

WILLIAM & MARY

THE ALUMNI GAZETTE MAGAZINE ■ WINTER 1986





ON THE FRONT COVER

The cover illustration is a portrait (oil on canvas, 30" x 25") of Fielding Lewis Taylor by the American artist William James Hubbard (1807- 1862). Taylor, who sat for this portrait when he was sixteen years old, lived at Belle Farm in Gloucester County, Virginia. He became a colonel in the Confederate States Army and died at the Battle of Crampton's Gap in 1863.

The portrait is on loan to the College from Taylor's great-grandchildren, Miss Nellie Deans Greaves and Lt. Col. Fielding Lewis Greaves. Photo by Thomas L. Williams.

ON THE BACK COVER

The photo on the back cover, by C. James Gleason, is of Crim Dell at the College of William and Mary.

WILLIAM & MARY

JANUARY/FEBRUARY

THE ALUMNI GAZETTE MAGAZINE

WINTER 1986

Volume 54, No. 6



2 THE VIRTUES OF ACADEMIC LIFE

By Henry Rosovsky '49

8 A HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL DEBT

By William J. Hausman '71

13 EDWARD S. JOYNES:
A MASTERFUL SOUTHERN EDUCATOR

By E. T. Crowson '38

16 THE POLITICS OF HUNGER

By Berhanu Abegaz

22 WHERE HAVE YOU GONE,
JOE DIMAGGIO?

By Larry Wiseman

27 THE ANIMAL RIGHTS MOVEMENT:
PYTHAGORAS' HEIRS OR THE NEW
LUDDITES OF THE LEFT?

By David Macauley '84

32 ABORTION AND NONTREATMENT OF
HANDICAPPED NEWBORNS: CONTRASTING
ETHICAL PERSPECTIVES

By Hans O. Tiefel



The College of William and Mary

Editor H. WESTCOTT CUNNINGHAM '43
Associate Editor S. DEAN OLSON
Editorial Assistant MARY ANN WILLIAMSON
Composition SYLVIA B. COLSTON
Design JUNE SKALAK

S. Warne Robinson '37, *President*, Newport News, VA; William A. Armbruster '57, *Vice President*, Blackstone, VA; Helen T. Stafford '48, *Secretary*, Princeton, N.J.; Bernard J. Nolan '51, *Treasurer*, Cincinnati, Ohio; J. Edward Grimsley '51, Richmond, VA; Audrey Murray Harris '60, Richmond, VA; Vernon L. Nunn '25, Williamsburg, VA; Andrew D. Parker Jr. JD '69, Dallas, Tex.; William T. Prince '55, Norfolk, VA; Charles L. Quittmeyer '40, Williamsburg, VA; Harriet L. Stanley '72, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Jerry Van Voorhis '63, Chatham, VA; Dr. Leslie Ward '63, Bronxville, N.Y.; Warren E. Winston, Jr., '73, Upper Marlboro, MD.

THE VIRTUES OF ACADEMIC LIFE

BY HENRY ROSOVSKY '49



Henry Rosovsky by Ed Malitsky

The former dean of Harvard's arts and sciences faculty tells why he loves the Academy.

After eleven years as dean of Harvard's faculty of arts and sciences, I did something rather unusual: I resigned from my administrative post – voluntarily giving up power (being fired is common) – and returned to teaching and research. Eleven years is a very long time in anyone's life. It is about one-third of a normal tenured career; even most Ph.D.'s in English are awarded in less time! Is it possible, after such an interval, to resume the self-disciplined and inner-directed life of intellectual creativity? Time will tell, but I strongly believe in what might be called the "John Quincy Adams Principle," named in honor of our sixth president who served in the House of Representatives after completing his term as head of the government. Soon after announcing the decision to leave office, I was immensely pleased to receive a letter from Edward B. Hinckley, Harvard class of 1924, welcoming me to the Retired Administrators' Teaching Society (RATS) whose motto is *ministrare sed non administrare*. According to its "Chief Cheese" (Mr. Hinckley):

The purpose of this august group of sage philosophers is obvious: to band together in a loose, intellectual association those men [and women!] wise enough to forego the doubtful authority and certain, ineluctable responsibilities of administration in favor of the indubitable joys of intellectual and spiritual dissemination of eternal truths – the scholar's happy hunting ground of libraries and manuscripts, the sharp give and take, or cut and thrust, of academic investigation and discovery.

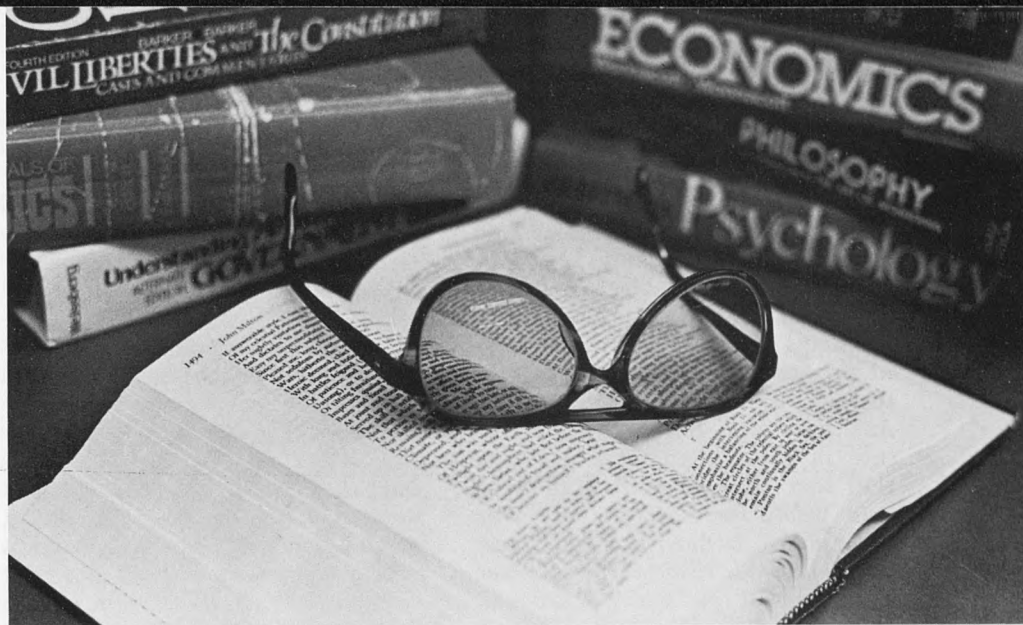


Photo by Mark von Wehrden

Perhaps Mr. Hinckley should have taken a cold shower before composing these lines, but they expressed my own feelings quite well. My life as dean had lacked neither "give and take" nor "cut and thrust" – far more of the latter than the former – but I had grown weary in office and realized that a return to the classroom and library, while difficult after eleven years, would soon be impossible. Staying on meant a life sentence in administration: I chose parole. My remarks here are an act of penance. They will also be a celebration of academic life, which we in our profession are supposed to supervise and nurture, cherish and respect.

II

For many people in the United States and elsewhere, going to work in the morning is a chore. Frequently jobs are monotonous; discipline is imposed by machines, time clocks, and/or authoritarian superiors. In factories, the physical setting is more often than not unattractive and noisy. Many types of work are physically punishing and this characteristic is not confined to blue-collar occupations. (As a young man some forty years ago, I spent a few months selling toys at Macy's in New York City. Twice a week, the store was open from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m., and standing behind the counter on those long days was sheer torture.) At executive levels, the demands of conformity can become a burden: implicit dress codes, implicit political codes – i.e., implicit indications of life-style. And especially in the private sector people have to be concerned about layoffs, discharges late in their working

life, or employment in obsolescent industries.

I am not attempting to describe the average conditions of work. I realize that many workers are happy and that alienation is an overused concept. Nevertheless, it is true, I think, that many of us go to work without joy and primarily to earn a living. My own observations and some empirical data lead me to believe that job satisfaction in academe is much higher than average, especially among professors at good universities. Let me try to explain the reasons.

To begin with, most colleges and universities, especially in the United States, are physically attractive. The very notion of campus evokes in our minds a picture of trees, lawns, and imposing structures. My estimate is that a significant proportion of the finest examples of American architecture can be found on campuses. I have spent a considerable number of years at each of three institutions – William and Mary, Berkeley, and Harvard – and I have visited hundreds of others. William and Mary is the site of the only building designed by Sir Christopher Wren in this country: a lovely, quite modest brick structure, housing chapel, hall and classrooms and overlooking an impressive sunken garden. Everything at William and Mary harmonizes elegantly with Colonial Williamsburg and in my opinion it is one of the most beautiful locations on the east coast.

Berkeley is a campus of the University of California – a state institution – and state bureaucracy combined with post-World War II expansion have done much to obliterate what once was an Eden. Nevertheless, there

are few more gorgeous sites anywhere: from many places the incomparable San Francisco Bay is visible, especially when the fog does not lend its own special magic to Berkeley. And many of the older buildings represent the best of late-nineteenth-century California creativity.

Finally, Harvard Yard – everywhere else called a campus – and its surroundings truly are a history of American (and European) architecture in three dimensions. Harvard Hall and Massachusetts Hall were built before the Revolutionary War and are still in daily use. The finest building in the Yard provides shelter to the dean of the faculty of arts and sciences. It is the gray stone University Hall erected in the early nineteenth century and designed by Charles Bullfinch. In front of University Hall the visitor will find Daniel Chester French's romantic statue of an ideal type John Harvard (founder), without doubt one of the leading tourist attractions on this continent.

My point is simple: the physical setting in which we labor matters enormously. I am aware of that every morning as I cross the ever-changing urban squalor of Harvard Square and enter the Yard with its many old trees and buildings. It is an oasis; it pleases the eye and mind in all seasons; it is a refreshing start to any working day. I think with pity of my neighbors going to downtown Boston entering the synthetic atmosphere of yet another glass-lined tower.

The attraction of campuses goes well beyond architectural and natural

features. I have observed that people like to be around universities – they seem to enjoy the ambience. Boston, with its many colleges, has been called the youth capital of America. Psychiatrists and wealthy businessmen – who else can afford to pay the real estate prices? – wish to live in Cambridge in part because of Harvard's presence. For them, the campus is a circus with many free side shows: museums, libraries, and happenings of all sorts. Students are part of the spectacle. Usually they set or reflect the latest fashions in dress, music, movies, and food. To be near students – near and yet far enough to permit occasional withdrawal – is to feel young and alive well into late middle age. And that is why Palo Alto, Durham-Chapel Hill, Ann Arbor and similar locations have all become choice home sites for the non-academic upper-middle class.

Of course, the major aspect of work is not setting but content, and here again the virtues of academic life become apparent. A friend of my father's, a tutor at St. John's College in Annapolis, when asked about his choice of occupation, said that he loved reading more than anything else, and college teaching was the only profession that paid a salary and allowed him to do just that. This should be treated as a symbolic statement. It is, however, very meaningful. The essence of academic life from the point of view of the faculty is the opportunity – indeed the demand – for continual investment in oneself. It is a unique chance for a lifetime of building and renewing intellectual capital.

Research is the key: it satisfies intellectual curiosity and nourishes the joys and glories of discoveries.

You may ask: is this not equally true of all occupations that primarily exercise the mind? Is it not true of teachers at all levels of education? It is a matter of degree, but the differences are significant. For academics at research universities, keeping up to date can be extremely demanding and time-consuming. Consider the case of modern biology, a subject exploding in terms of new knowledge ever since the cracking of the genetic code by James Watson and Francis Crick in the 1950s. My colleagues who practice these subjects tell me that remaining abreast of current findings even in their own quite narrowly defined special fields is almost a full-time occupation. Although biochemists usually follow these assertions with requests for reduced teaching loads – “we really do not have the time!” – thereby arousing the suspicions of any dean, I know that they have a case. The number of scientific journals has grown exponentially for some time, doubling nearly every fifteen years.

Modern biology may be the most extreme example at this time, although computer sciences and some branches of physics cannot be far behind. However, the phenomenon is not confined to the natural sciences. I completed the formal part of my graduate studies in economics in the early 1950s. At that time, a knowledge of mathematics was not considered an absolutely necessary part of every economist's tool kit. By the end of the decade it was: without training in econometrics and mathematical economics it became impossible to read much of the professional literature. What happened in economics may now be occurring in political science with the rise of the behavioral approach. Even the humanities are not immune to these revolutions, although scholars of these subjects tend to resist change with more energy. During the last twenty years we can note the growing influence of literary theory, semiotics, new criticism, bringing with them new constructs – or deconstructs? – a different vocabulary, and non-traditional philosophical assumptions. For the individual humanist it also becomes necessary to acquire new skills – to learn a new and difficult language.

These are only random examples of a chronic condition in academic life where research is practiced. A com-



Photos by C. James Gleason

Writes Dr. Rosovsky of William and Mary, which he considers one of the finest examples of American architecture that can be found on campuses: “Everything at William and Mary harmonizes elegantly with Colonial Williamsburg and in my opinion is one of the most beautiful locations on the east coast.”

plementary ingredient is the pressure for being *au curreant* that emanates from students. Apprentices and young scholars have their eyes exclusively on the future. The "leading edge" is their ticket to success. Adherence to tradition may be dangerous. Since professors are in large measure judged by the size and quality of their graduate student followings, the incentives to control the latest fashions are considerable. And surely nothing deflates a windbag more effectively than smart undergraduates.

Thus academic life is set in a world that continually generates new ideas and techniques. Some revolutionize fields; occasionally new subjects are born; frequently, innovations turn out to be ephemeral and quickly forgotten. New ideas can cause intense conflict and make life miserable for the many that have a stake in the old ways. But it is safe to say that every scholar will have to face these fundamental challenges during his or her lifetime, and more often than not it will require a great deal of new intellectual capital. For the individual, it is at once a burden, an opportunity, and one of the attractions of academic life.

Clearly, these activities and circumstances prevail to some degree in other occupations, but I would argue that the combination of research and new ways of looking at things is a special characteristic of the academy. To put it another way, I am convinced that the share of routine is smaller than in all other occupations.

Another critical virtue of academic life, and here I am primarily thinking of tenured professors at, let us say, America's top 200 institutions of higher education, is the absence of a boss. A boss is someone who can tell you what to do, and expects you to do it — or else. As a dean (an administrator) my boss was the president because I served at his pleasure. He could and did give me assignments. But as a professor I need recognize no master save peer pressure and no threat except, perhaps, an (I hope) unlikely charge of moral turpitude. No profession guarantees its practitioners a combination of greater independence and security than university teaching. Especially for those unacquainted with the inner workings of universities, it may be useful to amplify this point.

In the early 1950s the University of California was plunged into enormous controversy by the state's insistence that all its employees sign an anti-communist loyalty oath. Those were



Photo by Lyle Rosbotham '71

the days of McCarthy and red scares. State and federal committees on un-American activities stalked the land. There was a lot of opposition to these oaths inside and outside the university. In the end, nearly everyone signed, but a few professors refused to take the oath and were dismissed.

By far the most interesting refusal was tendered by Professor E. K. Kantorowicz, a famous medieval historian and Hitler refugee. He did not approve of many different aspects of the loyalty oath requirement but most of all he did not wish to be classified as an employee of the State of California. Kantorowicz believed professors were not university employees subject to the usual job discipline. To be a professor was to join a calling, a priesthood. An employee works specified hours and many are paid overtime. They are given specific tasks. In most cases there is a sharp separation between work and leisure, and frequently the service performed is impersonal. After all, it does not really matter who sells you a pair of shoes.

It is fitting to remember some of Kantorowicz's words. He said:

There are three professions which are entitled to wear the gown: the judge, the priest and the scholar. This garment stands for its bearer's maturity of mind, his independence of judgment, and his direct responsibility to his conscience and his god.

It signifies the inner sovereignty of those three inter-related professions: they should be the very last to allow themselves to act under duress and yield to pressure.

Why is it so absurd to visualize the Supreme Court Justices picketing their court, bishops picketing their churches and professors picketing their universities? The answer is very simple: because the judges *are* the court, the ministers together with the faithful *are* the church, and the professors together with the students *are* the university. . . . They are those institutions themselves, and therefore have prerogative rights to and within their institution which ushers, sextons and beadles, and janitors do not have.

Although I recognize that some of us fail to live up to the standards of a calling, the distinction proposed by Kantorowicz is most valuable. We have the income of civil servants and the freedom of artists. That imposes certain obligations. The formal duties imposed by our institutions are minimal, anywhere between six and twelve hours in the classroom per week during eight months of the year. (Another California story seems appropriate. A professor was testifying before a state committee in Sacramento. The chairman asked: "How many hours do you teach, doctor?" Reply: "Eight hours." The chairman then said: "That is excellent. I have always been a strong supporter of the eight-hour day.") Yet most of us work long hours and spend many evenings at our desks and in laboratories. We generally do not tell students that this happens to be our day off, and they had better seek someone else with whom to discuss their problems. The best of us do practice our profession as a calling and consider ourselves not employees but shareholders of the university: a group of owners. "Share values" are determined, to a considerable degree, by the quality of management and product. We have a stake in keeping those values as high as possible. It should be added that, on average, we very much enjoy the calling we have chosen and most of us believe that we are engaged in activities of high social value.

I will not mention Professor Kantorowicz again, except to note that his death in 1963 gave an ironic twist to

what I have just said. At the time he was a professor at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Princeton, New Jersey. The *San Francisco Chronicle* properly took note of the passing away of a distinguished former Californian. Besides misspelling his name – an indignity that some of us get used to – the obituary said: “He was employed at the University of California at Berkeley from 1939 to 1950.” That is how little we are understood by the press and the public.

There are still other pleasures that apply particularly to tenured members of the faculty. Sabbatical leaves, first mandated in the Old Testament and today increasingly imitated by industry, are an especially delightful custom. Other things being equal, a university professor is relieved of teaching obligations every seventh year in order to encourage mental refreshment. Sad to say, this year of refreshment is normally accompanied by a reduction in salary, but grants can on many occasions make up the shortfall. Faculty members love sabbaticals. These are not in any sense ordinary vacations, but they can approach genuine working vacations – with the definite emphasis on work. Projects can be completed, sites visited, and colleagues consulted in distant places. Academics tend to be enthusiastic travelers and their way of life encourages this natural proclivity. For the best among them, the reference groups are thoroughly international. In addition, a significant proportion of research topics require travel and foreign residence.

Since these activities combine business and pleasure, they can be viewed as fringe benefits. University professors at our top institutions are among the leading “frequent travelers” in this country – I should think immediately behind pilots, flight attendants, professional athletes, and on par with many salesmen. Abuses do exist, and some of my friends have, with heavy sarcasm, been referred to as the “Pan American Airways Professor of Biology,” the “Swiss Air Professor of Physics,” and the “El Al Professor of Sociology.”

A recent student of academic mores, the novelist David Lodge – the same person who first noted that the three things that have revolutionized academic life in the last twenty years are jet travel, direct-dialing telephones, and the Xerox machine – describes our periodic gatherings this way:

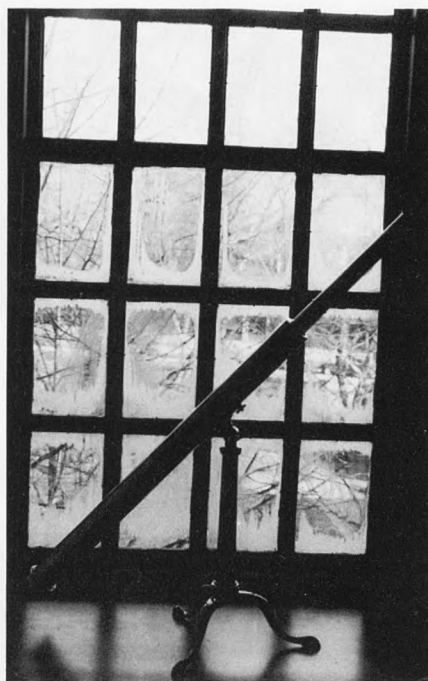


Photo by Joe Gilley

The modern conference resembles the pilgrimage of medieval Christendom in that it allows the participants to indulge themselves in all the pleasures and diversions of travel while appearing to be austere bent on self-improvement. To be sure, there are certain penitential exercises to be performed – the presentation of a paper, perhaps, and certainly listening to the papers of others. But with this excuse you journey to new and interesting places, meet new and interesting people, and form new and interesting relationships with them; exchange gossip and confidences (for your well-worn stories are fresh to them, and vice versa); eat, drink and make merry in their company every evening; and yet, at the end of it all, return home with an enhanced reputation for seriousness of mind. Today’s conferees have an additional advantage over the pilgrims of old in that their expenses are usually paid, or at least subsidized, by the institution to which they belong, be it a government department, a commercial firm, or, most commonly perhaps, a university. (David Lodge, *Small World* [New York: Macmillan, 1984], prologue.)

Let me note, however, that alleged abuses can be more apparent than real. In 1984 my colleague Carlo M. Rubbia won the Nobel Prize in

physics. A Harvard professor and high energy physicist – in the technical and non-technical sense – he was in search of new particles, requiring the services of a large accelerator. None was available in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Other sites in the United States proved unsuitable, and so Rubbia shifted his activities to CERN in Geneva, Switzerland. Every week or every two weeks he traveled abroad to carry out experiments, spending many days away from Cambridge. Being an exceedingly clever individual, Rubbia purchased the cheapest APEX tickets every seven days or so, using them on a staggered basis thereby circumventing the requirement to remain abroad more than fifteen days. I am told that the people at Swiss Air got to know him so well that an upgrade to first class virtually became automatic – long before the Nobel award.

Closely connected with sabbaticals and travel, is another feature of academic life that should be mentioned in a generally positive manner – at least from the point of view of the faculty. I have already stressed the notion of professional independence, the absence of bosses, and the light nature of formal obligations. Informal obligations when taken seriously – and that is the normal case – are far more demanding and time-consuming. Still, the professor controls his or her time to a most unusual degree. And it is generally accepted that some of that time can be used for “outside work.” The long vacations are certainly available for that purpose. In addition, at Harvard and elsewhere it is permitted to spend one day a week on non-university activities.

“Outside work” can take many forms and at the margins is extremely difficult to define. Public service is one form that is generally encouraged, although there will be disagreement concerning what fits under that rubric. There is a considerable difference between campaigning for a candidate and testifying as an expert before a congressional committee. Still, the opportunity to perform public service – for example, unpaid leave from the university for one year or more to take an assignment in Washington – is viewed by many of us as a real plus.

For some, by no means the preponderance of the faculty, there also exists the opportunity of earning badly needed additional money from extramural activities. In one infamous and highly unusual case at Har-

vard, a professor became a part-time salesman in Filene's basement. Consulting for private industry is a more common activity. Some have successfully started companies. Others write popular books, go on lecture tours, and give concerts. A few manage to gain places on corporate boards. At the moment, I am considering the virtues of academic life as understood by the faculty and will, therefore, not discuss the significant negatives associated with outside activities.

Indeed, I have touched only on *some* of the virtues of academic life – tenure would require a separate article! I have omitted some and not touched many of the characteristics that might be called "The darker side": low salaries, burn-out, boredom, envy, aging, the plight of our non-tenured colleagues, etc. Topics I will save for another occasion.

III

Before concluding, I would like to say a few words about the role of universities – essentially why society should, in its own interests, support our strange way of life.

The history of our country and its traditions require us to believe that education is a necessary condition for a life that has meaning. We have never taken a crass utilitarian view toward learning: on the contrary, the emphasis has been on the inherent value of knowledge. Thus every individual who is prevented by society from achieving that level of education of which he or she is capable should be on our conscience: we may have diminished a human life. We have also harmed ourselves.

Let us briefly examine the question from a perspective that goes beyond the individual. Most of us would agree, I think, that the quality of public discourse in our country is extremely poor. Simply put, there is a shortage of good ideas in almost everything except certain branches of science. We desperately need intellectual innovation in areas of our lives that range from peace to productivity and from aging to the control of crime. Where will the new ideas come from? Will they arrive in time?

My point is that university-educated people and most of all those who work within universities are the principal originators of ideas – some brilliant, many less good, some mischievous – nevertheless they are our reservoir of thinkers, speculators, and questioners. At this time, when most



Photo by Jean Gwaltney '56

"To be near students – near and yet far enough to permit occasional withdrawal – is to feel young and alive well into late middle age."

of the world is seeking solutions to economic problems, it is appropriate to remember that Adam Smith, Lord Keynes, and Milton Friedman were or are professors, and that Karl Marx undoubtedly would have been an academic had he lived in this century. Now more than ever we are in need of new social and humanistic syntheses and models, and they are most likely to come from those places in the world where one can sit, think and write; where the mind can follow its own direction without worrying about the next election or this year's profit margins.

And that is also why we should be especially concerned about the possible loss of a generation of scholars that appears likely to accompany the contraction and straitened circumstances of universities in the Western World. The life of the mind can only remain vigorous by continually making room for the young, because they are the natural challengers of orthodoxy. A rise in the average age of university teachers is a sign of deep trouble, and that should be a matter of concern well beyond the community of scholars.

Our task is also the preservation and interpretation of culture – indeed, the continual reinterpretation of culture. We transmit the great traditions from one generation to the next. We nurture subjects and approaches that may not be in current demand or that seem irrelevant to contemporary concerns, because we know that there is

often very little relation between truly important and currently fashionable ideas. I am quite sure that the solution to some of our present-day dilemmas will involve insights and knowledge possessed by thinkers hundreds of years ago. And we are the keepers of those treasures. I once told President Bok that even if there were no students at Harvard who wished to study Romance Languages – not our most popular subject at this moment – we have the obligation to keep the department alive. Why? Because the great classics of French, Spanish, and Italian literature are a priceless heritage. To lose their living influence is tantamount to sinking back into the dark ages. A university cannot be run by cost accountants or as a commercial enterprise responding only to changing markets. That is bad for us and even worse for the free societies we seek to serve.

I realize that those outside the academy are often impatient with us, and I can understand their frustrations. We do things our own way, and we change at rates of speed that have been compared to the movement of glaciers. Our internal fights make democratic legislatures look like a scene from paradise. But our role in society cannot be downgraded without risk: we exist to identify, analyze, and even create problems as much as to offer solutions. Public or private: we must have independence. We are here to preserve and expand knowledge so that all mankind can progress. It does not seem to me that the need for these services is small at this time – anywhere.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

After eleven years as dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at Harvard University, Dr. Henry Rosovsky '49 resigned in 1984 to assume the Lewis P. and Linda L. Geysler University Professorship – a new chair endowed through the Harvard Campaign. In addition to his teaching and research on Japanese economic history, Dr. Rosovsky serves as a Fellow of Harvard College – the senior governing board of the University. The accompanying article is part of a projected book entitled The University: An Owner's Manual, based on Rosovsky's experiences as dean. "The Virtues of Academic Life" was also the text of an address delivered at the inauguration of President Keith Brodie at Duke University in September 1985.

A History of the National DEBT

The Size of the Debt is Not
as Disturbing as the Trend

BY WILLIAM J. HAUSMAN '71

“To extinguish a debt which exists, and to avoid the contracting more, are ideas always favored by public feeling and opinion, but to pay taxes for one or the other . . . is always more or less unpopular.”

Alexander Hamilton

“We are ruined . . . if we do not overrule the principles that the more we owe the more prosperous we shall be.”

Thomas Jefferson



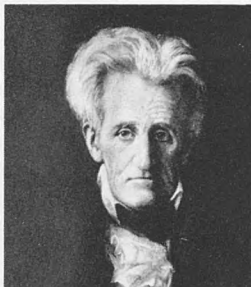
Under President Reagan, the national debt has grown from a stack of \$1000 bills 134 miles high to a stack 270 miles high.



The deficits of Roosevelt's New Deal raised the size of the national debt relative to Gross National Product to 50 percent on the eve of World War II.



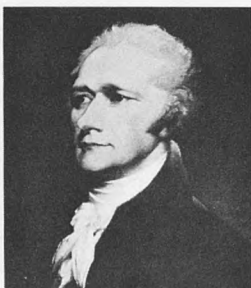
The national debt stabilized at about 3 percent of GNP by the start of Wilson's second term, but World War I caused it to skyrocket to \$25 billion or about 30 percent of GNP.



Jackson reduced the national debt to only \$38,000, but it grew again during the Panic of 1837 and during the Mexican War and stood at \$100 million on the eve of the Civil War.



Although philosophically opposed to expansion of the debt, Jefferson added \$15 million to it when he purchased the Louisiana Territory from the French in 1803.



Hamilton viewed the national debt as a means to stimulate the economy, stressing that a well-funded debt would serve to augment the nation's money supply.

As a nation, we are living on borrowed money — but are we also living on borrowed time? In the last four years huge deficits have added hundreds of billions of dollars to the national debt, which stands at over two trillion dollars, or almost \$8000 for every man, woman and child in the U.S. Does this signify impending national bankruptcy and an apocalyptic day of reckoning? Some history of the national debt may help answer this question.

There are various ways of viewing the national debt. Some of these are colorful, if not particularly helpful. In 1981 President Reagan compared it to a stack of \$1000 bills 134 miles high (which by 1986 would be 270 miles high). More mundane views of the national debt can be found in the accompanying graphs.

Figure 1 presents the national debt in nominal dollars; that is, the dollar value of the debt as it stood in each year between 1790 and 1985. The spectacular rise in the debt from around \$300 billion at the close of World War II to around two trillion dollars today is clearly evident. The impact of World War II is also obvious, but World War I appears as a mere blip in the distant past. The figure gives the impression that the debt was insignificant before World War I, and hence unworthy of historical inquiry.

The problem with viewing the debt in this fashion should be obvious to people living in the modern era. Measuring the debt in nominal dollars ignores the substantial inflation that has occurred over the past 200 years. Because the value of the dollar has fallen, a dollar of debt today is much less of a burden than a dollar of debt in the past. Today's dollar is worth approximately 20 percent of a dollar in 1946 and a mere 8 percent of a dollar in 1790.

To account for inflation, the value of national debt was recomputed and expressed in dollars with a constant value (in this case 1985 dollars). This places a different perspective on the post-World War II era. (Figure 2.) The real value of the national debt fell rapidly in the immediate postwar era and remained stable until 1975. The dramatic rise in the real value of the debt in the Reagan era is quite evident, and the inflation-adjusted national debt now stands at its highest level in the history of the nation. The impact of World War II is still em-

phasized, and even World War I becomes worthy of note for its impact on the debt.

This view of the debt, however, still ignores any reference to the ability to shoulder its burden, that is to meet the interest payments on it. One indicator of this ability is the size of the nation as measured by its population. Taking the observations from Figure 2 and dividing by the population of the U.S., expresses the national debt in real (1985 dollars) per capita terms. (Figure 3.) Again, the dramatic impact of World War II is evident, although the trend in the postwar era is altered somewhat. There is a continuous decline in the burden of the debt until 1975. The recent increase is also evident, but by this measure, the burden of the debt today is less than it was at the end of World War II.

This measure of the national debt still fails to account adequately for our ability to shoulder its burden. Perhaps the best measure of our ability to meet the obligations of the debt is the total output of the economy, as measured by Gross National Product (GNP). Figure 4 expresses the debt as a percent of GNP. It gives a very different impression of the trend in the national debt than does any of the three previous graphs. The effect of all major wars is now clear, with the Revolutionary War, the Civil War, and World War I having approximately equal impact. The tremendous financial burden of World War II is reemphasized, along with the dramatic progress that was made in reducing that burden until more recent times. It appears that the national debt, when measured against the size of the economy, is about as burdensome today as it was in the earliest years of the nation. Furthermore, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries virtually all of the national debt was held by the public. Today the Federal Reserve System and other government agencies hold about 30 percent of the total national debt (on which portion interest payments are a mere accounting transaction and represent no disbursement of funds). If this portion of the debt is subtracted from the total, the national debt as a percent of GNP is actually less today than it was in 1790! It thus makes sense to look at the creation of the national debt during the Revolutionary War period.

There are three fundamental ways to pay for fighting a war: taxation of the citizenry, issuance of paper currency (which usually is equivalent to

FIGURE 1: NATIONAL DEBT, 1790-1985

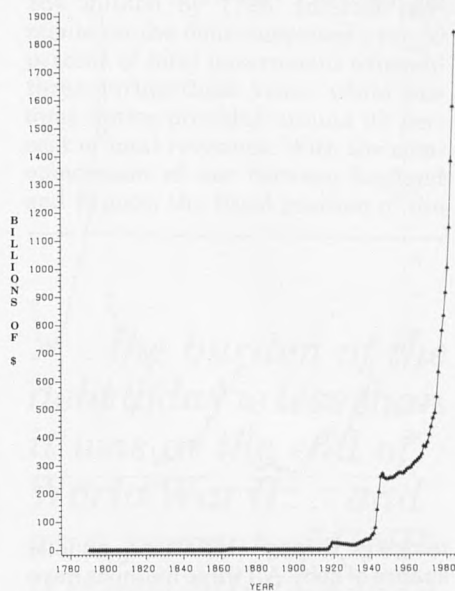


FIGURE 2: REAL NATIONAL DEBT, 1790-1985

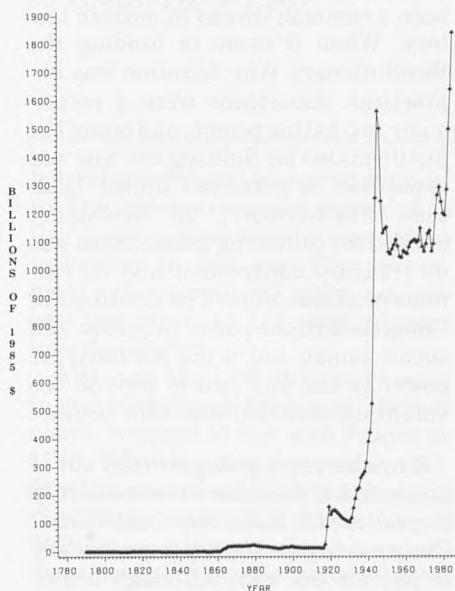


FIGURE 3: REAL PER CAPITA NATIONAL DEBT, 1790-1985

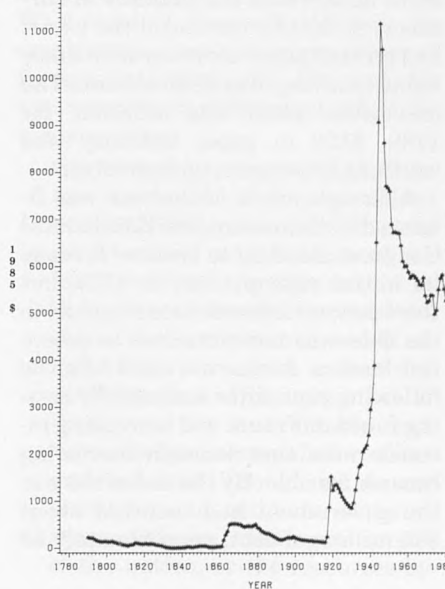
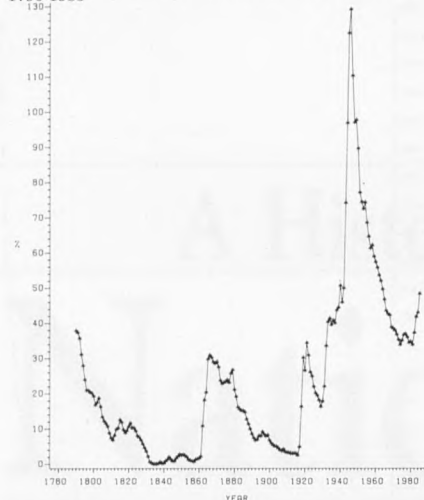


FIGURE 4: NATIONAL DEBT AS A PERCENT OF GNP, 1790-1985



taxation through inflation), and issuance of debt. All three methods have been used by governments, although heavy reliance on the issue of debt has been a common thread in modern history. When it came to funding the Revolutionary War, taxation was impractical. Americans were a notoriously tax-hating people, and one of the justifications for fighting the war was opposition to perceived unjust taxation. Furthermore, no machinery existed for collecting taxes; there was no treasury department and no customs or excise office. The Continental Congress had the power to borrow and spend money, but it did not have the power to tax and had to rely on the voluntary contributions of the states.

Since borrowing was *initially* out of the question (because we were hardly a good credit risk), the Continental Congress began issuing paper money to pay for the war. Although beginning modestly at first — about \$6 million by the end of 1775 — the government accelerated the issuance of currency, so that by the end of the war it had created paper currency with a face value totalling over \$240 million. The inevitable result was inflation. By 1780, \$100 in paper currency was worth \$1.25 in specie (gold or silver).

Although much of the war was financed by this means, the Continental Congress also had to borrow. It made its initial attempts late in 1776, but the 4 percent interest rate attached to the debt was not attractive to potential lenders. It was not until late the following year, after successfully raising funds in France and increasing interest rates, that domestic borrowing became feasible. By the end of the war the government had incurred about \$35 million of debt, approximately \$8

million of which was owed to foreigners, with France holding by far the largest portion of the foreign debt. When approximately \$25 million of individual state indebtedness is added, the total borrowings during the Revolutionary War amounted to around \$60 million, or almost half the total estimated cost of successfully fighting the war.

Despite the fact that the U.S. had won its political independence, all was not well in the new nation. Finances were chaotic under the Articles of Confederation. In 1784 the yearly interest payments on the accumulated federal debt were over \$1.8 million, but total revenue collections were only half a million dollars; that is, annual tax receipts fell short of debt service by over \$1 million a year. This does not reflect any of the other expenses of running a government. The result was virtual default, and by 1789 interest payments of over \$10 million were in arrears. By comparison, many Latin American countries experiencing debt problems today look like paragons of virtue in relation to the U.S. in 1789. Yet people were still willing to lend to the new government on the expectation that it would eventually put its financial house in order. Dutch bankers, for example, loaned the U.S. more than \$2 million during those troubled times.

Into this breach stepped the framers of the Constitution of the United States. Whether or not these individuals (many of whom held public securities) acted out of self-serving economic motivation, they created a document that was inherently economic in many of its particulars. Congress was given the power to tax and to “pay the debts” and provide for the general welfare of the U.S. It was given the power to regulate foreign and interstate commerce, to establish a uniform bankruptcy law, to raise an army and navy, and to establish a national patent and copyright system. Congress was given exclusive rights to dispose of public lands (a potential source of revenue), and, importantly, states were prohibited from passing laws impairing the obligation of contracts. These provisions set the stage for solving the problem of the national debt.

In 1789 President Washington appointed Alexander Hamilton as secretary of the treasury when his first choice, Robert Morris, turned him

down. Hamilton provided a plan to put the finances of the nation on a sound footing. In 1790 he submitted to Congress his *Report on the Public Credit*. Hamilton recognized that it would be difficult for the government to go on borrowing until provision had been made for funding the existing debt,

For the first time in history, during a peacetime economic expansion, the trend in national debt as a share of GNP is dramatically upward.

which by then stood at \$79 million (including unpaid interest as well as the obligations of the various states). Some contemporaries viewed the debt as an albatross around the neck of the nation and argued for its repudiation, although the idea was not popular in Congress. Even today, repudiation has been suggested (no doubt facetiously) as a solution to the debt problem. Jodie Allen noted in the *Washington Post* (July 9, 1985) that there are some superficially appealing aspects to this solution. Not only would repudiation immediately eliminate the debt, but it would assure that the federal government would not run a deficit in the future, since “no investor would ever again buy a federal note or bond.” Deficits however, are sometimes necessary elements of fiscal policy, so repudiation today is out of the question, as it was in 1790.

Hamilton viewed the debt as a potential means to put vigor into the economy. He stressed that a well-funded debt would serve to augment the nation's money supply by serving as collateral in the making of further loans. An enlarged money supply, it was argued, would lead to a reduction in interest rates, which would stimulate commercial activity, thus producing the economic expansion that would help generate the taxes to make the interest payments on the debt (an ar-

gument that anticipated Keynes' 20th-century theoretical framework).

There were two delicate political questions that had to be settled before Hamilton's plan could be accepted. Should the debt be funded at full face value, and what should be done with the states' portion of the debt? On the first issue Hamilton argued for full funding, in spite of the fact that speculators had made substantial purchases of the debt at prices well below par (possible because the value of the debt declined when the government suspended interest payments). Hamilton argued that such exchanges were made freely and that it would violate the sacrosanct right of contract to do otherwise. Others, led by James Madison, argued that out of fairness only the original owners of the debt should be paid at par. Hamilton ultimately won the argument, possibly because of the impracticality of differentiating between original owners and current holders of the debt instruments.

The much more difficult fight in Congress was over assumption of state debts by the federal government, which turned out to be a complicated issue. The debt was viewed as a potential political weapon during these times. With the debt went the power to tax, and hence, political power. Those who opposed creation of a strong national government were reluctant to see such power vested solely in the

federal government. Some states went so far as to assume portions of the national debt. When the federal government was in arrears on its payments, states such as Pennsylvania, New York, and Maryland appropriated portions of the debt owed to their citizens and commenced making interest payments. By no means did all states take such action, since many already had a heavy burden of state debt. Hamilton proposed full assumption of remaining state debts, arguing that one plan of finance would be simpler than numerous plans. The problem was that profligate states such as South Carolina and Massachusetts, which had made little attempt to reduce their debts, would benefit, unlike states such as Virginia, which had made substantial progress in reducing its debt. It looked as if Hamilton might lose on the issue, until the great compromise that brought the nation's capital south to the banks of the Potomac in return for assumption was reached.

In terms of meeting the interest payments on the debt and funding the other functions of the national government, Hamilton argued that customs duties combined with an excise tax on whiskey would produce sufficient revenues to cover expenditures. Initially, this was not the case. The government ran deficits averaging over \$1 million per year between 1792 and 1795, increasing the national debt to nearly

\$84 million by 1796. Interest payments on the debt comprised over 50 percent of total government expenditures during these years, while customs duties provided around 90 percent of total revenues. With the commencement of war between England and France, the fiscal position of the

... the burden of the debt today is less than it was at the end of World War II ... and as a percent of GNP it is actually less than it was in 1790.

federal government improved dramatically. Customs revenues expanded as the country prospered because of its neutrality in this era. The government ran a surplus in every year except two until the U.S. was dragged into the conflict.

Although the U.S. ultimately went to war with Great Britain in 1812, it nearly engaged in war with France in 1798, following the diplomatic incident known as the XYZ Affair. In June of 1798 the students of the College of William and Mary presented an address to the Virginia congressional delegation regarding the position of the United States. Although they echoed many of the sentiments of Washington's Farewell Address by emphasizing the deleterious effects of foreign entanglements, the students also were aware of the practical implications of war:

Our wishes for a temper of pacification, on the part of our government are grounded, not on any juvenile predilections, or preference of the interest of one foreign nation to that of any other; but on a conviction of the injuries which would result to our own from a contrary conduct. One of the principal of these is, the unavoidable and acknowledged accumulation of our national debt. Though we do not pretend to an intimate acquaintance with the existing revenues of the nation, or the resources by



Wars have always increased the national debt dramatically, but until recently deficits declined during peacetime. Under President Reagan, the burden of the national debt has risen from 34 percent of GNP in 1981 to 48 percent of GNP in 1985.

which those revenues may be augmented; yet, we think, we cannot be deceived, when we say, that the debt must be increased to an enormous and insupportable amount. Hence too will arise a proportionate increase in the taxes of our citizens. We submit it, however, to your consideration, whether it would be advantageous to the people, or prudent for their representatives to encrease them, whilst their present weight is already the subject of murmurs and complaints.

The students closed their address by noting that should Congress disagree irrationally and decide war was necessary, they would "imitate the glorious example of our predecessors at William and Mary, in being ready to defend our rights and liberties against foreign invasion." The students were ultimately correct regarding the impact of war on the national debt. During the War of 1812 the debt for the first time passed the \$100 million mark and stood at \$127 million in 1815.

Following the war, the economy expanded and the federal government was successful in managing its fiscal affairs. In only three years between 1815 and the financially tumultuous 1837 did the government run a deficit. The ordinary revenues of the government were supplemented by revenues from the sale of public lands, and during the economic boom of the early 1830s annual surpluses exceeded \$10 million. During the presidency of Andrew Jackson the federal government came the closest to paying off the national debt, which was reduced to a mere \$38,000 in 1836. Debt was accumulated during the depression that followed the Panic of 1837 and again during the Mexican War (1846-48), and stood at just under \$100 million (about 1 percent of GNP) on the eve of the Civil War.

Borrowing was again significant when it came time to finance the Civil War. The national debt for the first time surpassed \$1 billion (in nominal terms) and stood at \$2.7 billion in 1865 (or about 30 percent of GNP), which substantially underestimates the cost of the war since the Confederate debt had been repudiated. Between 1865 and World War I considerable progress was made in reducing the burden of the debt. The government ran a surplus in every year between 1865 and 1894, and although there were

deficits in fifteen of the twenty-four years between 1894 and 1917, the national debt stabilized at about 3 percent of GNP.

The national debt increased to \$25 billion by the close of World War I (again reaching about 30 percent of GNP), but the historical pattern of

During the presidency of Andrew Jackson the federal government came the closest to paying off the national debt, which was reduced to a mere \$38,000 in 1836.

debt reduction following war was resumed during the roaring 20s. The government ran a surplus in every year between 1919 and 1931, and the debt was reduced to 16 percent of GNP by the end of the period. Then the greatest economic catastrophe of U.S. history, the Great Depression, intervened. The deficits of the New Deal, in retrospect a rather modest \$2-4 billion dollars per year (\$15-30 billion in 1985 terms), combined with a decline in GNP, raised the size of the debt relative to GNP to 50 percent on the eve of World War II.

World War II was a milestone in the history of the national debt, far surpassing the impact of any previous war. With annual deficits of \$40-50 billion (\$250-350 billion in 1985 terms), the debt rose to a phenomenal 130 percent of GNP by 1946. The post-war years, however, witnessed a return to the typical pattern of behavior. Although there were budget deficits in twenty-one of the twenty-nine years between 1946 and 1975, the national debt fell to 35 percent of GNP, lower than it had been during the Great Depression. Unfortunately, progress in reducing the burden of the debt was halted in 1975 by a severe economic recession and chronic energy problems.

This brief history should help to put in perspective the most recent trend in the national debt. Compared to the

burden of the debt in the past, as measured by its size relative to GNP, the debt as it currently stands is not much different from what it was forty-five years ago on the eve of World War II; indeed, it is not much different from what it was in the earliest years of the nation. It is not the absolute size of the national debt that should create undue concern. What should create quite serious concern, however, is the trend.

For the first time in history, during a peacetime economic expansion, the trend in national debt as a share of GNP is dramatically upward, and it is certain to continue that way unless remedial actions are taken. The era of the Reagan presidency has witnessed an unprecedented increase in the burden of the national debt, which has risen from 34 percent of GNP in 1981 to 48 percent of GNP in 1985. Is this to be the major Reagan legacy? As the Nobel laureate James Tobin has written, "The burden of public debt incurred to permit greater private or public consumption is that future generations inherit fewer productive assets." (*Challenge*, January/February 1985) This means fewer factories, fewer houses and automobiles, and fewer sewers, roads and schools.

We have so far successfully met the burdens imposed by our forefathers. It is not implausible that future generations will be able to handle those imposed by us, if something is done to reverse the recent trend. Again, James Tobin has emphatically stated the necessity of facing this fiscal reality: "Nothing is more important for the course of the world economy the rest of this decade."

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

An associate professor of economics at the College of William and Mary, Will Hausman '71 received his Ph.D. from the University of Illinois and taught at the University of North Carolina - Greensboro before returning to the College in 1981. An expert in American and European economic history, his major research interest has been the British coal industry. In 1985, the William and Mary chapter of Phi Beta Kappa gave him its award for the Advancement of Scholarship.

EDWARD S. JOYNES:

A Masterful Southern Educator



Photo from Winthrop College Archives

This Southern Gentleman Was the Foremost Scholar and Teacher of His Day and Region

BY E. T. CROWSON '38

On Christmas Day 1907, an aging scholar sat in his book-lined study at the University of South Carolina and penned a note to the president of that institution saying:

I am this day informed that I have been voted a retirement allowance by the Carnegie Foundation for Advancement of Education, to take effect whenever I

shall discontinue active service. This will be at the close of the present session.

I perform this duty not only with sincere regret, but with deep emotion. To sever my connection with an institution in which I have served for twenty-five years, and with friends who, like yourself have wrapped themselves around my inmost heart, is almost like a surrender of life itself. . . . In parting

. . . I am cheered by the thought that while there is so much I shall love to remember, there is nothing I could wish to forget.¹

This was not just the sentimental action of an old "Mr. Chips," but rather the end of an era for a great educator whose work spanned the long years from the Confederate War to World War I. Edward S. Joynes had distinguished himself in the educational programs of Virginia (including the College of William and Mary), Tennessee, and South Carolina to the extent that he was referred to on the eve of World War I as "one of the greatest living Virginians."

The D. C. Heath Publishing Company of Boston writing to Joynes, March 14, 1914, congratulated him on his unusual contributions to the development of their company. The company's letter stated:

Over a quarter of a century ago you were watching our first toddling steps as publishers. It is not too much to say that of our friends of that day, none aided us as much as you did to teach us how to walk. We refer especially to our Modern Language publications, and to your own contributions to them. [Joynes contributed thirteen, mostly German and French readers and texts.] We marvel now at the foresight and boldness of your advice in those days and for years that followed, and at the wisdom, sagacity, and scholarship that marked the suggestions and criticisms you so lavishly bestowed on us.²

Who was this man that was so praised and favored by the academic community? To many he was the foremost scholar and teacher of his day and region.

Edward Joynes came from an old distinguished family in Accomack County on the Eastern Shore of Virginia. His father, Thomas R. Joynes, was an able Drummondtown attorney, court official, and public servant as well as a planter, whose estate on Folly Creek was called "Montpelier" in deference to James Madison, whom the elder Joynes admired greatly. Following service in the General Assembly, Thomas R. Joynes married Ann Bell Satchell in 1812 and to this union there were born nine children, the youngest of whom was Edward Southey, born March 2, 1834.

Young Joynes received his early training at the plantation school that

was taught by young college graduates who desired to read law with his father. "The home school," as Joynes later described it in a paper titled the "Old Field School in Virginia," was conducted in what was called the "office," a small building in the yard, very detached, common on southern plantations in those days. Here Joynes picked up basic elements of knowledge including an occasional thrashing administered to keep mischief to a minimum.

Following a short sojourn at a more advanced "Latin School" near the court house, Joynes left his home to attend the Concord Academy in Virginia, the Delaware College, the University of Virginia and the Universities of Berlin and Paris eventually becoming *l'uomo universale* (universal man). Years later Joynes liked to reflect on the good start that he received from the Latin School and the Concord Academy where his enthusiasm for the study of languages was formed by Professor Frederick W. Coleman.

While at the University of Virginia during the 1850s, Joynes distinguished himself and was awarded the degrees of bachelor and master of arts. Following his graduation he was appointed an assistant professor of ancient languages, serving in this capacity for three years. In 1856 Joynes resolved to study abroad and crossed the Atlantic to enroll at the University of Berlin. In addition to studying, young Joynes traveled extensively and cultivated his taste in art, music and the general literary culture of Western Europe.

On his return from Europe in 1858, Joynes was appointed professor of Greek and German at William and Mary. His short sojourn in Williamsburg resulted in marriage to Eliza Waller Vest, and from this happy union four children were born.

Life changed very abruptly for young Professor Joynes in 1860-61. Because of his superior training, he found a berth in the Confederate Government at Richmond serving as chief clerk of the Bureau of War, where he had many contacts with General Robert E. Lee.

Early in the fall of 1861, Union troops from Delaware and Maryland under the leadership of General Henry H. Lockwood moved down to occupy the Eastern Shore and to set up camp at Drummondtown, not far from Joynes's family property. In a will dated August 19, 1856, young Joynes had been given the Montpelier plantation. Now that his father was dead, Joynes had responsibility for the

property, and the Union occupation of his homeland caused him considerable concern.

Near the end of the war, Joynes moved west to Hollins Seminary near Roanoke, and later to Washington College in Lexington, with Robert E. Lee. While in Lexington, Edward and Eliza sold the northeast corner of the Accomack property and in 1869 they sold the main property and dwelling at Montpelier to Thomas H. Bayly Browne, thereby breaking their long-established physical connections with Edward's home county.

Life in Tennessee was pleasant for Joynes. His reputation in education by this time had spread into many parts of the South, and in 1882 he received "a call to the chair of Modern Language and English in the South Carolina College" – a great college, which Jefferson had selected for his favorite grandson, Francis Eppes.

At Washington College, Joynes filled the chairs of modern language and English, and he counted it a privilege to be a colleague and friend of the general. Joynes's work at Washington College was unique; he was one of the pioneer professors of modern language in the South, and one of the first to include the English language as a distinct department of college study.

In later years, Joynes was prone to reflect on his years at Washington College, "My Golden Age," and to give his impressions of Lee. On January 19, 1907, in the Hall of the House of Representatives in Columbia he presented an interesting talk on "Lee, the College President." Joynes told his audience that "the profound sense of duty which marked General Lee's acceptance of this office characterized his whole administration of it." Pointing out that Lee "entertained the profoundest convictions on the importance of educational influences, both to the individuals and to the country," Joynes gave illustrations of how Lee

met his obligations. For example, Lee treated his faculty with courtesy, kindness, and affection, and he was ever mindful of the importance of the proper training for faculty and students. At one time, when Joynes was sick, General Lee came every day, through a deep valley of Virginia snow and climbed the high stairs to his room to inquire about him and to comfort Mrs. Joynes. Joynes always took pleasure in reciting this incident.

Following Lee's death in 1870, the old college lost its fascination for Joynes. He drifted south, helping to organize Vanderbilt College in Nashville, Tennessee, and serving for three years as professor of modern language and English. Professor Edwin Mims suggests in his *History of Vanderbilt* that Joynes exhausted his welcome with the Methodists at Vanderbilt because he liked wine and beer – a habit acquired from his student days in Paris and Berlin.

In 1878 Joynes moved to East Tennessee University, teaching his usual courses and working as a lobbyist to help transform East Tennessee into the University of Knoxville. Stanley J. Folmsbee, the official historian of the university, loudly praised Joynes and cited his long list of accomplishments at Knoxville that helped create an academically sound university.

Life in Tennessee was pleasant for Joynes. His reputation in education by this time had spread into many parts of the South, and in 1882 he received "a call to the chair of Modern Language and English in the South Carolina College" – a great college, which Jefferson had selected for his favorite grandson, Francis Eppes. At first Joynes was not interested in leaving Tennessee, but friends worked hard to have him come to South Carolina. A principal consideration that helped to draw Joynes to South Carolina was the newly found interest there in public education. Summer Teachers' Institutes were conducted in the principal urban areas of South Carolina during the 1880s, and Joynes found great satisfaction in lecturing to these groups and making many friends. He had been similarly active in the cause of public education first in Virginia and later in Tennessee. Now South Carolina offered, he felt, an opportunity for greater service in this area, and "it is gratifying," he wrote to a leading South Carolina educator, "to see how South Carolina comes to the support of education.

From 1882 until his retirement in 1908 Joynes occupied one of the most prestigious chairs in any southern university: modern language and En-

glish. His success at Carolina College as a teacher and author became legendary. His good rapport with the leaders of the state enabled him to accomplish much. He led the movement for a third university at Carolina, was a great proponent of the honor system, and was in the forefront of the fight to build up the public educational system of his adopted state. As a member of the first board of school trustees in the city of Columbia, he was instrumental in founding the city school system and bringing to South Carolina a young Tennessean, David Bancroft Johnson, as superintendent.

Difficulty in obtaining trained teachers forced Joynes and Johnson to plan for a teacher training school. With \$1,500 donated by the Peabody Board under the guidance of Robert C. Winthrop, the Winthrop Training School opened its first sessions in 1886 in a one-room building borrowed from the Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Columbia. The success of the new school was instantaneous. On July 30, 1890, in addressing the Teachers' Institute at Florence, South Carolina, Dr. Joynes indicated the desire of the school board to transfer the Winthrop Training School to the care of the state. Joynes expressed the hope that normal and industrial training might be united in one state college for women, and he argued that great honor would come to the legislature and to the governor who first recommended this course.

South Carolina soon inaugurated a new governor, Benjamin Ryan Tillman, a man of the people, whose forebears had migrated from the rich lands of the Eastern Shore of Maryland to the lush cotton land of Edgefield, South Carolina. Tillman accepted the challenge, and South Carolina moved to adopt the training school as its normal college. Soon thereafter the Winthrop Normal and Industrial College of South Carolina found a new home in Rock Hill, opening there in September 1895.

Tillman insisted on the best for the Girl's State College that he, Joynes, and David Johnson founded. And like many Americans of his time, he regarded the German system of education as worthy of imitation. It required little urging to have Dr. Joynes of Carolina College, who had been schooled in Berlin, to undertake a fact-finding trip to Germany during the summer of 1895 to garner the latest from the German system. In fact, Joynes suggested to the governor that if he could be furnished with an official

commission, he would be happy to inspect the industrial schools in Germany and Paris.

Joynes was able to study the industrial schools in Hamburg, some of the best in that country, while classes were being held. He interviewed school officials in Berlin; Dresden, the capital of Saxony; Munich, the capital of Bavaria; and Karlsruhe, the capital of Baden. After obtaining a good idea of the German system, Joynes traveled to Paris. At each stop he collected catalogs, programs, and valuable information. All of this material was turned over to the president and faculty of Winthrop with Joynes's summary report, which suggested that the German system seemed better than the French. He reported that the industrial schools of Germany for women usually contained four departments - the review course, the commercial, the professional (including fine arts) and the domestic - and summarized the pertinent information of each. The system of education that he helped to set up and superintend as a life trustee of Winthrop helped to produce fabulous results. According to South Carolina's great statesman, James F. Byrnes, Winthrop has made the greatest contribution to the welfare of the state of any institution in South Carolina. Trustee Joynes's name is listed first on the cornerstone of Winthrop's Tillman Hall at Rock Hill, South Carolina.

This creation of Winthrop established Tillman, Joynes, and Johnson as an educational triumvirate. Together, they applied their individual skills to leave an indelible mark on South Carolina and southern education. Johnson was a promoter who interested John D. Rockefeller, J. P. Morgan, and Andrew Carnegie in giving considerable sums to build up the fast-growing Winthrop. By 1916 he had achieved a national reputation. Joynes, the scholar, knew college and university work and how to achieve quality education. Tillman, a self-educated man, possessed a great love for scholarship as well as the practical bent so necessary to push Winthrop and Clemson forward.

The philosophy and personality of Edward S. Joynes is well documented in his many letters to Tillman and Johnson. Ten words provide an insight into his feelings. "There is no tonic like work and hope, except love." Joynes, a full-time professor at Carolina, spent many summers in South Carolina and elsewhere working in the Teachers' Institute hoping

to create a renaissance in southern education. The *New York Nation* said of him, "Probably few, if any American professors have taught so many students in foreign tongues, and certainly no American professor living has so widely influenced the study of modern language in America."

On November 15, 1910, Joynes gave a valuable piece of property for "the service, the recreations, and pleasure of the Women Teachers, the Pupils and the Alumnae of Winthrop College." This gift culminated in Joynes Hall, a beautiful building on the Winthrop College campus. Writing in 1910 to his long-time friend Senator Tillman, he said, "I have consummated my long intended gift to Winthrop College [which included a great library], because my growing infirmities warned me that I dare not wait longer."

Expressing the desire that his name would always be connected with Tillman's, Dr. Joynes rounded out his years in useful pursuits, passing away on June 18, 1917. His body lay in state at the Imperial Hotel in Columbia, and the last rites were conducted from Trinity Episcopal Church with interment in the Elmwood Cemetery. The final line of his imposing epitaph reads, *Fiat Lux* (Let there be light). No one, who ever made his home at Residence Number 1 - Campus - University of South Carolina, could boast such a record of educational attainment as Edward Joynes.

FOOTNOTES

1. George Armstrong Wauchope, "A Tribute to Edward S. Joynes," *University of South Carolina Bulletin* (Columbia, S.C., 1914), 14.
2. D. C. Heath and Co., to Prof. Edward S. Joynes, Mar. 7, 1914, in Joynes Papers, Caroliniana Library, Columbia, S.C.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

E. T. Crowson is emeritus professor of history at Winthrop College in Rockville, S.C., where he served on the faculty for 30 years. A 1938 graduate of William and Mary, he received his master's degree in history from American University and pursued additional advanced studies at American and George Washington universities. He taught at Blackstone College and Presbyterian College before joining the Winthrop faculty. Professor Crowson is the state historian for South Carolina of the Sons of the American Revolution.

THE POLITICS of HUNGER

There is Enough Blame to
Go Around Between Nature
and Man for the Famine
in Africa

BY BERHANU ABEGAZ

“Starve the city dwellers and they riot; starve the peasants and they die. If you were a politician, which would you choose?”

Relief worker in the Sahel.



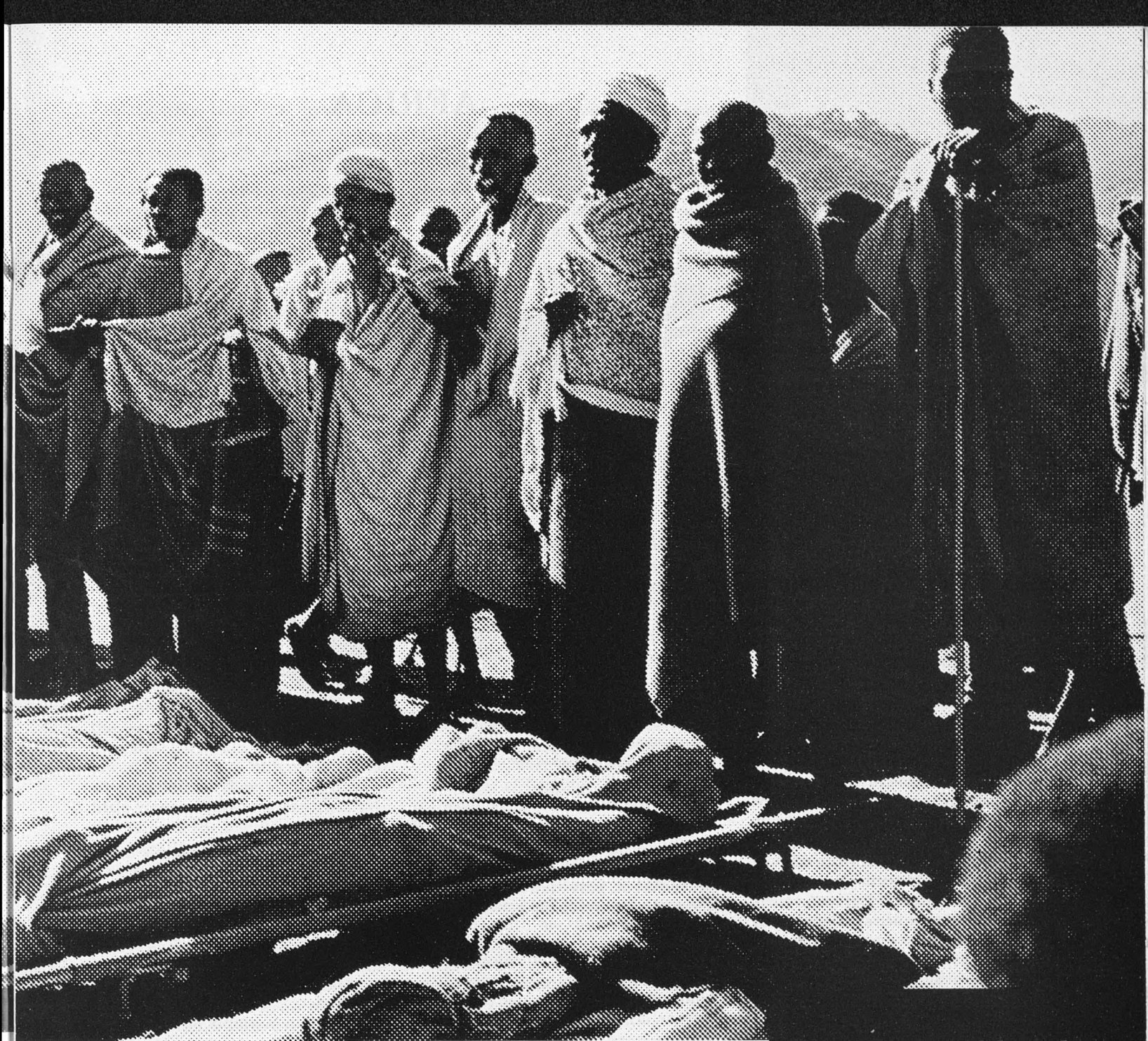
Sittina Gharissa is an Afar woman, a member of the fiercely proud pastoralists in the northeast lowlands of Ethiopia. She tells reporters of her husband's death some weeks previously and how she had walked a distance of almost 200 kilometers from her Rift Valley home to the Makalle relief camp, losing one of her four children on the way: "I came because of hunger and because I heard that there was food here. My family's livestock all died — first the cattle, then the goats, last of all the camels. Finally we did not even have

a cup of milk to drink. That is why I came." She is among the 4,000 mothers gathered, each hoping that their baby would be numbered among the lucky 100 to receive Red Cross supplementary feeding.

Highlander Kiros Gebre-Mikael had walked sixty-five kilometers to Makalle from the Shakat area of Tigre Province after his fields, in the third successive year of drought, failed to produce any crop. "I planted," the old man said, "but nothing grew. I sold my ox and continued to live for a while longer. But it was useless; there was nothing for me there, so I said goodbye

to my farm and came to Makalle." And his hope for the future? "I have none. Even if the rains come again. My ox is gone and I have no grain to plant. Perhaps I will die here, in this camp. Who knows but God?"

On the southern escarpment of the highlands in Wollo Province, a reporter talks to Idris Yousuf Ali who left his farm and made his way to the infamous Bati camp in October 1984: "My life was always hard, always difficult, but somehow I survived. Ten years ago, in the last great drought, I had to sell almost all my possessions; but at least I managed to remain on



Scene from Charles Stewart's film *Seeds of Despair*.

my farm. This time the drought was worse, and I could not stay." Asked about future prospects, his words echoed those of Kiros at Makalle: "How can I go back when I have nothing to go back to? Once I had a good store of seed grain. I planted it in the expectation of rain — but there was no rain, the crop did not grow, and the seeds rotted in the ground. Once I had four oxen for ploughing and of these, when there was no food left to eat, I sold two and slaughtered two for meat. So you see, I cannot go back. I have eaten my future."

The shared predicament of Settina,

Kiros and Idris reflects the two-decade-old widespread disaster in Ethiopia, the Sudan, Mozambique and the Sahel Zone just south of the Sahara. It is the bitter harvest of chronic rural poverty, which becomes "visible" to the more affluent during the periodic outbreaks of famine. Famine, as distinct from seasonal or pockets of hunger, is an extreme and prolonged lack of access to food causing widespread distress and death. It is often long in coming, attacks certain groups selectively, and endangers the very social fabric of agricultural and pastoral communities as in the Tigre and Wollo

There is a world-wide glut of food crops. Even the poorest countries can feed their populations with only a moderate increase in output coupled with a sustained redistribution of food to the needy groups.

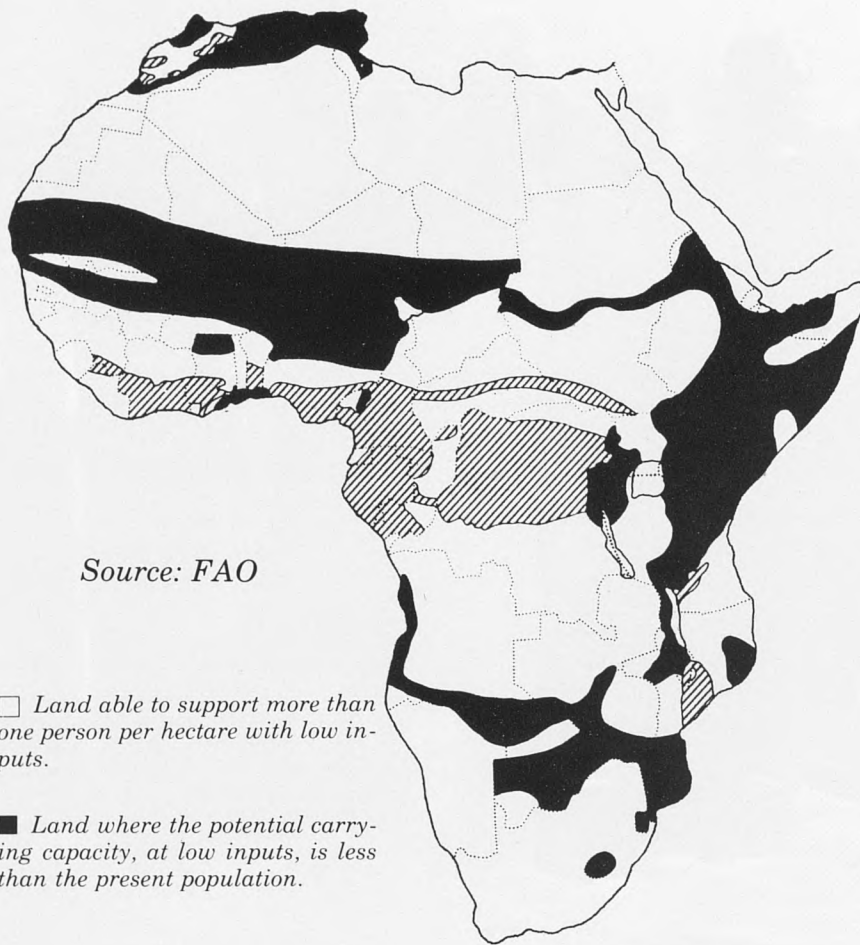
regions of northern Ethiopia. What factors cause and propagate famines? Why do some societies and groups become more vulnerable to such a tragedy than others? What are the individual and societal consequences? And the most appropriate responses?

It is estimated that some 30 million of the 550 million Africans did not have enough food to eat in 1985; that 10 million became refugees, many in neighboring countries; and that some 100 million (10 percent of the absolute poor of the world) are undernourished even in "normal" times. Sub-Saharan Africa's plight is unique as the only region moving backward in an accelerating pace of underdevelopment. There is indeed enough blame to go around between nature and man and between Africans and non-Africans.

A useful way of viewing this seemingly simple but inherently complex manifestation of mass poverty is to cast the problem in a historical perspective. It is a safe generalization that communal societies rarely deny large segments of their members access to food in times of moderate scarcity. When a major drought or an epidemic causes widespread distress, the burden is widely shared by almost all members of society. As many anthropologists would emphasize, the logic of such societies requires food sharing for reasons ranging from the absence of private property to the need for social insurance in a world of extreme uncertainty. Until the disruption of African communal institutions during the century of European colonial domination, much of sub-Saharan Africa (with the exception of the rather Asiatic, semi-feudal parts such as northern Ethiopia and northern Sudan) was far less prone to famines than much of Asia.

In today's affluent industrial capitalist countries and in the socialist countries the right to sustenance is respected in principle as well as in fact thereby eliminating mass starvation if not malnutrition. This generalization is valid even if one invokes important peacetime exceptions: famines in the Soviet Union during the disruptive collectivization drives of the 1930s, the most catastrophic post-World War II famine in China during the 1959-61 Great Leap Forward campaign when in excess of 10 million people may have died in the face of disruption and drought, and the widespread starvation in drought-affected Appalachian regions of the United States in 1930-31 that partly triggered the New Deal legislations.

AFRICA



Source: FAO

□ Land able to support more than one person per hectare with low inputs.

■ Land where the potential carrying capacity, at low inputs, is less than the present population.

Much of the farmland in Africa can feed more people than it presently does with the traditional technology. With some improvements (animal traction, improved seeds, pest control, and water conservation) the productivity of the land can easily be multiplied according to a United Nations study.

Today, there is a social safety net in most industrialized and semi-industrialized countries although pockets of hunger still persist such as that including some 14 million children in the affluent U.S.

Societies that are most vulnerable to famines and gross malnutrition fall between the two extremes: they are stratified, class societies in the Third World undergoing transition. For some the problem is strictly distributional as in Latin America where over half of the population is malnourished in such countries as Brazil. For South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa it is a problem of producing adequate food coupled with access to the available food, especially when it is sufficient for the country as a whole. Hence the conventional wisdom among students of famines: *famines are almost invariably class-based phenomena*. The social system in such societies *amplifies*

the impacts of moderate food shortages regardless of how the latter are triggered.

This claim is amply substantiated by a look at the victims. They share certain attributes: they reside in rural areas; they are primarily and ironically food producers, most of whom are women; and they live at the margin of existence with limited control over their economic and political lives. Speaking of the production/distribution debate in the Ethiopian context, a country which has experienced ten major regional and national famines during 1888-1985, Ethiopian geographer Mesfin Wolde-Mariam writes:

Famine is a characteristic feature of a subsistence production system which is made up of natural forces, the peasant world, and the socioeconomic and political forces. . . . In so far as its

relationship with the natural forces are concerned there are good years as well as bad ones; but in its relationship with the socioeconomic and political forces there are no good years, only bad ones.

Among the victims are the clansmen of Sittina who depend on access to seasonal grazing areas and on the grain produced by settled communities at the edge of the nomadic zones from the Gambia in West Africa to Djibuti in East Africa. Their vulnerability was substantially increased by the actions of governments that took the best lands for commercial plantations and national parks.

They include small independent farmers and sharecroppers like Kiros and Yousuf whose access to good land has been restricted in the communal areas by the encroachment of Western legal relations of private property or in the individual tenure areas by low income and chronic indebtedness. These farmers give up a good part (or at least half) of their output to the state in the form of taxes and extortions and rent to landlords. They sell the remaining marketable surplus soon after harvest (when prices are the lowest) in order to buy other necessities and tools. They, therefore, have little margin even for a moderate harvest failure. The individually rational but socially harmful attempt to increase output by reducing fallow periods and destroying tree covers in order to expand cultivation has had the long-term effect of reduced productivity and environmental degradation. Famines pauperize even relatively well-off farmers like Yousuf.

The victims' ranks are also swelled by landless laborers in the rural areas and casual laborers in the towns whose livelihood depends on their sole source of income (wage labor) and the prices of basic necessities. Other groups, including artisans, professional beggars, and the incapacitated, also suffer from "derived destitution" as the local economy progressively collapses.

What exactly happens to you if you are a victim of starvation? A journey in hell; slow death — the worst form of death imaginable. As your intake of food falls below the normal level for an extended period of time, your body literally begins to consume itself by metabolizing tissue protein, i.e. your muscles. In the last stages, even your mind gives in as you lose your power of concentration, and restlessness

gives way to indifference to one's own fate; you no longer give a damn whether you live or die. You even have to be force-fed, or you will soon look like the starving children on the TV screen with emaciated bodies, dull hair, pale skin and protruding ribs. You suffer from hypothermia — abnormally low body temperature — which makes you very susceptible to relatively minor infections: bronchitis, pneumonia, flu and diarrhea. Your unborn child will die soon after birth, or will confront a series of killers including marasmus (wasting), kwashiorkor (protein deficiency that gives children bulging stomachs), and xerophthalmia (vitamin-A deficiency leading to blindness). If you are smart you will vote with your feet in the early months to search for work and food.

Graham Hancock, the reporter who related the stories of Sittina, Kifle and Yousuf describes such protracted carnage in his book, *Ethiopia: The Challenge of Hunger* (Victor Gallancz, 1985), in these terms:

Blind, wasted children racked with diarrhea, children wheezing out their lives in the last agonizing stages of pneumonia, children who would never know the joy of laughter, children too weak even to seek the release of tears, children parted from their dead mothers, hopeless, hungry, abandoned children — it was these tragic images of the lost young of Ethiopia that I carried home with me, foremost in my thoughts. . . . Later, so that I could continue to function normally, I found that I had to bury my recollections.

There is a lively debate on the immediate and underlying causes as well as *propagation* of famines in the Third World. The conventional explanation advanced by governments and international agencies can be summed up this way: persistent drought or destructive pests lead to poor harvest with the consequence that food prices rise and the poor are then exposed to the risk of mass starvation. The implication of this supply-side view is that national and international relief assistance should tide the affected over the crisis until long-term policies are implemented in order to increase food production.

The shortage-of-food thesis contains an important but partial truth. For one, the soils in the tropics are thin

What exactly happens to you if you are a victim of starvation? A journey in hell; slow death — the worst form of death imaginable.

and fragile thus necessitating shifting cultivation or long fallow periods. Other agricultural constraints include insufficient rainfall, a variety of microclimates, extreme seasonality, destructive pests and diseases. (Some like the tse tse fly and malaria have prevented the exploitation of much of central Africa.) The world astronomical order is just as unfavorable to Africans as the world economic order. Man has also contributed to the vagaries of nature: rapid population growth and the marginalization of millions of people have led to a reduced fallow period, overgrazing, more permanent settlements than is warranted by the supporting capacity of the land, and accelerated deforestation leading to self-reinforcing ecological degradation. The deceptively lush tropical rain forests of Africa have given way to alarmingly spectacular dust bowls. The common "hungry months" just before the harvest are progressively lengthened, and survival is partly enhanced by "famine foods" collected in competition with the animals. The poor are being forced to "choose" between short-term survival and long-term demise. And they are making "shortsighted" choices out of necessity rather than out of ignorance as is commonly presumed.

Pondering their plight reveals a few apparent paradoxes. First, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) conservatively estimates that the potential population carrying capacity of the land, at present technology, is far from being exceeded in much of Africa. Second, most of the famine victims in 1985 reside in densely populated Ethiopia and the Sudan, which are often flattered as the potential bread baskets of the Middle East. These countries presently utilize less than half of their arable land primarily for lack of infrastructure. Third, many of the affected countries and regions often continued to export food during the famines; and for many others normal harvest years alter-

Fresh fruits and vegetables from Ethiopia and the Sahelian countries were flooding supermarkets in London and Paris in 1985 while millions back home were dying like flies.

nated with bad ones. Fresh fruits and vegetables from Ethiopia and the Sahelian countries were flooding supermarkets in London and Paris in 1985 while millions back home were dying like flies. So blaming Nature, God or the victims themselves who do their best to survive, is clearly a cynical deception.

Oxford economist Amartya Sen conducted a study of recent famines (Bengal, 1943; Bangladesh, 1974; Ethiopia 1973/74; Sahel, 1973/74) and concludes in his pathbreaking work, *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlements* (Oxford, 1981): "Starvation is the characteristic of some people not *having* enough food to eat. It is not the characteristic of there *being* not enough food to eat. While the latter can be a cause of the former, it is but one of the many *possible* causes." He argues further that a person's legal access (entitlement) to food arises from various sources: home production, market exchange (of assets, one's labor, and products), and transfers (private and public). Starvation is, therefore, a failure of entitlement to food from any or all of these sources. It is clearly preventable even in poor countries as the experience of China underscores.

It is, therefore, consistent for famines to occur in a country even when the overall food supply is adequate. The most vulnerable groups feel the effects of a moderate decline in their production and soon migrate in search of food. Food also out-migrates with them to more affluent regions as landlords and merchants seek profitable urban markets. Textbook-

perfect markets respond not just to needs but to the whims of those with the purchasing power. Having misunderstood the new economics of Adam Smith, high-ranking British officials discouraged public relief during the Irish and Indian famines of the 19th century on the erroneous belief that food will flow to the deficit regions. Bad economics, like bad weather, has inflicted its share of damage on the poor of the world. The penniless Irish peasants correctly understood the role of the landlords and Her Majesty's Government as illustrated by the following much-quoted exchange in Bernard Shaw's *Man and Superman* (1903) where a returned Irish-American, Malone, insists on calling the famine "the starvation":

"Me father died of starvation in the black '47. Maybe you've heard of it?"
"The famine?"

"No, the starvation. When a country is full of food and exporting it, there can be no famine. Me father was starved dead and I was starved out to America in Me Mother's arms."

The adversity of Nature is further compounded by the very workings of markets in rural areas. Even the most "self-sufficient" farmers depend on rather localized markets to exchange products and to earn cash for taxes and for purchases of non-agricultural goods. Pastoralists depend on markets to convert livestock into grains as cheap sources of calories. Rural laborers and handicraftsmen are obviously dependent on markets. During a profound agrarian crisis, jobs are lost (even richer farmers fire their servants); artisans are unable to sell their products; asset (livestock, land, tools) prices plummet; food prices often skyrocket in the face of hoarding (although weak demand and low supply may result in stable prices as in the 1973-74 Ethiopian famine); and wages for casual labor are depressed to their lowest points. The price scissors cut the already precarious lifeline of the weakest precisely at a time when better off relatives and neighbors are too taxed by the crisis to provide the much-needed cushion.

What is left to protect the most vulnerable groups when production and exchange entitlements fail? Transfer entitlements from private sources and public sources both at home and abroad. It is best to divide them into short-term policies and long-term policies.

A long-term production program calls for substantial increases in ag-

ricultural research especially on food crops in the tropics. A network of international research centers has begun to produce improved varieties of corn, sorghum, forage crops, cassava and peanuts in addition to better techniques of disease control and soil management. Just as American agriculture benefitted enormously from the farsighted support of research by the U.S. Government, the much neglected agricultural research in the tropics needs all the international and national aid it can get.

For such a Green Revolution to materialize in Africa, following its partial success in Asia, governments should divert resources from wasteful military spending and showcase projects to smallholder agriculture and food production. To reverse the decade-old decline in food output per head, the small farmer should have access to credit and infrastructural support. It is time that parasitic regimes remember the farmer at planting time instead of just at harvesting time. The traditional emphasis on cash crops, of course, is a manifestation of the integration of Africans into an inequitable world economy as appendages. A handful *do* benefit from the *status quo*.

The long-term program of a more equitable distribution of purchasing power also calls for several measures to ensure food security for all: stabilization schemes to counter the vagaries of nature and markets, agrarian reforms to give the landless greater incentive to preserve the land, employment-oriented projects to combine the advantages of production with equity, and appropriate price and subsidy policies to ensure adequate incentives for food producers while protecting the low income consumer. Carefully planned resettlement programs and terracing projects can also help as the Ethiopian experience shows.

But in the long-run, to borrow a phrase, we are all dead. Millions of African children are dying every year from the reinforcing impacts of undernutrition, malnutrition, and a whole host of opportunistic diseases (synergism). It is a purely academic exercise to try to isolate the net contribution, to the unacceptably high mortality rates, of the periodic outbreaks of famines since the root cause of famines is chronic poverty.

Direct food aid in the form of locally familiar foods or transfer of purchasing power is essential for the survival

of many, especially before hopeless peasants begin to abandon their villages. Those able to work should be enrolled in food-for-work programs to facilitate rehabilitation and preclude the emergence of a dependence mentality that is so alien to peasants accustomed only to the giving end of the line. The refusal of the U.S. to permit the Ethiopian government to use donated food for the food-for-work program was rather shortsighted in this respect. The timing of food aid is also crucial: it should arrive in the early stage of the famine; it should be progressively reduced so as not to disrupt local markets as local agriculture recovers; and it should be depoliticized enough to be provided with the clear understanding that food aid will not bail out governments unwilling to undertake painful reforms to enhance national food security. Provision of adequate seeds and draft animals is also crucial for rapid recovery when the rains finally arrive.

There are indeed a few important lessons we have learned from past experience. For one, the problem with famines is more political than economic. Following the 1973-74 rounds of famines, the affected African countries continued to disregard rainfed agriculture and the small peasant. Some, like Ethiopia, chose to excel in establishing competent relief and rehabilitation commissions to appeal for foreign aid rather than attack the root of the problem head on. The United Nations bureaucracy in Africa continues to absorb a good chunk of the multilateral aid as it competes with the more fragmented but grass-root-oriented non-governmental organizations (NGOs) for funds. While the American public responded generously to the graphic TV scenes, the Africa famine bill was delayed in the U.S. Congress when it was ironically tied to an aid program for American farmers in trouble partly because they are too productive. The United States and members of the European Economic Community have provided the bulk of the relief aid although it has now been substantially reduced before recovery is complete. Aid fatigue is an ever-present enemy of long-term rebuilding efforts. Finally, the logistical problems for commendable groups such as Live Aid/Band Aid have been such that when the food trucks are finally ready to roll into Sudanese villages the fall harvest will be coming in, too. An imaginative solution might be for Williamsburg to



Ethiopia's populous provinces of Wollo, Tigre, Eritrea, Gander, Harerghe and Shoa have been seriously affected by the decade-old famine cycles. The feeding camps of Korem, Makalle and Bati served tens of thousands of people until many returned home in the fall of 1985 to take advantage of the summer rains. Rehabilitating the remaining victims in the face of declining aid continues to be an uphill battle for relief workers, most of whom are volunteers.

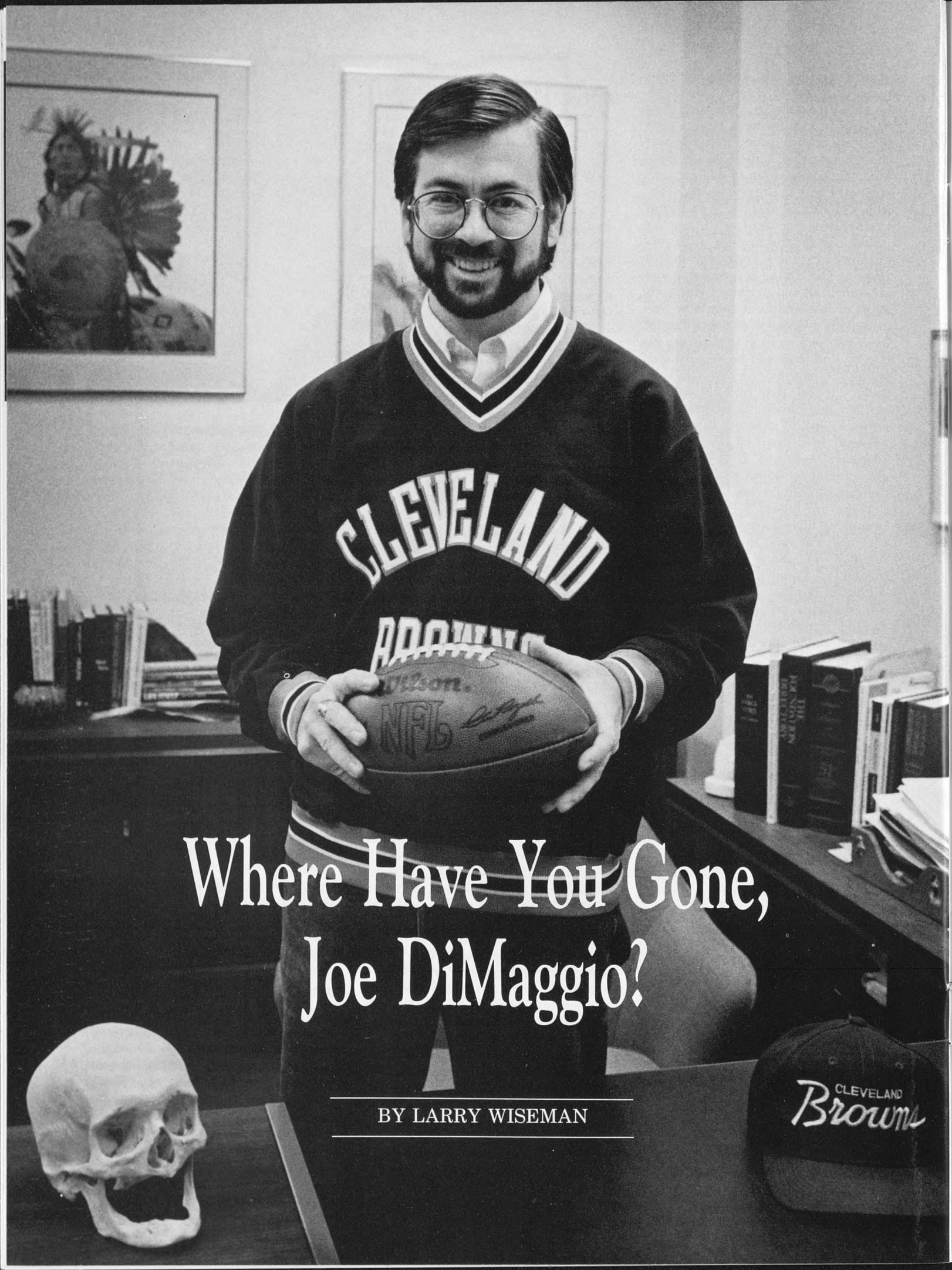
adopt a famine-prone African village, and to demonstrate to the generous but crisis-oriented citizens that PREVENTION IS BETTER THAN CURE PARTICULARLY FOR FAMINE!

While waiting for the next outbreak of famines that will surely haunt the already weakened populations, we may want to ponder these realities. There is a world-wide glut of food crops. Even the poorest countries can feed their populations with only a moderate (5-10 percent) increase in output coupled with a *sustained* redistribution of food to the needy groups. In terms of the actual demand for calories, a child born to middle-class parents in Nairobi probably has the same impact as fifty or more peasant children — blaming rapid rural population growth is grossly misleading. Finally, we still lack early warning systems and an adequate grain buffer

stock in or on behalf of the vulnerable countries. To ensure that every child of this global village enjoys the most fundamental right of mankind and womankind, *the right to adequate sustenance*, a truly humanitarian act entails support for the political and economic demands of the one billion disenfranchised absolute poor of the world. Providing emergency assistance is a noble beginning at best.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

A native of Ethiopia, the author (Ph.D., Pennsylvania) is assistant professor of economics at the College of William and Mary. He teaches courses on development economics and the centrally planned (socialist) economies. This article is a version of a talk he gave at the Africa Symposium held at William and Mary on October 5, 1985.



Where Have You Gone, Joe DiMaggio?

BY LARRY WISEMAN

I was completely wrecked. Totally. Depressed for days, irrational, mean, uncomprehending. Friends began to whisper behind my back. The dog ran under the couch every time I came home. It was January 1981.

Had I failed to get tenure? Had my wife run off, taking the check book with her? Trivial matters. No, something more important, more devastating, had happened to me. My beloved Browns, the Kardiak Kids, had lost in the final seconds, had literally given the game away with an interception in the end zone, had lost once more to the hated Raiders. The miracle year had ended prematurely, just two games from the Super Bowl. Boy, was I steamed. Brian Sipe, where are you now? You let me down. "I will never, ever, let myself get this involved in a game again. Never! I mean it."

I love sports. In school I played basketball mostly, but also baseball and football, ran a little track, won a few letters. I can still fit into my old high school letter jacket (OK, it's a bit tight). In college I fenced. My coach was a former Olympic gold medalist from Hungary who couldn't speak English and had a dickens of a time explaining how to thrust and parry. More than once I got whacked hard by my opponent, receiving ugly welts. I wasn't that good. In graduate school I captained the Biologists versus the Biochemists in weekly basketball encounters in the gym Bill Bradley made famous at Princeton. I can still recall specific, individual plays in those Saturday morning games so long ago. I can remember once floating toward the basket, Elgin Baylor-like, switching the ball from one hand to the other in mid-air and laying it ever so gently up and over the rim beneath the outstretched arms of some Biochemical goon six inches taller than I was. It was sweet. I can remember one game popping in seven or eight consecutive twenty-footers, guys hanging on me like Christmas decorations. Fantastic. As Bradley himself once said, "There are not many aspects of life where contentment follows so quickly the exhilaration of a total coordinated effort."

I have been a Cleveland Browns fan all my life. I even married the trainer's

daughter. My father-in-law is the classic cigar-munching, wisecracking, story-telling professional trainer, the kind of guy you can sit around with for hours just listening to stories — stories about Otto Graham and Lou Groza, Jim Brown and Paul Warfield, Jim Copeland. Stories about all my heroes. Stories about Tommy Thompson, one tough customer and the only William and Mary Indian ever to play for the Browns.

The next ten or so years will be very difficult for athletic programs in the middle, programs like ours, in between the giant sports factories and the small colleges. Competition will become severe for funds, athletes, recognition, and the rest.

Leo came to the Browns in 1950, the year they joined the National Football League. In that very first season they won it all, proving Paul Brown an unsurpassed football genius. Six straight years they made it to the championship game, winning three times. They were the New York Yankees and the Boston Celtics of football. The Packers, Steelers, and Dolphins all rolled into one. They were the best, but they haven't been champions since 1964, when they crushed the Colts 27-0. Twenty years is a long time to wait.

In the early 1970s I chewed my fingernails to the quick over and over again cheering on my New York Knicks in the National Basketball Association Championships. What a well-oiled team — Reed, Barnett, Bradley, DeBusschere, and Walt Frazier, my all-time basketball idol, so smooth he could pick your pocket, take out the money, and put the wallet back without your knowing. He was as close to poetry as sport gets.

I love sports. In so many ways they

mirror life, its ups and downs, the struggle to attain goals, the work . . . the fun. Competitive games bound by space and time and rules where people forget their daily labors. Running, jumping, throwing; developing patience and teamwork and skill and discipline and self-confidence. The coordination of mind and body is beautiful.

I love sports, but they're getting out of hand. They've become too serious, not enough fun. Too much business, too many dollars, too much hype, too much time. Vapid ex-jock commentators tell us the obvious with background music that ought to portend the Second Coming, but doesn't. Each game is THE game. Each play is THE play. Each athlete is ALL-WORLD. It makes me tired.

Fans go wild, throw things at the other team and their own, berate the players and coaches, beat each other up, rip up the stadium and go back to work on Monday. They even cheer when their once-favorite player breaks his leg because they think a new and better favorite will come along. Everyone's an expert, a loud expert. It even happens in college.

At some universities football and basketball have become expensive toys for alumni, have become independent beasts out of control and separate from the mission of higher education, filled with too much pompous self-righteousness. At some universities. Winning teams bring in money and keep the university in the public eye. Make it to the final four in college basketball and you'll win close to a million dollars in NCAA "prize money." Is it any wonder some people will do almost anything to win? "Virtue has never been as respectable as money." Mark Twain said it.

What I want to know is this: how can anyone who's connected with a university feel any pride whatsoever, or any true sense of belonging, if the team wins with athletes who in no way represent the students and alumni of the institution? I just don't get it. Where's the satisfaction in hiring a bunch of professional athletes to win games if those athletes are not representative of the school or its people? It'd be like my having a professional

artist paint a picture and then telling all my buddies my kid did it. How can alumni at those places say "We won," or "We're great"? It makes no sense. If all they want is to be part of a victory, send a contribution to the Chicago Bears. Come on!

What's happened? Walter Byers, executive director of the NCAA, said recently, "The present moral and academic climate in intercollegiate athletics is not acceptable." The president of the University of Miami says, "return intercollegiate athletics to the balance it should have had all along - which is that they are students first and athletes second." That's right, that's the way it ought to be. Higher education is not the minor league of professional sport.

The NCAA (that is, NC double A or NC two A, depending upon what part of the country you're from) is, according to its own brochure, "the organization through which the nation's colleges and universities speak and act on athletics matters at the national level. . . . The Association strives to maintain intercollegiate athletics as an integral part of the educational program and the athlete as an integral part of the student body." More than 700 colleges and universities belong, along with close to 100 athletic conferences. It all began back in 1905 when President Teddy Roosevelt summoned representatives of Harvard, Princeton, and Yale to the White House to discuss the developing "brutality" in college football (all this about thirty-five years following the first intercollegiate game between Rutgers and Princeton). From that meeting developed the Intercollegiate Athletic Association whose name was changed in 1910 to the present National Collegiate Athletic Association.

The annual budget of the NCAA is over \$40 million, more than three-quarters of which derives from the Division I men's basketball championship tournament. Far more money is generated from big-time football, but the bulk of that goes directly to the schools and conferences. Winning teams get on television more often, make more money, must win to stay on and make more money, and so forth. This is why college football is

saturating the network and cable television markets and why, many believe, football ratings have gone down. It just could be that several selfish, maximum football universities may have killed the goose that laid the golden egg.

An extensive professional staff carries on the business of the NCAA out of their headquarters in Mission, Kansas, but the power supposedly rests with the member institutions and conferences who meet in annual convention every January in various American cities with one vote each to decide policy, debate interpretations, amend the constitution and bylaws, and talk. This year, for example, President Verkuil, Athletic Directors Millie West and John Randolph, and I will be going to New Orleans to consider more than 100 legislative proposals. A good example of the nitpicking quality of some of these is illustrated by Proposal 110, the last one on the printed agenda (the italicized words are the ones the proposers, twelve sponsoring members, wish added to the rest of the statement already on the books):

in the case of athletics equipment (e.g., shoes, helmets, baseball bats and gloves, hockey and lacrosse sticks, goggles, and skis), the item bears only the manufacturer's normal label or trademark as it is used on all such items for sale to the general public and, in the case of the student-athlete's institution's official uniform (including warm-ups, *socks, headbands, T-shirts, wristbands, hats, swim caps, towels, knee pads, etc.*), the clothing (if purchased or acquired subsequent to November 7, 1983) bears only a single manufacturer's or distributor's normal label or trademark not to exceed a one and one-half inch square in size.

Whew! The expressed purpose of the proposed legislation is to eliminate the prohibition of logos and to keep them of "tasteful(?" size. Of course, the underlying meaning has to do with getting paid by companies to advertise their goods. You wouldn't want Scott

Fans go wild, throw things at the other team and their own, berate the players and coaches, beat each other up, rip up the stadium and go back to work on Monday. They even cheer when their once-favorite player breaks his leg because they think a new and better favorite will come along.

Coval wearing a Budweiser visor while playing point guard for the Green and Gold. An experienced tax lawyer is required to keep up with and make sense of all the rules and regulations the NCAA has adopted. Reading the *NCAA Manual*, one is left with the impression that when it comes to college sports, nobody trusts anybody any time. There is a rule for *everything*.

Although the member institutions meet at least once a year, the power elite, elected to the forty-six member NCAA Council, and the professional staff of directors and lawyers pretty much run the show. Recently, because of national rumblings about ethics in college sport, the NCAA members established a president's commission consisting of forty-four college and university presidents elected by their colleagues. This effort to shift power back to where it belongs, with the chief academic officers of member institutions, shows some promise. They have already instituted some "clean-up" and "get tough" measures, which were accepted at a special meeting of the entire NCAA this past June.

College athletics are in transition now. The few giant programs are going to get richer, the majority of the others are going to get poorer. The incredible costs required to run a Division I, broad-based intercollegiate athletic program, where athletes re-

ceive grants-in-aid, where a minimum of twelve sports are required, and where regional and national prominence in athletics is the stated, written goal spells trouble ahead. As Jacques Barzun has aptly written, "Administering a university has but one object: to distribute its resources to the best advantage." It won't be easy.

For example, William and Mary recently made the painful decision to eliminate several intercollegiate sports from varsity status, and although the final outcome of this decision is still uncertain it does point up an interesting philosophical point: with limited resources do you go for quantity or quality? Is it better to have ten mediocre teams with many students participating, or six good teams with fewer students? Knowing everything there is to know about budgets, resources, and anything else will not answer the question. Other universities with much larger athletic budgets are wrestling with the same problem and are poised to shift some sports from varsity to intramural status (Penn State and Ohio State, for example). Only the wealthy Ivy League schools seem somewhat immune to this problem.

The next ten or so years will be very difficult for athletic programs in the middle, programs like ours, in between the giant sports factories and the small colleges. Competition will become severe for funds, athletes, recognition, and the rest. We are the only country that has an extensive athletic structure built into the educational community, which is itself finding severe budget pressures. There is bound to be conflict between academics and athletics at our level of sport, more so than at the large superpowers where football and basketball generate revenues rather than require them; more so than at the small colleges where athletes do not receive grants-in-aid, where programs are limited, travel less extensive, and pressures less severe. It has to happen and we have to be ready for it. I think William and Mary can play a national role during the next decade in defining a quality athletic program in a quality academic setting in a resource-limited, medium-sized university.



Mark Kelso (left) and Keith Cieplicki, members of the class of 1985, were first team Academic All-Americans in their senior years, and epitomize the quality of athletes at William and Mary. William and Mary athletes, says the author, are "real students. They don't live in separate dormitories, they don't major in basket weaving, and they don't receive special favor. We should be proud of them and proud of ourselves for making it this way."

Our nation seems obsessed with winning. Vince Lombardi once said that "Winning isn't everything, it's the only thing." For this they named the Super Bowl trophy after him?

Money. It all has to do with money. It reminds me of those awful coupons you clip out of the Sunday paper, the coupons that give you fifty cents off a tube of toothpaste (or a dollar off on double-coupon day). Yeah, right, the soap company is so generous it just decided to take a loss. They'll make their profit with or without the

coupons. Only trouble is, the guy across the street and the woman on the next block are using their coupons, getting money off on their toothpaste. If I don't do the same, I'm subsidizing them. The company doesn't care who pays, just so they collect. I hate coupons. I have to collect them to keep up with my neighbors or take a beating in the checkout line. Make a law against them.

Division I athletics, especially the recruiting of athletes, has become coupon collecting. If we give fifty scholarships, Big U. has to give at least the same to stay competitive. If Big U. gives their players ten thick steaks each week, we'd better do it too. We don't want them telling potential recruits, "Don't go to William and Mary if you want ten thick steaks." Coupons! We do it, so they do it. They do it, so we do it. They get a coach who specializes in jump balls, we have to

Photo by C. James Gleason

Division I athletics, especially the recruiting of athletes, has become coupon collecting. If we give fifty scholarships, Big U. has to give the same to stay competitive. If Big U. gives their players ten thick steaks each week, we'd better do it too.

have one ourselves. Coupons. Of course the NCAA with its 380-page rule book decides how many coupons are allowed and how much they'll be worth. Why don't we all agree to get rid of coupons? If everyone is spending a million dollars to stay competitive, why don't they all agree to spend half that much, or a quarter? If everyone does the same, nobody gets an unfair advantage. Too simple, I guess.

Maybe I'm becoming a cranky old college professor, but listen to this story from our own backyard. Last year William and Mary hosted the ECAC-South (now Colonial Athletic Association) basketball tournament, which a fine Navy team won. I'm the school's NCAA faculty representative and chairman of the athletic policy advisory committee. They gave me a good seat (I paid). Sitting next to me was an extreme William and Mary fan who turned out to be my worst nightmare.

Here was a guy in a not-quite-William-and-Mary green polyester leisure suit, and he wouldn't sit down or shut up the entire first half. Or so it seemed. He hated the refs, the other team and coach, the timekeeper, his family and dog, the flag, apple pie, and General Motors. This guy was serious. Worse, he didn't seem to care that much for our team either. He took it as a personal insult that we weren't playing up to his expectations. His prestige and own sense of personal worth seemed on the line and de-

pendent upon the outcome of this one game. He screamed (and I mean SCREAMED) abuse and obscenities at the William and Mary players, the coach, his own popcorn. I felt sorry for him, but at the same time wished he'd been wearing any other color but ours. It was as though I'd gone to a family reunion only to find out that good old Uncle Charlie was an ax murderer and proud of it.

I finally had to leave my seat and find another. I could see the *Flat Hat* headline: "Biology Department Chairman Punches Out Basketball Fan." How can a middle-aged, overweight fanatic scream such comments to nineteen- and twenty-year-old men playing their hearts out the best they can? He defied everything I love about sport. And he wasn't even having any fun.

Our nation seems obsessed with winning. Vince Lombardi once said that "Winning isn't everything, it's the only thing." For this they named the Super Bowl trophy after him? Leo Durocher suggested that "Nice guys finish last." How about this one: "Good losers are . . . losers." Doesn't anyone remember Grantland Rice's admonition that "It's not whether you win or lose, but how you play the game"? Where have you gone, Joe DiMaggio? Has civility died?

Well now, I must admit I want to win as badly as anyone. Why keep score if you don't care who wins? But winning is *not* everything, *not* the only thing, especially on a rectangle of grass one hundred years long.

In 1980, a jury found Norm Ellenberger, head basketball coach at the University of New Mexico, guilty of twenty-one counts of taking money from the athletic budget. He wanted to win games any way he could. The trial judge gave the convicted coach a single year of unsupervised probation and stunned the courtroom with the statement that Ellenberger was "basically doing what almost everybody in this community wanted him to do—win basketball games at any cost by whatever means might be necessary to do that." The judge attended one of the university's basketball games and said he was "appalled at the crowd screaming its disapproval at every call

the referees made against the Lobos . . . whether the call was right or wrong. It only mattered if they won. Naturally the rules and laws were bent. Is anyone surprised?" We have met the enemy and he is us, the society of fans.

I'm thankful that at William and Mary we have Millie West and John Randolph as our athletic directors, honest and good people, hardworking competitors who truly know what an academic community is all about. We don't cheat and we aren't going to start. Thank you, John and Millie.

We've got a great thing going here, and I hope we keep it that way. Our athletes are real students. They don't live in separate dormitories, they don't major in basket weaving, they don't receive special favor. We should be proud of them and of ourselves for making it this way. It should make our victories that much sweeter. We win with real students or we don't win at all. We will not compromise our integrity.

I guess I'm old fashioned, but then you have to be if you're a Cleveland Browns fan. You see, the Browns play on real grass, not some painted nylon rug. They don't have cheerleaders or guys dressed in hog outfits to distract from the game. They don't have any cute logo on their helmets as every other NFL team has. They play in an open stadium in the swirling wind off Lake Erie, not some domed living room with a green carpet. Some day they're going to win it all again—on their own terms, on real grass, in the cold, with no logos! I know it. I can't wait.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr. Lawrence L. Wiseman is chairman of the department of biology at the College of William and Mary and chairman of the athletic policy advisory committee, which advises the president on matters concerning the intercollegiate athletic program, as well as William and Mary's faculty representative to the NCAA. He received his B.A. from Hiram College in Hiram, Ohio (formerly the Cleveland Browns' summer training camp) and his M.A. and Ph.D. from Princeton University.

A The ANIMAL RIGHTS MOVEMENT:

Pythagoras' Heirs or the New Luddites of the Left?

BY DAVID MACAULEY '84

It's 11:30 p.m. and all the employees at the National Institute of Health (NIH) headquarters in Bethesda, Maryland, have gone home, except for a coterie of security guards nibbling on donuts and nursing cups of coffee in Building 31A. On the eighth floor, nearly sixty

tired souls are cooped up for another night in the offices of Dr. Murray Goldstein, NIH's director of the National Institute of Neurological Disorders and Stroke.

Three days ago, these same individuals might have been settling down in the family living room for an hour of Johnny Carson. Tonight, how-

ever, they are manning different posts. Twenty or thirty have jammed into the neck of the hall and form a living barricade, a vital membrane wall that separates the space they have stolen from the disenfranchised doctors eager to reclaim it. Ten or fifteen heads peer down at the quiet island of people on the grass. More than a hundred candles burn in a vigil of support outside while a lone hunger striker watches from his encampment beneath a tree. Against a black backdrop, the flickering lights and the shape of the crowd resemble an electric AT&T map of the U.S., or one of those old Coke commercials featuring country fields and the song, "I'd like to teach the world to sing."

Most of NIH's new tenants try to catch some sleep before their turn arrives to guard the portal at an ungodly hour. They huddle in small groups to stay warm because the air conditioning is churning on high, an apparent attempt by the administration to make the environment as uncomfortable as possible. The American flag has been transformed into a colorful quilt by several artful occupants.

In the main room, behind the sheets smuggled in and painted with messages like "Fraud and Waste at NIH," "Stop the Torture," and "U Decide," a makeshift basket attached to a rope, unraveled and pieced together again for added length, is tossed from a window. It floats momentarily in the gray summer air with the awkward balance of an over-filled well bucket in the hands of a young child. Slowly, steadily, it is gravity-driven toward the outreached arms of supporters below. The basket is loaded with hummus, tofuti, pita bread, fruit, and peanut butter — a cornucopia of vegetarian delights. A quick tug on the rope and the goods are reeled in. There will be breakfast tomorrow.

Several hours later the chants begin again when a rumor spreads that the police may be coming to drag the group away. The sound reverberates through the hallway, spirals down the stairwell, and dissipates at the bottom into a soft drone. "Science yes, torture no, science yes, torture no, science yes. . . What do we want? Animal Rights! When do we want it? NOW! What do we want? Animal Rights! When do we want it? NOW! . . ."

What's this all about? What do these people want and why are they here? Animal rights? The activists, who entered the NIH building in a Mission Impossible manner — unmarked vans, walkie-talkies, false identification,

and floor maps – are protesting what they consider to be brutal and gratuitous brain damage experiments on baboons at the University of Pennsylvania. They are demanding a meeting with Goldstein, who directs the division that disburses funds to the laboratory, and they plan to occupy his office until he views “Unnecessary Fuss,” a thirty-minute videotape that, according to the activists, documents animal abuse, scientific fraud, and violations of state and federal laws.

The tape is a distillate of sixty hours of film removed from the head injury laboratory by the Animal Liberation Front (ALF), a direct-action arm of the animal rights movement. In one series of filmed experiments, a fully conscious baboon is restrained in a machine that delivers a piston blow of up to a thousand G's to the animal's skull. Researchers then chip off the helmet of the brain with hammers and screwdrivers while the baboon writhes in pain. The tapes show an assistant smoking in the laboratory and accidentally dropping cigarette ashes into the ape's incision. One researcher tosses a stunned baboon around the table, makes it wave to the camera, and laughs about the trainer “who taught him how to do those tricks.” The lab assistants force two animals to shake hands. “I hope the antivivisectionists don't get a hold of this tape,” one jokes.

The goal of the occupiers is threefold: stop the funding for the lab, curtail the use of baboons there, and include a member of the animal rights community on the NIH grant committee. The activists have worked through political and legal channels for over fifteen months to call attention to the conditions in the laboratory. All their efforts have met institutional resistance, they say. They have decided to initiate more direct action and accept the consequences.

Animal rights. The idea smacks of the ridiculous to most who encounter it for the first time. It evokes thoughts of dogs on trial, George Orwell's book, *Animal Farm*, and the syndicated comic, “The Far Side.” Liberalism carried to its lunatic fringes. In fact, the animal rights movement is often depicted in this light, thereby conjuring up an image of an eccentric group of emotional pacifists parading in plastic shoes and synthetic clothes, hoping to turn back social progress. To many unsympathetic observers, the goals of the movement belong in the same league with such tongue-in-cheek groups as the International Society to



Greenpeace, which, until the recent French scandal, had used its ship, *The Rainbow Warrior*, to combat seal hunters and whalers, is an example of the use of direct action by the animal rights movement. Other groups using this technique are The Sea Shepherd Society and the Animal Liberation Front.

Stop Continental Drift. In 1976, for example, *Atlantic Monthly* writer James Fallows unceremoniously presented the animal rights community with the Radical Chic award for the year and declared that “even in their headiest moments animal partisans cannot make much difference.”

Contrary to this perception, however, animal activists say they are not the new Luddites of the left. While their voices are frequently dismissed as Quaker vegetarian chatter and their politics labeled as extreme, they are, they point out very serious and committed individuals delivering an important, if disconcerting, message to the public. Their concern is with justice rather than pity, sympathy, or love, and it is extended to both human and nonhuman animals. One may go as far as to assert that the animal rights movement is marked by a politics of conscience that posits a third ear, an inner voice, which shows sensitivity to social and ethical cartography in a manner that other perspectives do not. In some instances, this outlook may cause a political illness. On numerous occasions, I have spoken with vegetarians who feel nauseated by the sight of meat. Sally Gearhart, a California activist, in fact speaks of having “animal pain attacks,” which cause her to double-over when she passes the supermarket meat counter. Outrage at the owners of fur coats is quite common among activists, as well.

Essentially, the concept of animal rights involves the idea that nonhu-

man animals are entitled to a fundamental amount of respect, freedom, and proper treatment, and that this claim is extensive enough to preclude us from eating, wearing, experimenting on, or using them in other deleterious ways. While the concept is a relatively new one, the idea is not. Over 2000 years ago, Pythagoras, the Greek philosopher and mathematician, adopted a vegetarian diet and encouraged his students to treat animals with similar respect. Seneca, Ovid, Porphyry, and Plutarch were each repulsed at the use of sentient creatures for human pleasure and wrote tracts urging kindness to them. Later, Leonardo da Vinci, George Bernard Shaw, and Albert Schweitzer actively opposed vivisection. Shaw once remarked that he would be followed to his grave by a drove of thankful cattle, chickens, sheep, and pigs allowed to live because of his meatless diet; while da Vinci became a fruitarian, one who consumes only fruit, nuts, and other nonliving substances. These figures though are clearly exceptions in the history of man's relationship to animals and nature.

More recently, the idea of ethical treatment of animals has been resuscitated and thrust both into the moral courtroom and onto the political stage, where it clings to the space it has won and claws with other causes for additional *lebensraum*. The current fight for animal rights is an outgrowth of the humane movement begun in the latter part of the nineteenth century and carried through the 1970s with

relatively few structural changes. In many ways, the development of the animal rights movement and philosophy is a radical and fresh departure from the older, more entrenched humane, or animal welfare, cause. Whereas animal welfare is largely concerned with pets, endangered species, public abuses, and preservation issues, animal rights focuses on livestock, research animals, private as well as public abuses, and perceived institutional exploitation. The new movement tends to be motivated more by ethical precepts than emotion, and its tactics may be described as more direct, ideological, and abolitionist than those of its veteran ally. Animal rightists speak in terms of liberties, alternatives to pain, eliminating cruelty, and the inherent value of life in contrast to animal welfarists whose argot is rife with the vocabulary of regulations, humaneness, benevolence, and reducing cruelty. The focus of the new movement thus helps to raise the status of animals closer to that of humans by underscoring the worth of an animal's life apart from its usefulness to man.

While the concerns and goals of the animal rights movement extend to all areas of man's contact with the nonhuman world, they center mainly on three areas: the intensive and painful methods of raising livestock for slaughter often referred to as factory farming, the use of live animals in experiments, and the protection of marine and furbearing animals. To varying degrees, individuals also oppose hunting, rodeos, dog racing, zoos, and circuses. In each of these cases, they question the necessity and degree of suffering inflicted on animals and the number of deaths that have resulted from such practices.

In the area of research on animals, organizations in the movement repeatedly call attention to the volume of what they describe as unnecessary and cruel experiments. One group, Mobilization for Animals (MFA), claims that in the U.S., 1,724,000 birds, 23,000 sheep, 700,000 rabbits, 46,000 pigs, 85,000 primates, 500,000 dogs, 15 to 20 million frogs, 190,000 turtles, 61,000 snakes, 51,000 lizards, 200,000 cats, and 45 million rats and mice were used for laboratory experimentation in a single year alone. The organization contends that these animals were "burned, poisoned, starved, irradiated, surgically mutilated, stressed, kept in solitary, deprived of sleep, and kept in restraining devices for long periods of time." Ani-

mal rights groups emphasize not only the suffering associated with these experiments but the economic cost to taxpayers, which totals as much as \$4 billion a year. The following kinds of studies and their corresponding costs are cited: \$500,000 to determine the reasons why monkeys clench their jaws in anger, \$525,000 to study the differences between the vomiting systems of cats and dogs, and \$102,000 to compare the effects of gin and tequila on Atlantic fish.

Activists argue that many scientific publications are themselves incriminating against the research com-

The list of products that are associated with some form of animal suffering or death is lengthy as well: candles, camera film, soap, cosmetics, drugs, shoes, coats, food, and jewelry.

munity because they attest to the high number of trivial, repetitive, or obvious results produced by experiments, the indefensible degree of suffering inflicted on animals, and the amount of antiseptic jargon employed to translate terms into seeming objectivity. In 1972 for example, *The Journal of Comparative and Physiological Psychology* published an article by three Princeton scientists who deprived 256 young rats of food and water until they died. They concluded that under a condition of scarcity such rats are more active than an older group given food and water.

Animal advocates claim that the case against many psychological experiments is particularly cogent because as animals become more dissimilar too many experiments correspondingly serve little purpose beyond expanding the amount of trivial knowledge we possess, and as they are sufficiently like us to make conclusions applicable, experiments are increasingly unjustifiable for the same reasons that they are not performed on humans.

Researchers, of course, disagree with these assertions and use strong

lobby groups to maintain support for their activities. Lately, though, a feeling exists among many scientists and academicians that experimenters have given inadequate consideration to the moral dilemmas associated with their work and that additional regulation may be required. Henry Bigelow, former professor of physiology at Harvard, expresses an even stronger attitude. "A day will come," he says, "when the world will look upon today's vivisection in the name of science the way we look upon witch hunts in the name of religion."

Factory farming is subject to the same kind of criticisms from animal activists since hundreds of millions of sheep, pigs, and cattle are raised and slaughtered for food each year. However, it is not the numbers and statistics that are questioned but the inhumane practices and the institution of factory farming itself. Animal rights organizations say the system exposes the animals to painful and cruel processes. Veal calves, for example, are confined for their short life of thirteen to fifteen weeks in dark stalls less than two feet wide and only four and one-half feet long, fed a liquid diet of vitamins and growth stimulants, and chained to prevent them from exercising — all so that the meat of these anemic animals will remain tender and pale.

Further, the activists say, chickens do not lead an idyllic life roaming about country farms but are debeaked, crowded into small pens, and deprived of their natural instincts. The magazine *New Scientist* even agrees that the dairy cow "leads a hell of a life" since it is usually pregnant nine months of every year, milked twice a day for nine months, and both pregnant and lactating for six months.

The effort to save the lives of whales and seals is probably the strongest front of the movement because it has been one of the traditional goals of the larger, wealthier humane organizations. Moreover, the public has displayed a certain willingness to support this cause because of the amount of publicity generated on the subject, the emotional attachment to baby seals and the awe of giant whales, the corresponding revulsion to pictures of sealers clubbing or harpooning defenseless animals, and the fact that any benefits derived from activities like whaling and sealing are incidental and usually unrelated to the well-being of most persons.

Increasingly, the domestic fur industry receives sharp protests from in-

dividuals who vivify the fact that more than 30 million animals are driven to lingering and agonizing deaths in steel-toothed traps each year to provide skins for the trade. Trapped animals, they tell us, often starve, freeze, or are attacked by predators. Some animals, especially females with dependent young, gnaw off their trapped feet to escape. Others are caught in snares that strangle or hang them by one leg. Water animals are caught in traps that drown them. Exposure, which can last weeks or even months, always involves pain, terror, and blood loss.

The diversity and number of institutions that are criticized reveals the scope of animal use. In addition to the livestock industry and research laboratories, protest is directed at NASA, cosmetic companies, restaurants, and the U.S. military (which has subjected animals to the effects of atomic fallout, chemical and biological toxins, and neutron bomb radiation). Historically, the relationship between warfare and the exploitation of animals has been very close. During World War II, the Swedes experimented with the idea of using kamakaze seals with bombs strapped to their bellies to attack submarines. In World War I, the Russians, placed magnetic explosives on the backs of dogs and trained them to run under tanks. The Americans, too, considered hooking incendiary bombs to the legs of bats, which would roost in an enemy's barns or factories. More recently, in 1983, the Pentagon planned to open a wound laboratory where dogs would be shot as part of a training program for battlefield surgeons. Public concern, generated in large part by the animal rights movement, caused the Pentagon to cancel the plan.

The list of products that are associated with some form of animal suffering or death is lengthy as well: candles, camera film, soaps, cosmetics, drugs, shoes, coats, food, and jewelry, to name a few. The billion-dollar drug and cosmetic industries, in particular, are involved in animal experimentation and often decline to explore and use alternative forms of testing, such as mathematical and computer modeling, cultures of unicellular systems, physiochemical techniques, and clinical and epidemiological studies.

The most imposing obstacle in the fight for securing the ethical treatment of animals, however, may not be industry or government, but the years of homocentric conditioning to which most of us have been exposed. From early childhood, we are conditioned to

adopt society's deeply inconsistent attitude toward animals. We keep them as pets yet eat them at dinner; we depend on them for transportation, farm work, and entertainment but make them into purses, shoes, and coats; and we deny that they are free, autonomous beings but have placed them on trial for crimes until the early part of this century. Similarly, many young children express a strong sentiment against eating meat when they learn it is derived from animals, but invar-

The animal rights movement represents a deep critique of contemporary society, its institutions and attitudes. It raises questions that can help shed light on a variety of topics, including abortion, euthanasia, the nature of language, discrimination, and human rights.

ably they are encouraged to do so by their parents and usually continue doing so by habit.

To combat these attitudes, institutions, and practices and to effect political change, animal rights groups have used a host of tactics ranging from the educational and informational to boycotts, demonstrations, and direct action. The most basic strategy in this regard is private rather than public in nature because it emphasizes the importance of making a personal commitment. It aims to transform the habits and attitudes of individuals as moral agents with the hope that these changes will translate into action for individuals as consumers and citizens. Vegetarianism or veganism (the abstention from all animal products including eggs, cheese, and milk), animal-free toiletries and clothing, and tax resistance are several of the alternatives that are advocated. Politics, in this sense, begins not with the man next to you as Gandhi said, but with oneself. Meatless diets and the use of nonanimal products thus can be more than silent

moral protest. "The non-violent philosophy of animal rights begins at breakfast," reads one pamphlet. "Becoming a vegetarian means your grocery money no longer supports a system that keeps animals in deprived and overcrowded conditions only to be bludgeoned and bled to death."

Another tactic now in use is the initiation of court cases and challenges to the rather fixed legal status of animals. Through an organization known as Attorneys for Animal Rights, activists have brought legal actions against the U.S. Navy to halt the killings of burros at China Lake, California, helped prevent the death of a dog whose deceased owner willed it to die, and filed suit against an airline company in connection with the death of an animal in the cargo section of a plane. Lawyers also are starting to assert an animal's rights directly rather than through its owner. In 1981, attorney Joyce Tischler filed a malpractice suit against a veterinarian who wrongfully injured a dog, and one of the plaintiffs in the case was the animal, named Sterling Berg.

Direct action, the most controversial and perhaps the most successful tactic, is becoming more prevalent as well. Three groups are in the vanguard: Greenpeace, The Sea Shepherd Society, and the Animal Liberation Front. Greenpeace is a nine-member organization, which, until the recent French scandal, has used a ship, *The Rainbow Warrior*, to combat seal hunters and whalers, to create what one of its former presidents terms "international incidents," and to harass governments whose environmental policies and laws exploit animals. Greenpeace members, for instance, have dyed the fur of seal pups to make their pelts useless to commercial trappers, positioned themselves between whales and Japanese or Russian whaling ships, and sailed into Soviet waters to protest international whaling.

The Sea Shepherd Society is an offshoot of Greenpeace. Paul Watson, one of the founders of Greenpeace, formed the Society with his wife after he was dismissed from Greenpeace in 1976 for removing a club from a sealer's hands. According to Watson's account of his endeavors in *Shepherds of the Sea*, he is led to direct action because he is "not content to shuffle papers and scribble mere letters of protest." Along with the crew of the *Sea Shepherd*, Watson has shut down six whaling vessels, sprayed hundreds of seal pup coats, and raised enough awareness of and opposition to sealing

Animal activists say they are not the new Ludites of the left. While their voices are frequently dismissed as Quaker vegetarian chatter and their politics labeled as extreme, they are, they point out, very serious and committed individuals delivering an important, if disconcerting, message to the public.

and whaling to stop many hunts. In 1979, the crew of the *Sea Shepherd* risked their lives to track down and ram the pirate whaler *Sierra*. During these assaults, Watson has been beaten, threatened, and arrested but still remains adamant, promising to sink any Canadian whaling ship. "The first report I get of a fishing boat firing at a seal, the ship's going to disappear," he says. Watson's attitude and commitment are indicative of the outlook of many animal activists. In a recent interview with *Animals' Agenda*, he was candid about his view of animal protection and human obligations:

Sabotage hunts, sabotage the fur industry. Sabotage laboratories that are experimenting on animals. But as far as being radical . . . our group is not radical. The real radicals are the people who are killing off the whales and destroying the oceans. We're a conservation organization - we're the ultimate conservative. . . . I think everybody has the responsibility to be a custodian or shepherd to the planet.

To work toward its goal of saving as many animals as possible, the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) likewise uses a number of controversial tactics against furriers, laboratories, and the food industry throughout Europe, Canada, the United States, and even

South Africa. In Glasgow, Scotland, the ALF attacked four fur shops, pouring powerful glue into the door locks so that customers could not enter. One of the activists claimed responsibility for the group and was quoted by *The Scotsman* as saying, "We did it because we feel these shops are an obscenity and encouraging people to wear animal graveyards as a symbol of affluent fashion." In June 1981 several activists rescued twenty-one mutilated animals during a raid of the Hospital for Sick Children in Toronto. "It was like walking into Frankenstein's room," remarked one individual. "There were dogs that had been devocalized, a pig covered in burns and cats with their ears cut off." These actions have received much media attention and provoked a number of scathing editorials like the one in the *Toronto Star*, which condemned the experiments on animals as "scientific sadism." In the U.S., ALF members in hooded garb have freed research animals in Florida, Washington, D.C., and California.

In many ways, then, the animal rights movement represents a deep critique of contemporary society, its institutions and attitudes. It raises questions that can help shed light on a variety of topics, including abortion, euthanasia, the nature of language, discrimination, and human rights. As activists are fond of noting, animal liberation is intimately bound to human liberation. They point out that seven-eighths of the grain used to feed livestock for the production of meat is wasted in the conversion process, and that if Americans reduced meat consumption by only 10 percent for a single year, enough grain would be potentially freed to feed sixty million people. Similarly, the water used in one chicken slaughterhouse during a typical day could support 25,000 people.

The message of the animal rights community is simple yet demanding: Let's abandon the self-fulfilling nightmares of an agricultural and medical realpolitik for some vision and courage. It calls for vivisection of attitudes before animals. The animal rights movement reveals that while man, as Aristotle held, is a political animal by nature, animals are political beings by convention. It seeks to give a voice to those who are voiceless and to hold up a moral ideal to which we can strive as individuals and as a society. It does not promise all the answers but it does challenge us to start asking the questions in a very different manner.

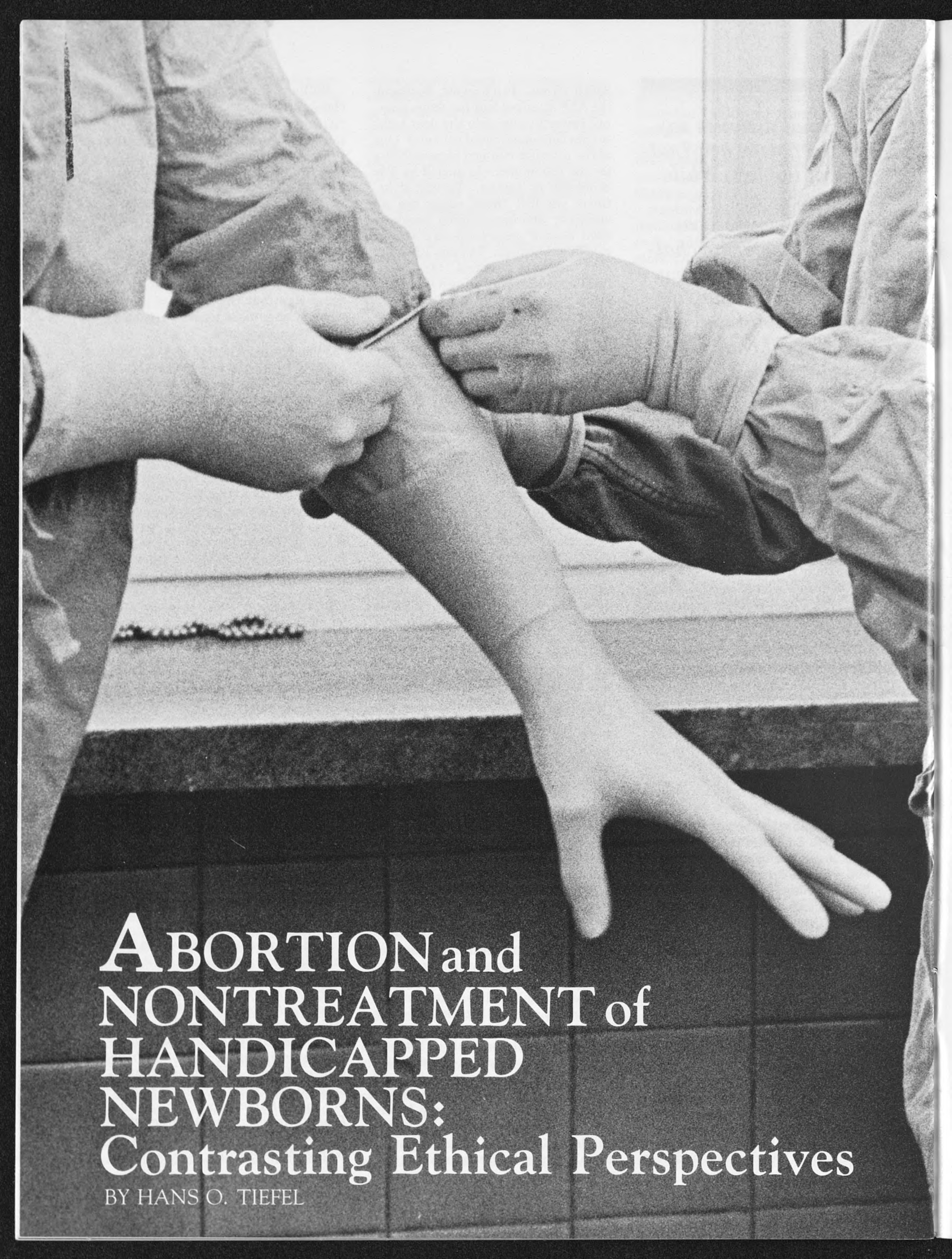
William James once spoke of the classic stages of an idea's career. "Any new theory," said James, "is attacked as absurd; then it is admitted to be true but obvious and insignificant; finally, it is seen to be so important that its adversaries claim that they themselves discovered it." It is doubtful whether the idea of animal rights will achieve the latter statuses in the very near future but it is certain that it does have a force and plausibility that needs to be addressed in the same way that the rights of blacks, women, and, more recently, children have been examined.

The World Charter for Nature adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations perhaps sums up the matter best. "Every form of life," it declares, "is unique, warranting respect regardless of its worth to man, and to accord other organisms such recognition, man must be guided by a moral code of action." For a growing number of individuals, it appears, therefore, that our systematic exploitation of the animal world is hardly a series of "victimless crimes;" rather, in their view, it is the worst of all crimes, the crime against life - biocide. The animal rights movement tells us that even if one chooses not to actively oppose such cruelty, it is our duty, as Thoreau would say, to at least wash our hands of it.

Back at NIH, the occupiers learn that Health and Human Services Secretary Margaret Heckler has suspended the brain-damage experiments until further investigations can be conducted. Arms fly up in jubilation and tears are shed in relief. The group files out of the building and walks past the television cameras. Everyone is singing: "We'll fight for the animals. Their pain and ours are one. We'll fight for the animals. Until their rights are won."

ABOUT THE AUTHOR:

David Macauley '84 received a B.A. in philosophy and government with highest honors from William and Mary. A member of Phi Beta Kappa, he currently resides in Washington, D.C., where he writes and works, in his own words, "as an activist for anti-war, animal rights, and other 'new, new' or 'leftover left' causes." His undergraduate thesis, "Animals in Politics and Philosophy: The Animal Rights Movement and A Theory of Interspecific Justice," was given the W. Warner Moss Award.



**ABORTION and
NONTREATMENT of
HANDICAPPED
NEWBORNS:
Contrasting Ethical Perspectives**

BY HANS O. TIEFEL

In the fall of 1963 a baby boy, born prematurely to a thirty-four-year-old hospital nurse in Maryland, was diagnosed soon after birth as having an intestinal blockage (duodenal atresia) that could be corrected with little risk. Without the operation the child could not be fed and would die. The parents decided not to give permission for surgery, the hospital staff did not seek to override their decision with a court order and moved the child into a back room with a sign, "nothing by way of mouth," where it died dehydrated and starved after fifteen days. In a similar case, nineteen years later, a newborn baby in Bloomington, Indiana, needed surgery to repair his incomplete esophagus so that he could eat. These parents also denied permission for the operation, and the baby died after six days without food and water. Here the case went to court, however, and despite Indiana laws against child neglect and discrimination against the handicapped, state courts upheld the parents in their refusal to permit treatment.

What appears as shocking parental, medical, and legal neglect becomes understandable, however, when one adds that these children were afflicted with Down's Syndrome. These newborns, the Johns Hopkins and the Baby Doe cases, were mongoloid. Their degree of retardation could range from moderate to severe but was still unpredictable at birth. The physical obstruction that prevented eating and drinking — always surgically corrected for children who are otherwise normal — gave parents the chance in these cases "to let nature take its course" and "to allow the child to die."

Similar nontreatment decisions affect newborns with crippling diseases, such as spina bifida (cleft spine through which the membranes that cover the spinal cord protrude), hydrocephaly (accumulation of fluid in an enlarged head resulting in retardation and convulsions), or infants so immature that they may well be preventable. Such cases will continue to haunt modern medicine since advancing technology can sustain ever earlier and more tenuous human lives, newborns that used to be beyond rescue. The questions of whether we *should* rescue will also continue to divide medical, political, and religious communities, much as we have become polarized over abortion. Indeed ever-

growing similarities and links between abortion and nontreatment of defective newborns tend to evoke a pro-choice versus pro-life stand-off in questions of nontreatment of seriously ill newborns. This essay considers just how these issues relate to each other, what they presuppose about what it means to be human, and how they reflect more inclusive disagreements about how life makes sense.

Dr. C. Everett Koop, the current Surgeon General, speaks of a domino theory in which abortion, the first domino, causes the fall of the second, infanticide. "Infanticide could never have come about had it not been for abortion."

There can be no doubt that questions of abortion and of nontreatment of handicapped newborns touch each other factually or empirically. The 1973 U.S. Supreme Court decision to legalize abortion at least through the second trimester is now bumping against ever growing medical-neonatal skills that expand viability and threaten to shorten the timespan for legal abortions. Some hospitals follow a policy of having a pediatrician stand by for late abortions, a vivid indication that a late abortion may not yield "expelled uterine contents" but a premature baby needing neonatal intensive care. What a federal commission called a *fetus ex utero* threatens to become a "premie."

The question of whether these two issues prove to be morally related, whether justifying reasons for one also hold for the other, seems more interesting, however. Proponents of moral overlap can be found on both sides: pro-abortion advocates point out that the most compelling reason for abortion is to prevent the birth of a handicapped newborn. All expectant parents want a healthy child and some may go to great lengths in prenatal counseling and testing to make sure.

Prenatal testing is to a handicapped child what contraception is to pregnancy. And the prospective child itself can be said to have a similar interest and might assent if it could to abortion or to nontreatment since every child has a right to be born healthy. If seriously defective newborns slip through this protective screen, then the unwanted and unintended defective neonate should not be treated aggressively. All the reasons that argued for abortion still hold and now become justifications for neonatal euthanasia. Intensive care for such afflicted infants would only compound an earlier error and burden parents, society, and the child itself with an unwanted existence that could never be meaningful or fulfilled. In such cases "[i]t is reasonable, indeed, to describe infanticide as postnatal abortion."¹

Some proponents of aggressive treatment of handicapped newborns also note the relevance of the abortion rationale, but they would have the moral flow move in the opposite direction. They challenge the soundness of reasons for abortion and regard treatment of seriously ill newborns as expressing our care for children generally. And the logic of healing interventions for newborns extends to those who are about to become newborns. Prenatal diagnosis and therapy creates and aids patients even before they are born. And if we are medically and morally obligated to the unborn, then ethical medical practice must, grate against abortion.

Dr. C. Everett Koop, the current U.S. Surgeon General, speaks of a domino theory in which abortion, the first domino, causes the fall of the second, infanticide. "[I]nfanticide could never have come about had it not been for abortion."² As a pediatric surgeon he claims that infanticide led him to become involved in the pro-life movement, since the physician is called always to be a healer but never a killer.

Pro-life advocates who fear that the effects and logic of abortion spill over into decisions about handicapped newborns perceive our society as on a slippery slope where the first step of abortion slides into disrespect for all afflicted human lives. Pro-choice advocates who argue the relevance of abortion for neonatal treatment options simply call for consistency toward early forms of human lives. We should not preserve lives that lack minimum quality whether before or shortly after birth.

Yet others on opposing ethical sides reject any intrinsic link between these issues. Moral choices in an ambiguous and complex moral landscape require drawing careful lines. A woman may have both a much-loved handicapped child and an earlier or subsequent abortion. A nation with a liberal abortion policy may also devote major resources to care for handicapped newborns. The question of whether the issues are linked proves in part to be empirical, and it would require social science research to know whether actual practice in one affects the other. The problem of whether the moral logic of one also must shape the reasoning of the other depends largely on whether we are dealing with the same thing. Reasons for rejecting prenatal biological life need not apply after such lives have progressed to a "human" level. It would seem to be a matter of when or where one draws the line demarking humanity, persons, people, or beings who are like us and should be treated like us. For most of us a different moral logic applies on either side of that line. Whatever falls outside need not spill over into the human circle. This firm dividing line is no slippery slope.

In very rough form, this describes our present stalemate in the ethics of abortion and of the treatment options for handicapped newborns. We appear to get bogged down at this point, repeating our disagreements, suspecting our opponents of bad faith as well as bad moral reasoning. I suggest, however, that though we are not likely to stand on common ground, we should get stuck elsewhere. Namely further away from these issues and closer to ourselves. It may prove helpful to back off from the issues themselves in order to see what we bring to them. Perhaps the key for better understanding our disagreements, our opponents, and ourselves lies not with the unborn or the diseased newborn but in our different visions. We mainly disagree about what to do because we see our world, ourselves, and our born and unborn offspring with either individualistic or communal eyes.

The Vision of Individualism

The individualistic is modern, contemporary, American. In this perspective every individual counts. Everyone's chance to enjoy life, liberty, and happiness makes this country great. In this way of seeing, all reality, and

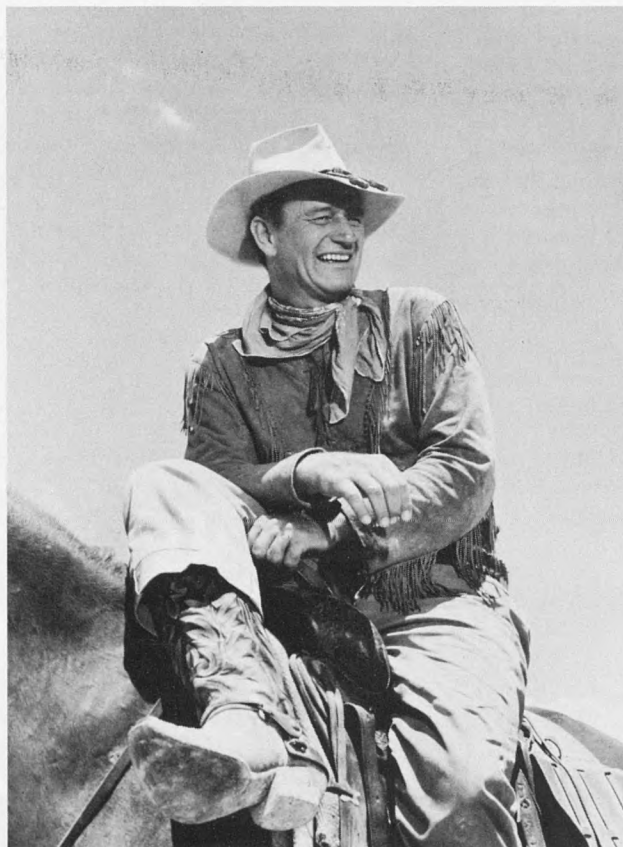
therefore, all value, centers on the self. We respect the self-made man. We honor people with such terms as self-reliant, self-confident, self-taught, self-supporting, and self-controlled. Our heroes are self-reliant characters portrayed by such actors as John Wayne, Clint Eastwood, and Sylvester Stallone.

This focus on the self need not take egoistic form, since grand individuals may be magnanimous, serve the cause of justice, support famine victims through rock concerts, or if they are really super, save the world from destruction. But such service to others remains nonmandatory and nonessential. What counts in our individualism is standing on one's own feet, not needing or troubling anyone else, being one's own person, doing one's own thing. The Marlboro Man, needing nothing but a horse and a good smoke, incarnates the real man. His autonomous independence constitutes his strength. His integrity lies in being true to himself, in not being beholden to or imposing on anyone. Such refusal to impose requires a reciprocity that we guarantee with the right to privacy, the right to be left alone by other individuals or groups.

The heart of individualism is the self. Minimally that means the think-

ing, willing, acting person. But human beings at the start of life and perhaps at other times as well, cannot reasonably be said to think, will, or act. Incapable of independent doing and rational choosing that constitutes essential and minimal qualifications for all who count, have a say, and enjoy rights, such non-selves fail to qualify in a world of individuals. The individualistic tableau was created in a political setting in which citizens sought to protect themselves from tyrannical and oppressive attacks on their property and lives. In all versions of that hypothetical state of nature that was thought to precede our life together, it was always peopled by self-interested and rational agents. Such a world was not created for and assigns no roles of any consequence to the human unborn, the newborn, the senile, or to animals and the environment, for that matter. The value of such nonindividuals derives from being useful or desirable to persons or selves.

It makes sense, then, to beget children because we want or need them. And it makes perfect sense as well to abort following a change of mind or of heart. Such liberty expresses the right to privacy of our reproductive decisions. Only individual choice may de-



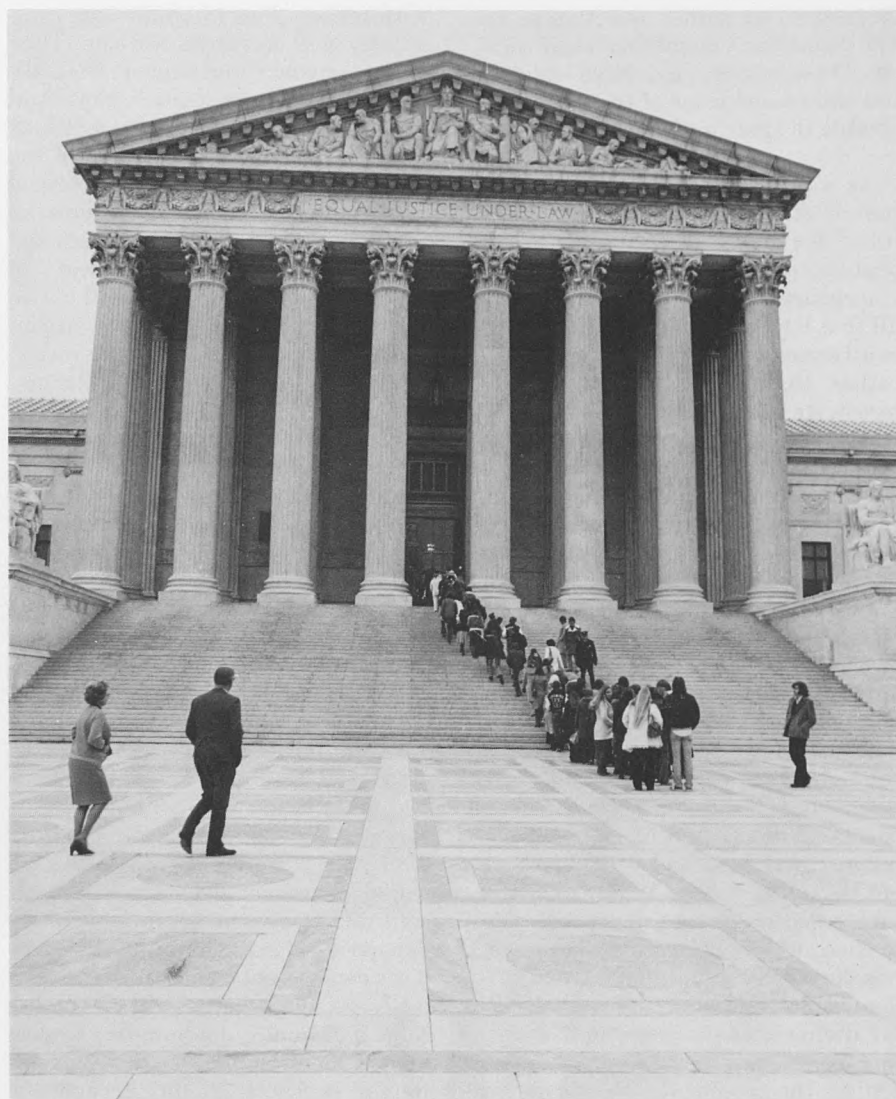
We honor people with such terms as self-confident, self-taught, self-supporting, and self-controlled. Our heroes are self-reliant characters portrayed by such actors as John Wayne, Clint Eastwood, and Sylvester Stallone.

termine life or death when it comes to nonpersons. Unwanted unborns or newborns share the status of pets in the vision of American individualism: their worth and their protection lies in being wanted. No unwanted child should be born. And unaffected outsiders should not impose their preferences on the private treatment decisions of parents with seriously handicapped newborns. A creed condemning discrimination according to race, sex, age, or religion finds nothing objectionable in discriminating against the unborn or newborn since these do not count as individuals or selves.

If that be our prevailing vision and some of its consequences for early forms of human life, then laws that protect the unborn as persons prove to be antiquated. To be sure, in reaction against Baby Doe cases we have just made it a law that in order to get federal funds our medical institutions should treat nonterminal defective newborns like any other handicapped persons.³ But the individualistic vision would move in the opposite direction by delaying legal personhood until doctors can tell whether offspring seem to be sufficiently undamaged to prove acceptable to parents and physicians.⁴

If unwanted pregnancy interferes with individuals' rights to privacy, how much more will a seriously handicapped newborn? Such a birth shocks parents and threatens their financial security, their marital amity, and any chance to live the kind of life they envisioned and to which they have a perfect right. What greater guarantee for involuntary infringement of their personal freedom than to insist that such disappointment remain the last word? If the prospect of the child never leaving home frightens us,⁵ how much more terrifying to envision a permanent dependent whose care will burden the family until death?

One could object that handicapped newborns may grow up and become persons. But what life would such persons enjoy? Such an individual is unlikely ever to become self-sufficient and make it on his own. We admire the rare achiever such as Helen Keller who overcomes great odds. But how can even she lead a fulfilling and happy life? Anyone who must constantly and permanently depend upon and burden others precludes himself from meaningful life and successful independence. Even those who resort



The 1973 Supreme Court decision to legalize abortion at least through the second trimester is now bumping against ever-growing medical-neonatal skills that expand viability and threaten to shorten the timespan of legal abortions. Some hospitals follow a policy of having a pediatrician stand by for late abortions.

to welfare know that they have relinquished their dignity.

To some extent we all share this individualistic vision. We respect the individual, treasure personal autonomy, respect the privacy of others, and hope — more or less — that our children will in time take charge of their lives. When we differ about abortion or neonatal treatment options the more conservative among us should understand the liberal quite well, for we are all affected by common traditions. And it would be misleading to say that pro-choice advocates do not care about human lives. It is less a matter of indifference than of a vision in which the brightness of personal freedom eclipses lives that lack a self and fall short of any meaningful existence.

Communal Visions

If individualism be our predominant and most enticing vision, it is not our only way of seeing. At times we regard ourselves and our world in a communal perspective that yields quite different meanings of who we are and what we owe one another. Since communal perspectives come in different shapes and sizes, I am referring only to those with which we are already comfortable historically. We deem alien chauvinistic, romantic, tyrannical, and oppressive versions of community, even if these constitute trace elements in our own past. We reject, for example, National Socialist and Communist forms of community that not only dissolve individual dignity into state or class but that reveal

themselves as rather selective as to who counts as a member of their society. These nations, too, have isolated and abandoned some of the most vulnerable in their midst.

As a people we not only share an individualistic but a republican tradition. We deem it fitting to forget about civil rights in times of emergency or national crisis. And not all that long ago someone called on us in all seriousness to act for our country rather than for individual self-interest. As a people we also have roots in religious traditions, and it is to specifically Christian sources that I look for a communal perspective. A Christian or biblical vision is often easily confused with American individualism and one can find certain affinities, such as belief in the worth of individuals. But individualism's appeal to the self as the source of value must strike the believer as idolatrous, since it is the personal self that needs redemption and becomes precious only through God's creative and redemptive loving. The unborn and the newborn, just as the rest of us, count not because we want and care for them but because God does. Where a self-reliant creed forecloses a meaningful life to those who are unwanted, disabled, hopelessly sick or permanently dependent, a biblical faith confesses a peculiar divine prejudice for the despised and rejected. Liberal individualism praises the person who stands on his own. Biblical images see a meaningful life in corporate terms of the body of Christ or the people of God. Only a miracle could convert the Marlboro Man into a Christian, or one suspects, even into a *mensch*.

Christian virtues clash with individualistic inclinations. Bearing one another's burdens seems incompatible with self-actualizing independence. Love of neighbor resists dissolving into an egalitarian or contractual live-and-let-live. A right or wrong "for me" yields to a communal "we confess." "We intercede" replaces "one should not impose."

Since such a communal vision has itself emerged out of Jewish sources and since it has shaped our collective identity to some extent, this version of what it means to be human may illumine and elicit assent from a widely shared sense of the human condition. Such a community-based sense of reality begins not with the self but

with others. Ties to family and community will never be add-ons. They define, envelop, and support the individual. We *are* our relationships. And losing one of these self-defining bonds will change us drastically. On the death of his wife C. S. Lewis linked himself to an amputee. Perhaps he would heal and be given a wooden leg. "But I shall never be a biped again."⁶

Here the meaning of life will not be found in self-realization but by affirming the importance, the generosity, and the needs of others. Autonomy and self-reliance appear as misleading goals in a vision that acclaims human solidarity as our highest achievement, that suspects privacy to result less from respect than from loneliness and indifference, and that considers the self-made man to be forgetfully ungrateful. Individualism recommends itself more to the strong than to the weak. A communal vision also honors the strength of self-reliance, but standing on one's own feet becomes possible only because others have stood and stand by us. Self-reliance becomes praiseworthy only as it serves the sustaining circles from which we come and to which we are called. Moreover even the strongest continue to depend on others. Interdependence, even inability to carry one's own weight – the fate of the seriously handicapped – will never become a disqualifying indignity or prevent a meaningful life. In this communal perspective our dependence does not count against but for us.

Here rights are handled less exclusively and do not require self-awareness as the essential precondition. Rights simply safeguard whatever is essential to the common good. Thus rights may protect such nonpersons as the unborn and the handicapped newborn, snail darters and bald eagles, simply any threatened species. A communal vision insists on a community-friendly use of rights.

Those who share such communal vision suspect that they may not take for granted the structures and institutions that support us all, the habits that sustain the common good, the public virtues that call for more than "self-interest properly understood" (de Tocqueville). Our life together may be a tenuous web without a lifetime warranty guaranteed by enlightened self-interest. Even our civil rights, so dear to us all, may presuppose communal bonds that reach deeper but are also more vulnerable than self-evident

democratic truths. The mutual loyalties that bind us into a people may not survive our destructive indifference to literally millions of those whose lives we have evoked but whom we bar from entry into our community nor the benign neglect of others who have entered but who will never make it on their own.

Nothing has been said here about what should be done in specific cases. It is unlikely that either vision yields absolute rules in regard to abortion or to treatment options for handicapped newborns. Rather the intent has been to show that these bioethical issues are related less in their proximity on the life span than in our consistent ways of looking at life. The key to understanding these ethical disagreements does not lie in those issues but in ourselves. We bring our vision of what it means to be human and to lead a meaningful life. Our ethical choices are simply the response of what seems fitting given who we are. We testify to our own identity when we choose sides in these controversies.

Endnotes

1. Joseph Fletcher, *Humanhood* (Buffalo, N.Y., 1979), 144.
2. C. Everett Koop, "The Silent Domino: Infanticide," *Life and Family News* 1: (March 1981), 9.
3. "Child Abuse and Neglect Prevention and Treatment Program," *Federal Register*, 50: (April 15, 1985) 14878-14901.
4. F. Raymond Marks, "The Defective Newborn: An Analytic Framework for a Policy Dialog," in *Ethics of Newborn Intensive Care*, ed. Albert J. Jonsen and Michael J. Garland (Berkeley, Calif., 1976), 110f.
5. Robert N. Bellah et al., *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Berkeley, Calif., 1985), 58.
6. C. S. Lewis, *A Grief Observed* (New York, 1961), 62.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Hans O. Tiefel joined the William and Mary faculty in 1975 and is professor and chairman of the Department of Religion. He holds the M.Div. and Ph.D. degrees from Yale University. He has studied medical ethics as a Kennedy Fellow at Harvard and has published in that field in the *New England Journal of Medicine* and the *Journal of the American Medical Association*.





Non-Profit
Organization
U.S. Postage Paid
Permit No. 1390
Richmond, VA

Society of the Alumni
P.O. Box 1693
Williamsburg, VA 23187

THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY