanitarian intervention. There will be an invited speaker on Friday evening and our usual presidential address following a banquet on Saturday evening. Plans are also in the works for an added bus trip to Independence Historical Park in Philadelphia.

Papers on the conference theme may discuss concepts, methods, examples, case studies, critiques, and justifications of peacemaking. Workshops on ways of becoming peacemakers are welcome. We understand "peacemaking" to be applicable in a variety of contexts, including the family, the workplace, institutions and agencies, the inner city, nations torn by violence or oppression, and the environment. Papers may also discuss peacemaking as capable of mediating racism, sexism, warism, ageism, and classism. Presentation time for papers is limited to twenty minutes. Papers are due July 8. Send two copies of the paper or projected workshop, and one copy of an abstract of 150 words or less to the Program Chair Joseph Betz (Department of Philosophy, Villanova University, Villanova, PA 19085).

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