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The Global Environmental Impacts of World War I

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Abstract

Discussions of the First World War are often centered around the infamous trench fighting on the Western Front. However, in recent years, the war's environmental impact has received more exposure, though it often remains divided between European battlefields and other spheres of damage. This essay combines research from history and science to provide a more complete picture of the various and overlapping ways the war impacted environments. Aside from the damage done by artillery on the battlefields, the environmental impacts of the First World War can be further categorized into the impacts of intentional environmental manipulation, the unintentional impacts of mobilization, and the consequences of obtaining and exploiting resources abroad. Examining these different types of impacts simultaneously highlights how the war's environmental impact was compounded by active combat and the processes required to maintain it; for instance, the French Zone Rouge suffered not only from the trench warfare that occurred there but also from road creation and deforestation that will affect its environment for years to come. This essay argues that the environmental impact of the First World War was wide-ranging, often intertwined, and long-lasting. The environmental lens demonstrates how the First World War truly impacted the entire world.

Introduction

The First World War was a global conflict fought between the Allied and Central powers from 1914 to 1918. The war is most commonly associated with the Western Front and trench warfare. However, as the name suggests, the First World War was fought around the world – not just in France and Belgium – as armies fought proxy wars (e.g., Somaliland Campaign), attempted to obtain natural resources (e.g., Malayan Tin), and sought to control valuable trade routes (e.g., Taranto, Italy) on multiple continents. The First World War also marked a revolution in the usage and manufacturing of weapons as mass-produced chemical weapons (i.e., chlorine, phosgene, and mustard gas), and artillery dominated the war-torn battlefields, trenches, and No-Mans Land. Over the past century, historians have examined the First World War through military, political, economic, and even colonial lenses. Now, we are beginning to apply another lens to view the First World War: environmental impact. Taking an environmental approach – looking beyond the mechanical and human cost of WWI to its impacts on the lands and seas on which it was fought – allows us to truly see and appreciate the global scope of the war.

Though primary evidence surrounding the environmental impact of the First World War had always existed, it was not until the late twentieth century that scholars began considering the environmental history of the war and applied new technological advances from science toward this end. In particular, authors such as Joseph Hupy and Tait Keller have made numerous contributions towards understanding the global, environmental history of WWI. Hupy analyzed the environmental impact of the war on the Western Front, whereas Keller approached the war from a resource and proxy war perspective.[1] However, research that synthesizes different types of environmental impacts from WWI – on and off the battlefields – into a cohesive, worldwide narrative is rare. Works such as *Environmental Histories of the First World War* have done much to bring together off-battlefield case studies, but there still exists a separation between battle and other environmental histories of the war.[2]

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[1] See, for instance, Joseph Hupy, "The Environmental Footprint of War," *Environment and History* 14, No 3 (August 2008): 405-421. https://doi.org/10.3197/096734008X333581; Joseph P. Hupy and Randall J. Schaetzl, "Soil development on the WWI battlefield of Verdun, France," *Geoderma* 145, Issues 1–2 (May 2008): 37-49, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoderma.2008.01.024; Tait Keller, "The Ecological Edges of Belligerency - Toward a Global Environmental History of the First World War." *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales - English Edition* 71, no. 1 (2016): 61–78. doi:10.1017/S2398568217000036.

[2] Tait Keller et al. (eds.), *Environmental Histories of the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018). doi:10.1017/9781108554237.

This risks omitting the relationship between the two and the accumulating or overlapping environmental consequences they wrought. Thus, this essay aims to bridge the gap between the existing research regarding different types of environmental impacts from the First World War – battlefield impacts, impacts of intentional environmental manipulation, unintentional impacts of mobilization, and the impacts of obtaining resources abroad. In doing so, this essay demonstrates that the environmental impacts of the war were wide-ranging beyond the main fronts, often intertwined, and long-lasting.

Battlefield Impacts

The most commonly associated form of environmental damage caused by the First World War is the immediate battle scarring from weapons, whether it be on land or at sea. The war marked a revolution in the usage of bombs, especially on the Western Front, as artillery was heavily exploited during battles and trench warfare. These trenches were carved into once-arable land; meanwhile, bombs created massive craters or tore through woods bordering the battlefields. The First World War also damaged ecosystems aside from the terrestrial Western Front: military ports faced pollution from a variety of sources, which exerted considerable pressure on local marine environments across Europe. Heavy metal from ordnance as well as chemical weapons – chlorine, phosgene, and mustard gas – also polluted the battlefields, with the resulting chemical contamination continuing to be felt today. Thus, the weapons and processes that were conceived to inflict damage on humans extended beyond their intended purpose – they had left a lasting impact on the terrestrial and marine environments in which they were deployed.

If there was a mantra that encapsulated the primary tactic for the battles on the Western Front, it would be: "Artillery conquers, infantry occupies."[3] During the infamous battle of Verdun, in an area of approximately 200 km, the Germans fired 34 million rounds and the French fired 26 million during seven months in 1916.[4] Due to the intense, yet mostly futile, fighting on the Western Front, the deposition of bullets, shrapnel, and power casings led to the soil becoming enriched with heavy metals – namely, lead (Pb) and copper (Cu). Copper was necessary for the production of driving bands, fuzes, and shell casings, whereas lead was used for the manufacturing of shrapnel balls, primary

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[3] Joseph P. Hupy and Randall J. Schaetz, ""Introducing "Bombturbation," a Singular Type of Soil Disturbance and Mixing," *Soil Science* 171, no. 11 (November 2006): 828, http://dx.doi.org/10.1097/01.ss.0000228053.08087.19.
[4] Ibid.

explosives, and chemical warfare equipment.[5] Both metals were and are toxic to plants and animals.

In a 2022 study on heavy metal contamination from WWI, scientists found that there was enrichment of soil Pb by 72-78 mg/kg, equivalent to more than four times the top baseline value (of soil Pb in undisturbed areas).[6] The same soils were also enriched with 27-31 mg/kg Cu, which was 2.5 times the top baseline value (of soil Cu in undisturbed areas). The mean concentration of soil Pb was 93.34 mg/kg Pb, and the mean concentration of soil Cu was 43.37 mg/kg Cu. Copper (Cu) can be toxic to plants at concentrations as low as 20 mg/kg, and it can be detrimental to soil biota at concentrations of 10 mg/kg. Lead (Pb) can induce morphological, physiological, and biochemical changes and dysfunctions in plants and soil organisms, and its effects have been recorded at concentrations as low as 35-50 mg/kg.[7] Given the high recordings of lead and copper from WWI deposits – far above the minimum levels at which damage to plants and animals was observed – it is apparent how the metal shrapnel and waste from the First World War left a toxic environment even after the initial destruction was cleaned up.

Aside from the heavy usage of artillery, the First World War saw another form of weapons utilized in abundance: chemical agents. Both the Allies and the Central powers experimented with chemical weapons, resulting in the creation of infamous gas weapons such as chlorine gas, phosgene gas, mustard gas, and arsenicals – just to name a few. The chemical weapons that were used (or planned to be used) in the war left behind traces in the soil and water surrounding the battlefields. In a study examining a former burning ground for arsenical munitions near Verdun, scientists found soil that was heavily contaminated with arsenic (the concentration range of arsenic was 2,019-175,907 mg/kg), a well-known poison to heavy plants.[8] Moreover, there are sites containing mustard gas – a blister agent causing mucosal, eye, and skin irritation – originating from the First World War that continues to pose risks to

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[5] T. Bausinger, E. Bonnaire, J. Preuss, "Exposure Assessment of a Burning Ground for Chemical Ammunition on the Great War Battlefields of Verdun," *Sci Total Environ* 382, issues 2-3 (September 2007): 260, doi: 10.1016/j.scitotenv.2007.04.029.

[6] O. H. Williams and N. L. J. Rintoul-Hynes, "Legacy of War: Pedogenesis Divergence and Heavy Metal Contamination on the WWI Front Line a Century after Battle," *European Journal of Soil Science* 73 (4) (2022), e13297. https://doi.org/10.1111/ejss.13297; Drew Heiderscheidt, "The Impact of World War One on the Forests and Soils of Europe," *Ursidae: The Undergraduate Research Journal at the University of North Colorado* 7, no. 3 (July 2018): 1-16. https://digscholarship.unco.edu/urj/vol7/iss3/3.

[7] Williams and Rintoul-Hynes, "Legacy of War."

[8] Bausinger, Bonnaire, Preuss, "Exposure assessment of a burning ground," 270.

human health, groundwater, surface water, and the wider ecology.[9] Finally, stockpiles of adamsite – a vomiting agent that forced soldiers to remove their gas masks – were dumped into bodies of water around Europe along with other chemical warfare agents (CWAs).[10] This affected marine ecosystems, as Baltic blue mussels were found to have bioaccumulated oxidized forms of adamsite, resulting in adverse cytotoxic and immunotoxic effects.[11] The so-called "Chemist's War" resulted in the creation of weaponry with pertinent environmental impacts.

Beyond the dumping of CWAs, marine ecosystems faced additional pollution and ecological damage as a direct consequence of building and sustaining the war machine at sea. An example of such damage would be the Mar Piccolo of Taranto – a strategic military port for the Italian Navy. In 1916, the dreadnought *Leonardo da Vinci* exploded, capsized, and sank in the Mar Piccolo – the explosion shock wave, the leakage of fuel oil, the production of toxic and noxious substances from burnt hydrocarbons, and the resuspension of sediments were all harmful after-effects of the explosion.[12] However, even outside of this, the body of water became a receptacle for dust (from discharged firearms), sewage water from military camps containing over 30,000 English and French soldiers (the theme of unintentional impacts of mobilization is expanded upon later in this essay), and waste from ships moored in small ports.[13] The Tosi Shipyards (located in Taranto) built six submarines and sixteen minesweepers from 1915 to 1920, further exacerbating the pollution in the water.[14] Though the Mar Piccolo of Taranto was especially harmed by the dreadnought explosion, it can be inferred that other naval ports in the First World War (such as Scapa Flow, Orkney Islands, Scotland, or the Paardenmarkt Bank in Belgium)[15]

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[9] Matthew Howard Ashmore and C. Paul Nathanail, "A Critical Evaluation of the Implications for Risk Based Land Management of the Environmental Chemistry of Sulphur Mustard," *Environmental International*, 34, issue 8 (November 2008): 1193, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.envint.2008.03.012; Giacomo Certini, Riccardo Scalenghe, William I. Woods, "The Impact of Warfare on the Soil Environment," *Earth-Science Reviews*, 127 (December 2013): 7, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.earscirev.2013.08.009.

[10] Suhail Muzaffar et al., "Mechanistic Understanding of the Toxic Effects of Arsenic and Warfare Arsenicals on Human Health and Environment," *Cell Biol Toxicol* 39, no. 1 (February 2023): 101, doi: 10.1007/s10565-022-09710-8.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Carmela Caroppo and Giuseppe Portacci, "The First World War in the Mar Piccolo of Taranto: First Case of Warfare Ecology?" *Ocean & Coastal Management* 149 (November 2017): 139, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ocecoaman.2017.09.020.

[13] Ibid., 141.

[14] Ibid., 139.

[15] Tine Missiaen, "Paardenmarkt Bank, a WWI Ammunition Dump Site Off the Belgian Coast," *VLIZ: De Grote Rede* 36 (2013): 53-60.

faced similar environmental impacts from the stationing of soldiers and the construction of ships. This also points to how contamination built up from several causes stemming from the war.

Damage came not only from used weapons – chemical and artillery – and accidental explosions but also from unexploded ordnances. This is especially noticeable in the "Zone Rouge" of northeastern France – a group of noncontiguous territories that the French Government deemed inhabitable due to the large number of unexploded shells, grenades, and ammunition in the soil.[16] French farmers retrieve roughly 900 tons of unexploded munitions in an annual tradition commonly referred to as the "iron harvest." Outside the Zone Rouge, in Belgium, the number is around 160 tons per year.[17] Most of these unexploded ordinances are still filled with the hazardous chemicals described above – mustard gas, phosgene, and chlorine – meaning that the contamination risk continues to persist on top of burns and death. These examples perfectly demonstrate how the environmental impacts of the First World War extend into the twenty-first century and beyond.

The Zone Rouge also demonstrates how these different types of damages accumulated. The Zone Rouge included the battlefields of Verdun, the Somme, Ypres, and more, where some of the longest and most violent fights took place. The damage from the unexploded ordinances built upon that caused by those that did explode.[18] Verdun has already been mentioned in connection to artillery and chemical agents on top of unexploded items, and further damages to this area and the Zone Rouge are explored below. In fact, the environmental damage done to the Zone Rouge was so severe that the Sécurité Civile (the civil defense agency of the French Government) estimated the ensuing cleanup of the area would take over 300 years.[19]

In summary, the usage and stationing of military resources constituted a considerable portion of the overall environmental impact of the First World War. The usage of weaponry is commonly associated

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[16] Stuart Thornton, "Red Zone," *National Geographic Society*, last modified 20 May 2022, https://education.nationalgeographic.org/resource/red-zone/.

[17] James Patton, "The 'Iron Harvest'," *Kansas WW1: Commemorating the First World War Centennial in Kansas*, last updated 1 August 2016, https://ksww1.ku.edu/the-iron-harvest/.

[18] See Joseph Hupy, "The Long-Term Effects of Explosive Munitions on the WWI Battlefield Surface of Verdun, France," *Scottish Geographical Journal* 122, issue 3 (2006): 167-184. https://doi.org/10.1080/00369220618737264.

[19] Hugh D. Clout, *After the Ruins: Restoring the Countryside of Northern France After the Great War* (United Kingdom: University of Exeter Press, 1996): 24-34; Thornton, "Red Zone."

with the trench fighting in the First World War; this is understandable as the substantial usage of artillery by both the Germans and the Allies induced long-lasting damage to French and Belgian soil. The heavy chemical contamination as well as the unexploded ordnance contributed to an inhospitable environment (most notably, in the Zone Rouge). Moreover, the environmental impacts of the First World War were felt beyond the trenches of the Western Front; marine ecosystems became polluted with waste from soldiers as well as shipbuilding. While these immediate environmental consequences are certainly long-lasting and significant, to achieve a greater understanding of the environmental history and legacy of the First World War, it is imperative to look beyond the battle stations.

Intentional Environmental Manipulation

Military, economic, and political histories have long acknowledged that the landscapes of the First World War were not restricted to battlefields with guns and shells. Environments from which soldiers originated and to which they traversed were purposefully manipulated with both beneficial and harmful intentions. Whether it was to sabotage or to improve living conditions, environments all over the world were purposefully altered by militaries in the name of the war.

From the Romans to Napoleon, "scorched-earth" tactics have long served as a means for armies to devastate environments beyond repair. Such tactics were also present in the First World War, most infamously during the 1917 German retreat maneuver known as Operation Alberich. During the war, the majority of the Kaiser's troops were committed to the Eastern Front. In order to defend his stance on the Western Front, he ordered his smaller forces there to retreat 40 km to the shorter and more defensible Hindenburg line in Northern France.[20] However, the Kaiser wanted to ensure that the land lost due to the maneuver could not be of any use to the Allies. As a result, during the retreat, under orders from Generals Hindenburg and Ludendorff, the Germans soiled wells, excavated roads, planted tree mines, and even systematically cut down fruit trees.[21] These actions resulted in the forced displacement of over nine thousand inhabitants of now-uninhabitable villages and hamlets between Arras, Cambrai, and Saint Quentin, an area

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[20] Peter Schwatzstein, "The History of Poisoning the Well," *Smithsonian Magazine*, February 13, 2019, https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/history-well-poisoning-180971471/.
[21] Michael McGuire, "'Cultures de Guerre' in Picardy, 1917," *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques* 42, no. 3 (2016): 29, http://www.jstor.org/stable/44631080; Schwatzstein, "The History of Poisoning the Well."

that falls within the Zone Rouge mentioned above. This demonstrates how the Zone Rouge was not just created through battles alone, but also through the purposeful sabotage of land to prevent future uses.

German sabotage was also present outside of the European continent. At the outset of the war, the Germans maliciously introduced the invasive water hyacinth plant to East Bengal (modern-day Bangladesh) as a means of sabotage.[22] The plant induced a multitude of negative impacts on the East Bengal ecosystem: fostering malaria (water hyacinth reduced the temperature of the water it grew inside and provided shelter against predators of mosquito larvae), destroying rice and related crops (by clogging up aquatic infrastructure), and threatening pisciculture (by thriving in the tanks and ponds of the countryside during the rainy seasons).[23] The Germans wanted to weaken the British by "killing their Indian subjects;" as such, the water hyacinth was referred to as the "German Pana" or the "German Weed."[24] The German usage of an invasive species to attack India also captures the colonial aspect of the war – India was specifically targeted since it was a British imperial holding that provided key supply lines. This highlights how the environmental impact of the war was not restricted to the battlefields or the main theaters of the war – critically, it became intertwined with the colonial aspect of the war.

Invasive species were also introduced during WWI as a means to improve living conditions for soldiers. One of the most enduring environmental legacies arose from North American attempts to reduce the risk of mosquito-borne pathogens (such as malaria). These disease-bearing mosquitoes were prominent in areas such as the Middle East and the Tropics, where the Entente and the Central Powers fought a series of proxy battles.[25] Soldiers attempted to control mosquito populations by introducing mosquitofish to mosquito-dense areas; however, the mosquitofish's aggressive nature resulted in a predation of local freshwater fish and amphibians. Mosquitofish are currently regarded as one of the "world's worst" IAS (invasive alien species).[26] Furthermore,

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[22] Iftekhar Iqbal, "Fighting with a Weed: Water Hyacinth and the State in Colonial Bengal, c. 1910-1947," *Environment and History* 15, no. 1 (2009): 38, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20723705.

[23] Ibid., 40.

[24] Ibid., 38.

[25] William E. Walton et al., "Gambusia affinis (Baird & Girard) and Gambusia holbrooki Girard (mosquitofish)," in Robert A. Francis (ed.) *A Handbook of Global Freshwater Invasive Species* (London: Routledge, 2011), Taylor & Francis eBooks, https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203127230.

[26] R. A. Francis, "The Impacts of Modern Warfare on Freshwater Ecosystems," *Environmental Management* 48 (2011): 992, https://doi.org/10.1007/s00267-011-9746-9.

the lack of a tight predator-prey relationship between mosquitofish and immature mosquitoes impeded control efforts and exacerbated the issue of malaria and related diseases.[27] Many years after the war, countries attempted to eradicate the mosquitofish from their environments, but unfortunately ended up harming native species to a greater extent due to the mosquitofish's greater physical and chemical tolerance.[28] The devastating introductions of the mosquitofish and the water hyacinth plants encapsulate the "wide-ranging" aspect of the Great War's environmental impacts.

Purposeful environmental manipulation was one of the many strategies utilized by combatants during the First World War. The "scorched-earth" tactics of the Germans, the introduction of water hyacinth in East Bengal, and the introduction of mosquitofish in mosquito-rich environments all resulted in negative impacts on local ecosystems. It is also worth noting that there were instances of planned environmental manipulation that ultimately did not happen; in 1918, Italy was prepared to flood its fields to prevent an Austro-Hungarian advance.[29] The First World War was a global affair, as evidenced by the wide range of environments that were purposefully impacted. However, the mobilization of armies to set the stage for this global conflict also resulted in a variety of unintentional environmental impacts, on and off the European mainland.

Unintentional Impact of Mobilization

According to the United States Environmental Protection Agency, secondary impacts of a project or facility are indirect or induced changes in a physical or social environment, triggered by direct (primary) impacts.[30] In the case of the First World War, the war – the primary impact – led to a series of environmental changes that were not directly caused by the ecological costs of the fighting. Rather, these secondary environmental changes were the byproducts of a global upheaval that required the movement of large numbers of soldiers between

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[27] Walton et al., "Gambusia affinis (Baird & Girard)."

[28] Ibid.

[29] Silvia E. Piovan and Michael E. Hodgson, "Military-Engineered Floods as Defense from the Enemy: A Brief Review and Case Study from WWI in Northern Italy," in Dario Canzian and Elisabetta Novello (eds.), *Ecosystem Services in Floodplains* (Padova: Padova University Press, 2019): 73-97.

[30] Urban Systems Research and Engineering; Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), *Secondary Impact Assessment Manual* (Washington DC: Office of Federal Activities, EPA, 1981): 12. Digitized by National Service Center for Environmental Publications (NSCEP), 2014, https://nepis.epa.gov/Exe/ZyPURL.cgi?Dockey=9101NC2R.txt.

ecologically different parts of the world. Such byproducts included the accidental transportation of animals and/or plants, unintentional and long-term impacts of repurposing land and sea, and even technological advancements.

While the above section dealt with intentional manipulations of environments, ecosystems were also altered by accident, as a consequence of the mobilization efforts and movements of troops and supplies. For instance, mycologists hypothesize that *Clathrus Archeri*, or Octopus Stinkhorn, was introduced to the European continent on the wool and boots of Australian soldiers. According to scientists at the University of Basque Country in Spain, the bright red fungus with the scent of rotting flesh took such hold in Europe that it has become a "true invasive organism."[31] Other unintentional introductions of foreign species have had a far more disastrous impact, such as in the Mar Piccolo of Taranto – the Italian body of water mentioned above. Foreign ships (most likely British) carried the shipworm *Teredo navalis*, which rapidly damaged the chestnut wood pilings of fish farming plants.[32] This affected agriculture in the Taranto region – a striking resemblance to the impacts of the water hyacinth on the production of crops in East Bengal. Moreover, the introduction of colonial troops from tropical Africa as well as India transferred malaria-inducing parasites into the European theater as they were carried by soldiers who had already developed partial immunity.[33] This issue was compounded by the nature of trench warfare, which forced soldiers to dig underground, creating favorable environments for mosquito proliferation and subsequently outbreaks of malaria.[34] From these examples, it can be observed that the First World War brought local species from different regions of the world to Europe; whereas some of these species were relatively benign, other species disrupted ecologies, industries, and armies.

Finally, unintentional environmental consequences also occurred from proxy war victories. German troop movements between 1914 and 1916 brought the cattle virus rinderpest into southern Tanganyika.[35] However, after British forces took over German East Africa in 1916,

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[31] Ángela Bernardo, "Wartime Bio-Stowaways," *OpenMind BBVA* (March 2016), https://www.bbvaopenmind.com/en/science/environment/wartime-bio-stowaways/.

[32] Caroppo and Portacci, "Mar Piccolo of Taranto," 139.

[33] Bernard J Brabin, "Malaria's Contribution to World War One – the Unexpected Adversary," *Malaria Journal* 13, no. 1 (December 2014):1-22, at 2, https://doi.org/10.1186/1475-2875-13-497.

[34] Ibid.

[35] "Barricade Against Spread of Rinderpest in Africa," *Nature* 152 (1943): 296–297 https://doi.org/10.1038/152296b0.

policies surrounding the control of rinderpest also changed. Protecting the British settlements in South Africa from the disease took priority over halting its spread in Tanganyika. As a result, the disease raged "with utmost virulence uncontrolled" in eastern Africa, reducing a herd of 4 million cattle by 20-30 percent in the span of four years.[36] In this case, colonial administration governance exacerbated an environmental issue introduced by war.

Aside from the introduction of invasive species, the First World War led to another form of biological impact: the repurposing of land and sea that altered the harvesting cycle of flora and fauna. Changes to the use of territory – from farming fields to battlefields, forest to flat roads, fishing lanes to military blockades – carried both short and long-term impacts on local trades and environments. The Zone Rouge was converted from an area of grazing and farming to a waste-ridden battlefield unfit for agricultural purposes. In addition to artillery damage and sabotage, nearly 17 billion board feet of lumber was harvested from French forests during World War One.[37] This lumber was required to build thousands of new roads and passageways for the transportation of guns, munitions, supplies, and men.[38] These roads, known as corduroy roads, had a base made up of tree trunks, which were overlaid with branches and earth.[39] The loss of these forests changed the surrounding ecosystem and increased the risk of erosion.

Other cases are more indirect. For example, during WWI, the North Sea had been converted into a theater of mine warfare, rendering fishing activity virtually impossible; trawlers (commercial fishing vessels) in the North Sea that relied on fishing gear below the surface were especially at risk of damage.[40] As a result of the lack of fishing activity, the fish stocks in the North Sea replenished during the war. Initially, this appeared to have a positive environmental impact; however, during the war, trawlers and minesweepers quickly became much larger and more sophisticated and were easily reconfigured into ordinary fishing trawlers

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[36] Thaddeus Sunseri, "Forest Policy, Wildlife Destruction, and Disease Ecologies," in Tucker et al. (eds.), *Environmental Histories of the First World War*, 243, https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108554237.012.

[37] Hupy, "The Environmental Footprint of War," 420. Additional forest damage also came from the heavy artillery: Heiderscheidt, "The Impact of World War One on the Forests and Soils of Europe," 3.

[38] P.S. Risdale, "Shot, Shell and Soldiers Devastate Forests," *American Forestry* 22 (1916): 334.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ingo Heidbrink, "The First World War and the Beginning of Overfishing in the North Sea," in Tucker et al. (eds.), *Environmental Histories of the First World War*, 138.

by the end of the war.[41] The modernization of the fishing fleets resulted in a heavily increased fishing capacity, leading to a massive overfishing of the fish stocks.[42] Before the war, fishermen had a total catch of roughly 37,000 fish per year, but following the war, the total catch increased to 69,000 fish per year.[43] These examples demonstrate how the presence and logistics of war resulted in the creation of new ecological situations and the altering of existing landscapes – active battles were not needed to inflict lasting environmental impacts. This phenomenon will continue to be explored in further detail (and on a much more global scale) in the section below.

There is a tendency to pigeonhole the environmental impacts of the First World War to the damage caused by intentional destructive actions, particularly on the Western Front. But taking a look at the larger picture of the war suggests an alternate narrative: the global nature of the war itself acted as an agent of ecological disturbance. The introduction of invasive species to foreign environments – intentional or unintentional, benevolent or malicious – left impacts on ecosystems around the world, some of which can still be observed today. Moreover, land and seascapes that had been reshaped to accommodate armies or offensive tactics remained changed (or changed further) following the events of the war. However, it is important to look at one final aspect of the war, far from the battlefields and main theaters: the long-distance supply chains.

Obtaining and Exploiting Resources Abroad

Although research surrounding the environmental impacts of the First World War is largely associated with and concentrated on Europe, the production of food and weapons to support soldiers inflicted damage to environments all around the world – truly bringing out the "world" in "world war." In particular, Asia, North America, and South America were abundant in natural resources that the European powers – namely, Britain – heavily exploited to acquire materials that were unavailable domestically. The war's insatiable demand for resources quickly gave rise to barren landscapes, devoid of flora and fauna, that resembled those of the European No-Man's lands.

One of Britain's primary issues was food. As a small island in the Atlantic, Britain could not feed her soldiers solely with domestic produce; as such, Britain turned to the Americas to replenish two

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[41] Heidbrink, "Overfishing in the North Sea," 143.
[42] Ibid., 141.
[43] Ibid., 147.

primary resources: carbohydrates and proteins. According to historian Tait Keller, "to meet European demand for carbohydrates, North American wheat farmers plowed close to six million hectares across the semi-arid prairies, which were especially suited to gas-drive tractors, plows, and combines."[44] The one-way disc plow, which was utilized for the mass production of food, easily broke the soil, pulverized the dirt, and uprooted weeds – this resulted in the formation of a loose layer of sediment over the ground, inviting wind erosion. Moreover, the war fostered a spirit of overproduction and exploitation of natural resources among American farmers.[45] This outdated perspective towards agriculture, combined with the environmental repercussions of wheat farming, contributed to the 1930s Dust Bowl – a series of dust storms that wreaked havoc on the American and Canadian prairies.[46] Thus, as a result of WWI, America underwent an agricultural boom that then provided the conditions for the ecological disaster it would soon face.

While North America provided Britain with its needed carbohydrates, demands for protein were met in South America, particularly Argentina. Due to the rapid growth and industrialization in the mid-nineteenth century, the British Isles reached their environmental limits of beef and thus had to turn to grazing lands in the fertile Argentinian Pampas.[47] With the advent of improved sterilization methods in freezing and canning processes, the Pampas saw an explosive increase in farming and ranching – especially with lower-quality cattle. Because the beef from the Pampas was cheaper, it enjoyed greater popularity with the Entente compared to high-end North American beef.[48] The high beef demands, as well as for cheap wool from sheep, resulted in even more land being used for grazing. Overgrazing in many areas, especially land of weaker quality, led to severe erosion, raised the risk of devastating fires, and resulted in the infestation of aggressive small trees, *Geoffroea decorticans*.[49] This resulted in the formation of a monospecific shrubland layer with poor primary productivity.[50] Nor did Argentina have much option to say no; the country had been under the

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[44] Keller, "The Ecological Edges of Belligerency," 71.

[45] Jason L. Ruffing, "A Century of Overproduction in American Agriculture," MA diss. (University of North Texas, 2014): 19.

[46] Ibid., 48.

[47] Keller, "The Ecological Edges of Belligerency," 72.

[48] Ibid., 73.

[49] D. Aagesen, "Crisis and Conservation at the End of the World: Sheep Ranching in Argentine Patagonia," *Environmental Conservation* 27, no. 2 (2000): 211; Osvaldo A. Fernández and Carlos A. Busso, "Arid and semi-arid rangelands: two-thirds of Argentina," *RALA Report* No. 200 (Reykjavíc, Iceland: Agricultural Research Institute, 1999): 50.

[50] Fernández and Busso, "Arid and semi-arid rangelands," 50.

financial control of British companies before and during the war.[51] The huge demand for Argentinian meat had converted the once-fertile lands of Patagonia and the Rio de la Plata to unrecognizable terrain; not with shells and explosives, but instead with the collective hunger of an overseas army.

Aside from food, the European powers sought another resource in the Americas: Chilean nitrate. Chile had control of the vast nitrate deposits in the Atacama Desert and possessed a near monopoly over the world's nitrate trade.[52] As nitrate could be utilized as both a fertilizer and a material to make explosives, it was a crucial resource for any belligerent in the First World War. From 1914 to 1918, Chile exported upwards of 25 million tons of nitrate to the Germans and the Entente.[53] However, the process of obtaining the nitrate destroyed the Atacama desert; workers dug holes to map the nitrate deposits and then shattered the deposits with explosives.[54] After breaking the nitrate into fragments, the miners broke the larger fragments with sledgehammers and collected the "richer" pieces for treatment – smaller pieces were freely discarded as miners believed that nitrate deposits were inexhaustible.[55] This method of obtaining nitrate harmed the desert environment; regions of desert that were flat and traversable became impassable, and littered with the extensive waste of nitrate mining.[56] Geographer John Rich, who flew over the nitrate district in 1939, puts it best: "The nitrate district was a sorry spectacle. Most of the plants were truly 'ghost' towns, rendered particularly unattractive by the barrenness of their surroundings."[57]

European powers sourced needed materials not just from the Americas but also from another area of the world that saw little combat: Southeast Asia. In particular, Britain relied heavily on imports of tin from Malaysia – a Crown Colony at the time. Tin was a desirable commodity due to the combination of its malleability, its ability to remain unoxidized in air, and its ability to form strong bonds with iron – these three qualities enabled tin to coat other metals to prevent corrosion.[58] As well, tin's low toxicity allowed food packagers to make

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[51] David Rock, *The British in Argentina Commerce, Settlers and Power, 1800–2000* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019): 207, 234.
[52] Keller, "The Ecological Edges of Belligerency," 74.
[53] R. H. Whitbeck, "Chilean Nitrate and the Nitrogen Revolution," *Economic Geography* 7, no. 3 (1931): 277. https://doi.org/10.2307/140893.
[54] Keller, "The Ecological Edges of Belligerency," 74.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Paul Marr, "Ghosts of the Atacama: The Abandonment of Nitrate Mining in the Tarapacá Region of Chile," *Middle States Geographer* 40 (2007): 27.
[57] Ibid., 26.
[58] Keller, "The Ecological Edges of Belligerency," 68.

cans with tinplate.[59] The Allies were then able to use this tin to package the proteins and carbohydrates drawn from the Americas. Malaysia tin was deemed so essential to British wartime operations that the empire made sure to safeguard the Strait of Malacca, which connected the Indian Ocean with the Pacific, and protect its importation routes. Although no battles took place there (Germany primarily focused on securing the North Atlantic), British military presence in the strait demonstrates that acquiring foreign materials was a wartime necessity, and it further exemplified the global reach of the war.[60]

If economic trade hints at the global reach of the war, an environmental lens highlights the damage of the war felt outside the battlefield. In order to increase the speed of tin production, Britain began to employ motorized water pumps for hydraulic sluicing – such methods allowed European enterprises to gain an advantage in the tin market.[61] However, this production method came with an irreparable environmental cost. The action of clear-cutting forests on hillsides to access water sources resulted in extensive soil erosion, exposing the surface to rainfall and subsequently generating large amounts of sediment.[62] This sediment, transported by surface runoff, polluted rivers with sand clay, which ruined the lives of the locals who depended on the rivers for navigation, fishing, and clean drinking water.[63] Furthermore, landslides (which occurred due to soil erosion) covered the once-arable lowlands with debris and grit, pushing Malaysian farmers onto less desirable territories.[64] The state of the Malaysian environment progressively worsened to the extent that the local authorities attempted to ban and/or place restrictions on the act of hydraulic mining; however, the asymmetrical power relationship between Britain and Malaysia (Malaysia did not achieve independence from the British Empire until 1957) resulted in the extraction of tin continuing without any real opposition.[65] The intensified metal ore mining for the European wartime industrial efforts had created yet another "wartime landscape," with some historians claiming that the mining in the Malay peninsula had left more permanent environmental scars than the trench fighting on the Western Front.[66]

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[59] Ibid., 72.
[60] Ibid., 68.
[61] Ibid., 69.
[62] G. Balamurugan, "Tin Mining and Sediment Supply in Peninsular Malaysia with Special Reference to the Kelang River Basin," *Environmentalist* 11 (December 1991): 290, https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01266561.
[63] Keller, "The Ecological Edges of Belligerency," 70.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid., 71.

Although more global studies on WWI are emerging, there is still far more to learn and say about the environmental impacts outside of Europe. Indeed, war is primarily associated with battles and soldiers – most of which, during the First World War, were in Europe. However, the process of obtaining the materials needed to set the stage for the European theater of the First World War enables historians to situate the war in a global context, as demonstrated by the environmental damage done in America, Argentina, Chile, and the Malay Peninsula. Moreover, this type of exploration acknowledges the larger machine of war and how dominant European powers – as long as they got the resources they demanded – often cared little about how they impacted territory outside of their own.

Conclusion

The First World War was a detrimental affair to environments all over the world. Whether it was the battlefields of the Western Front, the ecosystems in which proxy wars were fought, or the remnants of nations that were exploited for natural resources, the war left a lasting environmental impact that continues to be felt today. This essay takes a twofold argument: the environmental impact of the First World War was wide-ranging and long-lasting, and looking at the war through an environmental history lens enables us to better grasp the global nature of the war. Also, examining battlefield and non-battlefield environment impacts alongside each other highlights how they accumulated and compounded in ecosystems all over the world. Currently, historians are also increasingly analyzing the First World War through a colonial lens, and future research may enable us to forge a lens that combines colonialism with the environmental impact of WWI. After all, colonialism was an inherent element in many of the examples given above, particularly in Malaysia. Canada, North Rhodesia (Zambia), and even the Middle East could offer similar avenues for analysis (the latter two also being locations of proxy wars). British author H.G. Wells labeled the First World War as the "war to end war" due to the catastrophic damage it caused to armies all over the world. However, as this essay has demonstrated, this same principle should also be applied to the damage that the First World War inflicted on the environment.

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Coastal Management 149 (November 2017): 135-147.
https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ocecoaman.2017.09.020.

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Philosophy

The Mind-Body Problem:
A Critique of Type Identity Theory

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Abstract

Type identity theory was dismissed in 1967 by many philosophers due to Hilary Putnam's multiple realisability objection seeming fatal. This paper delves into a critique of type identity theory, thereby paving the way for introducing an alternative theory of mind: emergentism. The longstanding philosophical discourse around the mind has been dominated by the binary opposition of classical physicalist and dualist theories. However, the impact of scientific discovery on contemporary thought has sparked an increasing inclination towards reductive physicalist frameworks, with the aim of aligning with the scientific method. Thus, contemporary thinkers have branched out to explore new physicalistic ideas. This paper examines the inherent challenges in all reductive physicalist theories, shedding light on their limitations and proposing potential solutions to overcome the obstacles. This analysis demonstrates that type identity theory, akin to its reductive counterparts, fails to accommodate for the irreducibility of consciousness. This is consciousness as characterised by Thomas Nagel's "what is it likeness" of experience, which is inherently subjective. Instead, this paper contends that emergentism offers a compelling alternative despite being a physicalist theory. It posits consciousness as a higher-order phenomenon, one that transcends reduction to its constituent components. I argue that this attribute of emergentism makes it a promising theory in the ongoing quest for an understanding of the mind and consciousness.

Introduction

Type identity theory, a model of the mind, has been criticised by philosophers, particularly due to the multiple realizability objection. The argument presented in this paper aims to demonstrate that type identity theory is not disproven by the multiple realisability objection but rather faces a more universal challenge that the explanatory gap poses. Whilst type identity theory is unable to avoid the explanatory gap, emergentism appears as a promising alternative. Emergentism can remain a physicalist theory, which is empirically testable, unlike type identity theory, whilst taking The Knowledge Argument by Frank Jackson as well as the Cartesian intuition of a mind seriously.

Key Terminology

Understanding the mind-body problem is crucial to grasp the relevance of type identity theory. This problem centres on the question of whether the mind is identical to the body or brain, or if it is a separate entity. Dualism and physicalism are two opposing views on this matter. Physicalism posits that everything, including the mind, is made up of physical components.[1] In contrast, dualism maintains that there are two types of substances: the physical and the mental.[2] Type identity theory, a physicalist theory, recognizes the significance of the mind and mental phenomena by describing them in physical terms.[3] Physicalists should strive to explain the world in ways that can be empirically proven.

In order to fully grapple with the mind-body problem, type identity theory, and philosophy of mind as a whole, another key aspect of the mind must also be understood: consciousness. Consciousness is often misunderstood. It can often be interpreted as a myriad of things, for example, alertness, knowledge, and wakefulness. All these intuitively seem right due to the word's colloquial use; however, within this paper, 'consciousness' refers to the subjective character of experience, or as Nagel puts it, the "what is it likeness" of something.[4] An example of consciousness is the what-is-it-likeness of seeing red or feeling pain. Consciousness refers to the phenomenal experiences that we have especially the distinct aspect of experience. Another way to understand

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[1] Stoljar, Daniel. "Physicalism." *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Stanford University, 2015, plato.stanford.edu/entries/physicalism/. Accessed 7 Dec. 2022.
[2] Robinson, Howard. "Dualism." *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 11 Sept. 2020, plato.stanford.edu/entries/dualism/. Accessed 5 Dec. 2023.
[3] Kim, Jaegwon. *Philosophy of Mind*. 3rd ed., Boulder (Colo.), Westview Press, 2010. Accessed 15 Dec. 2022.
[4] Nagel, Thomas. "What Is It Like to Be a Bat?" *The Philosophical Review*, vol. 83, no. 4, 1974, pp. 435–450, https://doi.org/10.2307/2183914. Accessed 5 Nov. 2022.

consciousness is by thinking of consciousness as a spectrum.[5] On one end of the spectrum, there are highly phenomenal states; on the opposite end, there are weakly phenomenal states. For example, the mental state of pain is highly phenomenal. There is a very distinct what-is-it-likeness of feeling pain. Conversely, the mental state of belief falls on the weaker end, where there is a less distinct what-is-it-likeness of believing that something is the case. Consciousness, thereby, is the difference we can spot between the highly phenomenal and the weakly phenomenal.

In order to understand the rationale of the type identity theory, it is important to distinguish between the concepts of causation, correlation, and identity. To illustrate these distinctions, three examples will be considered.

Causation

During a hot summer month, the earth receives large amounts of heat via radiation from the sun due to its rotation. This heat transfer can cause sunburns. Here, a causal relationship exists between the heat radiating from the sun and the occurrence of sunburns. The former is the cause, and the latter is the effect.

Correlation

Suppose a computer playing a video runs out of battery, that can result in two events: no sound comes out of the computer and the video stops playing. Although the video on the screen goes dark and the sound stops at the same time, they are not causally related. They are not identical; rather, they are merely correlated.

Identity

When a weatherman reports a high likelihood of lightning, there is often an electric discharge between clouds and the ground. Why does this occur? The answer lies in the fact that lightning is identical to electric discharge.[6] Therefore, whenever there is lightning there must also be electric discharge between clouds and the ground.

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[5] David John Chalmers. *The Conscious Mind: In Search of a Fundamental Theory*. New York, Oxford University Press, 1996.

[6] Levine, Joseph. "MATERIALISM and QUALIA: THE EXPLANATORY GAP." *Pacific Philosophical Quarterly*, vol. 64, no. 4, Oct. 1983, pp. 354–361, www.newdualism.org/papers/J.Levine/Levine-PPQ1983.pdf, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0114.1983.tb00207.x. Accessed 7 Nov. 2022.

Type Identity Theory

Type identity theory postulates a relationship of identity between mental states and brain states. Unlike previous physicalist reductionist theories, the type identity theory aims to integrate both the concept of mind and science. The focus of this theory is on quantitative identity; it argues that specific mental states are quantitatively identical to specific brain states, similar to how electric discharge is quantitatively identical to lightning.[7]

To understand this theory, it is also important to distinguish between mental states and brain states. Mental states are highly conscious states, such as pain. In contrast, brain states refer to the neural processes occurring within the brain, such as CF-fibres firing.[8] Moreover, it is crucial to note that the type identity theorist is not claiming that mental states are identical on a qualitative level to brain states. Instead, the type identity theorist asserts that they are quantitatively identical.[9] For instance, consider two cups of coffee that taste identical in all ways and qualities. They are not the same cup of coffee, but they are qualitatively identical. In contrast, if one cup of coffee is referred to in two different ways, it is still quantitatively the same cup of coffee. Similarly, mental states and brain states are quantitatively identical, despite having different properties. The example of Clark Kent and Superman helps to clarify this point. Superman possesses the ability to fly, while Clark Kent is a journalist for the Daily Planet newspaper. Although Clark Kent and Superman have different properties and characteristics, the two names refer to the same individual, demonstrating that they are quantitatively identical.[10] The same applies to mental states and brain states.

Mental states are identical to brain states thesis:

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[7] Levine, Joseph. "MATERIALISM and QUALIA: THE EXPLANATORY GAP." *Pacific Philosophical Quarterly*, vol. 64, no. 4, Oct. 1983, pp. 354–361, www.newdualism.org/papers/J.Levine/Levine-PPQ1983.pdf, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0114.1983.tb00207.x. Accessed 7 Nov. 2022.
[8] Kim, Jaegwon. *Philosophy of Mind.* 3rd ed., Boulder (Colo.), Westview Press, 2010. Accessed 15 Dec. 2022.
[9] Lewis, David K. "An Argument for the Identity Theory." *Journal of Philosophy*, vol. 63, no. 1, 1966, pp. 17–25, www.pdcnet.org/jphil/content/jphil_1966_0063_0001_0017_0025, https://doi.org/10.2307/2024524. Accessed 13 Dec. 2022.
[10] Kripke, Saul A. *Naming and Necessity.* Malden Ma, Blackwell, 1980, pp. 144-155. Accessed 28 Nov. 2022.

"For each type *M* of mental event that occurs to an organism *O*, there exists a brain state of kind *B*. This means that *M* occurs to *O* at time *T* iff *B* occurs to *O* at *T* as *M* and *B* are quantitatively identical."[11]

Thus, applying this back to mental states and brain states. We can say for example that pain, a mental state that is highly phenomenal, is identical to CF-fibres firing, a brain state, and so pain occurs iff CF-fibres occur.

"Pain = CF-fibres firing
Therefore, pain will occur iff CF-fibres are firing."[12]

Arguments for Type Identity Theory

Two compelling arguments can be made for type identity theory, the first grounded in general philosophical principles, and the second in causation. The first argument is based on the principle of Occam's razor, which is commonly used to evaluate the effectiveness of competing hypotheses, with the simplest hypothesis being favoured. This principle consists of two components: Principle (I) "Entities must not be multiplied beyond necessity" and Principle (II) "What can be done with fewer assumptions should not be done with more."[13] J.J.C. Smart argues that type identity theory provides the most parsimonious ontology in comparison to other theories, such as Cartesian dualism, while still accounting for the mind, unlike materialism.[14] Unlike dualistic theories, which posit the existence of both material and mental substances, type identity theory maintains that mental states and brain states are one and the same. This perspective reduces the two "entities" of the physical and mental worlds to one "entity," namely, quantitatively identical brain states and mental states.[15] This reductionism still accounts for the mind and consciousness, which are necessary components, as illustrated by Nagel.[16] Smart argues that type identity theory simplifies the mind and body to only the necessary components by requiring only one level of

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[11] Kim, Jaegwon. *Philosophy of Mind.* 3rd ed., Boulder (Colo.), Westview Press, 2010. Accessed 15 Dec. 2022.

[12] Kim, Jaegwon. *Philosophy of Mind.* 3rd ed., Boulder (Colo.), Westview Press, 2010. Accessed 15 Dec. 2022.

[13] Baker, Alan. "Simplicity." *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Stanford University, 2016, plato.stanford.edu/entries/simplicity/. Accessed 22 Dec. 2022.

[14] "The Mind/Brain Identity Theory." *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Stanford University, 2017, plato.stanford.edu/entries/mind-identity/. Accessed 13 Dec. 2022.

[15] Baker, Alan. "Simplicity." *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Stanford University, 2016, plato.stanford.edu/entries/simplicity/. Accessed 22 Dec. 2022.

[16] Nagel, Thomas. "What Is It like to Be a Bat?" *The Philosophical Review*, vol. 83, no. 4, 1974, pp. 435–450, https://doi.org/10.2307/2183914. Accessed 5 Nov. 2022.

description, such as physical descriptors, to explain both mental and physical states.[17] This ontological simplicity is linguistically simpler and more efficient, as it does not entail any unnecessary assumptions about mental substances and mental descriptors and avoids Principle (I).[18] Thus, type identity theory removes any unnecessary "assumptions" while accounting for the mind and consciousness and adheres to Principle (II). Smart's claim that pain is nothing "over and above" CF-fibers, implies that pain and CF-fibers are quantitatively identical, removing any unnecessary entities. Thus, type identity theory is a favourable hypothesis as it is ontologically simple and does not assume what is more than necessary. It is in line with the principle of Occam's razor and provides an efficient solution to the mind-body problem.

The second argument for type identity theory is as follows:

"**(P1)** Mental phenomena have effects on the physical world.

(P2) The physical world is causally closed.

(C1) Mental phenomena must be quantitatively identical to physical phenomena."[19]

P1:

It is undoubtedly certain that mental phenomena have an effect on the physical world. Epiphenomenalists would be the main and possibly only objectors to this premise; however, it is an untenable position to maintain as this premise is evident on a day-to-day basis.[20] Take the following example. I have the belief that it is going to rain today, so I do the physical action of taking an umbrella with me when I go out.[21] Or take this example, I feel emotional pain that is not physical, that will cause the physical reaction of tears. As Richard Taylor argues it

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[17] Smart, J. J. C. "Sensations and Brain Processes." *The Philosophical Review*, vol. 68, no. 2, 1959, pp. 141–156, www.jstor.org/stable/2182164, https://doi.org/10.2307/2182164. Accessed 26 Dec. 2022.

[18] Baker, Alan. "Simplicity." *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Stanford University, 2016, plato.stanford.edu/entries/simplicity/. Accessed 22 Dec. 2022.

[19] Kim, Jaegwon. *Philosophy of Mind*. 3rd ed., Boulder (Colo.), Westview Press, 2010. Accessed 15 Dec. 2022.

[20] Robinson, William. "Epiphenomenalism." *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Stanford University, 2019, plato.stanford.edu/entries/epiphenomenalism/. Accessed 17 Dec. 2022.

[21] Kim, Jaegwon. *Philosophy of Mind*. 3rd ed., Boulder (Colo.), Westview Press, 2010. Accessed 15 Dec. 2022.

would be impossible for our physical phenomena to be unchanged when pains, beliefs, and other mental states are removed from consideration.[22]

The argument of self-stultification is another extremely fatal argument against epiphenomenalism. This argument rejects epiphenomenalism because it is incompatible with the knowledge of our own minds. The argument can be shown like this:

"**(P1)** Epiphenomenalists reject any physical effects of mental events.

(P2) To have knowledge of one's own mental states and events necessitates that these events have caused one's own knowledge.

(C1) Thus epiphenomenalists are unable to maintain their position under the knowledge of other minds."[23]

Take for example *P* who is an Epiphenomalist is in a mental state of pain and yells that they are 'in pain.' However, *P* as an epiphenomenalist must not know of their own mental events as mental states do not cause any physical effects (such as yelling that they are in pain). That would mean that yelling 'I am in pain' can occur whether *P* is in a mental state of pain due to **(P1)**. Thus, this renders *P*'s comments useless if epiphenomenalism is true. In this case, for **P** there are two choices, the first being that we do not have any insight into our own mental events which is intuitively untrue and concerning, or the second that knowledge of our own mental events cannot cause the physical event of us saying something about our mental events which I have shown that going this direction would render **P**'s comments on their mental events useless and thus deem **P** as a philosophical zombie which is equally troublesome due to Nagel's idea of consciousness[24] and Jackson's knowledge argument.[25] Thus, I have shown through these two arguments that **(P1)** must be sustained and that epiphenomenalistic objections are unsuccessful.

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[22] Taylor, Richard. "The Stream of Thoughts versus Mental Acts." *The Philosophical Quarterly*, vol. 13, no. 53, Oct. 1963, p. 311, https://doi.org/10.2307/2955525. Accessed 8 Feb. 2023.

[23] Robinson, William. "Epiphenomenalism." *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Stanford University, 2019, plato.stanford.edu/entries/epiphenomenalism/. Accessed 17 Dec. 2022.

[24] Nagel, Thomas. "What Is It Like to Be a Bat?" *The Philosophical Review*, vol. 83, no. 4, 1974, pp. 435–450, https://doi.org/10.2307/2183914. Accessed 5 Nov. 2022.

[25] Jackson, Frank. "Epiphenomenal Qualia." *The Philosophical Quarterly*, vol. 32, no. 127, Apr. 1982, pp. 127–136, https://doi.org/10.2307/2960077.

P2:

The concept of causal closure of the physical world posits that every physical event is causally determined by prior physical events, without any need for a non-physical cause. This notion is commonly accepted by physicalists, who maintain that the world is entirely composed of physical entities. Whilst Cartesian dualists may object to this premise, the interactionist position faces its own challenges, as it lacks convincing arguments to explain how mental and physical entities can exist as entirely distinct substances and domains yet interact with one another. In light of the aforementioned challenges, it is evident that the Cartesian theory of mind-body interaction is highly problematic and so the principle of causal closure remains a tenable premise as explaining a mental-physical casual chain is problematic.

C1:

So, if **(P1)** and **(P2)** are sustained then the only way to account for both premises is to say that physical events are the only cause of mental events and so mental states, and physical states must be intrinsically linked and thus quantitatively identical in order to maintain both premises.[26] Thus, mental phenomena must be quantitatively identical to physical phenomena.

Multiple Realisability

The objection of multiple realisability, widely used against type identity theory theorists, played a critical role in the shift towards functionalism. However, it is my contention that this objection is ultimately unsuccessful for a few reasons.

The multiple realisability argument, essentially, posits that a given mental state can be realised in various distinct physical states. This appears to contradict type identity theory, which maintains that a mental state can only be expressed in one specific type of physical state.[27] Thus, this contradiction arguably weakens the type identity theory theorist's stance. Hilary Putnam argues that multiple realisability is apparent when one considers other animal species.[28] For instance, the experience of pain can be realised by various physical states in different organisms, such as an octopus with a vastly different biological structure from

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[26] Holvoet, Carlos. "The Rediscovery of the Mind. Cambridge, Mass., and London: MIT, a Bradford Book, 1992. John R. Searle." *Philosophica*, vol. 53, no. 0, 2 Jan. 1994, https://doi.org/10.21825/philosophica.82374. Accessed 1 Dec. 2022.
[27] Putnam, Hilary. "The Nature of Mental States." *Philosophical Papers*, Vol. 2, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1975, pp. 429–440. Accessed 18 Dec. 2022.
[28] Putnam, Hilary. "The Nature of Mental States." *Philosophical Papers*, Vol. 2, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1975, pp. 429–440. Accessed 18 Dec. 2022.

humans. For the octopus, the brain state that corresponds to pain can be designated as 'B-fibres.'[29] While the mental state that is quantitatively identical to 'B-fibres' is the experience of pain. Similarly, the brain state of a human that feels pain can be labeled as 'CF-fibres,' and the mental state that corresponds to 'CF-fibres' is also the experience of pain. Thus, the same mental state of pain can be realised by two different species with two entirely distinct brain states, CF-fibres, and B-fibres, rendering the type identity theory invalid.

However, I argue that the multiple realisability objection fails when realising that type identity theory is merely stating that a particular mental state is quantitatively identical to a particular physical state and so the idea that states can multiply realised does not matter.[30] This quantitative identity between mental and brain states is not affected by the physical realisation of states. The multiple realisability objection as its name alludes to only attacks the fact that the same mental state can be realised in a multitude of ways.[31] However, this is not a problem for the type identity theory theorist as it does not take away from the fact that there is a mental state that is identical to a certain physical state because different physical realisations of a mental state do not need to be identical to one another.[32]

If we return to the original hypothesis of:

For each type M of mental state that occurs to an organism O, there exists a brain state of kind B. This means that M occurs to O at time T iff B occurs to O at T as M and B are quantitatively identical.[33]

If we take the case of pain and characterise **M** as the umbrella term for the mental state of pain and **B** as the umbrella term for the brain state of pain. We can see how this model of thinking is unaffected by the idea of multiple realisability. All animals have a physical/brain state of pain that is identical to the mental state of pain, so if we simply disregard **Pain = CF-fibres** and rather think of **M = B** then the multiple

[29] Putnam, Hilary. "The Nature of Mental States." *Philosophical Papers*, Vol. 2, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1975, pp. 429–440. Accessed 18 Dec. 2022.
[30] "The Mind/Brain Identity Theory." *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Stanford University, 2017, plato.stanford.edu/entries/mind-identity/. Accessed 13 Dec. 2022.
[31] Putnam, Hilary. "The Nature of Mental States." *Philosophical Papers*, Vol. 2, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1975, pp. 429–440. Accessed 18 Dec. 2022.
[32] McCauley, Robert N., and William Bechtel. "Explanatory Pluralism and Heuristic Identity Theory." *Theory & Psychology*, vol. 11, no. 6, Dec. 2001, pp. 736–760, https://doi.org/10.1177/0959354301116002. Accessed 11 Dec. 2022.
[33] Kim, Jaegwon. *Philosophy of Mind*. 3rd ed., Boulder (Colo.), Westview Press, 2010. Accessed 15 Dec. 2022.

realizability objection fails and the type identity theory still stands. Moreover, this differentiation of realisation and states can also be used in differentiating states in different systems. Multiple realisability's main objection is how mental states such as pain can be identical to different brain states. However, this objection assumes that the type identity theory theorist believes that mental states do not differ from system to system. Returning to the key premise that mental states are identical to brain states and the premise that brain states can differ from system to system, why should mental states not also differ from system to system? For example, CF-fibres are identical to the mental state of pain in humans just as B-fibres are identical to the mental state of pain in octopuses. All the type identity theory theorists must do is simply specify states to specific systems.

David Lewis illustrates this solution through the following example:

"

1.   There is one winning lottery ticket

2.   The winning ticket is 93

3.   The winning ticket is 31
"34

Thus, a contradiction arises.

Type identity theory:

"

(1`) There is only one physical realisation of pain.

(2`) The physical-chemical realisation of pain is CF-fibre firing.

(3`) The physical-chemical realisation of pain is … (something else entirely).
"35

Thus, a contradiction arises.

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34 "The Mind/Brain Identity Theory." *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Stanford University, 2017, plato.stanford.edu/entries/mind-identity/. Accessed 13 Dec. 2022.
35 "The Mind/Brain Identity Theory." *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Stanford University, 2017, plato.stanford.edu/entries/mind-identity/. Accessed 13 Dec. 2022.

Lewis argues that all that needs to be done here for the type identity theorist is to specify. The lottery example can get rid of a contradiction by simply stating in (1) that 'There is one lottery ticket per week' and specify which week lottery tickets (2) and (3) are for.[36] Similarly, for the type identity theorist, it is simply a matter of specifying that 'there is only one physical realisation of pain for each system' and specifying what systems are for (2`) and (3`).[37] It is clear here that the multiple realisability theory simply induces a small alteration that can be made to the type identity theorist's argument which instead of weakening type identity theory makes it a more detailed theory.

Bigger Problems with Type Identity Theory

Type Identity Theory has long been troubled by the problem of multiple realizability. However, as I have shown the two ideas are not incompatible. Instead, a more pressing threat to type identity theory arises from the explanatory gap, which asserts that there exists an insurmountable disparity between mental and physical states, rendering them irreconcilable under any physicalist theory.

The explanatory gap was first conceptualised by David Levine, who argued that humans seek physical explanations for their world. For instance, in the case of lightning, we no longer ascribe it to divine wrath but instead understand it as a natural electric discharge in clouds.[38] This identity appears to be a fundamental truth that we cannot conceive of otherwise. In contrast, when it comes to the mind and consciousness, we encounter an explanatory gap that defies physical explanation.

For example, if we again take the example of (Pain = CF-fibre stimulation), it appears we have an identity. However, we can see that this is not the case when we compare this false identity to the true identity (Lightning = Electric discharge). Think of the physical story of lighting. We can picture how friction within the clouds causes electric discharge, this charge is attracted to the opposite charge on the ground, causing lighting. However, when we take the case of pain, a physical story is missing; there is no satisfactory physical explanation of what is

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[36] Lewis, David. "Art, Mind, and Religion." *Journal of Philosophy*, vol. 66, no. 1, 1969, pp. 22–27, https://doi.org/10.2307/2024154.

[37] Lewis, David. "Art, Mind, and Religion." *Journal of Philosophy*, vol. 66, no. 1, 1969, pp. 22–27, https://doi.org/10.2307/2024154.

[38] Levine, Joseph. "MATERIALISM and QUALIA: THE EXPLANATORY GAP." *Pacific Philosophical Quarterly*, vol. 64, no. 4, Oct. 1983, pp. 354–361, www.newdualism.org/papers/J.Levine/Levine-PPQ1983.pdf, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0114.1983.tb00207.x. Accessed 7 Nov. 2022.

going on. The relationship between the two is completely opaque.[39]
There is no physical explanation for why certain mental states correlate
with certain brain states. Thus, Levine posits that there might be a need
for a nonphysical explanation of consciousness as physicalist
explanations like type identity theory lack the explanatory power needed
to bridge this explanatory gap.[40]

Ned Block similarly argues that type identity theory fails to bridge
the explanatory gap as it does not explain how physical states give rise to
subjective experience.[41] It simply states that the two are identical but
does not explain why or how. For example, in the case of Pain = CF-
fibres, CF-fibres could be causing any other sensation other than pain.
Why are CF-fibres, not the brain state that causes the mental state of
beliefs, desires, or any other mental state for that matter? There is no
physical explanation for why certain mental states and certain brain
states have an identity and thus there is also no substantiated explanation
for consciousness that can be given under the type identity theorist's
model of the mind.

Moreover, the theory does not account for the subjectivity of
mental states and thereby subjective experiences. For example, it does
not explain why two people can experience the same physical state, i.e.,
watching a movie, but have different mental states such as, one feeling
pain and sadness or the other feeling happiness.

Similarly, type identity theory fails to explain the causal
relationships between physical states and mental states. The mental state
of belief has the physical state of 'B-fibres.' If we assume this identity to
be true, what knowledge of causal relationships or insights into
consciousness can be gained? It appears as though there is very little
knowledge that can be derived. If I have the mental state of belief that it
is going to rain and thereby have the physical state of 'B-fibres' where in
this model of the mind is there a cause that makes me take an umbrella
before I leave the house? Type identity theory could be a philosophically

[39] Levine, Joseph. "MATERIALISM and QUALIA: THE EXPLANATORY GAP."
Pacific Philosophical Quarterly, vol. 64, no. 4, Oct. 1983, pp. 354–361,
www.newdualism.org/papers/J.Levine/Levine-PPQ1983.pdf,
https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0114.1983.tb00207.x. Accessed 7 Nov. 2022.
[40] Levine, Joseph. "MATERIALISM and QUALIA: THE EXPLANATORY GAP."
Pacific Philosophical Quarterly, vol. 64, no. 4, Oct. 1983, pp. 354–361,
www.newdualism.org/papers/J.Levine/Levine-PPQ1983.pdf,
https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0114.1983.tb00207.x. Accessed 7 Nov. 2022.
[41] Ned Joel Block, et al. *The Nature of Consciousness: Philosophical Debates / The Nature of
Consciousness: Philosophical Debates*. Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press, 1997. Accessed 27
Dec. 2022.

valid model of the mental and physical, however, it lacks the crucial factor of having the explanatory power to allow us to explain mental phenomena rendering the model useless.

Furthermore, this lack of explanatory power means no set model can account for all aspects of the mental. What I mean by this is that if I want to account for the mental state of pain, I need to posit CF-fibres and if I want to account for the mental state of beliefs, I need to posit B-fibres and similarly if I want to account for the physical feeling of an itch, I also thereby need to posit a mental state that is a mental correlate of this physical state of an itch. This negates the argument that Smart proposes for type identity theory about its simplicity, there is an almost uncountable number of mental states and brain states due to their subjective nature and so there also needs to be an almost uncountable number of posited identities and thereby an uncountable amount of 'entities' which can clearly be deemed unnecessary and thus failing to comply with Occam's razor.[42] Thus, another positive argument for type identity theory fails.

Additionally, type identity theory whilst originally aiming to allow science and the mind to coexist fails to allow for empirical testing. Whilst being a physicalist theory it fails to achieve what most physicalists wish for which is a theory of the mind that can be backed by scientific evidence. This is because there is no feasible way to test the scientific validity of type identity theory as there are no explanations or ideas to be derived from the theory and so thereby that means there are no explanations to be tested. The theory simply dwells on the idea of identity which is very much an a priori piece of knowledge than anything else and so cannot be tested empirically but only can be deduced through logic.

However, type identity theorists may object arguing that specific psycho-neural identities like 'pains are CF-fibre excitations' are empirical truths that can be discovered and tested through empirical testing and research. But to argue that an identity is an empirical truth and not an a priori knowledge means that the two parts of said identity need to have independent criteria of application.[43] So, to argue that pain = CF-fibres there would need to be a criterion of pain that is beyond CF-fibres and vice versa, or else it would be an a priori knowledge of identity and thereby cannot be empirically tested. The clearest criterion for pain

[42] Baker, Alan. "Simplicity." *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Stanford University, 2016, plato.stanford.edu/entries/simplicity/. Accessed 22 Dec. 2022.
[43] Kim, Jaegwon. *Philosophy of Mind*. 3rd ed., Boulder (Colo.), Westview Press, 2010. Accessed 15 Dec. 2022.

would be the phenomenal and qualitative aspect of it that is distinct from neural properties.[44] However, as shown through the explanatory gap and the myriad of arguments above, type identity theory cannot grapple with and account for subjective experience and thereby cannot claim that identities such as pain = CF-fibres can be empirically tested as the only founding that claim lies in consciousness. Therefore, type identity theory is not satisfactory for most physicalists even if the concept of mental and brain state identity is a satisfactory theory philosophically. However, as I have also shown there are many issues with type identity theories' philosophical reasoning, and since there are so many negative arguments for type identity theory and many objections to the positive ones, it is clear that type identity theory is not a satisfactory theory even after excluding the multiple realisability objection.

Emergentism

Emergentism however offers a solution to the problems type identity theory faces: accounting for consciousness, lacking explanatory power, and the impossibility of empirical verification. Emergentism argues that certain properties of complex systems, such as the mind, cannot be fully explained by the properties of their individual parts alone such as neurons or neurotransmitters, but instead arise from the interactions and relationships between those parts.[45] Higher-level phenomena cannot be reduced nor deduced from their lower-level domains.[46] To illustrate this better, imagine a tornado. This tornado may have picked up cars, trees, and branches with its strong gust. However, this tornado, a high-level phenomenon cannot be identified or reduced into these micro-components.[47]

Similarly, in the case of the property of consciousness, emergentism argues that consciousness is an emergent property that arises from the complex interactions between physical processes and thus is why many physicalist theories have failed to account for the

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[44] Kim, Jaegwon. *Philosophy of Mind.* 3rd ed., Boulder (Colo.), Westview Press, 2010. Accessed 15 Dec. 2022.

[45] O'Connor, Timothy, and Hong Yu Wong. "Emergent Properties." *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Stanford University, 2015, plato.stanford.edu/entries/properties-emergent/. Accessed 22 Jan. 2022.

[46] Chalmers, David. "Strong and Weak Emergence." *The Re-Emergence of Emergence*, 15 May 2008, pp. 244–254, https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199544318.003.0011. Accessed 31 Dec. 2022.

[47] O'Connor, Timothy, and Hong Yu Wong. "Emergent Properties." *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Stanford University, 2015, plato.stanford.edu/entries/properties-emergent/. Accessed 22 Jan. 2022.

higher-level phenomena of the mind such as consciousness as it is an emergent property and so cannot be explained by its lower physical domain.[48]

Emergentism unlike type identity theory accounts for the distinctiveness of experience and the qualities that phenomenal experiences have and thus subsequently avoids the explanatory gap. Consciousness as explained by Nagel is the 'what is it likeness' of experience, the distinct feeling of experience.[49] Another way of thinking about the distinctness of conscious experience and qualia is that from experience can come information that is not already known from physical knowledge. This is best illustrated by Jackson's Mary's room thought experiment.[50] Mary is a colour scientist in a room where the entire world is in black and white.[51] Mary knows all the physical and scientific knowledge there is to know about the colour red from its wavelength of light all the way to the emotions it induces in animals.[52] The question then becomes whether Mary learns anything new when she leaves the room and enters the coloured world and sees the colour red for the first time. Intuitively it seems that there is some external knowledge gained upon the experience of seeing red than when it is only studied and understood regarding its physical qualities and attributes.

Emergentism can explain the distinct knowledge gained from experience as shown by Jackson as well as the 'what is it likeness' of experience.[53] This is because emergent properties are non-existent in the individual physical components of the world. When Mary learns of all the scientific knowledge and observation there is to know about the colour 'Red' Mary is unable to obtain the emergent knowledge that comes separately with the experience of red. This is because all Mary knows is the lower-level physical domain from which she cannot derive this distinct knowledge as consciousness is an emergent higher-level phenomenon and cannot be reduced to the physical nor deduced from

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[48] Chalmers, David. "Strong and Weak Emergence." *The Re-Emergence of Emergence*, 15 May 2008, pp. 244–254, https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199544318.003.0011. Accessed 31 Dec. 2022.

[49] Nagel, Thomas. "What Is It like to Be a Bat?" *The Philosophical Review*, vol. 83, no. 4, 1974, pp. 435–450, https://doi.org/10.2307/2183914. Accessed 5 Nov. 2022.

[50] Jackson, Frank. "Epiphenomenal Qualia." *The Philosophical Quarterly*, vol. 32, no. 127, Apr. 1982, pp. 127–136, https://doi.org/10.2307/2960077.

[51] Jackson, Frank. "Epiphenomenal Qualia." *The Philosophical Quarterly*, vol. 32, no. 127, Apr. 1982, pp. 127–136, https://doi.org/10.2307/2960077

[52] Jackson, Frank. "Epiphenomenal Qualia." *The Philosophical Quarterly*, vol. 32, no. 127, Apr. 1982, pp. 127–136, https://doi.org/10.2307/2960077

[53] Nagel, Thomas. "What Is It like to Be a Bat?" *The Philosophical Review,* vol. 83, no. 4, 1974, pp. 435–450, https://doi.org/10.2307/2183914. Accessed 5 Nov. 2022.

it.[54] This emergentist theory of mind can account for consciousness, successfully evades the explanatory gap, and is strengthened by real-world evidence it is clear that these properties are not opaque, unlike the identities in type identity theory.[55] As Levine proposes within our world many things are deduced and understood through physical explanations but when it comes to consciousness and the mind there is a gap in physicalist explanations and thus their theories. Emergentism can bridge this gap as it accounts for consciousness and has a physical story. Take ants in a colony. Each ant is its own being, however, often observed is that without communication these ants with their own individual brains can self-organise and coordinate. Collectively they have the emergent property of self-organisation.[56] Within the empirical world, it is evident that physical entities which have certain brain functions can have much more complex and distinct characteristics.[57] Similarly, with consciousness, the physical domain of neurotransmitters and neurons whilst being simple biological cells or molecules that have certain cognitive functions are in a complex system that organises and arises into something distinct which we come to know as consciousness. Indeed, emergentism can bridge the explanatory gap and explain why it exists, something that type identity theory fails to achieve.

Moreover, as pointed out type identity fails to be a good physicalist theory as its model of the mind cannot be empirically tested by science and physical models. Emergentism on the other hand is capable of this and thus able to bridge the explanatory gap through accounting for consciousness whilst still being able to remain a testable and empirically investigable model of the mind.[58] This is because if a model of the brain, whether through mathematical, computer, or physical construction is created through the advancement of science, a test to confirm emergentism can be performed by seeing whether or not consciousness emerges from this physically constructed system whose

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[54] Jackson, Frank. "Epiphenomenal Qualia." *The Philosophical Quarterly*, vol. 32, no. 127, Apr. 1982, pp. 127–136, https://doi.org/10.2307/2960077.

[55] Levine, Joseph. "MATERIALISM and QUALIA: THE EXPLANATORY GAP." Pacific Philosophical Quarterly, vol. 64, no. 4, Oct. 1983, pp. 354–361, www.newdualism.org/papers/J.Levine/Levine-PPQ1983.pdf, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0114.1983.tb00207.x. Accessed 7 Nov. 2022.

[56] Klein, Colin, and Andrew B. Barron. "Insect Consciousness: Commitments, Conflicts and Consequences." *Animal Sentience*, vol. 1, no. 9, 28 Nov. 2016, https://doi.org/10.51291/2377-7478.1181.

[57] R Keith Sawyer, et al. *Creativity and Development*. Boulder, Netlibrary, Incorporated, Aug, 2003.

[58] Klein, Colin, and Andrew B. Barron. "Insect Consciousness: Commitments, Conflicts and Consequences." *Animal Sentience*, vol. 1, no. 9, 28 Nov. 2016, https://doi.org/10.51291/2377-7478.1181.

individual components lack consciousness.[59] If so, then emergentism can be proved as the more probable model for the mind compared to type identity theory as the type identity theorist has no way to test or differentiate between brain states and mental states as that would imply that physical things individually are conscious. Emergentism being empirically testable allows for a possible conclusion to the mind-body problem once science is able to catch up with philosophical inquiry. Even if empirical evidence proves that emergentism is wrong and that consciousness, an emergent property, does not arise from a physically constructed brain that does not mean that emergentism is a useless physicalist model of the mind. Rather it means that we can more definitively than ever before rule out a model of the mind and that has a value in its own right.

Conclusion

Type identity theory fails to be a good physicalist model of the mind in that it cannot be empirically testable, does not account for a key property of the mind, which is consciousness, and fails to bridge the explanatory gap. Emergentism, on the other hand, can account for consciousness, can bridge the explanatory gap, and is empirically testable therefore is the most useful model of the mind or at the very least certainly more convincing than type identity theory. However, more research is needed on whether strong emergence could be a non-physicalist theory and whether radical dualistic ideas such as panpsychism could act as strong competing hypotheses to emergentism.

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[59] R Keith Sawyer, et al. *Creativity and Development.* Boulder, Netlibrary, Incorporated, Aug, 2003.

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US History

FDR vs. the Supreme Court: The Battle for the Meaning of the American Constitution

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Abstract

New Deal constitutionalism faced strong opposition from business elites, the Republicans, and a conservative Supreme Court, striking down many pieces of legislation during FDR's first term in office. Trying to avoid a confrontation with the Court, FDR challenged the Court with judicial reform, commonly known as the court-packing plan. The Court self-reversed its opposition to the New Deal and ended the confrontation with FDR. Unlike traditional interpretations of this conflict arguing that though FDR won the battle with the Court, he eventually lost the political war with his opponents, this essay offers a different conclusion. FDR's New Deal constitutionalism represents a long-lasting contribution to American constitutionalism, far too important to be judged solely because of FDR's "failed" court-packing plan. New Deal progressives developed a democratically more inclusive form of "popular" constitutionalism, giving ordinary citizens the key role in constitutional decision-making. The New Deal "economic constitutionalism," with its emphasis on economic equality and strong social rights, provided a necessary framework for FDR's economic reforms that helped the country survive the worst economic crisis in its history. The New Deal constitutionalism created a new constitutional regime that lasted until the 1980s when it was overturned by Ronald Reagan's neoliberal revolution.

Introduction

Despite the surge of economic legislation during Franklin Delano Roosevelt's (FDR) first term in office, the country had not yet fully recovered from the worst economic depression in its history. A friend of FDR told the president that he would be judged as America's "greatest or worst president depending on whether he restored prosperity."[1] Consequently, FDR's most immediate political priority of putting people back to work also informed his constitutional thinking. His decisive victory in the 1936 election reaffirmed his belief in New Deal constitutionalism as the most appropriate response to the economic crisis. Speaking to his party delegates at the 1936 Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia, FDR put the issues of economic inequality and the vast concentration of wealth and power in the hands of the elite at the front of his constitutional agenda.[2] FDR continued that this "almost complete control over other people's property, other people's money, other people's labor" destroyed political freedom.[3] His solution was his reading of the Constitution as an "economic constitutional order," giving the federal government broad regulatory powers and a corresponding duty to create economic rights to protect the people against economic inequality and exploitation.[4] FDR was firmly convinced that the text of the Constitution as such supported his reading of the Constitution.[5] Furthermore, FDR's more fundamental claim was that his "economic constitutional order" of economic equality and "democracy of opportunity" was the only appropriate response to an increasing concentration of wealth and power, threatening to undermine the very foundations of the American republic.[6]

New Deal constitutionalism was opposed by a formidable alliance of business elites and Republicans, and a conservative and activist Supreme Court, striking down twelve pieces of legislation during

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[1] Iwan Morgan, *FDR: Transforming the Presidency and Renewing America* (London, New York, Oxford, New Delhi, Sydney: Bloomsbury Academic, 2022), 2.

[2] Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Acceptance Speech for the Re-Nomination for the Presidency," Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, June 27, 1936. Available online via *The American Presidency Project,* http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=15314.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Campaign Address on Progressive Government at the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco," September 23, 1932. California Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/289312.

[5] Franklin D. Roosevelt, "First Inaugural Address," March 4, 1933. Available at https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/fdr-inaugural.

[6] Joseph Fishkin, William E. Forbath, *The Anti-Oligarchy Constitution: Reconstructing the Economic Foundations of American Democracy* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: Harvard University Press, 2022), 252.

FDR's first term in office.[7] For New Dealers, this represented a radical break with the past, when the Court had done so only exceptionally.[8] For most of FDR's opponents, New Deal constitutionalism, with its expansive reading of federal authority, represented a direct threat to traditional American values, such as individual liberty and limited government. Because of their emphasis on the absolute protection of property rights and a very narrow reading of federal legislative powers, FDR referred to his opponents as representatives of "entrenched greed."[9] The New Dealers were thus confronted with the constitutional philosophy that in the name of limited government and 'true' American values prioritized the interests of the economic elite and, according to FDR, "paid little attention to the commitment of government to help the unemployed, to make work, to aid people in keeping their homes."[10] Despite the Court's often repeated rhetoric that it protected the rights of individuals and workers, FDR considered it essential to demonstrate to the American public that the opposite was true.

FDR's political opponents found a strong ally in the conservative Supreme Court. During FDR's first term, the Supreme Court struck down twelve pieces of the New Deal legislation, invoking similar principles to those defended by the political opponents of the New Deal. The Court invoked an extremely narrow reading of the property and commerce clauses of the Constitution to declare unconstitutional some of the key pieces of the New Deal legislation.[11] So, despite FDR's landslide victory, clearly signaling the people's endorsement of his New Deal constitutionalism, the fate of the New Deal was decided by the following battle between FDR and the Supreme Court over the meaning of the Constitution.

Instead of directly challenging the Court, FDR decided to use a less antagonistic method. FDR had many legal options on the table, ranging from the most obvious one, a constitutional amendment, to a statute allowing the president to add more Justices to the Court.[12] In the

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[7] Laura Kalman, *FDR's Gambit: The Court Packing Fight and the Rise of Legal Liberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 63.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Annual Message to Congress," Jan.3, 1936. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/208916.

[10] "Roosevelt Twits Liberty League as Lover of Property," *N.Y.Times*, Aug. 25, 1934, 2; Jared A. Goldstein, "The American Liberty League and the Rise of Constitutional Nationalism," *Temple Law Review* 86 (Winter 2014), 307-308.

[11] Railroad Retirement Board v. Alton Railroad Co., 295 U.S. 330 (1935), *United States v. Butler*, 297 U.S. 1 (1936); A. L. A. Schechter Poultry Corp. v. United States, 295 U.S. 495 (1935); Carter v. Carter Coal Company, 298 U.S. 238 (1936).

[12] Fishkin, Forbath, *The Anti-Oligarchy Constitution*, 276.

end, he resorted to the last option, the so-called 'court-packing plan.'[13] Even though the 'court-packing plan' was never enacted, FDR won the battle with the Court.[14] After the Court reversed its stance on New Deal constitutionalism and with Justice Van Devanter's retirement, the Congressional support for the 'court-packing plan' receded and the bill was eventually defeated.[15] Nevertheless, with the "new" majority on the Court on his side, FDR ultimately prevailed as he could proceed with his New Deal agenda without being obstructed by the Court.

The interpretations of FDR's victory remain sharply divided. The traditional account claims that FDR's victory over the Court was futile,[16] contributing to the demise of his future New Deal reforms. The main proponent of this account, historian William Leuchtenburg, argues that court-packing undermined support for the New Deal and divided Democrats, eventually leading to a new coalition between Southern Democrats and Republicans that later launched a "constitutional counterrevolution" against the New Deal.[17] Fishkin and Forbath, on the other hand, claim that the New Deal progressives developed a democratically more inclusive form of "popular" constitutionalism. FDR compared the Constitution to the Protestant Bible, which was "a layman's document" and could be interpreted directly by the people themselves.[18] As Fishkin and Forbath add to FDR's observation, in this "popular" form of constitutionalism no "priesthood or legal elite enjoyed a monopoly of interpretive authority."[19] Ackerman goes even further and argues that New Deal constitutionalism presented an example of a constitutional "moment," a rare episode of a "successful moment of mobilized popular renewal" that leads to a fundamental transformation of the meaning of the American Constitution.[20] The key feature of popular constitutionalism is that the people ultimately control the interpretation of constitutional law. In this respect, the New Deal constitutionalism represented one of such constitutional moments in American history.

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[13] Kalman, *FDR's Gambit*, 97.

[14] Laura Kalman, "The Constitution, the Supreme Court, and the New Deal," *American Historical Review* 110, no.4 (2005): 1057.

[15] Kalman, *FDR's Gambit*, 166-170, 198-199.

[16] Kalman, "The Constitution, the Supreme Court, and the New Deal," 1057.

[17] Kalman, Ibid.; Fishkin, Forbath, *The Anti-Oligarchy Constitution*, 319.

[18] Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Address on Constitution Day," Washington, D.C, September 17, 1937. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/208747; Fishkin, Forbath, *The Anti-Oligarchy Constitution*, 288.

[19] Fishkin, Forbath, *The Anti-Oligarchy Constitution*, 288.

[20] Bruce Ackerman, *We the People 2: Transformations* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998), 5, 309, 346.

The first two sections describe the key features of the New Deal constitutionalism and contrast it with the constitutional theory of its most forceful opponents, the defenders of the conservative and libertarian reading of the Constitution. The next section offers an account of how the tension between the two constitutional narratives led to a conflict that was eventually resolved by the Supreme Court's self-reversal following FDR's court-packing threat.

The New Deal's Opponents: On Libertarian and Conservative Reading of the Constitution

New Deal constitutionalism was strongly opposed by its adversaries, best exemplified by the conservative Supreme Court frequently ruling against FDR's New Deal legislation. The Supreme Court justices were described as "the nine old men" in one of the most popular books of the time.[21] Their core constitutional ideal was an almost absolute protection of property rights and freedom of contract, and an extremely narrow reading of the powers of the federal government. In several decisions, the Court objected to a sweeping delegation of legislative "commerce powers" to the federal government as proposed by the New Dealers to redistribute economic power and wealth in a crisis-ridden America. In the spring of 1935, the Court declared in *Railroad Retirement Board vs. Alton Railroad Company* the provisions of the Railroad Retirement Act establishing a compulsory retirement and pension system unconstitutional because it amounted to a taking of property without due process as well as to an unreasonable regulation of commerce. According to Justice Roberts, who wrote for the majority, the Act's appropriation of workers' payrolls for a pension fund amounted to a "naked appropriation of private property" for the benefit of workers.[22] Roberts also disputed the connection between the welfare of tailored workers and the safety of interstate travel, depriving the Act of a proper basis for the legitimate exercise of regulation of interstate commerce. Chief Justice Hughes, joined by Brandeis, Cardozo, and Stone dissented. For "shocked" Hughes, the Court's decision placed "an unwarranted limitation upon the commerce clause of the Constitution" and "denied wholly and forever the power of Congress to enact any social welfare scheme."[23] As Forbath and Fishkin argue, the Court showed an open contempt for FDR's idea of old-age security.[24] According to the Court, only a private employer could provide a

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[21] Kalman, *FDR's Gambit,* 1-5.
[22] Railroad Retirement Board v. Alton Railroad Co., 295 U.S. 330 (1935).
[23] Railroad Retirement Board v. Alton Railroad Co., 295 U.S. 330 (1935); Leonard W. Levy, *The Encyclopedia of the American Constitution* (New York: Macmillan, 1986).
[24] Fishkin, Forbath, *The Anti-Oligarchy Constitution*, 304.

pension, not the "legislative largesse." Alton clearly showed how insurmountable the difference between the Court's and FDR's interpretation of social welfare rights was.

The same month the Court dealt another blow to FDR's flagship piece of legislation, the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA). In *Schechter*, the Court unanimously agreed that the NIRA contained too broad a delegation of powers to the executive branch to implement the NIRA. In explaining the decision of the Court, Chief Justice Hughes concluded that "the code-making authority this conferred is an unconstitutional delegation of legislative power."[25] The Court invoked what is today known as the "non-delegation doctrine," requiring Congress to establish reasonably clear and general standards to guide the executive's enforcement of specific rules and policies preserved in the legislation.[26] The ultimate goal of this doctrine was to prevent the executive agencies, established by legislation, from having unchecked powers. The Court also held that NIRA violated the commerce clause by giving Congress too broad a power to regulate the poultry industry, which, according to the Court, was a state issue. Critical of the Supreme Court's "horse-and-buggy"[27] definition of inter-state commerce, which the Court often used to strike down the New Deal legislation, FDR offered a vision of a "changing," "living" Constitution, attuned to the needs of modern industrialized America.[28] With the 'horse-and-buggy' parable, referring to a one-horse carriage used in the 18th and 19th centuries, FDR wanted to point out that the Court was out of step with the times. Namely, the Court interpreted many commercial activities, such as mining, manufacturing, and growing crops, as not "commerce" but "essentially local" activities, outside of the reach of the Commerce Clause that only allowed regulation of interstate commerce by the Congress.[29] With their radical repudiation of core elements of New Deal legislation, *Alton* and *Schechter* significantly contributed to the constitutional crisis of 1937.

In *Carter v. Carter Coal Company*, the Court used a similar reading of the commerce clause to strike down the power of Congress to regulate the coal mining industry, which, according to the Court, was

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[25] "A. L. A. Schechter Poultry Corporation v. United States." *Oyez*, www.oyez.org/cases/1900-1940/295us495. Accessed 10 Apr. 2023.

[26] Fishkin, Forbath, *The Anti-Oligarchy Constitution*, 271.

[27] Kalman, *FDR's Gambit*, 35.

[28] William E. Forbath, "The New Deal Constitution in Exile," *Duke Law Journal* 51, no.1 (2001): 176-177.

[29] Fishkin, Forbath, *The Anti-Oligarchy Constitution*, 273.

also a state issue.[30] In *Butler*, while affirming that Congress has broad spending and taxing powers, the Court ruled that these powers could be used only for areas exclusively reserved for federal regulation, and not for agricultural production, an area purportedly reserved for the states, according to Courts' reading of the Tenth Amendment.[31] All these cases were based on a very restricted reading of federal regulatory powers when it comes to redistributive issues. The Court's reading of the commerce clause, of spending and taxing powers, and of the property clause drastically limited the government's power to enact social welfare legislation and regulate property.

As a result, these rulings "created major obstacles for carrying out Roosevelt's plans and raised grave doubts about their wisdom and validity."[32] Moreover, as reported by a journalist of the prominent liberal magazine, The New Republic, "[the] one thing which haunts the secret thoughts of this administration … is the horrid suspicion that all it is doing is unconstitutional, and null and void."[33] Together with two other rulings that the Court issued on the so-called Black Friday, May 27th, 1935, *Schechter* amounted to "a judicial declaration of war on his [FDR] presidency."[34] The differences between the Court's and FDR's interpretation of the Constitution were, in other words, insurmountable.

FDR's reading of the Constitution was not only opposed by the Supreme Court but he was also confronted with powerful political opposition. Most of the Republicans perceived FDR's New Deal as a departure from traditional American constitutional values. In the 1936 election campaign, a group of the most influential and prominent business owners, known as the American Liberty League (ALL), launched an aggressive campaign to defeat FDR.[35] Like the Supreme Court, they promoted quite a different reading of the Constitution than FDR. Their conservative vision of constitutionalism promoted the ideas of limited government, property rights, individualism, and self-reliance, all identified as core values of the American Constitution.[36] Their core theme was a defense of 'traditional' American constitutionalism, based on the premises of the Founding Fathers and advocating extremely limited government whose core aim should be to protect property,

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[30] "Carter v. Carter Coal Company." *Oyez*, www.oyez.org/cases/1900-1940/298us238. Accessed 19 Apr. 2023.
[31] "United States v. Butler." *Oyez*, www.oyez.org/cases/1900-1940/297us1. Accessed 19 Apr. 2023.
[32] Goldstein, "The American Liberty League," 305.
[33] Kalman, *FDR's Gambit*, 18.
[34] Morgan, FDR, 128.
[35] Goldstein, "The American Liberty League," 290.
[36] Ibid., 289.

contracts, and economic freedom. Their campaign was supported by many members of the Republican Party and the media critical of FDR and the New Deal. However, because they were too close to the representatives of the 'entrenched greed,' FDR easily defeated their campaign and won the presidency. Instead of fighting with the Supreme Court, which had just invalidated key pieces of the New Deal, FDR decided to accept the ALL's challenge and made a defense of his constitutionalism against the ALL's attack a key theme of his 1936 presidential campaign. Cautioned by his friend and future justice of the Court, Felix Frankfurter, FDR understood that it would be unwise to attack the Court, one of the most reputable institutions in the country.[37] FDR's team of advisors convinced FDR to pick up the fight with ALL because it was an easier opponent to discredit than the Supreme Court.[38]

New Deal Constitutionalism

Contrary to the Supreme Court reading of the Constitution, FDR believed that the New Deal "economic constitution" protected the people against the representatives of 'entrenched greed' and their economic exploitation. The ultimate objective of FDR's "economic constitution" was to "save capitalism and the Constitution from their conservative guardians."[39] In his ninth Fireside Chat, when discussing the court-packing plan, FDR confirmed his principled belief that the Constitution as such was not the problem. The problem was the Supreme Court and its interpretation of the text. Hence, FDR argued, "[we] have, therefore, reached the point as a nation where we must take action to save the Constitution from the Court and the Court from itself."[40] Comparing it to the Bible, FDR urged his fellow Americans to "read it again and again."[41] FDR's main argument here was that the people did not need legal "priests" to understand it. This optimistic belief that the Constitution does not need to be changed but only correctly interpreted was an integral part of FDR's constitutional philosophy. He clearly outlined it already in his first inaugural address, where he explained that "our Constitution is so simple and practical that it is possible always to meet extraordinary needs by changes in emphasis and arrangement without loss of essential form."[42] He used every opportunity to explain why his substantive reading of the Constitution as

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[37] Ibid., 306.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Fishkin, Forbath, *The Anti-Oligarchy Constitution*, 251.
[40] Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Fireside Chat on Reorganization of the Judiciary," March 9, 1937. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Wooley, The American Presidency Project. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=15381.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Roosevelt, "First Inaugural Address."

an "economic constitution" was not only possible but also required for a correct understanding of the constitutional text.[43] As explained earlier, his constitutional theory emphasized a strong connection between economic and political freedoms.[44] Extreme economic inequality and concentration of wealth in the hands of few leads almost automatically lead to political unfreedom. Therefore, the solution was his New Deal constitutionalism, offering a variety of new economic and social rights, aiming to remedy the devastating effects of economic depression on the unequal distribution of wealth and power in 1930s America. Here, FDR's thinking was informed by the tradition of the Populists and Progressive antimonopoly movements, who understood that the concentration of economic and political power in the hands of the few was antithetical to American democracy.[45]

His understanding of the Constitution as a "lay-man's document," where reading the constitutional text was like reading the Bible, carried an important democratic message. In other words, his idea of "economic constitutionalism" was based on the interpretation that gave the people a key role in that process. FDR believed that constitutional interpretation was not an exclusive privilege of the Supreme Court and legal elites. Instead, he believed in the concept of "popular constitutionalism" where people in conversation with courts make and form constitutional arguments.[46] In his Fireside Chat, FDR compared the three branches of government with the team of three horses pulling the plow. Responding to criticism that he was trying to take control of another horse, the Court, FDR said that it "is the American people themselves who are in the driver's seat," "who want the furrow plowed" and who "expect the third horse to pull in unison with the other two."[47] FDR tried to articulate a collaborative constitutional relationship between the President, Congress, and the

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[43] A direct textual support for this reading of FDR is in Article 1, Section 8, Clause 1 of the US Constitution. FDR argued that "[if], as our Constitution tells us, our Federal Government was established . . . 'to promote the general welfare,' it is our plain duty to provide for that security upon which welfare depends." Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Message to Congress on the Objectives and Accomplishments of the Administration," June 8, 1934. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/208398.

[44] Fishkin, Forbath, *The Anti-Oligarchy Constitution,* 253.

[45] Ibid., 252.

[46] More about the concept, see Larry D. Kramer, *The People Themselves: Popular Constitutionalism and Judicial Review (*Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[47] Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Fireside Chat (Recovery Program)," July 24, 1933. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project. https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/209434.

Court.[48] He clearly rejected the idea that the courts should be subordinated to two other branches.[49]

FDR was a reformist who believed in the robustness of the American Constitution. He consistently rejected other more radical approaches in his party calling for a different, more socially oriented constitution. His reformist stance is evident from his sixth Fireside Chat, where he identified "a practice of taking action step by step, of regulating only to meet concrete needs, a practice of courageous recognition of change" as fitting "the American practice of government."[50] One of FDR's most prominent supporters who did not share his reformist view of the Constitution was William Y. Elliot, who argued that the Constitution of 1787 was not created for the circumstances of the 1930s era that required a different constitutional design, giving a strong executive more powers to run the economy.[51] Another scholar advocated a new form of constitution prioritizing social rather than individual rights.[52] Both dissenters believed that a more radical change was needed, including writing a new, more socially oriented constitution. Nevertheless, FDR resolutely resisted similar proposals for more radical reforms. Hence, when FDR's opponents criticized him for his "totalitarian" views,[53] they clearly exaggerated. As characterized by Fishkin and Forbath, the New Deal was essentially an American version of social democracy with strong liberal overtones[54] and not some version of an authoritarian state, as claimed by FDR's opponents.[55] While the New Deal constitutionalism represented a significant departure from more conservative constitutional thinking, exemplified by the Court and the ALL, it nevertheless remained firmly entrenched in the core values of the American republic.

The difference between FDR's and the conservative approach was in their treatment of economic issues vis-a-vis personal rights. For FDR, economic rights were an essential element of his economic constitutional order. The Court and the American Liberty League, on the other hand, argued that the Constitution gives priority to individual rights. They also objected to a sweeping delegation of legislative powers

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[48] Fishkin, Forbath, *The Anti-Oligarchy Constitution*, 263.

[49] Kalman, *FDR's Gambit,* 143.

[50] Franklin D. Roosevelt, "FDR Fireside Chat 6: On Government and Capitalism," (September 30, 1934).

[51] Michael Kammen, *A Machine That Would Go of Itself: The Constitution in American Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987), 259.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Goldstein, "The American Liberty League," 299, 301.

[54] Fishkin, Forbath, *The Anti-Oligarchy Constitution*, 253.

[55] Goldstein, "The American Liberty League," 299, 301.

to Congress and the president, arguing that many such interventions violated different provisions of the Constitution. Despite FDR's sweeping electoral victory in 1936, the conflict between these two interpretations of the Constitution continued.

The Conflict Escalates: The Court-Packing Plan

The conflict between the Court and FDR's administration escalated after the Court decided the *Schechter* case, known also as the Sick Chicken case, on the so-called New Deal's Black Monday.[56] What was particularly troubling for Roosevelt was that the Court unanimously ruled against his National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA).[57] The three liberals, Brandeis, Cardozo, and Stone, agreed with the majority that the National Industrial Recovery Act violated the principle of separation of powers, requiring that the Congressional delegation of legislative power be specific and clear enough to guide the executive action.[58] How damaging this case was for the New Dealers is clearly seen in Attorney General Cummings's note in his diary, explaining that "if this decision stands and is not met in some way, it is going to be impossible for the Government to devise any system which will effectively deal with the disorganized industries of the country…"[59] At the press conference after the *Schechter*, Roosevelt declared that the *Schechter* decision was "its worst – since *Dred Scott*,"[60] accused the Court of using the 'horse-and-buggy' definition of interstate commerce, and announced his plan to do something about the Court.[61] Comparing *Schechter* with the infamous *Dred Scott* (1857) decision, where the Court ruled that slavery was constitutional, FDR expressed his utmost dissatisfaction with the Court's decision.[62] For FDR, economic and political equality were the central elements of his New Deal constitutionalism. Attacking his New Deal was for FDR equally bad as denying basic constitutional freedom to African Americans almost a century ago.

Democrats were deeply engaged in various debates and initiatives about how to confront the Court and whether and how to change the Constitution. Rumors existed that FDR was thinking about a constitutional amendment drastically increasing the powers of the federal

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[56] "A. L. A. Schechter Poultry Corporation v. United States." *Oyez*, www.oyez.org/cases/1900-1940/295us495. Accessed 10 Apr. 2023.

[57] Fishkin, Forbath, *The Anti-Oligarchy Constitution*, 271.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Kalman, *FDR's Gambit*, 33.

[60] Ibid., 35.

[61] Roosevelt, "Press conference, May 31, 1935."

[62] "Dred Scott v. Sandford." *Oyez*, www.oyez.org/cases/1850-1900/60us393. Accessed 20 Apr. 2023.

government.[63] Both the Democratic and other circles considered and debated many proposals for constitutional amendments.[64] For example, both the Socialist and Communist parties favored a constitutional amendment that would limit the power of the Supreme Court.[65] When asked about these plans, FDR refused to comment.[66] He remained faithful to his belief that the Constitution as such was a perfectly adequate document and did not need any changes. His views were supported by one of the most important constitutional commentators of that time, Edward Corwin, who wrote a newspaper article titled "Constitution 'As Is' Sustains New Deal."[67] In his other article, "The Commerce Powers versus State Rights," Corwin argued that the Court's opinions rested on "a tortured construction of the Constitution," and explained that "the New Deal legislation could be sustained by the commerce power, used as it had been for much of the nineteenth century."[68] Nevertheless, FDR decided to keep his options open[69] Leaving more radical critique to others, FDR and the New Dealers "hoped to present themselves as keepers of the flame of judicial independence, rather than its extinguishers."[70] In other words, FDR remained faithful to his moderate reformist legal approach and refused any confrontation with the Supreme Court.

Although FDR did not entirely exclude the possibility of using the amendment procedure to confront the Court, he was deliberately ambiguous about it. One reason for that was that he was aware that the burdensome amendment procedure would take time and that it was politically risky.[71] Corwin raised a similar point, questioning the effectiveness of constitutional amendment, given that it would be the justices who would interpret the amendment.[72] FDR was warned by his Attorney General Homer Cummings that "the path to an amendment to the Constitution is a thorny one and would necessitate a delay of at least two years before anything tangible could be done."[73] Hence, neither

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[63] Kalman, *FDR's Gambit*, 35.

[64] B.W.Patch, "New Deal aims and the Constitution," Editorial research reports 1936 (vol. II). http://library.cqpress.com/cqresearcher/cqresrre1936112700

[65] Kalman, *FDR's Gambit*, 53.

[66] Ibid., 35.

[67] Ibid., 64.

[68] Kammen, *A Machine That Would Go of Itself,* 275.

[69] Fishkin, Forbath, *The Anti-Oligarchy Constitution*, 276.

[70] Kalman, *FDR's Gambit*, 52.

[71] As Professor Richard Albert shows, the American Constitution is the world's most difficult constitution to amend. See, Richard Albert, "The World's Most Difficult Constitution to Amend," *California Law Review* 110, no.6 (2022): 2005-2022.

[72] Kalman, *FDR's Gambit,* 64.

[73] Ibid.

Cummings nor FDR had confidence in the amendment process[74] As pointed out earlier, in his sixth Fireside Talk, Roosevelt argued that the text of the Constitution already supported the New Deal, so there was no reason to change it.[75] Hence, he never explicitly endorsed any of the proposals for the constitutional amendment. He very well understood that the Court, together with the Constitution, enjoyed an almost sacred position in the imagination of American citizens. He agreed with Corwin, who argued that the importance of the Constitution for American political culture was so fundamental that it created a "cult of the Constitution."[76] The cult implies that the Constitution should be revered, almost as a religious text, and not easily changed.

Behaving strategically, FDR and New Dealers thus argued that the problem was not the Supreme Court as such but its wrong interpretation of the Constitution.[77] As a consequence, FDR tried to avoid a confrontation with the Court. Instead, influenced by an important memorandum prepared by a lawyer, Warner Gardner, working in the Justice Department, Roosevelt decided to use another option: a judicial reform, commonly known as the court-packing plan.[78]

The core idea of the court-packing plan was to present the aim of legislation as a reform of the entire judiciary, not only of the Supreme Court.[79] Such framing would make the bill look less like a frontal attack on the Court and more like an attempt to address several deficiencies that impeded the work of the courts.[80] The architects of the proposal also had an ulterior motive, which was to exert pressure on the Supreme Court forcing it to realign its interpretation with FDR's reading of the Constitution. In its initial form, the Judicial Procedures Reform Bill gave the president power to appoint an additional justice for every member of the Court older than 70 years who refused to retire. The maximum number of additional justices the President could appoint was six. Roosevelt presented his proposal in his ninth fireside chat on March 9, 1937.[81]

After describing the achievement of his administration, FDR identified the culprit for the current problems: "[the] Courts, however, have cast doubts on the ability of the elected Congress to protect us

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[74] Ibid.
[75] Roosevelt, "FDR Fireside Chat 6: On Government and Capitalism."
[76] Kammen, *A Machine That Would Go of Itself*, xiv.
[77] Kalman, *FDR's Gambit*, 52.
[78] Kalman, *FDR's Gambit*, 65-70.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid., 143.
[81] Roosevelt, "Fireside Chat on Reorganization of the Judiciary."

against catastrophe by meeting squarely our modern social and economic conditions."[82] He then went on accusing the Supreme Court of abusing its judicial power and behaving "as a third house of the Congress — a super-legislature, as one of the justices has called it — reading into the Constitution words and implications which are not there, and which were never intended to be there."[83] As explained earlier in the paper, the Court read into the Constitution "the old freedom-ensuring constitutional order" that was not able to respond to the challenges of the Great Depression.[84] FDR then continued and warned the nation about the high stakes in this debate and urged his fellow citizens to "take action to save the Constitution from the Court and the Court from itself."[85] He briefly described the key objectives of his reforms. Responding to those who accused him of trying to turn the independent Court into his puppet, he described his reform plan as an attempt "to infuse new blood into all our Courts."[86] His main objective here was to cast his reforms as aimed at improving the overall efficiency of the entire court system and to deflect the criticism that he was simply trying to exact revenge against the rebellious Court.

FDR's reform plan encountered strong opposition from the Republicans and the media. The critical media seized the moment by deliberately using the term "court-packing" as a disapproving title.[87] However, at the same time, FDR received continuous support for the plan from the citizens whom he met or through their letters. As Kalman reports, FDR had received more letters from citizens supporting his plan than from those who opposed it.[88] This reassured the president that most Americans supported his plan. The Gallup polling showed a slightly different picture: while 47 percent of voters supported FDR's reform, 53 percent opposed it. The strong support among Democrats (70 percent) was overshadowed by almost unanimous rejection among Republicans (92 percent).[89] The results were quickly picked up by the media and aggressively spread around the county.[90] The opinion among the bar and legal academy was divided. A new Harvard Law School dean,

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[82] Ibid.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Fishkin, Forbath, *The Anti-Oligarchy Constitution,* 253.

[85] Roosevelt, "Fireside Chat on Reorganization of the Judiciary."

[86] Ibid.

[87] Frank Gannet, an influential publisher and a conservative Republican, and Edward Rumley, another journalist, are credited as the authors of the "court-packing" epithet.

[88] Kalman, *FDR's Gambit*, 91-92.

[89] Lydia Saad, "Gallup Vault: A Supreme Court Power Play," February 26, 2016. Available at https://news.gallup.com/vault/189617/supreme-court-power-play-aspx

[90] Barry Cushman, "Mr. Dooley and Mr. Gallup: Public Opinion and Constitutional Change in the 1930s," 50 *Buffalo Law Review*, no. 7 (2002).

James Landis, for example, supported the bill. The majority of the Yale law faculty was also reported to favor the plan. The ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union) and ABA (American Bar Association), on the other hand, were against the bill.[91] Despite the opposition from some of his Democrats, FDR continued to receive reassuring messages that the bill was likely to pass Congress. While the fierce debate over the bill in Congress continued, the Court itself helped to end this lengthy battle. Namely, the Court had issued several decisions in which it reversed its previous opposition to the New Deal legislation.

FDR Wins the War

Shortly after the Roosevelt fireside chat, conservative-leaning swing vote Justice Roberts joined the majority in West *Coast Hotel Co. v Parrish* (1937) that was supportive of New Deal legislation and upholding the minimum wage legislation, signaling the end of a confrontation with FDR.[92] The move has become known as a "switch in time that saved the nine"[93] because it ended the confrontation between the Court and FDR. Ultimately, FDR prevailed. But the *Parrish* decision was not the only factor that tipped the result. Namely, in 1936, the Court had decided a few other cases indicating a reversal of its opposition to the New Deal. Laura Kalman also shows that Roberts changed his opinion before FDR announced his reform plan.[94] However, this information does not change the fact that the Court's self-reversal eventually led to the defeat of FDR's court-packing plan. As explained by Kalman, "This flip-flop drained public and congressional support for Court packing. Indeed, the Court's behavior seemed calculated to undermine that support, since it became harder for FDR to claim that it needed additional justices to protect his program." Thus, Kalman concludes, "the Court had engaged in "self-salvation by self-reversal," realizing that if it "balked, the court bill would surely pass."[95] All this suggests that it is wrong to characterize FDR's court plan as a "wanton blunder." Instead, as Laura Kalman suggests, it was a "calculated risk" that helped FDR to achieve his result. As she concluded her study of the court plan, FDR won in the long run: he prevailed with his interpretation of the Constitution over his opponents.[96]

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[91] Kalman, *FDR's Gambit*, 105-106.

[92] "West Coast Hotel Company v. Parrish." *Oyez*, www.oyez.org/cases/1900-1940/300us379. Accessed 20 Apr. 2023.

[93] The switch in time phrase was coined by a newspaper columnist Call Tinney. See John Q. Barrett, Attribution Time: Cal Tinney's 1937 Quip, "A Switch in Time'll Save Nine," *Oklahoma Law Review* 73, no.2 (2021): 28.

[94] Kalman, *FDR's Gambit*, 171.

[95] Laura Kalman, "The Constitution, the Supreme Court, and the New Deal," 1054.

[96] Kalman, *FDR's Gambit*, 265.

New Deal constitutionalism created a new political "regime" that shaped the key assumptions of political and legal thinking and that lasted until the 1980s.[97] As Jack Balkin explains, the regime was characterized by "increasing government regulation, higher taxes, the creation of major social insurance programs, protection of organized labor, and the civil rights and civil liberties revolutions."[98]

Conclusion

Unlike Leuchtenburg's influential interpretation of this battle arguing that though FDR won the battle for the New Deal, he eventually lost the war, this essay offers a different conclusion.[99] New Deal progressives developed a more inclusive form of "popular" constitutionalism that helped the country to survive its worst economic crisis,[100] and that fundamentally transformed the meaning of the American Constitution into a durable "regime," radically redistributing power between the financial elites and the rest of the population. The result was a new constitutional order that lasted until the 1980s when it was overturned by Ronald Reagan's neoliberal revolution.

On the most practical level, the New Deal "economic constitutionalism," with its emphasis on economic equality and strong social rights, provided a necessary framework for FDR's economic reforms that helped the country out of the worst economic crisis in its history.[101] By doing so, it also transformed classical American constitutionalism into a socially more inclusive version, similar to Western European social democracy. And finally, it revived the older American tradition of "popular constitutionalism," giving ordinary citizens the key role in constitutional decision-making.

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[97] I use the concept of governing regimes as developed by Stephen Skowronek, where a political regime means a period of dominance of one political party setting the key ideological assumptions of the politics of its time. See Stephen Skowronek, *Presidential Leadership in Political Time: Reprise and Reappraisal*, 3rd edition (Kansas: The University Press of Kansas, 2020).

[98] Jack Balkin, *The Cycles of Constitutional Time* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 13.

[99] My argument is based on the work of Fishkin and Forbath, *The Anti-Oligarchy Constitution*, 319-320, which argues that what broke the New Deal coalition was a more aggressive defense of racial inclusion from the New Dealers. Kalman makes a similar argument. See Kalman, *FDR's Gambit,* 265-266.

[100] On the economic record of the New Deal, see Morgan, FDR, 50, 68.

[101] As Laura Kalman argues, "By the early 1940s, it seemed clear that Congress and administrative agencies had nearly unlimited regulatory power over the economy in the name of promoting the public welfare, and the states did too, as long as they didn't interfere with interstate commerce." Kalman, *FDR'S Gambit*, 265.

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Literary Theory

Conceptual Metaphor and Eco-temporality in Bảo-Ninh's *The Sorrow of War*

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Abstract

The focus on human suffering and trauma that characterises war literature has led to a characterisation of the genre as anthropocentric, often relegating nature to a mere backdrop or collateral damage. The overarching goal of this paper is to unearth an ecocentric dimension within one war novel, Bảo-Ninh's *The Sorrow of War*, aligning with Lawrence Buell's criteria for an eco-conscious work that the text elucidates ecological crises and co-implicates human history in natural history. To this end, the paper employs the theory of conceptual metaphor to unveil the dynamic role of natural metaphor in constructing a reimagined reality, where anthropocentric elements are infused with the unique attributes of the natural world. While previous research has explored the interconnections between humans and nature based on the content of *The Sorrow of War*, this paper utilises both a figurative and narratological approach to dissect the form of the text. This paper concludes that the very structure of the text itself holds an ecological significance, in that the parallel undercurrents of geologic versus human time serve to establish nature as an enduring standard against which human deviation is measured. Ultimately, this paper reimagines the role of nature within a foundational modern Vietnamese novel and makes the case for greater attention to form in ecocritical research.

Introduction

"He saw his life as a river with himself standing unsteadily at the peak of a tall hill, silently watching his life ebb from him, saying farewell to himself."[1]

In this quote, rivers do not function as purely geographical entities, but serve a metaphorical function that reveals a spiritual essence of the speaker. The interplay of the natural and personal signifies an intrinsic intertwining between nature and the character's state of mind, which forms a recurrent theme in Bảo-Ninh's *The Sorrow of War*, in which the novel's protagonist Kien recounts the traumatic memories of the Vietnam War while recovering soldiers' corpses.

The Sorrow of War is a renowned war novel by Vietnamese author Bảo-Ninh. It has received 18 translations, seven awards, and nominations in six countries, including a nomination for the Asian Literature Award in 2018. Originally published in 1987, a year after Vietnam embraced the Doi Moi (Renovation) movement during which censorship was loosened, Bảo-Ninh's work proved pivotal for the development of the modern Vietnamese novel, deviating from the typical war novel approach. While many war novelists before this period were compelled to speak from a more uniform, almost propagandistic, social perspective, constructing characters to embody traits specific to a historical period or context, *The Sorrow of War* was able to speak the bare truth of war, unfolding solely through Kien's consciousness and his unique perception of time. Whereas war novels aimed to paint *societal* portraits, *The Sorrow of War* offered a more intimate exploration of *human* characters. Consequently, the novel's inventive content and structure have given it great cultural and literary significance. Despite such significance, an under-examined, essential part of the text remains the role of nature in the text as it relates to the experimental temporality of the work.

Insofar as the text itself seeks to explore the use of natural metaphors to understand human experience, the work is particularly suited to an ecocritical analysis, to guide the exploration of the interplay between nature and human experience. Ecocriticism is the investigation into "the global ecological crisis through the intersection of literature,

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[1] Bảo-Ninh, *Nỗi Buồn Chiến Tranh*, Hà Nội, Nhà Xuất bản Trẻ, 2013, p. 147. All English translations are my own. In instances where some nuance is potentially lost through Vietnamese-English translation, this paper occasionally offers the original Vietnamese text accompanied by a basic English translation.

culture, and the physical environment."[2] Building from this ecocritical framework, this paper defines "eco-temporality" as a distinct temporal structure shaped by ecological time, as opposed to simply the rhythms of human life. Being long-rooted in agricultural traditions, Vietnamese literature often constructs nature as a character with a voice in itself – with contemporary works like *Xà Nu Forest* (Nguyên-Ngọc),[3] *The Dream of the Bird Garden Guardian* (Anh-Đức),[4] and *Pampas Grass* (Nguyễn Minh Châu)[5] drawing on this tradition to explore ecological crises. However, this falls short of true eco-consciousness, for nature in these texts is being instrumentalised for human understanding. In this light, this paper suggests that *The Sorrow of War* is an inventive experiment in ecological form, whereby the natural world takes the role of an "author" who actively governs the structure of the narrative, thus constructing, not simply adding to, our understanding of the text.[6] In this respect, this paper builds off previous ecocritical analyses of *The Sorrow of War*, such as that provided by Pranantika Oktaviani.[7] This previous analysis centred on the concepts of ecophobia and ecocide, focusing on the text's content and historical context – however, this content-based approach does not guarantee that the exploration of "the connection between humans and the physical environment,"[8] as implied by the analysis, is solely elucidated by the text's components themselves, but can be derived by readers' subjective interpretations. Consequently, this paper employs a more structured approach, specifically narratology, to dissect

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[2] Gladwin, D, 'Ecocriticism', *Oxford Bibliographies*, Oxford University Press, 2017, https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/display/document/obo-9780190221911/obo-9780190221911-0014.xml#backToTop, accessed 18 October 2023.
[3] Nguyên-Ngọc, *Rừng Xà Nu* ("Xanu Forest"), in Tran, N. H. and Dang, T. T. H., "Listening to Nature, Rethinking the Past: A Reading of the Representation of Forests and Rivers," *South East Asian Ecocriticism: Theories, Practices, Prospects*, ed. John Charles Ryan, Lexington Book, 2017.
[4] Anh-Đức, *Giấc Mơ Ông Lão Vườn Chim* ("The Dream of the Bird Garden Guardian"), Tran, N. H. and Dang, T. T. H., "Listening to Nature, Rethinking the Past: A Reading of the Representation of Forests and Rivers," *South East Asian Ecocriticism: Theories, Practices, Prospects*, ed. John Charles Ryan, Lexington Book, 2017.
[5] Nguyễn, M. C., *Cỏ Lau* ("Pampas Grass") in Tran, N. H. and Dang, T. T. H., "Listening to Nature, Rethinking the Past: A Reading of the Representation of Forests and Rivers," *South East Asian Ecocriticism: Theories, Practices, Prospects*, ed. John Charles Ryan, Lexington Book, 2017.
[6] Tran, N. H. and Dang, T. T. H., "Listening to Nature, Rethinking the Past: A Reading of the Representation of Forests and Rivers," *South East Asian Ecocriticism: Theories, Practices, Prospects*, ed. John Charles Ryan, Lexington Book, 2017
[7] Oktaviani, P., "Ecocritical Reading of Postwar Narrative: Ecocide, Trauma, and Nostalgia in Bao Ninh's Vietnam War Novel "The Sorrow of War."" OKARA: Jurnal Bahasa dan Sastra, 2022.
[8] Ibid.

how the form of *The Sorrow of War* reimagines the relationship between humanity and nature.

As a broader roadmap, this paper explores *The Sorrow of War* through Lawrence Buell's assertion that a truly eco-conscious work is one in which "the nonhuman environment is not being a mere framing device but as a presence that suggests how human history is implicated in natural history."[9] In evaluating the extent to which *The Sorrow of War* meets Buell's criteria for an eco-conscious work, this paper proceeds in two sections. The first is a methodological approach guided by theories of metaphor from Zoltan Kövecses, as well as George Lakoff and Mark Johnson. The purpose is to examine the role of rivers in the text – particularly the interplay of rivers as a real, environmental entity with rivers as a metaphor for human experience as represented in literature, encapsulated in the notion of stream of consciousness. The second section builds on this analysis, considering whether Bảo-Ninh's inventive blurring of form and content in rivers can be considered ecocentric by Buell's standards, in particular examining the extent to which the temporality of the work is itself constructed through a natural lexicon, an examination that is grounded in Gerald Genette's narratological framework. What emerges is a fresh perspective on the ecological contributions of the story's river elements, encompassing both form and content, as opposed to solely serving human comprehension.

The Interplay between Rivers and Stream of Consciousness

The Significance of Rivers in Vietnamese Literature and The Sorrow of War

To place rivers in *The Sorrow of War* within its cultural and linguistic context, the Vietnamese oral tradition is permeated with a deep, almost primal, connection with rivers – as compiled by Nguyễn Xuân Kính, 746 water-related proverbs range from natural beauty to societal importance.[10] This deep cultural attachment to rivers also seeps into the nation's literary works: in Cao's and Vũ's extensive research into the symbol "River" in literature of Vietnamese ethnic minorities, the Dâng River in Đàn Trời (Cao Duy Sơn),[11] in the mind of Vương and

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[9] Buell, L., *The Environmental Imagination: Thoreau, Nature Writing and the Formation of American Culture*, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1995.

[10] Nguyễn, X. K., *Thi Pháp Ca Dao*, Đại Học Quốc Gia Hà Nội, 2005.

[11] Cao, D. S., *Đàn Trời,* NXB Hội Nhà Văn, 2006, in Cao, H.T.T., and Vũ, D.T.T, 'Giải Mã Biểu Tượng "Sông" Trong Văn Xuôi Dân Tộc Thiểu Số Miền Núi Phía Bắc,' Giáo Dục & Xã Hội, 2021. .https://sti.vista.gov.vn/tw/Lists/TaiLieuKHCN/Attachments/323418/CVv328S12 32021030.pdf, p. 31.

Diệu, is not a literal body of water, but rather a figurative "stream of memories" of their unfinished love.[12] In Bến Nước Lành (Bùi Minh Chức),[13] the co-authors claim that "rivers symbolise a conducive water harbour" that symbolises Ún Rớ's fragmented memories of love.[14] Despite Cao's and Vũ's broad range of river analysis in various Vietnamese works, their analysis primarily stops at a general assertion of the importance of such geological bodies for Vietnamese literature, grounded by a superficial linkage between rivers and humans. Though indebted to their work, this essay seeks to move beyond a general analysis of rivers in Vietnamese culture to a consideration of how *The Sorrow of War,* as the defining modern Vietnamese novel, interacts with nature as both symbol and reality. Most specifically, this analysis seeks to understand how Bảo-Ninh constructs the book such that an ecological persona is imbued through his inventive use of form and diction.

This diction may be described as infused with nature and is recognisable on each page of the text. For example, "Four dimensions are fogged with the hue of rainy gloom, the shade of forested monotony and suffering."[15] Here, human sentiment is subtly infused with nature's distinctive lexicon. The Vietnamese spoken language uses nature as the basis for colour nomenclature – "xanh lá" (leaf) signifies green, "xanh da trời" (sky) or "xanh nước biển" (ocean) denotes blue. However, "màu mưa trĩu long" (the hue of rainy gloom) stands out as an author's unique invention. Unlike the conspicuously uniform hues of leaves, sky, or ocean, rain does not immediately conceive a colour in mind, because raindrops are inherently transparent, mirroring the shades of their surroundings. The gloom and monotony of humans, therefore, interpellate into nature a distinct personality, which in turn permeates our language of conceiving the world.

However, this analysis alone is unable to show the mechanism of metaphors, which imbues the whole text with an ecological essence. Therefore, one must examine the function of metaphor more closely in

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[12] Cao, H.T.T., and Vũ, D.T.T, 'Giải Mã Biểu Tượng "Sông" Trong Văn Xuôi Dân Tộc Thiểu Số Miền Núi Phía Bắc,' Giáo Dục & Xã Hội, 2021. https://sti.vista.gov.vn/tw/Lists/TaiLieuKHCN/Attachments/323418/CVv328S123 2021030.pdf, p. 31.

[13] Bùi, M. C., *Bến Nước Lành,* in Cao, H.T.T., and Vũ, D.T.T, 'Giải Mã Biểu Tượng "Sông" Trong Văn Xuôi Dân Tộc Thiểu Số Miền Núi Phía Bắc,' Giáo Dục & Xã Hội, 2021. https://sti.vista.gov.vn/tw/Lists/TaiLieuKHCN/Attachments/323418/CVv328S123 2021030.pdf, p. 31.

[14] Ibid., p. 32.

[15] Bảo-Ninh, *Nỗi Buồn Chiến Tranh*, Hà Nội, Nhà Xuất bản Trẻ, p. 21.

the text to understand the significance of the natural world. Through the theory of conceptual metaphor, this paper focuses primarily on *rivers,* given their pervasive recurrence within the text's literal and figurative complex: the text opens with a scene at "the banks of the Ya Crong Poco river,"[16] and the river or stream – whether depicted literally (85 times) or metaphorically (8 times) – emerges as a crucial thread connecting nature and humanity. Tracing such linkages, which primarily constitutes the formation of Kien's stream of consciousness, unveils the broader figurative scheme of the narrative.

Stream of consciousness is a narrative device that attempts to give the written equivalent of the character's thought processes, which refocuses readers' attention on the protagonist's perception of time. The reality of the story emerges in the manipulation of temporality – elongating or compressing events according to the protagonist's subjective experience. In such behaviour of temporality not just a literary but also a psychological truth is seen – as Barry Dainton provides, "the temporal manifests in the most basic forms of our consciousness" while consciousness seems to exist *in* time.[17] The presence of stream of consciousness in Vietnamese literature has been critically fruitful – Anh Thái, for instance, highlights the role of this form in his commentary on the novel *A Board for Dagger* by Mặc Can.[18] This can be complemented by other analyses that acknowledge *The Sorrow of War* as a stream-of-consciousness piece, as presented by Tiến Nguyễn[19] and Tao Đàn.[20]

If it has been established that rivers are a recurring motif in *The Sorrow of War* and that the text is written in a stream-of-consciousness form, understanding their relationship requires a wider conceptual

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[16] Ibid., p. 1.

[17] Dainton, B, 'Time and Temporal Experience,' https://www.academia.edu/35704419/Time_and_Temporal_Experience, accessed on 20 December 2023, p. 1.

[18] Thái, P. V. A, 'Thời Gian Trần Thuật Trong Tiểu Thuyết Việt Nam Đương Đại,' Tạp chí Khoa Học, Đại Học Huế, no. 54, 2009, p. 9 Nguyễn, T. K. T, 'Kỹ thuật "Dòng ý thức" trong xây dựng nhân vật của tiểu thuyết Việt Nam thời kỳ đổi mới", Tạp chí Khoa học Việt Nam Trực tuyến, https://vjol.info.vn/index.php/khxhvn/article/download/32463/27584/, accessed on 24 October 2023.

[19] Nguyễn, T. K. T, 'Kỹ thuật "Dòng ý thức" trong xây dựng nhân vật của tiểu thuyết Việt Nam thời kỳ đổi mới", Tạp chí Khoa học Việt Nam Trực tuyến, https://vjol.info.vn/index.php/khxhvn/article/download/32463/27584/, accessed on 24 October 2023.

[20] Tao Đàn, "Thủ pháp 'dòng ý thức' với ám ảnh về sự thật trong 'Nỗi buồn chiến tranh," Tạp Chí ́ Tao Đàˋn, https://taodan.com.vn/thu-phap-dong-y-thuc-voi-am-anh-ve-su-that-trong-noi-buon-chien-tranh.html, accessed on 24 October 2023.

grounding. To this end, this analysis draws upon the notion of conceptual metaphor, developed by Zoltan Kövecses' *Metaphor*, and Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By*. It is first vital to acknowledge that the concept of stream of consciousness is itself a metaphor – more precisely, a dead metaphor. Kövecses defines dead metaphors as those "that may have been alive and vigorous at some point but have become so conventional" with constant use that by now they have lost their vigour and ceased to be metaphors.[21] William Empson, in turn, has argued that "all languages are composed of dead metaphors as the soil of corpses,"[22] and in the case of stream of consciousness, Vietnamese is no exception: "dòng" (flow) often comes before "sông" (river) to form a phrase that roughly translates to "a flow of river". Derived from this original meaning, "dòng" often goes hand-in-hand with "thời gian" (time) or "ý thức" (consciousness), "ký ức" (memory). By viewing stream of consciousness as a dead metaphor, the critic is no longer motivated to dissect the apparent linkage and pinpoint exactly why "stream" and "consciousness" are interconnected. Yet it is the achievement of *The Sorrow of War* that resurrects this dead metaphor by blending form and content to create a broader conceptual metaphor.

It is necessary to distinguish two types of metaphors: conceptual and linguistic. A *conceptual domain* is any coherent organisation of experience. A *conceptual metaphor* consists of two conceptual domains, in which the target domain is understood in terms of the source domain. In simple terms, CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN A (TARGET DOMAIN) IS CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN B (SOURCE DOMAIN). This can be understood through *conceptual mappings*, which are a set of systematic correspondences between A and B, in that constituent elements of B correspond to constituent elements of A.[23] On the other hand, linguistic metaphors are expressions that come from the terminology of the more concrete conceptual domain B.

"Your claims are <u>indefensible</u>
He <u>attacked every weak point</u> in my argument
I've never <u>won</u> an argument with him"[24]

In this context, all the individual examples above regarding argument and the domain of war are linguistic, while the corresponding conceptual

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[21] Kövecses, Z., *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction*, Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 11.
[22] Empson, W., *Seven Types of Ambiguity*, London, 1949, p. 25.
[23] Kövecses, Z., *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction*, Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 4.
[24] Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M., *Metaphors We Live By*, The University of Chicago Press, 1980, p. 4.

metaphors in the mappings together manifest into a conceptual metaphor, ARGUMENT IS WAR.

As Lakoff and Johnson show, conceptual metaphor results from an "inevitable process of human thought and reasoning,"[25] illustrated through the example ARGUMENT IS WAR. In such examples, the things one does in an argument are constructed through the concept of war. And it is rather unorthodox to view arguments through concepts other than war. For instance, viewing debaters of an argument as performers on stage takes away the battle-like nuance of an argument, which makes 'arguing' doesn't seem like arguing at all. Therefore, despite being two different things, arguments are only partially structured in terms of war. In summary, not only is the concept metaphorically structured, but the activity of which, and thus the language used to describe which, is metaphorically structured.[26]

To apply this theoretical frame to *The Sorrow of War*, using the Vietnamese phrasing, it is possible to examine the flow/stream of time, whereby *time* is partially structured by *the flow*. The aspects of time, such as its forward and relentless motion, are constructed through the one-directional perpetual movement of a flow. If one attempts to figure *time* as a *pond*, although both possess a liquid texture, one would lose immediately the essence of *time,* for its defining forward motion would be omitted. Similarly, to the example of time being figured as a flow, stream of consciousness is fitting, for consciousness and the present moment both extend forward in time,[27] which can be structured by a stream. Yet the conceptual metaphor, by constructing consciousness through the motif of the river, opens up dimensions other than time – particularly, the dimension of space. These dimensions are visible in some common phrases attached to consciousness:

(1) He drifted <u>in and out of </u>consciousness.
(2) I banged my head and <u>lost</u> consciousness.

In both cases, by omitting the element of time, consciousness is no longer viewed as a continuous stream but, rather, a discrete state. In (1), amidst the movement "in and out" of the subject, "consciousness" stays the same, giving an impression of being stationary and fixed. In (2),

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[25] Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M., *Metaphors We Live By*. In Kövecses, Z., *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction*, Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 10.
[26] Ibid., p. 5.
[27] Kent, L., and M. Wittmann, 'Time Consciousness: The Missing Link in Theories of Consciousness,' Neuroscience of Consciousness, no. 2, 2021. doi:10.1093/nc/niab011.

the action "lose" suggests to us to view "consciousness" as a property, which can either be lost or gained. This opens a different perspective from viewing consciousness as a "stream", in which the movement itself is continuous and the general subject 'stream' itself cannot be viewed as a property that can appear or disappear.

Overall, by delving into the dead metaphor of a stream of consciousness as a conceptual metaphor at its core, one can dissect the conceptual mappings, concerning the other schemas of the river: space, time, and motion. By viewing consciousness as an entity in itself, a different perspective opens up on how stream of consciousness can be conceptualised. It is from this point that the use of rivers in *The Sorrow of War* can be most fully understood – appreciating how Bảo-Ninh plays on two key dimensions: the capacity of rivers to move one forward, which may be termed the horizontal scheme; and one's capacity to sink in a river, which may be termed the vertical scheme.

Horizontal Dimensions of River as Conceptual Metaphor

To fully comprehend the figurative relations in *The Sorrow of War*'s use of the horizontal scheme of the river motif, it becomes necessary to analyse three essential components: *motion*, *direction*, and *temporality*. Grounding the use of motion in the conceptual metaphor is the perception that the river embodies an eternal state of flux and transformation for its undefined boundaries.[28] Strengthened from a linguistic perspective as previously discussed, the term "trôi" (to flow or drift) inherently conveys the idea of lacking distinct navigation or a clear, predetermined course, but rather letting nature dictate your path. *The Sorrow of War* plays on these qualities to construct Kien's characterisation and subjectivity. For example, when Kien reflects on his life, he states, "[i]t turns out that my life is actually no different than a boat going upstream on a river, constantly being pushed back into the past."[29] By using the boat as a metaphor within a stream, two parallel images of a continuous backward motion emerge: the deviation from nature as a default course and the resistance against nature as an environment. By employing the dual-layered anomalous motion, Ninh evokes a profound sense of Kien's and humanity's vulnerability when pitted against the broader natural forces and humans. This brings the significance of nature to the forefront, a remarkable shift within the context of a war novel where humans are typically portrayed as overconfident figures.

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[28] Chevalier, J., *Dictionary of Symbols*. In Cao, H.T.T., and Vũ, D.T.T, 'Giải Mã Biểu Tượng "Sông" Trong Văn Xuôi Dân Tộc Thiểu Số Miền Núi Phía Bắc,' Giáo Dục & Xã Hội, 2021.

[29] Bảo-Ninh, *Nỗi Buồn Chiến Tranh*, Hà Nội, Nhà Xuất bản Trẻ, p. 59.

Beyond a linguistic perspective and a structural analysis, the quote can be analysed by mapping the domains of the river as a conceptual metaphor. This necessitates similarities within the constituents of the target domain ("my life") and source domain ("a boat going upstream"). Three constituents are identified:

(1) the very backward motion ("going upstream" – "pushed back")
(2) the subject ("my life" – a boat)
(3) the background (river – the past)

Laying out the conceptual mapping, linkages are observable across all aspects of the conceptual metaphor – subject, background, and motion. What emerges is a focus on the horizontal movement of rivers amidst and against Kien's movement. Furthermore, and more generally, the corresponding metaphorical expressions of the constituents in each domain construct a "coherent organisation of experience,"[30] which naturally brings readers into the language of nature. This, in itself, elucidates an eco-conscious element of the text evident in the very conceptual terrain of its language.

Furthermore, it is worth noting that one domain can *only* be partially constructed by another, which leaves open spaces for different qualities to be infused into one another. In (1), by employing the imagery "going upstream", the orientation embeds a precarious nuance of falling, the natural behaviour of any object subject to gravity. This accentuates Kien's susceptibility to be led astray from his course. Through metaphor, the implied two-dimensioned movements (forward-backward, upward-downward) expands nature's presence to envelop the reader. In (2), by associating a Life with a boat, the grandeur of a Life is resized into a small object (anthropocentric), amidst the wider river (ecocentric). Therefore, by conjuring a conceptual metaphor, readers can observe the proportion of items within a bigger picture: humans are embedded within the wider nature. In (3), there are no linking words between "river" and "past". Still, the parallel makes us subconsciously subsume "river" into the "past" unifying two entities together and forming a coherent system of metaphor that Kien lives by.

Alongside motion, directionality is also a key dimension of this metaphor. Drawing on the same quote, the passive voice in "Being Pushed" underscores Kien's inability to control the grip of memories or the natural stream of consciousness. Furthermore, the elliptical structure of the speech conceals the source of this turmoil, narrowing our focus to

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[30] Kövecses, Z, *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction,* Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 4.

only Kien's fragility. However, it is deliberate of Ninh to employ a conceptual metaphor, for it motivates readers to establish a hypothetical link from the anomalous behaviour described – how can a boat travel against the current, which is at odds with nature? The answer, perhaps, is due to the inner propelling of the boat, or Kien's internal desire to resist the current. Kien could lack the power to dictate his direction in life but was volitional in pursuing that course of his fate – an idea the text later makes explicit in describing how Kien "seemed to have grasped his mandate of heaven: to live backward, to trace that path to his old love, to re-battle the battle."[31] It is precisely the illogical gap in the conceptual metaphor of river life that compels the reader to make this connection, thus involving the reader in the active construction of Kien and aligning the reader with the overarching role of nature in the work.

The final element of the horizontal dimension of the river's conceptual metaphor is temporality. The dual-layered description of pulling backward reinforces the predisposition to reverse time, contrasting with the real-time present in which readers are situated. Going against its law of nature, the forward direction of temporality, attributes a sense of oddity in Kien's behaviour, effectively estranging Kien from us, those living in the present. This ultimately highlights Kien's misplaced position in the peace era. At this point, the use of natural metaphors proved ecocentric for its active construction in our understanding and its superior position to humans via indicators of space, orientation, and position. In the bigger picture, it is worth noticing the dynamics amongst the three schemas: *temporality* is constructed by the other two. Therefore, temporality emerges as a fundamental element in conceptualising the interplay between nature and human interaction. This sets the stage for a more in-depth exploration in the Eco-temporality section.

Vertical Dimensions of Rivers as Conceptual Metaphor

In framing the stream-of-consciousness metaphor, the novel not only integrates the horizontal dimension but also the vertical scheme. The following analysis therefore seeks to demonstrate how Bảo-Ninh unveils the contested identities of the afflicted by also constructing them along an internal, vertical hierarchy – on the surface of which there is the political and artificial, submerged to the depths one finds natural, human desire.

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[31] Bảo-Ninh, *Nỗi Buồn Chiến Tranh*, Hà Nội, Nhà Xuất bản Trẻ, p. 102.

In Kien's introspection, he envisions "every event, memory, face, each a drop of tear blended into a nameless ageless river of his own."[32] The preposition "into", suggests a sense of vertical depth, subsuming humans into a wider nature. Furthermore, the list of nouns "event", "memory", and "face" are respectively abstract, intangible, and solid – none of which matches the liquified texture of a river. Nevertheless, such nouns are positioned in accordance, or towards, the metaphor of rivers, implying that nature is the standard point that anthropocentric elements ought to follow. To situate this analysis in the wider context of the book, the prepositions "into" and "of" signify a sense of belonging to the crowd. Despite the clashing experiences of individuals in the 'river', they share a common denominator: *being a part of the river*. This singular uniformity coerces every individual into a single ideology, thereby suppressing individual identities. If one tries to maintain their individuality, they are fated to tragedy, like Can who died during his desertion journey for his desire to return home.[33] Precisely because authentic expression is impossible, evident in the Vietnamese censorship of novels that speak the ugly truth of war, the quest to rediscover one's identity is inherently arduous. For Kien, only "by smoking rosa canina, [he can] immerse himself in a world of mythical and wonderful dreams which in ordinary moments his soul could never penetrate."[34] Here again, the vertical lexicon recurs in "immerse" and "penetrate". The rosa canina is smoked by soldiers, giving a window into their dreams through which their human desires are discovered, and can only be accessed by navigating under the external cover of an emotionless, stoic soldier. It is worth acknowledging that the term "immerse" carries a pervasive literary as well as aquatic resonance. Whenever one speaks of readers being "immersed in the text", such "immersion" is itself a dead metaphor – evoking unconsciously a vertical descent into water.

To lay out the parallel significance of the term and understand the "depths" of soldiers' human desires that constitute their identity, readers are compelled to "immerse" in the text. But the very act of submerging in the river, as in the first quotation, threatens to dilute Kien's individuality when subsumed in the current of the crowd. This inherent paradox, whereby immersion in text and river both reveals and destroys identity, is representative of Kien's tragedy – as described in the horizontal scheme, Kien is constantly torn in opposing directions or choices, both of which abrases him. Overall, the lens of conceptual metaphor developed into two pathways to approach the analysis of rivers. In the horizontal scheme, the active role of natural metaphors

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[32] Ibid., pp. 147-148.
[33] Ibid., pp. 30-31.
[34] Ibid., p. 19.

reimagined an anthropocentric experience to be infused with an ecological essence. In the vertical scheme, the implication of the text's characters in a natural lexicon fleshes out the text's treatment identity. It is worth noticing that the element that shapes such pathways is *temporality:* the horizontal scheme is done with the element of time, while the vertical scheme detaches the stream of consciousness from time. As the next section explores in-depth, temporality emerges as a grounding element shaping the text and our analysis.

Eco-temporality

This section analyses a key component that grounds the construction of the ecological persona discussed earlier. This focus leads to the conclusion that this usage of the natural is not an aberration from the text's human-centred focus or mere instruments for comprehension, but rather an ecologically sound contribution in itself. Specifically, this analysis draws upon the understanding of stream of consciousness through metaphor theories developed in the first section of this paper and relates the following narratological analysis that grounds eco-temporality to the use of rivers. As narratologist Mieke Bal describes, "time is a given" for narrative works that, whatever their configurations, are linked by the fact that "these arts unfold in time."[35] Despite this foundational quality, Bal recognises that "time" is not experienced in art or life homogeneously, distinguishing between "day-to-day time" of minutes and hours and "historical time" of eras and periods.[36] The temporal structure of *The Sorrow of War* invites us to introduce a further category to Bal's possibly anthropocentric catalogue: that of geologic time.

> "The first dry season approaches the rear of the Northern Wing of the B3 front, fluid but belated. September and October, then past November, yet down the Ya Crong Poco stream of the rainy season is still an immeasurable green brimming within the banks."[37]

Here, two parallel timelines are introduced: human-made calendars (September, October, November) and the natural seasons (dry and rainy). The passage's syntax leads geologic time to override the human, surrounding the latter and creating a sense of human time being embedded in the broader natural time. This creates a pacing contrast

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[35] Bal, M., *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, University of Toronto Press, 4th ed., 2017, p. 77.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Bảo-Ninh, *Nỗi Buồn Chiến Tranh*, Hà Nội, Nhà Xuất bản Trẻ, p. 1.

where calendar time seems fleeting as if negligible, while geologic time unfolds at its own pace and volition, arousing human anticipation for its presence. The season comes in "fluid but belated", indicating indifference to calendar months and adherence to its rhythm. The diction "immeasurable green" that persists across the months suggests a sense of timelessness, nesting our human timeframe in the grander scheme of the natural tapestry, ultimately highlighting our subservience to nature.

To understand how Bảo-Ninh establishes the interplay of geologic and human time or the structure forged through this dynamic, it is necessary to supplement the previous reference to Mieke Bal with a further narratologist, Gerard Genette. In particular, Genette's analysis of narrative sequence and order is particularly relevant to the complex narrative of the book. Genette draws on the German theoretician's distinction "between Erzählte Zeit (Story time) and Ezrahlzeit (narrative time)."[38] Whereas narrative time is the presented order of events that the reader experiences, story time is the inferred sequence of events that the reader must work back to from the narrator's words. Where there is a divergence between the presentation of events and their logical, sequential order, there is "anachrony" – in Genette's terms a "discordance between two temporal orders of story and narrative."[39]

Any reader of *The Sorrow of War* will be aware of the text's persistent anachronies. Oanh's survey of the text tallies 141 words indicating a movement to past time, of which "hồi ấy" (that time) constitutes the majority.[40] In its broadest definition, the pronoun "ấy" refers to something that "has been mentioned, known, but is not next to the speaker."[41] Combined with "hồi" (time) or "đêm" (night), "ấy" becomes temporally deictic, suggesting a redirection of the narration to a past event. This frequent use of demonstrative pronouns facilitates the text's anachronies: fragmenting the narrative to mirror the blurring of the present and past in Kien's conception of time. To take one illustrative section, even within Kien's stream of consciousness, it is possible to delineate four *redirections* of the temporality:

[38] Genette, G., trans. J.E. Lewin, *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*, 1980, https://www.15orient.com/files/genette-on-narrative-discourse.pdf, p. 33.
[39] Ibid., p. 40.
[40] Le, L. O., 'Thời Gian Tự Sự Trong Nỗi Buồn Chiến Tranh (Bảo-Ninh),' Lê Lưu Oanh's Blog, 15 May 2020, https://leluuoanh.wordpress.com/2019/02/23/thoi-gian-tu-su-trong-noi-buon-chien-tranh-Bảo-Ninh/.
[41] Wiktionary Tiếng Việt, 2023, https://vi.wiktionary.org/wiki/%E1%BA%A5y.

"[A] But [B] it was truly happy, those days during most of the rainy season when they didn't have to fight, the entire platoon of thirteen was safe. [C] Even Thinh would be living here for more than a month [D] before being killed. [E] Can hadn't deserted. And Vinh, Thinh, Cu, Oanh, Tac were all still alive. [F] Yet now, besides a worn curled deck of cards, stained with the fingerprints of the dead, Kien no longer has any other mementos of his platoon.

- [G] Nine, Ten, Jack!
- Queen - King - Ace!

[H] Occasionally he still dreamt of them, those cards."[42]

To fully understand the technique of anachronies, it is helpful to draw on Dao Duy Hiep's adaptation of Gerard Genette's narratological framework into Marcel Proust's *In Search of Lost Time*.[43] In Hiep's work, he dissects an excerpt into various segments and reconstructs them within their chronological timeline while examining the interplay of their temporal elements. Applying such an analysis with this section of *The Sorrow of War,* [A] signifies the first transition in temporality, whereby the speaker from the present is directed to the past. Both [B] and [C] are in the past, but the latter, similarly to [A] is influenced by [A], with the speaker's perspective shifting to a past viewpoint, anticipating the future deaths of Thinh, Can, and Vinh as if narrating from the standpoint of a time traveller. [D] is a prolepsis into the nearer future before [A]. [F] represents the present but not as a discrete, but rather ongoing, moment. [F] is the present time which depends on the knowledge about the past at [B], thus infusing a nuanced tone into the present. [G] is an extracted moment from the ongoing happy days in [B], constructed by dialogue and exclamation marks which recreates the real-time atmosphere, effectively present-izing the past. [H] closes the cycle of consciousness by resurfacing to the present again.

This full sequence can be illustrated below. The numbers represent the chronological order in the story time, and the arrows demonstrate one's dependence, or influence, on the other.

A3 - B1 - C1 - D2 - E1 - F3 - G1 - H3

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[42] Bảo-Ninh, *Nỗi Buồn Chiến Tranh*, Hà Nội, Nhà Xuất bản Trẻ, p. 16.
[43] Đào, D. H., 'Thời gian trong "Đi tìm thời gian đã mất" của Marcel Proust,' Trường Đại học Khoa học xã hội và Nhân văn, Hà Nội, 2003, pp. 90-92.

From this sequence, one can derive several critical observations. The constant redirection, together with varying standpoints that construct a novel temporality, replicates Kien's restlessness in shifting between the present and the past. Furthermore, that past indicators (1,2) are considerably more prevailing than present indicators (3) and that the present is continuously interrupted by periods of the past, all the more, emphasises how Kien cannot fit into the present. Such temporal distortion in the chain, thereby, manifests the power of war to drive humans away from the natural course of time.

The significance of such analysis is eco-conscious: the superiority of nature is unfolded in two temporal aspects: geologic vs. human time and story vs. narrated time. The twist in *The Sorrow of War* is that despite the coexistence of the calendar time and the geologic time, such as seasons and natural time indicators, Bảo-Ninh implies a hierarchy between the two: the rainy season is the dominant time reference, with sequential calendar timestamps constructed in relation to such. Particularly, it is not possible to conceive of Thinh's death by the time description, "more than a month", on its own, but in *comparison* to the "rainy season". This implicates human temporality as dependent on the natural temporal scheme, implicating the former as subordinate. Similarly, the quotation in footnote no. 37 illustrates the insignificance of calendar time as nested in the timelessness of geology. It is necessary then to extrapolate the conclusions outwards: this hierarchy in time is a pattern throughout the text, with recurrent references to the seasons punctuating our understanding of the narrative voice's temporal position.

It is within this context that the impact of the river conceptual metaphor can enhance our understanding of the work's structure. As analysed in the first section, if story time is constructed by the river metaphor for its forward and directional movement of time, then narrative time is figured through Kien's volition to fight against the current: not just against a "sequence of events", but against the natural equilibrium that the war disrupts. When presented with the narrative time, readers naturally work backward and piece the dates together to comprehend the actual courts of events, suggesting that story time is, to an extent, more important. As story time is intricately linked with natural, geologic time, the text encourages readers to move beyond the overtly narrated time of human consciousness and grasp the flow of geologic time, rendering the very structure of the text eco-conscious in suggesting that human chronology is subservient to a deeper, natural rhythm.

Conclusion

This paper has demonstrated that *The Sorrow of War* possesses a distinct yet unnoticed eco-critical dimension, notably in alignment with Buell's criterion that human history must be entwined with natural history. Metaphor theory has guided this exploration of Kien's life, offering two distinct avenues: the horizontal and vertical metaphorical framework of a river. This analysis discloses nature's dynamic role in constructing the imagery, presenting a reimagined reality, in which anthropocentric elements are infused with nature's unique attributes. The systematic conceptual metaphor creates such a coherent organisation of experience that naturally immerses readers into the grand scheme of nature. This highlights nature's potency that is far beyond its conventional role as a narrative backdrop, nuancing our understanding with an ecological essence. This analysis in turn provides an understanding of how the text's form, beyond the superficial content, can be viewed eco-critically. Through a narratological framework, the text's distinctive temporality becomes apparent, allowing the delineation of *The Sorrow of War*'s parallel undercurrents of geologic and human time and establishing the natural as a benchmark for human deviations. Here, the concept of 'eco-temporality' is naturally brought forward, for nature is viewed to be the standard, which primarily grounds the conception of time in the text. Thus, to view Bảo-Ninh's masterpiece through an ecocritical lens brings forth an ethical imperative to the reader: to understand humanity's futility in opposing the more potent laws of nature.

Notes

Many Vietnamese authors mentioned in the paper use pseudonyms. Since there is no clear differentiation between their first and last names, this paper formatted them with a dash in the middle to clarify this (e.g., Bảo-Ninh, Nguyên-Ngọc).

Some titles of Vietnamese works cannot be adequately translated to English, given their specific meaning in context, namely *Đàn Trời* and *Bến Nước Lành,* in footnotes no. 11 and no. 13, respectively.

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World History

Trousers to Tunics:
Examining Cultural Interchange and Conflicts between Celtic and Classical Forces in Ancient Britain

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Abstract

This paper explores the history and identities of Celtic peoples in ancient Britain through their interactions with their Roman conquerors, starting with Julius Caesar's first invasion of the island in 55 BCE and ending with Emperor Severus's campaign to conquer Scotland in 208 CE. Due to the lack of firsthand accounts of these events from the Celtic perspective, the majority of source material on British Celts comes from primary sources written by Roman authors such as Julius Caesar, Publius Cornelius Tacitus, Lucius Cassius Dio, and Herodian. Those authors, each with their own political motives and personal biases, often portrayed Celtic people as distant barbarians. In fact, Celtic culture consisted of a complex, interconnected tribal system with elaborate trade networks. Still, much can be learned from the available reading, from secondary sources by modern historians who engage with Roman authors not only as reporters of history but also as historical figures themselves. These modern historians offer a clearer picture by accounting for those figures' motives and biases. Thus, this paper serves as a general introduction to Ancient Roman-Celtic interactions, evolving from complete unfamiliarity to mutual animosity, to an eventual coexistence and, in some cases, a fusion that laid the basis for modern British culture and identity.

Introduction

In the past several years, political analysts and even average news readers have seen the word "Celt" pop up more and more. In addition to its frequent appearances in the media, the term has also entered the spotlight of historical discussion. Historians such as Patrick Sims-Williams and Simon James have debated whether Celtic identity exists, and, if so, where and when the Celts lived.[1] While most people think of "Celtic" as corresponding to the regions of Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, and people in these nations tend to use this term the most frequently, the British Isles are only the tip of the iceberg of Celtic identity.[2] During the actual golden age of Celtic influence (600 BCE–50 CE), peoples who would today be categorized as "Celtic" settled across the European continent from Spain to Turkey.[3] Defining what is or isn't Celtic is far from a simple task; so-called Celtic groups throughout history possessed a high degree of lingual and cultural uniformity, while at the same time being divided along the lines of politics and religion.

Regardless of their tribal allegiances, Celts and their culture thrived throughout Europe during the early classical period and experienced independent cultural development. On the island of Britain in particular, Celtic migrations would lead to the establishment of a tribal system that would dominate the island well into the first century BCE. But this was not to last. On the other side of the English Channel, a group very different from the British Celts was beginning to conquer the peoples of mainland Europe. The Roman Empire began as a regional republic before expanding its reach throughout vast stretches of territory, all of which were governed by a central government in Rome. But what happened when the centralized Romans came into contact with the distant, unknown Celts of Britain?

Covering the period beginning at Caesar's invasion of Britain and ending at the Severan campaign to conquer Scotland, this paper explores the evolution of interactions between Roman and British Celts, shifting from complete unfamiliarity to mutual animosity, to an eventual coexistence and, in some cases, a fusion that laid the basis for modern British culture and identity.

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[1] Patrick Sims-Williams, 'How are you finding it here?' *London Review of Books* 21 (1999), p. 1.

[2] The term saw increased usage in Britain during the Enlightenment and today is also used to describe the historical inhabitants of Brittany and the Isle of Man.

[3] Rhys Kaminski-Jones and Francesca Kaminski-Jones, *Celts, Romans, Britons: Classical and Celtic Influence in the Construction of British Identities* (Oxford, 2020), p. 6.

Caesar's Invasion of Britain

The first known account of contact between the Celts of Britain and the Roman Empire, written by Julius Caesar, provides a useful framework for understanding this intercultural relationship at such an early stage. Caesar's account, while filled with political bias, gives off a sense of mutual unfamiliarity and shock between two groups that would ultimately fight for dominance in the coming centuries. Caesar recounts the events of his invasion of Britain in 55 BCE in his overall account of the Gallic Wars, *De Bello Gallico*.[4] It is worth noting that Caesar sought to portray himself and Rome as noble while mocking the Celts through misrepresentations of historical events and false stereotypes.[5] Nevertheless, Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*, a description of this first contact, which more broadly recounts his campaigns through Gaul as well as Britain, provides a useful insight into the Roman view of Celts in Britain in 55 BCE.

After conquering Gaul, Caesar claimed to have asked the natives if they had any knowledge of the inhabitants of Britain, but failed to receive useful information.[6] This goes to show just how unfamiliar the Romans, and even the Gauls, were with Britain's inhabitants. Whereas historians today tend to note the cultural similarities between the ancient French Gauls and the British Britons and categorize both as Celts, the limited contact between these cultures meant that most were not aware of each other's existence, or at the very least, did not regard each other as belonging to the same culture. This widespread lack of knowledge among Gauls and Britons, caused by geographical barriers such as the English Channel, was likely the reason why Caesar was so uninformed.[7] Caesar expressed this further in his account, frequently describing Britain as lying at the edge of the world, a statement that felt very real for the ancient Roman conquerors of his day.[8] When he arrived in Britain, Caesar's description of the Celts was one of a unified, monolithic people, referring to nearly all tribes he came into contact with as "the enemy," a drastic oversimplification that ignores the complexity of tribal British society, which contained political and cultural differences between coastal and inland population groupings.[9] Furthermore, he claimed many tribes were able to unite under one man, Cassivellaunus, and that the

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[4] Julius Caesar, *De Bello Gallico (The Gallic Wars)*, trans. W. A. McDevitte and W. S. Bohn, (New York, 1869), Bk. 4, ch. 20.

[5] Guy de la Bédoyère, *The Real Lives of Roman Britain* (New Haven, 2015), p. 4.

[6] Kaminski-Jones & Kaminski-Jones, *Celts, Romans, Britons*, p. 7, noting that the Gauls are today considered Celts by modern historians; Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, Bk. 4, ch. 20.

[7] Kaminski-Jones & Kaminski-Jones, *Celts, Romans, Britons,* p. 6.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, Bk. 4, ch. 36.

tribes were so unified that they collectively decided to renew their war against Rome at a conference.[10] The Romans were used to coming into contact with monarchs and emperors, but their assumption that they would find a similar governmental structure in Celtic Britain was misguided. While Cassivellaunus was likely able to unite several tribes against the Romans, this was only possible due to the unique case of an outside threat to all Britons. In fact, as Caesar himself notes, there was evidence that the tribes had been fighting amongst themselves years before the Roman arrival, making tribal unification the exception rather than the rule in Britain.[11] Caesar's view of the Britons as a homogeneous group of people with a fairly centralized command structure was based on ignorance of Britonic culture.

However, Caesar's perspective may have also been based on internal factors in Rome. Caesar's invasion in 55 BCE came at a time of major political reforms within Rome, marked by the transition from republic to empire, and a massive civil war. The senate's power was weakening and was replaced by the First Triumvirate, three individuals (including Caesar) who ruled Rome. However, at the time of Caesar's writing, the relationship between these individuals was growing increasingly tense, with this internal instability likely influencing Caesar's description of the Celts.[12] Wanting to take control during this power vacuum, Caesar hoped to boost his popularity with his account, glorifying both himself and the army to attract Romans to his cause.

Taking part in the competition between the Triumvirate members, Caesar desperately hoped to gain more power and establish himself as the sole ruler of Rome. However, to do so, he needed the approval of both the Senate and the Roman people at large. His tactic was to spread propaganda, which likely played a big role in his writing of *De Bello Gallico.* His account of Britain is not only filled with descriptions of Celts but also goes into detail on the actions of both the Roman army and himself, such as the army's crossing of the English Channel and Caesar's useful naval tactics during coastal battles.[13] Therefore, Caesar's description of Britain as an "unknown" but "espied" land at the edge of the world may not only be due to the lack of Roman knowledge of the island but perhaps also serves to make himself seem like a brave explorer and exemplary leader, and thereby a potential emperor.[14] Additionally, his mention of Cassivellaunus may not just be an accidental

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[10] Ibid.
[11] Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, Bk. 4, ch. 20.
[12] Bédoyère, *The Real Lives*, p. 4.
[13] Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, Bk. 4, ch. 23; Bk. 4, ch. 26.
[14] Ibid., Bk. 4, ch. 26; Bk. 5, ch. 8.

misconception of Britonic culture but perhaps an intentional reframing to give his story a worthy villain and a captivating story arc. The Roman population's general ignorance of much of British Celtic culture allowed Caesar this opportunity to spread misinformation and suited his political motives, despite his very patchy knowledge of Celtic society. Rather than learning more about British Celts, Caesar's true motive in his British campaign and *De Bello Gallico* was to strengthen his political power and fame. Furthermore, Caesar likely hoped his account would also have the effect of bolstering Roman patriotism, as Caesar frames his victory as one for Rome and civilization. In this regard, *De Bello Gallico* was a resounding success. As historian Guy de la Bedoyere notes, while Caesar's invasion was militarily inconclusive, he managed to turn it into a "box office success" with the Roman people by writing a "distinctly partisan" account of the events, giving him more approval, and eventually, more power as Rome's dictator.[15] While it is impossible to know if Caesar really cared about supplying the Roman people with knowledge of a previously foreign culture, or if his descriptions in *De Bello Gallico* are just one of many propaganda tools used to bolster his image and help him seize power, it is clear that Caesar, and Rome more broadly, lacked sufficient information on Celtic culture. However, as Rome and the Celts gained more knowledge of each other, accounts would shift away from Caesar's depiction of Britain as a mystical foreign land, and to a heightened sense of animosity toward a known enemy.

Claudius's Invasion and Boudica's Revolt

Through centuries of warfare, the Romans' curiosity about the Celts evolved into a deep hostility towards their British foe. This can be seen clearly by comparing earlier accounts of British Celts written by Julius Caesar and Publius Cornelius Tacitus to their later counterparts written by Lucius Cassius Dio. While Caesar's invasion ended in withdrawal so that he could return to Gaul to put down local rebellions, the Romans eventually returned to Britain, nearly a century later, during the reign of Emperor Claudius (41-54 CE). Lucius Cassius Dio, a Roman senator who was born 112 years after this invasion, writes about these events and portrays the Celts in a very different light than did Caesar. Rather than focusing on, or perhaps overemphasizing, the unity between tribes, Dio describes them as extremely fractured.[16] In his account, there is no mention of a central figure uniting the tribes such as Cassivellaunus, and he explains how different tribes pursued drastically

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[15] Bédoyère, *The Real Lives*, pp. 3-4.
[16] Cassius Dio, 'Claudius' Invasion of Britain', trans. Mary Beard and Neil Wright in Graham Webster, *The Roman Invasion of Britain*, (London, 1980 repr. 1993), p. 200.

different policies towards Rome.[17] While some chose to fight, many others entered negotiations, and violence between these factions was surprisingly common, with Romans even having to act as mediators.[18]

By emphasizing divisions within the tribes, Dio likely hoped to influence the historical narrative by degrading the Celts as fractured and barbaric, in contrast to the supposedly unified Roman forces. Due to the interconnectivity of the Roman Empire, made possible by road systems and sea routes, propaganda like this was able to spread at an incredibly fast rate, influencing Roman culture, art (as is shown by depictions of the Celts on the Continent such as "the dying Gaul"), and especially the attitudes of Roman people towards their foe.[19] Additionally, emphasizing disunity in contrast with Roman unity would have had lasting implications on the governance of Britain. By stressing the difference between Celts and Romans, Dio indirectly claimed that the two cultures were in direct conflict and incompatible. As author Edwin Hustwit notes, this may have been a strategic move to prevent the British Celts from gaining Roman citizenship or participating in government, as had happened in Gaul.[20]

While Dio used his historical account to denounce the Celts and their culture, just as Caesar had done before him, unlike Caesar, he was not the only Roman author covering the story. The abundance of primary sources on this period allows historians to gain greater insight into the evolution of Roman-Celtic relations and Roman views on the Celts of Britain. These sources recorded the events following the initial invasion of Britain when the Romans were faced with a massive Celtic uprising from Boudica, the wife of King Prasutagus of the Iceni tribe. Prasutagus chose to divide power equally between his wife and the Romans upon his death.[21] However, the Romans were not content with this arrangement, removing Boudica from power, and perhaps even raping her daughters.[22] In response, Boudica was able to gather a confederation of tribes and begin a revolt against the Romans, which was covered by two Roman historians, Tacitus and Cassius Dio.

Tacitus's account of Boudica's rebellion, written much closer to the events, displays a similar curiosity with the Celtic culture that Caesar

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[17] Ibid., p. 201
[18] Ibid.
[19] Edwin Hustwit, 'Britishness, Pictishness and the "Death" of the Noble Briton: The Britons in Roman Ethnographic and Literary Thought,' *Studia Celtica* 50 (2016), p. 22.
[20] Ibid., p. 39.
[21] Tacitus. *Annals: Books 13-16*, trans. John Jackson, Loeb Classical Library 322 (Cambridge, MA, 1937), Bk. 14, ch. 31. 1.
[22] Ibid.

had previously espoused while simultaneously offering critiques of Roman society and government. Tacitus lived from 56-120 CE and wrote of the events a little less than a century after they happened. He was a Roman historian, senator, and a frequent critic of the emperor who wrote a series of annals on the history of the Roman Empire from the death of Augustus in 14 CE to the end of the reign of Emperor Nero in 68 CE. Focusing on a relatively brief section of history gave Tacitus plenty of time to elaborate and often offer opinions on the state of Roman governance, seeking to criticize the imperial system and disliked emperors such as Nero. He usually did this by writing speeches for historical characters to express his grievances with Rome. Boudica is one such character, and Tacitus's speech for her was filled with anti-imperial, and sometimes even pro-Celtic narratives and arguments. Boudica was portrayed as a wronged Queen, with Tacitus having claimed she "was subjugated to the lash, and her daughters violated."[23] In her speech before the battle, Tacitus wrote that Boudica described herself as a "woman of the people," and constantly brought up the importance of freedom in opposition to slavery, something that Tacitus himself had mentioned many times, as he himself saw the Roman government as enslavers of the people.[24] Following the battle, Tacitus claimed Boudica poisoned herself.[25] As Tacitus lived much closer to the Boudican Rebellion, he did not see the same amount of British history as Dio and wrote at a time when Britain was still relatively unknown to the bulk of Roman citizens. This lack of knowledge likely gives Tacitus a similar sense of curiosity to Caesar. He was eager to gain new knowledge about the Celts while also using them as a propaganda tool for his own personal motives. What distinguishes Tacitus from Caesar, however, is the nature of his complaints against the Roman government. Whereas Caesar used the Celts as a tool to boost pro-Roman morale, Tacitus used them as a weapon against the leadership of the Roman Empire. As author Eric Adler notes, while Caesar and Tacitus were both driven by their political agendas, the nature of their agendas differed heavily. Adler cites Tactius's speech as evidence against the premise that Roman historians are always biased against opponents of Rome. In fact, they are sometimes biased towards them.[26]

Writing more than a century after Boudica's rebellion, and from a more pro-Roman stance, Dio's perspective shows how Roman attitudes towards the Celts and the events of the past evolved with centuries of

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[23] Ibid.
[24] Eric Adler, 'Boudica's Speeches in Tacitus and Dio,' *The Classical World* 101.2 (2008), p. 184.
[25] Tacitus, *Annals*, Bk. 14, ch. 37. 1.
[26] Adler, 'Boudica's Speeches,' p. 173.

warfare. Dio lived from 155-235 CE, more than a century after Boudica's rebellion, and therefore is able to write about a much larger period than Tacitus. Though his speech for Boudica somewhat mirrors Tacitus's, agreeing on basic events and giving Boudica a similar speech, everything else about his account seems to side with Rome. He denies the claim that Boudica's daughters were raped by claiming the war was started by "an excuse" due to "the confiscation of the sums of money that Claudius had given to the foremost Britons."[27] He also puts much more focus on Boudica's atrocities, saying her army would wreak "indescribable slaughter" and they even "impaled the women on sharp skewers."[28] According to Cassius Dio, Boudica's death was far less dramatic, as he claims she died of sickness rather than poison.[29]

Despite some minor similarities to Tacitus's annals, overall, Dio's account represents a more mainstream Roman view. It was written at a significant chronological distance from the events, when the Celts and Romans had become all too familiar with each other as adversaries, likely fueling Dio's biased perspective. After seeing centuries of this warfare, knowing more about the Celts, and seeing the political situation in Britain collapse with more revolts, Dio likely did not share Tacitus and Caesar's curiosity for Celtic culture. Rather, he probably wanted to attack Rome's longtime enemy by degrading the Celts through his written accounts. By comparing Tacitus and Dio, it is clear that as Romans and Celts became more familiar with each other, often through war, the Roman attitude shifted from one of curiosity to a strong sense of animosity, but the Roman use of the Celts as a political tool for their own means remained.

The Hadrian and Antonine Walls

After Boudica's rebellion had been completely subdued, the Romans could finally advance farther north into Scotland, but they were faced with a new threat. Like Boudica, Galgagus, a Scottish native, had managed to create a coalition of tribes to halt the Roman advance.[30] His forces confronted the Romans at the battle of Mons Graupius (83 CE), where they were outflanked by Roman cavalry and cut down, leading to a Roman victory.[31] While this story may seem very similar to that of Boudica, it should be noted that historians today know extremely little

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[27] Cassius Dio, *Roman History: Volume IX*, trans. Earnest Cary and Herbert B. Foster, Loeb Classic Library 177 (Cambridge, MA, 1927), Bk 77, ch. 12.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Tacitus, 'Life of Gnaeus Julius Agricola,' trans. Alfred John Church and William Jackson Brodribb, *Ancient History Sourcebook* (Fordham, NY 1996), ch. 29.
[31] Ibid.

about Galgacus and his cause. Much of the known information comes from Tacitus, whose descriptions of both Galgagus and Boudica's speeches before the battle espouse similar ideas. Furthermore, both Boudica and Galgacus's battle tactics seem strangely familiar to Ostorius (a previous opponent to Rome), showing that Tacitus put little time into distinguishing both the words and military actions of different Celtic leaders, regardless of when and where they lived.[32] Tacitus once again combined his curiosity for Celtic culture with his grievances against Rome, as he chose to write a speech for Galgacus that heavily mirrored his political views, equating Roman rule to infection with the "contagion of slavery" and saying Roman soldiers rely purely on "fear and terror."[33]

Following Mons Graupius, Roman policy, and arguably the overall Roman perspective towards the Celts, shifted drastically. Whereas previous emperors, such as Trajan, had been largely focused on conquest and subjugation, the new Emperor Hadrian put more emphasis on peace and gained a reputation for being a builder.[34] His approach to Britain is an example of this peaceful approach, choosing to halt Roman expansion on the island in favor of constructing a massive wall to divide conquered from unconquered land.[35] The wall was not the first Roman presence in the area, and many forts had already existed as part of the "Stangate System,"[36] but it was nonetheless an unprecedented project; the wall was more expensive and time-consuming than any previous Roman project in the area, with major implications both economic and cultural for both the Roman defenders and Celtic tribes beyond the wall.[37] Following Hadrian's death, he was succeeded by his adopted son, Antoninus. Antoninus was seen as inexperienced, and, in hopes of boosting his reputation, he expanded the frontier and constructed a new wall that was situated farther north, using his adopted father's wall as a supply depot.[38] The result was the creation of a buffer zone between the two walls.

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[32] Hustwit, 'Britishness, Pictishness,' p. 98.

[33] Tacitus, "Life of Gnaeus," ch. 30, 32.

[34] Matthew Symonds, *Hadrian's Wall: Creating Division* (London, 2020), p. 53.

[35] S. Ireland, *Roman Britain: A Sourcebook* (London, 2008), p. 95.

[36] A system of forts constructed on the Roman frontier to monitor neighboring tribes and secure Roman economic interests.

[37] Symonds, *Hadrian's Wall*, p. 45.

[38] Sources from 'The Hadrianic and Antonine Frontiers' in S. Ireland, *Roman Britain: A Sourcebook*, p. 95.

This buffer zone created a unique example of Roman-Celtic coexistence.[39] By this point, the area around the wall, and Britain more broadly, no longer contained just Roman explorers or soldiers. It also included Roman civilians who chose to reside in this more incorporated province, often within the Hadrian and Antonine walls, which became more of a narrow city than a military fortification. This is evident from the archeological discovery of several writing tablets at the Roman fort of Vindolanda (a part of the Hadrian Wall). While one might assume this fort served a purely military purpose, only one of the tablets discusses its intended purpose: protection against the neighboring Celts. The majority of the tablets go into detail on everyday life in this part of the 'narrow city,' such as residential areas and trade arrangements. [40] The massive presence of Roman civilians in the area and the more pacifist Roman approach gave the local tribes more exposure to Roman culture. Furthermore, providing goods to the Romans proved to be a great economic opportunity for the native population.[41] Wealth within Celtic society was starting to become increasingly determined by how "Romanized" a person was; Celts who possessed Roman goods or knowledge of Roman culture were seen as having a higher standing in society. While this idea had been taking shape for centuries, its evolution accelerated during this period, and because tribes to the northeast of the wall were deemed more peaceful by the Romans than those from the northwest, they could participate in trade and gain more Roman goods.[42] For their part, the Romans gained some customs from the Celts in the area by adopting Celtic soldiers into their ranks. These soldiers influenced Roman culture in and around the walls by helping Romans better communicate with and learn the tactics of the Celts, acting as a link between Roman and Celtic culture.[43] While violence and animosity were still present north of the wall, centuries of interactions between Celts and Romans, as well as a major policy shift under Emperor Hadrian, led to more cooperative relations. Gone were the days of Britain seeming "unfamiliar" or filled with Roman enemies, in favor of more permanent Roman civilian settlements, trade, and even some form of cultural fusion between these two previously distant groups.

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[39] Lesley Macinnes, 'The Impact of the Antonine Wall on Iron Age Society,' in David. J. Breeze and William S. Hanson, *The Antonine Wall: Papers in Honour of Professor Lawrence Keppie* (Oxford, 2020), p. 53.

[40] Vindolanda Tablets Online.

[41] Macinnes, "The Impact," p. 53.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid.

The Severan Campaign

Although the Hadrian and Antonine walls would provide Britain with a long period of stability, that would come to an end with a Roman campaign in 208 CE, a final attempt to conquer the areas beyond the wall. After infighting within Rome, Septimus Severus established himself as Emperor and aimed to claim the title of 'Britannicus' by conquering the remainder of the island. The north of Scotland remained in Celtic hands, inhabited by the Maetae and Caledonii, tribes who had pushed back Roman assaults for centuries.[44] In conquering Scotland, Severus hoped to teach his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, the duties of being emperor, thereby cementing the future of Rome and his bloodline.[45] While the Severan campaign brought about a significant amount of bloodshed, this era proved to largely evolve relations between both Romans and Celts beyond the wall, on an economic, political, and cultural basis by exposing firmly Celtic areas to Roman influence and cementing a more established Roman presence throughout the entire island.

The heavy Roman presence in Scotland during the Severan campaign proved to be more peaceful and economically valuable than one might assume, with frequent non-violent interactions between Scottish tribes and the Romans. Even in York, well within Roman territory, Caledonian women from above the wall were reported to have socialized with Roman female elites, with one female elite even meeting face-to-face with Severus's wife and debating Roman laws on adultery.[46] While one might assume that a militaristic campaign of this degree would lead to absolute violence on the frontier itself trade nearby and north of the wall grew significantly during this period. While there were indeed many battles during the Severan campaign, several tribes enjoyed good relations with Rome, trading frequently and even using Roman goods as status symbols. Additionally, unlike Boudica, Galgacus, or almost any other previous Celtic military leader, the tribes north of the wall actively sought out good relations, a dynamic mentioned in several Roman sources. For example, Roman historian Herodian claims that when Severus arrived in Scotland, he immediately encountered tribal envoys who sought to avoid war, with similar encounters being common even after the campaign had begun.[47] As they had become more familiar with

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[44] Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, *Bk. 77*, ch. 12.

[45] *Herodian of Antioch's History of the Roman Empire*, trans. Edward C. Echols, (Berkeley, 1961, repub. 2021).

[46] Rupert Jackson, *The Roman Occupation of Britain and Its Legacy* (London, 2020), ch. 13, p. 184.

[47] *Herodian of Antioch's History*, Bk. 3, ch. 14.

Rome, and realized that their longstanding enemy brought more than just subjugation, the Celtic response had shifted from one of revolution to a more widespread eagerness for economic cooperation and even peace with their Latin foe.

For their part, the Romans had also become much more accustomed to both Celtic culture and the island of Britain itself by this point. Whereas Julius Caesar had regarded Britain as at the edge of imperial authority, Emperor Severus's military interest in the island had moved Britain from a distant frontier to the center of his Empire. Bringing his entire family to Britain, Severus made the modern-day city of York, in northern England, the capital of imperial governance.[48] While both he and his son Caracalla campaigned in the north, his other son, Geta, was surrounded by imperial advisors and effectively ruled Rome from one of its most northern provinces.[49] Even the lands that Romans would have still considered distant were impacted by Roman influence. Many forts, such as those at Carpow and Cramond, were established north of the Hadrian Wall. Rather than serving as a military staging group, Carpow was used as a Roman outpost, meant to patrol the surrounding areas. The soldiers stationed at the fort likely interacted heavily with the native inhabitants of the region.[50] Whereas the south of Britain had long felt the Roman presence, the previously desolate north had gone from a foreign frontier to a Roman capital in a matter of two years. Although the Severan Campaign would end in failure, and Rome was restored as the Imperial capital, this era left an integral mark on the history of Roman-Celtic Britain, exposing previously untapped areas to new Roman influences that would shape the region for centuries to come. Even as the last Roman ships departed the isles centuries later, their influence would remain in the Celtic language, British cities, and the permanent shifts in the economy of the former frontier.

Conclusion

When Julius Caesar first stepped foot on British soil, he could have hardly imagined the implications his expedition would have. What followed his fateful journey were centuries of interactions between Romans and Celts. These interactions began with curiosity when Roman generals such as Julius Caesar witnessed the peculiarity of Celtic chariot warfare, evolving into animosity when Romans were faced with the Boudican revolt and confronted at fierce battles such as Mons Graupius,

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[48] Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, Bk. 77, ch. 11.

[49] Ibid.

[50] N. Hodgson, 'The British Expedition of Septimus Severus,' *Brittania* 45 (2014), p. 49.

and finally, became more cooperative when the Roman Hadrian Wall facilitated increased trade and contact.

While it is easy to see both Roman and Celtic elements in British culture in the twenty-first century, whether it be the origins of the city of London or the Gallic languages in the Scottish Highlands, the historical processes by which that cultural evolution occurred have been partly obscured by a dearth of Celtic primary sources. However, extant sources are sufficient to establish that the Celtic-Roman interactions were a significant force in the ancient world, shaping British history through frontier trades that introduced new Roman goods and the adoption of Roman-based hierarchies that would go on to shape social life in medieval and modern Britain.

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Unmasking Heteronormativity: Laura Mulvey's Impact on Spectator Identity in Cinema

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Abstract

In 1975, Laura Mulvey published a ground-breaking essay in which she coined the term "male gaze" and opened new perspectives about the male-centric film industry. However, as time marches forward, the brilliance of Mulvey's work is found to be accompanied by limitations. This paper focuses on how Mulvey's seminal "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" fell short of accounting for non-heteronormative spectators when analyzing women's representation in Hollywood cinema, the dynamics of spectatorship, and erotic pleasure in film. Mulvey's work encompassed inadvertent normative claims, including essentialist gender notions, a binary view of gender, the absence of female agency via the exclusion of the female gaze, a limited scope relying solely on Freudian psychoanalysis, and the pleasure aspect of film engagement. Is it the case that there exists only the male gaze and female gaze, or is there more to spectatorship in film? To address the pitfalls of Mulvey's "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," a more inclusive approach to film theory is needed. This paper examines and reevaluates the male gaze, as well as recognizes agency and complexity in female characters, accounting for non-heteronormative spectators and encouraging ongoing dialogue about feminism in film. By incorporating these solutions, scholars can build upon the foundation laid by Mulvey's essay and foster a more inclusive and comprehensive analysis of gender representation in film.

Introduction: Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema

Laura Mulvey, a prominent figure in the realm of film studies and feminist theory, has ignited a spark that continues to illuminate the intricacies of cinema and gender representation. Her essay, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," has set the stage for a profound reevaluation of how we perceive and engage with films. In her work, Mulvey passionately advocates for a revolution in the world of cinema, imploring audiences to question and challenge the time-worn gender roles depicted on the screen. Her vision? To usher in a new era of empowering female portrayals and a more inclusive, equitable cinematic experience, shattering the chains of visual and narrative stereotypes.

Overall, Mulvey bases her article "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" on two key concepts: "Woman as Image, Man as Bearer of the Look" and "Pleasure in Looking/Fascination with the Human Form." She applies psychoanalysis to aspects of filmmaking in these parts to show how it may be used in cinema theory, especially by feminists who fight "under the heteronormative order." Mulvey explores the pleasures of cinema, particularly scopophilia, which involves viewing other people's bodies as sensual objects while remaining invisible to the audience. She argues that in a patriarchal world, scopophilia is split between active/male and passive/female viewing pleasure.[1] The male gaze is the dominant perspective, allowing male viewers to identify with male characters on film, fostering the illusion of dominance and control. This identification is not only about understanding the character's perspective but also involves a level of narcissism, where the viewer aligns themselves with the empowered male figure. The audience, regardless of their gender, is encouraged to view the events of the film through the eyes of the male character.

In contrast, female characters are often seen as passive objects of the male gaze, sexualized and objectified, and portrayed as objects of desire. They are frequently positioned in ways that accentuate their physical attributes, such as through close-ups, low camera angles, or lingering shots. These techniques emphasize the sexual allure of the female characters and reinforce traditional gender roles, where women exist to be admired and desired by men. Mulvey highlights the tension between active/male and passive/female watching pleasure in films, with the viewer's interest in the image leading to control and possession of the female form inside the diegesis, while the viewer's gaze involves direct scopophilic contact with the female form.[2] In general, Mulvey

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[1] L. Mulvey, 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,' *Screen,* 1975, p. 835.
[2] L. Mulvey, 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,' p. 837.

suggests deconstructing the scopophilic by examining the three distinct looks of cinema: the camera, the audience, and the characters appearing on film. She concludes that women, whose images have been used for profit, would embrace such a transformation and view conventional film form with nothing more than acknowledged sentimentality.

Analysis and Limitations of Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema

First, although Mulvey's argument about *Vertigo* supports the male gaze theory, it also lacks female agency and clarification about Judy's sexual orientation. *Vertigo* supports Mulvey's theory of the male gaze by depicting female characters as objects of desire and emphasizing their aesthetic attraction from the standpoint of the male protagonist and audience. Mulvey suggested that Hitchcock's heroes, in this case, Scottie in *Vertigo*, are dominant men possessing money and power, backed by "a certainty of legal right and the established guilt of a woman."[3] The audience watches the film through the view of the male protagonist, Scottie, and his voyeuristic obsession with the female character, Madeleine. Scottie acts as a sadist, forcing Judy to reconstruct herself as Madeleine for his pleasure, shaping Judy into the perfect masochist. In the end, Judy dies after being stuck in a vicious cycle of repetition, all geared to keep Scottie's erotic interest. On the one hand, the film could potentially help female spectators to get out of the same cycle as Judy, prompting them to remove the mask of their fake identity and return to living as their original selves. On the other hand, Scottie's voyeuristic behaviors are "normalized" by his valorization in the role of the sympathetic protagonist, and Hitchcock constructed the women in this film to appear always to be focused on themselves, trying to be another person so that men could fall in love with this idealized and false image. This portrayal serves to reinforce the male gaze and the objectification of women in the narrative, as men are encouraged to fall in love with this manufactured and unrealistic image.[4] Additionally, the narrative framework of the movie reinforces the male gaze from the primary purpose of Madeleine's persona: to serve as a mysterious and watchful presence for Scottie. Her inner lives and intentions are frequently hidden, highlighting her function as Scottie's object of attention rather than a fully realized person.[5] This supports Mulvey's claim that female actors frequently lack subjectivity and are instead reduced to becoming simple visual spectacles. The narrative framework of the movie and

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[3] L. Mulvey, 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,' p. 841.

[4] A. Klevan, 'Vertigo and the spectator of film analysis,' *New York: Routledge*, 2014, pp. 194-224.

[5] For further treatment of self-actualization's historical importance for feminism, see Chapter 5 in MacKinnon, *Toward a Feminist Theory of the State*.

Scottie's influence over Judy's appearance serve to highlight further the power relationships and objectification at the center of the thesis.

However, the viewers remain uninformed regarding Judy's sexual inclinations and orientation. Even though the time when "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" was written was still heteronormative, Mulvey's analysis does not account for the potential queer subtext in Judy's character and her relationship with Scottie. The essay primarily focuses on the binary and heteronormative aspects of the male gaze, overlooking the possibility of LGBTQ+ themes and interpretations. This omission limits the essay's applicability to discussions of sexual orientation in cinema, as it fails to engage with the nuanced dynamics that may exist beyond the traditional male-female dichotomy. Consequently, Judy has been portrayed as a passive figure despite her actual agency in the narrative. Galvin Ester initially hires Judy to impersonate Madeleine, his wife, as part of a sinister plot to murder her and inherit her wealth. While her involvement in this scheme may appear passive, Judy actively takes on the role of Madeleine. She undergoes a physical and emotional transformation to mimic the appearance and behavior of the deceased woman. This requires agency on her part as she actively participates in this deception. In the film's climactic scene, Judy decides to reveal the truth about her impersonation to Scottie. This act is a conscious choice on her part to come clean and assert her own identity, despite the potential consequences. Judy's transformation, emotions, and decisions all highlight her active agency within the movie.

Second, Mulvey also fails to consider female agency in another movie that appeared in Mulvey's analysis: *Rear Window*. Alfred Hitchcock's 1954 suspense masterpiece presents L.B. Jeffries, a wheelchair-bound photographer (played by James Stewart), who finds himself absorbed with watching his neighbors from his flat window as he recovers from an injury. Jeffries, who believes he has seen a murder in a nearby building, asks his nurse Stella (played by Thelma Ritter) and lover Lisa (played by Grace Kelly) for assistance in looking into the shady goings-on. Tension increases as they piece together the jigsaw and gather more information as they approach closer to learning the truth about the purported crime. With Hitchcock's trademark blend of suspense, intrigue, and psychological tension, the movie deftly examines voyeurism, morality, and the meaning of reality. In particular, the viewers are presented with the cinematic experience through the lens of Jeff, a Caucasian male, who engages in inappropriate observation of his female neighbors daily. Although the audience follows the plot through Jeff, Doyle, a policeman, is the stereotypical male gaze that Mulvey previously addressed in "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema." Doyle is the

rational and reasoning male. He is uncomfortable talking with Lisa, a female, about the murder. He even belittles Lisa's theories, stating that he does not believe in "female intuition." In contrast, Jeff is bound to the wheelchair, making him have no other choice than to be confined to no other action but the male gaze. But as the movie progresses, Jeff falls in love with Lisa, an independent and successful woman. Jeff, instead of dismissing Lisa like Doyle, is impressed with Lisa's abilities and fearlessness. When Jeff is in danger and stuck in the wheelchair, he yells for Lisa to save him, which confines him into one place, unable to move or make decisions for himself, making Lisa a more active character than Jeff. At the end of the movie, Lisa peers out the window as she looks at the male gaze that seems to be watching her, then proceeds to drop the book that Jeff likes her to read. She then picks up Harper's Bazaar, retaining her identity without conforming to the male gaze.[6] Ultimately, *Rear Window* introduces strong female characters as well as the obnoxious stereotypical male gaze that can be used to criticize Mulvey's previous argument regarding the film.[7]

Third, while Mulvey did reflect on her limitations in "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," she did not directly retract or disavow her original theory. In *Afterimages: On Cinema, Women and Changing Times*, Mulvey responds to the criticism and debates raised about her earlier work, such as "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema." She discusses the conflict between employing feminist theory, which aims to challenge patriarchal standards, and psychoanalysis, a theory that has been criticized for its patriarchal foundations. Mulvey notes that while psychoanalysis contributed much to our understanding of the mechanisms of audience engagement and the building of cinematic narratives, it also had inherent limits because of its long-standing affiliation with patriarchal ideology. She concedes that the complexity of female subjectivity and agency might be partially captured by the Freudian paradigm she used. As well as that, the tendency of psychoanalysis to essentialize gender roles and desires is one of the accusations leveled at it. Mulvey considers how some essentialist ideas might have been unintentionally maintained in her earlier work, notably in connection to the male gaze hypothesis. She is aware that the binary structure of a male viewer and a female object tends to oversimplify how moviegoers interact with films.[8] Mulvey contends that the narrative itself has become more of the focus in her latter work, away from the

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[6] A. Hitchcock, 'Rear Window,' 1954, 1:52:03

[7] L. Mulvey, 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,' p. 842.

[8] L. Mulvey, *Afterimages: On Cinema, Women and Changing Times*, Reaktion Books, 2019, p. 242.

psychoanalytic lens.[9] She emphasizes how crucial it is to consider how stories being told on television interact with larger societal narratives and cultural contexts. Her latter work shows a shift away from focusing solely on visual dynamics and towards a more thorough examination of narrative structures. Mulvey also acknowledges that viewers, particularly women, have a variety of responses and experiences that cannot be easily contained under a single theoretical framework. She understands the necessity of going beyond a strict theoretical framework to account for the richness and individuality of women's cinematic participation. Although her response reflects a willingness to adapt her theoretical framework in light of ongoing discussions and critiques within the field of feminist theory and cinema studies, it provides little to no solutions to the criticism.

The discussion thus far applies to all the answers to the questions that Mulvey addresses in *Afterimages: On Cinema, Women, and Changing Times*. Mulvey came to see that the male gaze hypothesis was founded on a binary conception of spectatorship and gender. She started to realize that films have the power to arouse new kinds of identification and pleasure beyond those often experienced by male viewers and passive female objects.[10] This acknowledgment signaled a change from the strict structure she had first put forth. Mulvey also acknowledged that her initial theory might have overlooked alternative forms of gender identification and sexual orientation because it focused exclusively on heterosexual relationships.[11] She recognized that there is a wider range of cinematic experiences and reactions and that the male gaze theory needed to be enlarged and reframed to take this variety into account. Mulvey also investigated the gaze as a notion that transcends gender differences. She emphasized that the gaze can involve a wider range of relationships between viewers and the screen and is not just about power and objectification. Her changing grasp of the subtleties of visual pleasure and identification in film is reflected in this shift in viewpoint. Later works by Mulvey recognized the significance of intersectionality in comprehending spectatorship. She noticed that racial, socioeconomic, and cultural differences have a big impact on how people interact with films. This realization inspired her to think about analyzing the movie experience from a broader and more complex perspective. However, even though Mulvey did "realize" her limitations, the above "solutions" that she provided did not give new insights into spectatorship.[12] For example, she doubled down on her spectatorship theory by just

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[9] L. Mulvey, *Afterimages*, p. 241.
[10] L. Mulvey, *Afterimages,* p. 243.
[11] L. Mulvey, *Afterimages,* p. 244.
[12] L. Mulvey, *Afterimages*, p. 245.

assuming females are endowed with the same type of gaze directed towards males. Moreover, throughout the book, Mulvey only acknowledges her fault but does not solve the criticism.

Responses to Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema

Many authors have commented on "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" after it was published in 1975. One of them was Tania Modleski, whose response to Mulvey contributed to the ongoing conversation about gender, spectatorship, and film theory. Mulvey's ideas can be critiqued and partially reinterpreted in Modleski's reaction. While Modleski draws attention to the idea that women may find enjoyment and affiliation in films that uphold the male gaze, Mulvey's essay primarily focuses on the male gaze and its consequences for female viewers. According to Modleski's argument in her essay "The Terror of Pleasure: The Contemporary Horror Film and Postmodern Theory," published in 1984, women may not just be passive recipients of the male gaze but may also be empowered and contented by engaging with media that focuses on male protagonists and narratives. While acknowledging the significance of the male gaze and its impact on the representation of women, Modleski introduces the idea that female spectators might derive pleasure, identification, and even empowerment from films that adhere to the male gaze. This viewpoint differs from Mulvey's claim that men automatically objectify women and reinforce patriarchal power dynamics.

Furthermore, Modleski's argument can be understood in the light of feminist film theory as a whole. She argues that, contrary to Mulvey's binary framework, women's reactions to cinema are more varied and nuanced. While it is vital to recognize how objectification and the reaffirmation of gender stereotypes in media can be harmful, Modleski stresses that women's viewing behavior is not only influenced by these factors. Modleski introduces several essential ideas, including the notion of "identificatory pleasure." The term "identificatory pleasure" describes the excitement and emotional involvement that female viewers may feel when they can relate to the acts, feelings, and problems of masculine characters on television. According to Modleski, women can actively participate in the story by projecting their desires, fantasies, and experiences onto male characters instead of being restricted to a passive and voyeuristic interaction with cinema, as suggested by the male gaze theory. In her essay "The Terror of Pleasure: The Contemporary Horror Film and Postmodern Theory," Modleski examines horror films, a genre that frequently includes strong, tenacious female characters dealing with numerous threats and difficulties, to analyze this idea. According to Modleski, female viewers could find enjoyment in these narratives not

just because they are masochistically identifying with the victimized individuals, but also because they can experience courage, resistance, and empowerment firsthand through the actions of these characters. For example, a female viewer may empathize with a female protagonist who fights back against a threatening antagonist in a horror movie. The audience member can feel empowerment, agency, and control by placing herself in the character's role. The viewer can escape the confines of their own life and situations thanks to this identification and fully immerse themselves in a story in which they actively participate in overcoming challenges in life. It is important to note that Modleski's solution does not dismiss the importance of the masculine gaze or the feminist critique of objectification in film. She instead expands the discussion by addressing the variety of ways that women interact with film narratives. Modleski's revaluation encourages a more nuanced view of female spectatorship that considers personal agency, a variety of responses, and the possibility of subversion within the cinematic experience.

Furthermore, another author who touches upon the rigid concept of male viewer and female object is Teresa de Lauretis, who talks about it in her essay: "Alice Doesn't: Feminism, Semiotics, Cinema." De Lauretis discusses Mulvey's idea of the male gaze and its consequences for creating cinematic narratives in this essay. Mulvey's dependence on Freudian psychoanalysis is one of the main areas where De Lauretis differs from Mulvey. De Lauretis contests the Freudian framework's application to feminist cinema theory, contending that it restricts our comprehension of female spectatorship and identity. She makes the argument that Freudian psychoanalysis is based on a patriarchal ideology and might not adequately capture the nuanced nature of women's experiences.[13] Freudian psychoanalysis has a propensity to universalize and reduce experiences to their core components, ignoring the wide variety of personal experiences and identities. She contends that this inclination towards universalization ignores the subtleties of how many people perceive their identities and pleasures, particularly in the context of cinema.

In contrast to De Lauretis, Freudian psychoanalysis assumes that males are active subjects and women are passive objects, leading to a simple binary conception of gender relations. She contends that more than this framework is needed to explain the nuanced ways in which women interact with film or the potential for other modes of identification aside from the gaze of men. De Lauretis contends that

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[13] T. De Lauretis, *Alice Doesn't: Feminism, Semiotics, Cinema*, Indiana University Press, 1984, p. 23.

Freudian psychoanalysis frequently downplays or pathologizes feminine desire, which limits its applicability to studying how women react to films.[14] She emphasizes that a wide range of desires, fantasies, and identifications that are not sufficiently addressed within the Freudian framework can be incorporated into women's experiences, which are not only determined by the male gaze. De Lauretis emphasizes the importance of recognizing women's subjectivities, which means considering how individual women bring their unique perspectives, experiences, and desires to the cinematic experience. She challenges the notion of a universal female spectator and argues that women's responses to films are diverse and shaped by their own lived experiences. Overall, she explores the subtleties of how women interact with film narratives, highlighting the variety of subjectivities and modalities of identification by fusing semiotics with feminist theory. De Lauretis underscores the limitations of Mulvey's male gaze theory in this way, opening up fresh perspectives on how women, film, and identity are related.

In *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, Judith Butler challenges the essentialist and binary notions of gender that Mulvey's essay relies on. Mulvey's essay focuses on the male gaze and its role in the objectification of women within cinema. She argues that cinema reinforces patriarchal power dynamics by positioning women as objects of desire for the male viewer. While Mulvey's analysis critically examines the power structures at play in cinematic representation, it operates within a binary framework that positions the male gaze against the female object. According to Butler's theory of performativity, gender is a socially produced identity that is continuously enacted and performed rather than an inherent feature.[15] This viewpoint aligns with Mulvey's idea of the male gaze since it casts doubt on the constancy and veracity of gender identities and makes suggestions about how gendered performances are socially legitimized. Butler's theory suggests that the gaze itself, whether male or female, is performative and constructed. The act of looking, as presented in Mulvey's essay, can be seen as a performance of power and identity rather than a fixed biological or psychological response. This idea resonates with Butler's larger argument that gender is a continuous process of enactment and repetition.

In addition, Butler's concept of "performativity" challenges the idea of set gender identities and behaviors. Butler's focus on the flexibility and diversity of identity challenges the binary framework of Mulvey's essay, where the male gaze is set against the feminine object. If

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[14] T. De Lauretis, *Alice Doesn't*, p. 67.
[15] J. Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, Routledge, 1990, p. 17.

gender is performative, then looking becomes a created gesture rather than a reflexive or preset action, regardless of the viewer's gender. This is similar to Mulvey's goal of exposing patriarchal structures in cinema as it calls into question the male gaze's hierarchical power relations and complicates the notion that one's position as a viewer is directly influenced by one's gender. Performativity also confronts the idea that women's roles in films are only limited to being passive objects of the male gaze. This challenges the notion that female viewers must inevitably empathize with female characters and submit to the male gaze. Instead, performativity makes a variety of gendered performances and identifications possible. Butler's response does not negate or dismiss Mulvey's ideas but rather offers an alternative theoretical lens through which to view them. Butler contributes to the conversation on spectatorship, gender, and power dynamics in the film by addressing the performativity of gender and gaze. Their work supports a more nuanced investigation of how identities and wants are produced, enacted, and negotiated through cinematic experiences, expanding the debate beyond the constraints of a fixed masculine gaze.

Similarly, Mary Ann Doane also argues that the complexities of spectatorship extend beyond a simple division between male viewers and female objects. While Mulvey centers her argument on the traditional binary of male viewers and female objects, Doane's concept of masquerade builds upon this framework by suggesting that spectatorship is not limited to a straightforward binary dynamic. Masquerade theory holds that spectators, regardless of gender, project themselves onto the characters they are seeing.[16] This concept is based on psychoanalytic theory. Viewers "masquerade" as the characters during this process, temporarily taking on their identities and going through their experiences. This implies that the interaction between the viewer and the movie is more complex than just identifying with a fixed viewer or object role.

Doane's critique emerges from her observation that the male gaze theory does not fully account for the complexity of female spectatorship experiences.[17] While Doane argues that women can experience pleasure and identification in a variety of ways, Mulvey assumes that female viewers can only identify with male actors through a male gaze perspective. Mulvey argued that female viewers only engage with the male character because they imagine themselves as the recipients of the male gaze. However, female viewers have the option to actively project

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[16] M. Doane, 'Film and the Masquerade: Theorizing the Female Spectator,' *Screen,* 1982, p. 81.
[17] M. Doane, 'Film and the Masquerade,' p. 82.

themselves into a variety of characters, even male ones, without being restricted to a single gaze, thanks to the concept of masquerade. Furthermore, the concept of masquerade opens the possibility that viewers have diverse desires, fantasies, and identifications that extend beyond the narrow scope of traditional gender binaries. This challenges the assumption that female viewers can only find pleasure in identification with female characters. It allows for the exploration of a range of emotional and psychological responses that do not adhere to predetermined gender roles. Doane's commentary on Mulvey's male gaze theory reaches beyond gender binaries, not restricting the "gaze" to only one male.

Lastly, Linda Williams is known for her essay "Film Bodies: Gender, Genre, and Excess," where she examines the relationship between pleasure, the body, and cinematic representation. In this essay, Williams analyzes cinematic excess and physical feelings, challenging some facets of Mulvey's theory while also constructing upon it. Williams' theories provide an alternative viewpoint on the importance of pleasure and sexuality in cinematic experiences, even though they are not a direct critique of Mulvey's work. Contrary to Mulvey's method, Williams' emphasis on enjoyment and sensation in the film indicates a shift from the examination of cinematic engagement that is essentially theoretical and visual. Williams' work contests the notion that cinematic enjoyment is derived only from the objectification of characters and the aesthetic pleasure brought on by the male gaze. Instead, she focuses on how various physical experiences, feelings, and affective reactions impact the entire cinematic experience.

Williams focuses on the physical and emotional experiences that films cause in viewers, in contrast to Mulvey's emphasis on the male gaze and the power dynamics of voyeurism. This shift contradicts the idea that enjoyment is derived exclusively from the act of looking at characters and emphasizes a more comprehensive understanding of how viewers interact with films. According to Williams, watching a movie involves not only sight but also other senses, including hearing and touch.[18] She makes the observation that viewers physically reacted to the stimuli shown on television; shivering, tears, and other physical reactions are proof of this sensory engagement.[19] By interfering with the sole concentration on the visual, this physiological participation gives a more embodied perspective of cinematic enjoyment. Moreover, Williams believes films evoke a variety of emotions. While she does not equate

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[18] L. Williams, 'Film Bodies: Gender, Genre, and Excess,' *University of California Press*, 1991, p. 3.
[19] L. Williams, 'Film Bodies,' p. 5.

sexuality as an emotion, she does emphasize the emotional and affective aspects of sexual representation in cinema. She sees sexiness as a nuanced and multifaceted part of the film experience rather than being restricted to objectification.[20] This viewpoint acknowledges that viewers can experience pleasure and excitement in a variety of ways that go beyond scopophilia.

Conclusion: The Enduring Impact of Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema

Although "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" received much criticism, it is still highly praised since the male gaze theory shed light on the broader issues of gender representation and power dynamics in media, sparking conversations about feminism, representation, and the influence of media on societal norms. The article initiated extensive scholarly debate concerning gender representation in cinematography and other visual media. It moved generations of academics, feminists, and cultural theorists to examine media through the prism of power dynamics, gender, and sexual orientation. Mulvey's work also aided in the feminist movement's critique of how women are portrayed in the media. It emphasized the significance of developing and disseminating alternative narratives that oppose heteronormativity and established gender norms. Mulvey also inspired filmmakers and creators to become more conscious of the male gaze and its impact on storytelling. As a result, some filmmakers began to challenge and subvert traditional gender roles and narratives in their work, leading to more diverse and complex representations on screen.[21] The idea of the male gaze stimulated a more thorough investigation of representation, which provoked debate on intersectionality and the representation of LGBTQ+ people and experiences in popular culture. As a result, diverse identities and viewpoints are now more visible and well-represented. Overall, Mulvey's theory of spectatorship initiated a significant discourse that contributed to broader cultural shifts toward recognizing and challenging heteronormativity and gender stereotypes in various forms of media. In a world undergoing constant transformation, what new dimensions and possibilities might emerge within the realms of spectatorship and the cinematic arts?

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[20] L. Williams, 'Film Bodies,' p. 6.

[21] For further reference, here are some filmmakers who associated with the wave of feminist film theory after the publication of "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema": Chantal Akerman, Sally Porter, Agnes Varda, Lucrecia Martel, and Nina Menkes.

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When Policy Prevails: The Rhodesian Defense Forces and the Intricacies of Political Warfare

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Abstract

Located in the heart of southern Africa, Rhodesia represents a distinct and significant chapter in post-colonial history. Emerging in 1923 as a self-governing British colony, it defied the decolonization trend that swept across the continent after World War II. The country's 1965 Unilateral Declaration of Independence, which established a contentious white minority rule, starkly deviated from international norms, thrusting its internal policies and governance strategies into the global spotlight. Against the backdrop of political isolation and controversy, the Rhodesian Defense Forces (RDF) emerged as a formidable military entity. Known for their tactical brilliance and a string of operational victories, the RDF displayed remarkable proficiency in both guerrilla warfare and conventional military strategies. However, the military triumphs of the RDF were deeply intertwined with Rhodesia's broader political landscape. This research delves into the intricate relationship between Rhodesia's often contradictory public policies and the RDF's military achievements. It asserts that an army's effectiveness hinges on the political and strategic directives set by its governing state. While the RDF showcased notable battlefield successes, the broader policies of Rhodesia, compounded by challenges from the international political arena, significantly influenced its wartime direction. This study not only emphasizes the deep interconnectedness of military prowess and state policy but also provides a nuanced understanding of Rhodesia's multifaceted history during its most tumultuous periods.

Introduction

Rhodesia, nestled in the heart of southern Africa, remains an essential chapter in the narrative of post-colonial politics. Initially a product of British colonial ambitions which was established as a self-governing British colony in 1923, later transitioned into an entity that defied the decolonization trend sweeping across the continent post WWII. In 1965, Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence - a document establishing a white minority rule independent of Great Britain - set it on a collision course with international norms, drawing the spotlight onto its internal governance and policy frameworks. This political trajectory, underscored by assertiveness and isolation, led to an environment where statecraft and military strategy often found themselves at cross-purposes.

Amid the turbulent political landscape of Rhodesia, a period marked by its declaration of independence from British rule and the subsequent Rhodesian Bush War, the Rhodesian Defense Forces (RDF) emerged as a formidable military powerhouse. The RDF was an amalgamation of diverse security entities: the Rhodesian Army, the Rhodesian Air Force, members from the British South African Police, and personnel from the Rhodesian Ministry of Internal Affairs.[1] What distinguished the RDF from many of its contemporaries was its composite nature and its reputation founded on rigorous training regimes and tactical ingenuity. This reputation was not just theoretical; a consistent record of operational victories against insurgent groups cemented it. Demonstrating adeptness in guerrilla warfare and more conventional military strategies, the RDF often showcased a remarkable capacity to reverse the trajectory of battles, asserting dominance even when faced with seemingly insurmountable odds.[2]

Yet, for all their military success, the RDF's operations were not conducted in a vacuum. The broader policy environment, shaped by Rhodesia's unique political circumstances, often posed challenges that the RDF could not overcome through force of arms alone. This research, therefore, seeks to navigate the connection between military achievement and public policy. To what extent did Rhodesia's public policies shape and, at times, undercut the operational victories of the RDF? Through this lens, a deeper understanding of the complexities of

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[1] United States Army, Bruce Hoffman, Jennifer M. Taw, and David Arnold. "Lessons for Contemporary Counterinsurgencies: The Rhodesian Experience." *RAND*, 1991, vi.

[2] Wood, J.R.T. "Operation Dingo: Rhodesian Raid on Chimoio and Tembué, 1977." *Africa@War* 1 (2011).

Rhodesian history is pursued, focusing on the intersection of military strategy and state policy. In doing so, this paper argues that the strength of an army, no matter how formidable, is intrinsically linked to the political directives of the state it serves.

The Political Landscape of Rhodesia

Tracing Rhodesia's Political Journey from Colonial Legacy to Self-Determination

Rhodesia's political history is a complex narrative that spanned colonial influences, aspirations of autonomy, and the struggles of defining its identity. Its roots trace back to its establishment as a British colony, a period marked by the persisting influence of British policies, values, and governance structures. Yet, this colonial imprint was not just about foreign dominion; it set the stage for how Rhodesia would perceive itself and how the world would perceive it.

In the wake of the late 19th-century 'Scramble for Africa,' Rhodesia emerged under British dominion.[3] But beneath the umbrella of British protectionism, it wasn't a mere territory; it was an ideological battlefield. The British colonial framework was constructed upon dual objectives: ensuring economic prosperity for the metropolis and upholding the broader ambitions of the British Empire. The British South Africa Company, led by Cecil Rhodes, shaped the region's early political and economic contours. Exploiting natural resources, particularly minerals, dovetailed with a broader mission to encourage colonialism and British settlement.[4] Yet, underlying these colonial pursuits, endeavors lay a stark reality: racial hierarchies became entrenched. Land acquisition policies favored white settlers, appropriating vast tracts of fertile land and pushing the indigenous populace to less arable regions.[5] This policy-induced segregation didn't just marginalize the indigenous communities economically; it set a precedent for the ensuing political marginalization.

Moving to the mid-twentieth century, the broader African continent was experiencing tectonic shifts. These profound changes, primarily driven by rising nationalist movements, economic pressures,

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[3] Bonello, Julie. "The Development of Early Settler Identity in Southern Rhodesia: 1890–1914." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 43, no. 2 (2010): 341–42. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25741433.

[4] Slinn, Peter. "Commercial Concessions and Politics during the Colonial Period: The Role of the British South Africa Company in Northern Rhodesia 1890-1964." *African Affairs* 70, no. 281 (1971): 365–70. http://www.jstor.org/stable/721057, 167–170.

[5] Floyd, Barry. "Land Apportionment in Southern Rhodesia." *Geographical Review* 52, no. 4 (October 1, 1962): 565-566. https://doi.org/10.2307/212615.

and global geopolitics, made the continuation of colonial rule increasingly untenable. The decolonization wave was inevitable, and the British government, aware of this, leaned towards granting independence.[6] However, in Rhodesia, there was a divergence from this pan-African trend. The white minority, fearful of losing their hegemony, took a drastic step: the UDI of 1965. This was more than a declaration; it was a political gambit to assert white minority rule in a continent progressively rallying behind majority rule.[7] This period saw policies that further entrenched racial divides, fortified defense capabilities, and sought to legitimize the UDI regime's governance. There was also an intensified surveillance state and curbing of dissenting voices, particularly those from the black majority and leftist whites.[8]

Rhodesia's UDI didn't exist in a vacuum; it elicited international repercussions. The act was met with near-universal condemnation. The United Nations, backed by its member states, imposed economic sanctions aimed at crippling the Rhodesian economy and forcing a political change.[9] While causing financial hardships, these sanctions paradoxically affected Rhodesia's domestic policies. The need to counteract these sanctions led to various resourceful, albeit often unsustainable, self-sufficiency policies. Industries, particularly agriculture and mineral mining, were revamped to mitigate the effects of economic isolation.[10] Moreover, the sanctions bolstered a siege mentality. There was a surge in nationalistic fervor among the white populace, leading to stricter laws and consolidation of power.[11] Yet, the international isolation and internal pressures began straining the socio-political fabric. While the government tried to maintain its stance, beneath the surface, fractures were evident. The black majority, encouraged by global support and an inherent right to self-determination, became increasingly restive, culminating in intense guerilla warfare and negotiations for a new state structure.

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[6] "Rhodesian Independence: Background and Consequences." *Freedom of Information Act Electronic Reading Room*, October 1, 1965.

[7] Pattenden, Hugh. "Britain and the Rhodesian Mercenary Issue, C.1970–1980." *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, March 17, 2021, 777, https://doi.org/10.1080/03086534.2021.1896647.

[8] Courville, Cindy. "Intelligence Ethics: The African Authoritarian State Security Apparatus," November 15, 2012, 38-41.

[9] UN Security Council. "UN Security Council Resolution 232 (1966)," December 16, 1966.

[10] "Rhodesia: Economic Progress Despite Sanctions." *Freedom of Information Act Electronic Reading Room*, November 1974.

[11] Stephen E. C. Hintz. "The Political Transformation of Rhodesia, 1958-1965." *African Studies Review* 15, no. 2 (1972): 173–75. https://doi.org/10.2307/523917.

The Evolution of Political Power and Resistance in Rhodesia: NDP to ZIPRA and ZANU

In the early 1960s, the political landscape of Rhodesia was marked by rising tensions between the indigenous African majority and the ruling white minority. At the forefront of this struggle was the National Democratic Party (NDP), founded in January 1960 by influential black leaders such as Joshua Nkomo.[12] Formed as a response to the oppressive white minority rule, the NDP quickly resonated with the African population, championing majority rule and ending racial discrimination.

However, the white minority government, alarmed by the NDP's influence, sought to consolidate their hold over the nation further. Under the leadership of Prime Minister Ian Smith and the Rhodesian Front (RF), the 1961 constitution was enacted. On the surface, this constitution seemed to make concessions to the African majority by allocating 15 seats out of a total of 65 in Parliament to them. However, this was a deceptive move.

Central to this system was the implementation of the A and B roll balloting. This dual voting system was devised to superficially achieve equality while subtly preserving the racial and classist status quo. The A roll was largely reserved for white citizens and a small number of Africans who met high-income and educational qualifications, while the B roll, with much lower qualifications, was intended for the broader African populace. The catch was that the A roll had more representation in Parliament, ensuring that the political power remained disproportionately in the hands of the white minority.[13]

To stifle the growing momentum of the African liberation movement, the government banned the NDP by the end of 1961.[14] However, the flames of resistance couldn't be quelled so quickly. Former NDP members, rallying under Nkomo's leadership, formed the

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[12] Day, John. "Southern Rhodesian African Nationalists and the 1961 Constitution." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 7, no. 2 (1969): 222–30.

[13] Times, New York. "Voting Requirements Raised." *The New York Times*, September 12, 1964, https://www.nytimes.com/1964/09/12/archives/voting-requirements-raised.html; and "Rhodesian Independence: Background and Consequences." *Freedom of Information Act Electronic Reading Room*, October 1, 1965.

[14] James Muzondidya, *Walking on a Tightrope: Towards a Social History of the Coloured Community of Zimbabwe* (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa Research & Publications, January 2005), 167–170.

Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU).[15] ZAPU's establishment marked a shift towards a more militant approach in advocating for the rights of the African majority.

The year 1965 witnessed a pivotal moment in Rhodesian history. The government, in defiance of British pressures for African-majority rule, unilaterally declared independence on November 11.[16] This Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) further isolated Rhodesia internationally, deepening its commitment to racial politics and setting the stage for an intensified conflict. Amidst this backdrop, 1963 saw a significant schism within ZAPU. Dissatisfied members, led initially by Ndabaningi Sithole and later by Robert Mugabe, branched out to establish the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU).[17] ZANU's formation was rooted in the belief that white minority rule could only be overthrown through armed struggle.

Recognizing the gravity of their mission, both ZAPU and ZANU felt the imperative to militarize their efforts. ZAPU birthed the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA), trained and supplied predominantly in the Soviet Union, while ZANU, influenced by Maoist principles, founded the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA).[18] Thus, from the inception of the NDP to the emergence of militant wings like ZIPRA and ZANLA, Rhodesia's journey was marked by political maneuvers, resistance, and the indomitable spirit of a majority seeking their rightful place in the nation's governance. The stage was set for a prolonged conflict, with the aspiration for freedom and equality at its heart.

The Rhodesian Defense Forces

The Evolution and Tactics of the Rhodesian Defense Forces

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[15] Anthony Lake, *The 'Tar Baby' Option: American Policy Toward Southern Rhodesia* (New York: Columbia University Press, June 1976), 32.

[16] Stapleton, Tim. "Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence: An International History." *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 47, no. 2 (August 1, 2013): 344–45. https://doi.org/10.1080/00083968.2013.829956.

[17] Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Sabelo J. *Do 'Zimbabweans' Exist?: Trajectories of Nationalism, National Identity Formation and Crisis in a Postcolonial State*, 2009, 117-118.

[18] Mutanda, Darlington. *The Rhodesian Air Force in Zimbabwe's war of liberation, 1966-1980*, 2016, 177; and Central Intelligence Agency, Intelligence Organizations of the Departments of State and Defense, and National Security Agency. "Rhodesia-Looking Ahead." *SPECIAL NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE ESTIMATE*, August 5, 1977, 3-5.

In the wake of Rhodesia's complex political narrative, the evolution of its military structure, epitomized by the Rhodesian Defense Forces (RDF), emerges as a significant chapter. A powerful military apparatus became imperative as Rhodesia grappled with the challenges of asserting its sovereignty. The RDF was not just an armed force; it embodied Rhodesia's ambitions and resilience in the face of internal strife and international censure.

The inception of the RDF was inextricably linked to the post-UDI phase. With the unilateral proclamation and the subsequent international isolation, Rhodesia found itself in a precarious position, facing external diplomatic pressures and internal insurgencies. The Rhodesian government saw the necessity of a robust military force to safeguard the newly declared state. Thus, the RDF was formed, underpinned by a dual mandate: to protect the country's territorial integrity against external threats and to quell internal uprisings that challenged the white-minority rule.[19]

Tactically and strategically, the RDF exhibited a remarkable aptitude. Their operations, crafted to counter insurgencies, became a testament to their adaptability and effectiveness. Initiatives like the Fireforce operations exemplify this prowess. Fireforce operations were a revolutionary approach to counter-insurgency operations. This methodology hinged on the rapid deployment of aerial and ground assets in response to real-time intelligence about insurgent activities.

A coordinated response was immediately initiated upon obtaining actionable intelligence regarding insurgent positions. Helicopters, laden with specialized squads of soldiers, were mobilized. These aircraft facilitated swift troop deployment and offered an invaluable aerial perspective for strategic oversight. The first cadre of soldiers was strategically inserted proximal to the insurgent location, effectively obstructing their primary egress route. Subsequent deployments were orchestrated to encircle the insurgent group, thus creating a tactical containment. To bolster the ground operations, certain helicopters, equipped with armaments, provided suppressive fire from the air. Additionally, the potential deployment of fixed-wing aircraft augmented the aerial firepower, ensuring comprehensive coverage.[20]

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[19] Bell, J. Bowyer. "The Frustration of Insurgency: The Rhodesian Example in the Sixties." *Military Affairs* 35, no. 1 (1971): 1–2. https://doi.org/10.2307/1984104.
[20] Pettis, Stuart. "The Role of Airpower in the Rhodesian Bush War, 1965-1980." *Air University Press*, 2006, 5–6.

What distinguished this strategy was its inherent flexibility and rapidity. The Rhodesian forces could calibrate the magnitude of their response – be it the number of troops or aircraft – based on the difficulties of the situation. This adaptability enabled the Fireforce operation to address both diminutive and expansive insurgent groups with marked efficiency. Historically contextualized, the Fireforce tactic emerged as one of the most productive of its era, characterized by a favorable operational success-to-loss ratio.[21] Strategies like Fireforce, though resource-intensive, yielded significant successes, often pushing back rebel advancements and maintaining territorial control.

Yet, within the broader RDF structure, one unit deserves distinct mention: the Rhodesian Special Air Service (SAS). Modeled after its British counterpart and serving as an integrated squadron of the British SAS, the Rhodesian SAS was conceptualized to undertake high-risk, specialized missions.[22] This elite unit underwent rigorous training regimens, equipping them for a wide range of operations, from deep penetration raids to intelligence collection in hostile territories.[23] While the SAS's contributions within Rhodesia are well-documented, their expertise was not confined to this theater. Given their unique skill set, members of the SAS found themselves involved in various global conflicts beyond Rhodesia's borders. For instance, during the Congo Crisis, the SAS's prowess in guerrilla warfare and covert operations became invaluable assets.[24] Such external engagements underscored the SAS's reputation and validated the RDF's training and operational excellence emphasis.

The RDF's reputation for efficiency was not achieved by chance. It was carved out of rigorous training regimes, a meticulous understanding of the terrain, and an unwavering commitment to Rhodesia's political cause. The fusion of seasoned combat veterans, who often brought experiences from global theaters such as East Africa and Burma, with young, zealous recruits birthed a force that was both

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[21] United States Army, Bruce Hoffman, Jennifer M. Taw, and David Arnold. "Lessons for Contemporary Counterinsurgencies: The Rhodesian Experience." *RAND*, 1991, 21–23, 43–44.

[22] Peter Abbott, *Modern African Wars (I): Rhodesia 1965–80* (London: Osprey Publishing, 2001), 18.

[23] *Rhodesian S.A.S. Combat Manual*, 1981; and C (Rhodesia) Squadron 22 SAS Regiment. "Introduction - C (Rhodesia) Squadron 22 SAS Regiment," October 11, 2022. http://www.therhodesiansas.com/.

[24] Barbara Cole, *The Elite: The Story of the Rhodesian Special Air Service*, (Transkei, South Africa: Three Knights, 1984), 7-13

experienced and dynamic.[25] This, coupled with international partnerships (usually discreet due to sanctions) and international recruits from the West with combat experience, allowed the RDF to benefit from a confluence of tactical philosophies and strategies.[26]

As Rhodesia navigated its unique political journey, the RDF emerged as a linchpin, safeguarding its aspirations and asserting its defiance. From their tactical brilliance to the renowned expertise of the SAS, the RDF remains a testament to the synergy of political objectives and military might in winning battles. However, their ability to succeed in combat with insurgents (By the end of the Bush War, there were 1,361 RDF casualties while it is estimated that there were over 10,000 insurgent casualties) did not culminate in victory due to policy that was at odds with military operations.[27]

Military Successes vs. Policy Decisions

Within Rhodesian history, the juxtaposition of the Rhodesian Defense Forces' military triumphs against the backdrop of political policy decisions emerges as a focal point of study. This relationship paints a vivid picture of the interplay between the valiant efforts of soldiers on the front lines and the strategic choices crafted in hallowed political chambers. Though the RDF demonstrated unwavering operational prowess, their battlefield achievements often found themselves in tension with the overarching strategies devised by the Rhodesian government. This divergence often stemmed from policies that prioritized the preservation of the colonial legacy over forging a sustainable and peaceful path forward for Rhodesia.

The Land Tenure Act of 1969 is a powerful example of this policy-military disconnect. Instituted ostensibly to structure land ownership, the Act essentially reinforced racial divisions in land allocation.[28] While the RDF was on the frontlines, grappling with

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[25] Binda, Alexandre, and David Heppenstall. *Masodja: The History of the Rhodesian African Rifles and Its Forerunner, The Rhodesia Native Regiment*. 30 Degrees South Publishers, 2012, 41–42, 59–77.
[26] "The VVA Veteran, a Publication of Vietnam Veterans of America," n.d. https://vvaveteran.org/32-2/32-2_rhodesia.html.; and White, Luise. "'WILL TRAVEL WORLDWIDE. YOU PAY EXPENSES': Foreign Soldiers in the Rhodesian Army." In *Fighting and Writing: The Rhodesian Army at War and Postwar*, 172–78. Duke University Press, 2021. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1g4rv94.12.
[27] Tucker, Spencer. *The Roots and Consequences of 20th-Century Warfare*. ABC-CLIO, 2016, 444.
[28] Christopher, A. J. "Land Tenure in Rhodesia." *South African Geographical Journal* 53, no. 1 (January 1, 1971): 39–52. https://doi.org/10.1080/03736245.1971.10559483.

insurgencies that were to a large extent, ignited by land-based grievances, this Act further deepened racial conflicts. Such policies cemented perceptions of an administration prioritizing white minority interests over an equitable future for all Rhodesians. The insurgents, recognizing this, leveraged the discontent stemming from the Act to bolster their ranks. Rather than stabilizing the nation, the legislation became a motivational tool for insurgent forces, providing them with a clear-cut narrative of racial oppression to attract support and galvanize resistance.

Within the structure of the RDF, African soldiers were notably admitted into the military, though they were considerably fewer in number compared to their white counterparts. Despite receiving salaries lower than those in all-white units, these black soldiers earned more than the majority of black salaries outside the military. Yet, discrimination was unmistakably present. The decision to maintain partly-segregated units, based on racial lines, mirrored a wider policy hesitation towards complete integration. A pivotal question arose: how could a force, internally divided, present a unified defense against an unwavering insurgent adversary?

Yet, it's noteworthy that on the battlefield and in the barracks, soldiers were predominantly united in their mission, their focus often transcending racial divides.[29] Their primary concern was halting terrorist attacks and ensuring the safety of Rhodesia's populace. Yet, fundamentally, the partial segregation strategy conflicted with the RDF's primary mission – to safeguard Rhodesia and its diverse citizens from pressing threats.

In a broader sense, these policy contradictions highlight the inherent tension in Rhodesia's journey: a military force adept at adapting to the complexities of modern warfare was simultaneously tethered to policies that seemed out of step with the changing socio-political realities of the time. These decisions, whether influenced by ideological rigidity or political expediency, created an environment where the RDF's military successes were continually undermined by the very system they were sworn to protect. The widening divide between the RDF's military achievements and Rhodesia's overarching policy choices laid bare a complex problem that plagued the nation throughout the conflict. At the heart of this disconnect was a fundamental misalignment of priorities and vision.

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[29] Burns, John F. "How Blacks View Their Lamer Role in Rhodesia's Army." *The New York Times*, January 4, 1979. https://www.nytimes.com/1979/01/04/archives/how-blacks-view-their-larger-role-in-rhodesias-army-conscription.html.

In its tactical brilliance, the RDF was adept at creating pockets of stability, often in areas that were previously centers of insurgent activity. Their focus was clear: maintain territorial sanctity, deter external aggression, and ensure that the specter of insurgency did not disrupt the daily life of the average Rhodesian (although this was often limited to the white Rhodesian). This mission required a pragmatic approach, often calling for collaboration with local communities and emphasizing winning hearts and minds as much as winning battles. However, this military pragmatism seemed at odds with the larger policy framework that Rhodesia's political establishment espoused. Rather than consolidating the gains made by the RDF, political policies often exacerbated latent tensions. These policies, steeped in racial biases and aimed at preserving the power dynamics of a colonial past, perpetuated an environment where the underlying causes of discontent persisted, if not flourished.

The RDF's victories on the battlefield were somewhat pyrrhic. Their successes in reclaiming territories and neutralizing threats were undeniable. Yet, without a supportive policy backdrop, these gains were often fleeting. The secured territories would eventually witness insurgencies' resurgence as the structural injustices and inequalities that fueled the conflict were unaddressed, additionally leading to a lack of motivation and discipline among RDF units.[30]

The Importance of Geopolitics

In 20th-century African politics and international dynamics, Rhodesia's geopolitical context initially supported its military endeavors. With the solidarity of colonial counterparts such as South Africa and Portugal, the early years saw Rhodesia buoyed by economic and military backing, particularly against the weight of international sanctions.[31] With countries like South Africa at its helm, this mutual support system stood as a bulwark against the encroaching tide of African nationalism. Crucially, the logistical support flowing from Portuguese territories,

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[30] White, Luise. "'WHAT INTERESTS DO YOU HAVE?': Security Force Auxiliaries and the Limits of Counterinsurgency." In *Fighting and Writing: The Rhodesian Army at War and Postwar*, 197–210. Duke University Press, 2021. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1g4rv94.13.

[31] Filipe Ribeiro de Meneses, and Robert McNamara. "The Last Throw of the Dice: Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa, 1970–74." *Portuguese Studies* 28, no. 2 (2012): 201–8. https://doi.org/10.5699/portstudies.28.2.0201.

especially Mozambique, bolstered many an RDF operation, ensuring they remained effective and well-supplied.[32]

However, Rhodesia's reliance on close neighbors would become a detriment in the later years of the Bush War. Under the authoritative leadership of António de Oliveira Salazar and his successor Marcelo Caetano, Portugal staunchly upheld its commitment to its colonial territories.[33] Salazar, in particular, was a driving force behind this policy, fueled by a blend of deep-rooted national pride, economic interests in the colonies, and the conservative ethos of the Estado Novo (National Dictatorship) regime he helmed. For Rhodesia, Salazar's firm pro-colonial stance meant a reliable ally in Mozambique, a crucial buffer and conduit for trade and resources. However, the landscape shifted dramatically after the Carnation Revolution of 1974, precipitating the Estado Novo's end. Salazar's death and the subsequent political changes in Portugal expedited the demise of Portuguese colonial rule, leaving Rhodesia increasingly isolated and exacerbating the pressures on its colonial paradigm.[34]

The end of Rhodesia's alliance with Portugal is representative of the anti-colonial attitude in Africa during the time. The turn of the 1970s signaled an impending upheaval in the geopolitical equilibrium that had thus far favored Rhodesia. The post-World War II era had seeded significant momentum towards decolonization globally, and by the time the 1970s dawned, this transformative wave was profoundly reshaping the African political landscape. A combination of factors fueled this drive for independence. Nationalist movements, driven by visionary leaders, championed the cause of self-determination and liberty. The colonial powers, already reeling from post-war economic hardships, found the cost of maintaining their expansive empires increasingly unsustainable.[35] Moreover, the Cold War era's superpower dynamics meant that the US and the USSR often championed decolonization – the former seeing it as a way to contain communism and the latter as a means to court new, emerging nations.[36] Additionally, international

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[32] Meneses, Maria, Celso Rosa, and Bruno Martins. "Colonial Wars, Colonial Alliances: The Alcora Exercise in the Context of Southern Africa." *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 2017, 4–7.

[33] "Decree N° 48597." *DIARIO OD GOVERNO*, September 27, 1968.

[34] Story, Jonathan. "Portugal's Revolution of Carnations: Patterns of Change and Continuity." *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 52, no. 3 (1976): 417–25. https://doi.org/10.2307/2616554.

[35] Eloranta, Jari, and Leigh Gardner. "War and Empire." In *Cambridge University Press EBooks*, 535–42, 2021. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316671603.020.

[36] Unger, Corinna R. "American Development Aid, Decolonization, and the Cold War." In *Cambridge University Press EBooks*, 190–212, 2022.

institutions, most notably the United Nations, amplified the principles of self-determination, putting added pressure on colonial regimes.

In this context of rapid transformation, Rhodesia's unwavering commitment to its colonial heritage stood out as an anomaly. The rupture in this geopolitical status quo was vividly illustrated by the 1975 collapse of the Portuguese colonial regime in Mozambique. With the ascent of the FRELIMO-led (Mozambique Liberation Front) government, which extended its sympathies and tangible support to Rhodesian guerillas, Rhodesia grappled with heightened challenges. Suddenly, supply routes that Rhodesia had previously relied upon were at risk of disruption, and its guerilla adversaries, emboldened by regional shifts, began to operate from fortified bases just beyond its borders.[37]

The external pressures didn't halt in Mozambique. As neighboring states like Zambia amplified their endorsement and sustenance of anti-Rhodesian forces, the RDF was trapped in a tightening net of challenges. Its troops, already stretched, now grappled with mounting border tensions and an intensifying internal threat matrix. This entanglement was exacerbated by a deepening international isolation from Rhodesia's defiant policies, which constrained the RDF's access to pivotal military resources and alliances. Consequently, as the region's geopolitical landscape evolved, Rhodesia's policies not only rendered it diplomatically marginalized but also critically undermined its military strategy.

International Sanctions and Military Resourcing

The Impact of International Sanctions on the RDF's Military Capacities

Sanctions, predominantly led by the United Nations following Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1965, were aimed at economically pressuring the Rhodesian regime into relinquishing its minority rule. Yet, beyond the broader economic impact, these sanctions directly impinged upon the RDF's operational capabilities. The immediate consequence of these economic sanctions was a palpable strain on military resourcing. Critical military supplies, ranging from weaponry, ammunition, and equipment to aircraft spare

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https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108297554.010; and "Milestones: 1945–1952 - Office of the Historian," n.d. https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/asia-and-africa.

[37] Sumich, Jason, and João Honwana. "Strong Party, Weak State? Frelimo and State Survival Through the Mozambican Civil War an Analytical Narrative on State-Making." *Crisis States Research Centre*, December 2007, 11–12.

parts, became increasingly scarce. The RDF, accustomed to relying on international suppliers for a significant portion of its military hardware, was suddenly compelled to look inward. This meant the exploration of local alternatives and the need for improvisation in maintenance and equipment utilization.[38] Furthermore, sanctions affected the RDF's access to cutting-edge military technology. As global defense industries progressed with innovations, the RDF faced challenges in modernizing its arsenal. While they exhibited commendable ingenuity by modifying and repurposing existing equipment, the inability to readily access advanced weaponry undoubtedly hindered some of their operational capabilities.

Diplomatic Isolation and Strategic Military Partnerships

Diplomatic isolation, a result of the international community's stance against Rhodesia's UDI, had ramifications that transcended the realm of mere political posturing. For the RDF, this isolation translated into a shortage of strategic military partnerships, which historically are crucial for information exchange, joint training exercises, and strategic cooperation. In the rapidly evolving global defense landscape of the 1960s, joint military exercises would have offered forces the opportunity to learn from their counterparts, adapt novel strategies, and integrate advanced tactics.[39] Due to Rhodesia's diplomatic isolation, the RDF was excluded from such collaborative engagements. This isolation impeded their exposure to global best practices and potentially limited their strategic growth.

Moreover, intelligence sharing, a cornerstone of modern defense partnerships, was notably absent. In an era where intelligence could dictate the success or failure of operations, the RDF's inability to engage in intelligence exchanges with potential allies placed them at a relative disadvantage. The challenges posed by insurgent forces, often operated transnationally, required insights only a cooperative intelligence network could offer. Yet, it's worth noting that while these policies imposed constraints, they also fostered a spirit of resilience and adaptability within the RDF. The need to circumvent sanctions led to innovative resource management strategies. Similarly, diplomatic isolation, while limiting in

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[38] UN Security Council. "UN Security Council Resolution 232 (1966)," December 16, 1966; and United States Army Special Operations Command and The Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory National Security Analysis Department, and Paul J. Tompkins Jr. "UNCONVENTIONAL WARFARE CASE STUDY: THE RHODESIAN INSURGENCY AND THE ROLE OF EXTERNAL SUPPORT: 1961–1979." *Assessing Revolutionary and Insurgent Strategies*, n.d., 101–3.
[39] Muralidharan, MP. "Significance of Joint Maritime Exercises." *Indian Defense Review* 37.4, January 2, 2023.

many aspects, drove the RDF to develop self-reliant intelligence and training mechanisms.

Political Warfare

Contextualizing its Meaning in Rhodesia

Political warfare, broadly defined, encompasses the use of non-military tools and tactics to achieve national objectives, often involving the manipulation of ideologies, politics, and public perceptions.[40] In the Rhodesian context, political warfare manifested as a multi-faceted campaign that sought to leverage internal policy decisions and external diplomatic pressures to influence the trajectory of the conflict.

Internally, the Rhodesian government's policy decisions, such as the Land Tenure Act of 1969 and the sustained racial segregation, directly and indirectly impacted the RDF's operational environment. These policies often misaligned with the RDF's stability and territorial integrity objectives, created socio-political rifts. As the RDF worked tirelessly on the battlefield, the political decisions at home often exacerbated the root causes of the insurgency they sought to suppress.

Externally, Rhodesia faced diplomatic pressures after its Unilateral Declaration of Independence. The resultant sanctions and diplomatic isolation strained the nation's economy and served as tools of political warfare against the RDF. The international community effectively engaged in warfare that transcended conventional battles by limiting access to essential military resources and curbing opportunities for strategic partnerships. Rhodesia's circumstances resonate with several instances in military history where the machinations of political warfare wielded as much, if not more, influence than actual combat. This is common as nations often jockey for advantage on the political front, sometimes determining outcomes before battles begin.

For instance, the Korean War (1950-1953) epitomizes this blend of political maneuvering and military confrontation. While UN forces, primarily from the United States, clashed with North Korean and Chinese troops on the battlefield, the larger Cold War context framed this conflict. The truce, which led to the contentious division of the Korean Peninsula, was as much a product of political bargaining between the major powers as it was of actual warfare.

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[40] LUCAS, SCOTT, and KAETEN MISTRY. "Illusions of Coherence: George F. Kennan, U.S. Strategy and Political Warfare in the Early Cold War, 1946-1950." *Diplomatic History* 33, no. 1 (2009): 39–66. http://www.jstor.org/stable/44214002.

Similarly, the Suez Crisis (1956) revealed the profound impact of international politics on military operations. When Britain, France, and Israel launched a military campaign against Egypt to regain control of the Suez Canal, they achieved early battlefield successes. However, intense diplomatic pressure from the United States and the Soviet Union, driven by Cold War considerations, compelled a premature withdrawal, underscoring the preeminence of political factors over military gains.

The Balkans in the 1990s offer yet another instructive example. The Yugoslav Wars were a series of brutal conflicts that arose from the disintegration of the Yugoslav federation. Yet, while the fighting was fierce and often characterized by ethnic tensions, international intervention, and the subsequent peace processes were guided by the geopolitics of the post-Cold War era. The Dayton Accords, which eventually ended the Bosnian War in 1995, were forged in response to the events on the ground and due to the political imperatives of major global players seeking stability in Europe. In these instances, like Rhodesia, the political narrative and strategy either pre-empted the need for combat or significantly influenced its outcome. The subtext here is clear: the pen, the voice, and the political maneuver can be as mighty, if not mightier, than the sword.

Conclusion: The Endgame of Rhodesia and the Dawn of Zimbabwe

Understanding the Final Stages of the Rhodesian Bush War

The concluding chapter of the Rhodesian Bush War is not merely a tale of military confrontations but rather of political negotiations, shifting allegiances, and the inevitable push for national autonomy. This period, straddling the late 1970s and early 1980s, would see Rhodesia transition from a state of persistent conflict to a new dawn like Zimbabwe, marking the end of white-minority rule.

As the war continued into the late 1970s, it became evident to the Rhodesian government and its adversaries that a military victory was becoming increasingly elusive for either side. International pressure against the Rhodesian government had intensified, with nations worldwide demanding an end to white-minority rule. Simultaneously, the guerilla forces, chiefly ZANLA (affiliated with ZANU) and ZIPRA (aligned with ZAPU), although facing their challenges, persisted in their resistance, buoyed by the support of neighboring countries and the broader international community.

The turning point came with the Lancaster House Agreement in London in 1979. This conference, mediated by the British government and attended by representatives from ZANU, ZAPU, and the Rhodesian government, sought a peaceful resolution to the protracted conflict. After weeks of deliberation, the parties reached an accord. The agreement stipulated a ceasefire, outlined a path to majority rule, and ensured safeguards for the white minority's rights, especially concerning land ownership.[41]

With the accord in place, Rhodesia embarked on a transition period. British Governor Lord Soames was temporarily instated to oversee the transition.[42] Political detainees were released during this time, and exiled leaders returned to engage in democratic electoral processes. In 1980, the nation's first majority-rule elections were held. Robert Mugabe's ZANU-PF emerged victorious, securing a significant majority in the new assembly.[43] Subsequently, on April 18, 1980, Rhodesia was officially reborn as the Republic of Zimbabwe, with Mugabe as its inaugural Prime Minister.[44] The end of the Rhodesian Bush War and the transition to Zimbabwe symbolized the broader decolonization wave that swept across Africa during the 20th century. The journey, marked by prolonged conflict, sacrifice, and political maneuverings, resulted in the emergence of a nation eager to chart its course, even as it grappled with the legacies of its turbulent past.

Aligning Policy and Military Objectives: Reassessing Rhodesia's Struggle

Revisiting the central focus of this research, it becomes clear that the RDF's military successes, however commendable, were perpetually overshadowed by Rhodesia's policy framework. While the RDF could claim several victories on a tactical level, the strategic realm, dominated by policy imperatives, needed to be more accommodating. Decisions rooted in racial ideologies, land distribution, and the broader international stance against Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence continually created an environment where military successes were either short-lived or undercut by subsequent political events. This overarching influence of policy over military outcomes

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[41] "Southern Rhodesia Constitutional Conference Held at Lancaster House, London," December 21, 1979.
[42] "Soames, (Arthur) Christopher John, Baron Soames." *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, December 25, 2004. https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/39861.
[43] Suransky, Leonard, David Martin, and Phyllis T. Johnson. "The Struggle for Zimbabwe: The Chimurenga War." *Issue* 11, no. 3/4 (January 1, 1981): 400. https://doi.org/10.2307/1166601.
[44] Ross, Jay. "Zimbabwe Gains Independence." Washington Post, April 18, 1980.

underscores the importance of aligning political strategies and battlefield objectives.

In many ways, the Rhodesian conflict stands distinct in global military history. Unlike conventional battles where military superiority often predicts the outcome, Rhodesia's trajectory was markedly influenced by external diplomatic pressures and internal socio-political dynamics. This juxtaposition of formidable military operations with policy contradictions creates a narrative that diverges from standard military histories. It's a testament to the fact that in the modern world, battles are not just fought with bullets and strategies; they are equally influenced by diplomatic posturing, international opinion, and domestic policy landscapes.

Drawing from the Rhodesian experience, a broader lesson emerges for global conflict scenarios: the imperative alignment of policy and military objectives. As in Rhodesia, even the most proficient military forces can find themselves in untenable positions when these two elements diverge. The RDF's experience serves as a cautionary tale, underscoring the dangers of policy myopia in the face of ground realities. It reinforces the idea that for a nation to navigate conflict successfully, its political strategies and military objectives must coexist.

The tale of the RDF and the Rhodesian conflict is not just a chronicle of a nation and its military; it reflects the relationship between policy imperatives and military endeavors. The lessons from this narrative are timeless and timely, emphasizing the importance of foresight in policy-making and the symbiotic relationship it must share with military strategies. As history has often shown, and as Rhodesia's experience reiterates, when policy and military objectives are at odds, even the most valiant of efforts on the battlefield can be rendered moot in the broader theater of conflict.

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T.S. Eliot and Political Non-conformism: A Contextual Analysis of Eliot's Poetry and His Characterisation as a Conservative

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Abstract

The poet T.S. Eliot, in both scholarship and popular media, has long been characterised as a man of ideological conservatism and even Fascism. As a poet whose work, especially in the first half of the 20th century, was heavily influenced by the political and historical context surrounding him, Eliot's central ideology was far more nuanced than this consensus indicates. Through a close critical and comparative reading of the poems, 'The Love Song of J Alfred Prufrock', 'Gerontion', 'Difficulties of a Statesman', and 'Triumphal March', Eliot's political non-conformism can be charted from the late 1910s to the early 1930s, a period in which Eliot created some of his most iconic works. Taking note of this trend of non-conformism, this paper finds that the true ideology of Eliot in the early 20th century was that of reactionism. In terms of Eliot's criticism of the liberal principle of self-determination, the paper finds that Eliot's nuanced critique of the negative effects the Treaty of Versailles had on the people of Europe was in part in reaction to the principle's contemporary popularity. Furthermore, the paper proposes that Eliot's perceived sympathy with Fascism stems from Eliot's reaction to a newly anti-Fascist shift in British public opinion in the 1930s. Overall, this paper proposes that Eliot has been thoroughly misrepresented as an icon of 20th-century Conservatism.

Introduction

There is a trend in both contemporary scholarship and popular publications to take for granted the political position of the poet T.S. Eliot – that is, the position of hard-line conservatism, and, at times, even fascism. These claims are often accompanied by, either implicitly or explicitly, an assumption of a singular, rightwards 'shift'. This shift is usually positioned sometime around the close of the First World War. For example, many take Eliot's staging of debates around European Fascism in *The Criterion* in the early 1930s as evidence for his sympathy with these views – indeed, even scholarship around Eliot's unfinished 'Coriolan' sequence, written at the same time as these controversial articles, focuses mainly on the work's fascist themes, and therefore Eliot's own perceived Fascist sympathies.

This is perhaps made most explicit in the title of an article reviewing a biography of Eliot: 'T.S. Eliot: Maverick Modernist to conservative Christian'.[1] Other articles less explicitly describe a radical shift in Eliot's ideology – William Q Malcuit claims "Antiliberalism became…Eliot's default political position,"[2] while a *New Yorker* article by Louis Menand holds the view that "[Eliot] came to hold political and religious views that were far to the right of most of his contemporaries."[3] Even publications ignoring the 'shift' narrative firmly agreed on Eliot's conservatism – the *London Review of Books* implies it in an article titled 'Nudge-Winking': "It is not surprising, then, that Eliot…should at times be found looking on Fascism with qualified approval, or that he should have made some deplorably antisemitic comments. The problem with all such political strictures, however, is that conservatives do not regard their beliefs as political"[4] with 'conservatives' indirectly referring to Eliot, and *The Guardian* claiming both that "He was…deeply disparaging about democracy"[5] and "Eliot was far too clever a conservative to ally himself directly with Italian or German fascism."[6] Less popular sources, too, have accepted this view, with one article from *The Imaginative Conservative* simply titled 'T.S. Eliot as a Conservative Mentor'.[7]

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[1] A. Adams, 'TS Eliot: Maverick modernist to conservative Christian,' WhyNow Media, 28th June 2022.

[2] W.Q. Malcuit, 'The Poetics of Political Failure; Eliot's Antiliberalism in an American Context,' *Twentieth Century Literature*, Vol. 62, No. 1, March 2016.

[3] L. Menand, 'Practical Cat,' *The New Yorker*, 12th September 2011.

[4] T. Eagleton, 'Nudge-Winking,' London Review of Books, 19th September 2002.

[5] K. Malik, 'TS Eliot's Waste Land was a barren place. But at least a spirit of optimism still prevailed,' *The Guardian*, 30th October 2022.

[6] R. Kaveney, 'TS Eliot and the politics of culture,' *The Guardian*, 28th April 2014.

[7] R. Scruton, 'TS Eliot as a Conservative Mentor,' *The Imaginative Conservative*, November 2011.

While this consensus is, on the surface level, fairly accurate, it is also reductive. While it may be true that Eliot's views shifted to the right later in his life, these sources ignore a far more obvious character to Eliot's ideology – that of the radical reactionary. In *The Criterion,* April 1924, T.S. Eliot wrote of the critic T.E. Hulme as his personal ideal of the modern intellectual: "[Hulme was the] forerunner of a new attitude of mind, which should be the twentieth-century mind if the twentieth century is to have a mind of its own. Hulme is classical, reactionary, and revolutionary; he is at the antipodes of the eclectic, tolerant, and democratic mind of the end of the last century."[8] This quote, in the years that followed, began increasingly to describe Eliot himself. One can extrapolate from this quotation that Eliot admired the attitude of the reactionary and the nonconformist – this paper proposes that Eliot did, in fact, embody this attitude in both literary and critical work, as his expressed political views continued to stray from the intellectual 'norm'.

This paper analyses both Eliot's poetry and critical writing in historical and political contexts, revealing Eliot to be far more radical than the current consensus would believe. In order to establish this, the paper begins with a comparative analysis of two of Eliot's early poems: 'Gerontion' and 'The Love Song of J Alfred Prufrock'. The respective historical and political contexts of the poems produced a pronounced shift in style between the two – through which, this paper suggests, one begins to see a reactionary pattern forming in Eliot's work. Eliot's earlier poems are at times explicitly critical of popular early 20th-century principles such as self-determination; these criticisms, implicit and explicit, have often driven critics to cite the works out-of-context as being indicative of fascist or intolerant beliefs. However, by providing relevant news clippings and documents from the period, the paper demonstrates Eliot's attitude as one of insistent dissension rather than intolerance. The paper then moves on to discussing this pattern in more detail, including examples of Eliot's later poetry such as the unfinished 'Coriolan' sequence, and his critical work in *The Criterion*, paying particular attention to the way Eliot and his critics viewed his attitude towards Fascism. This paper considers the influence of popular social and political opinion on Eliot's early twentieth-century work, to re-open a discussion of what has been seen as a firmly established view of Eliot's ideology.

A Comparative Analysis of 'The Love Song of J Alfred Prufrock' and 'Gerontion'

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[8] T.S. Eliot, 'A Commentary', *The Criterion*, Faber & Faber, April 1924.

One of the earliest examples of Eliot as a reactionary is the marked difference between his pre-war and post-war poetry. In Eliot's pre-war poetry, he prizes intellectual liberalism and imagination, whereas post-war Eliot shifts towards grounded-ness, and directly criticises popular liberal ideas like European self-determination. 'The Love Song of J Alfred Prufrock' is a reaction to antiquated poetic conventions: the poem is syntactically bold, its repeated, fragmented speeches and rambling metaphors contradicting poetic tradition (for which the poem was at the time heavily criticised.)[9] The second poem, 'Gerontion', is also radical, but entirely different from 'Prufrock'. Where 'Prufrock' rambles, 'Gerontion' is brutally direct, and grounded in its imagery. The poem presents a criticism of post-war idealism and liberalism as Eliot makes barely disguised references to the Treaty of Versailles and Woodrow Wilson's ideal of self-determination for the people of Eastern and Central Europe. However, this example of reactionism is no less pronounced than in 'Prufrock', and the contrast between the two poems serves to highlight an underlying continuity in Eliot's ideology even as his poetry seems, on the surface, to metamorphose entirely.

Eliot wrote 'The Love Song of J Alfred Prufrock' during his time at university, in 1911, before the First World War. The poem, eventually published in 1917, was radical for the time; reviews criticised a non-traditional approach in terms of form and structure. *Literary World* argued, "Mr Eliot could do finer work on traditional lines,"[10] while the *New Statesman* stated, "Certainly much of what he writes is unrecognisable as poetry at present[.]"[11] This particular remark was supported by *The Times*' slightly patronising comment, "Mr Eliot's notion of poetry…"[12] The poem itself, considering content, as well as form, explores key ideas of liberalism: the freedom of the individual to self-actualise being the central conflict of the monologue.

In contrast, 'Gerontion', written in 1918 and published in 1920, differs from 'Prufrock' in both content and style. 'Gerontion' criticises popular ideas of self-determination and liberal attitudes in post-war Europe and shifts poetically to austerity (of metaphor and length). This poetic shift is important; it mirrors the shift in Eliot's ideology from liberalism to conservatism that critics have already agreed upon, providing a jumping-off point for the extrapolation of a further conservative trajectory.

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[9] 'Recent Verse,' *Literary World*, 83, 5 July 1917.
[10] Ibid.
[11] 'Shorter Notices,' *New Statesman*, 18 August 1917.
[12] Times Literary Supplement, 21 June 1917.

The shift in poetic style between 'Prufrock' and 'Gerontion' is immediately evident. Where in 'Prufrock' Eliot explores rhyme, repetition, and question, 'Gerontion' is as austere as its speaker. This can be seen even in the poem's respective first lines: In 'Prufrock', the dynamic "Let us go, then, you and I" immediately encourages motion while 'Gerontion' is comparatively static in the opening statement "Here I am, an old man in a dry month". Indeed, the motion of the text itself in the two poems creates contrast – in 'Prufrock', the text is almost self-perpetuating, with lines, ideas, and rhymes repeating over and over. In one section, Eliot plays with rhyme to evoke circular, constant motion. This can be seen in the creative use of rhyming couplets. One repetitive couplet is internalised within one line (""Do I dare?" and, "Do I dare?""), while other more traditional couplets are placed in the middle of the stanza (as in the rhymes 'stair/hair' and 'thin/chin/pin/thin'.) Even the use of rhyme itself in this section is repetitive, with the frenetic rhyme scheme ABBBCCCCBD.

The sequence of couplets beginning with "They will say…" is particularly circular in structure, enclosing a whole parenthetical sequence within the repeated word 'thin'. Eliot's narrator cannot make up his mind on what to return to or to move on from – he is in constant, frenetic motion. Repetition returns again and again, such as in the almost musical refrain of "there will be time" near the beginning of the poem. In fact, repetition like this is one of the poem's greatest anchors – Prufrock is depicted through Eliot's language as a man lost in ideas and motion, held to a recognisable 'poetic form' by Eliot's anchoring repeated lines (such as 'Do I dare,' 'In the room the women come and go,' 'There will be time,' and 'How should I presume.') This can be contrasted with the static nature of the poem's narrator.

'Gerontion' starts with a statement of stillness (as opposed to Prufrock's dynamic "Let us go") and this idea of the speaker as a static figure is perpetuated throughout the poem. This stillness can be most clearly seen when it is juxtaposed with the motion occurring around the speaker (the 'windy spaces', the 'draughty house', the 'windy knob'.) The speaker himself 'stiffens' *among* a house of contrasting motion, through which bizarre figures are dynamized with verbs like 'bow', 'turn', and 'shift'. Where 'Prufrock' is an exercise in moving through one's surroundings, searching for meaning, 'Gerontion' observes an old man who acts as the sole static fixture in a world of chaotic and relentless motion.

The contrast between motion and stillness is clear in the two poems – in 'Prufrock', Eliot's cat-like yellow fog combines ideas of

motion and openly fantastical imagery, both of which he excludes from the realist 'Gerontion'. Nature in 'Gerontion' is as static as its speaker, described in lists ("Rocks, moss, stonecrop, iron, merds"), whereas in 'Prufrock', the fog is *defined* by its motion ("The yellow fog…rubs its back…licked…lingered…slipped…made a sudden leap.") Furthermore, in 'Gerontion', Eliot shortens his clauses and uses caesura incredibly frequently. See, for example, stanza 4 of 'Gerontion', where Eliot divides three concurrent lines around a semicolon and two full stops, halting any sort of lyrical momentum in its tracks:

> "Shifting the candles**;** Fräulein von Kulp
> Who turned in the hall, one hand on the door**.** Vacant shuttles
> Weave the wind**.** I have no ghosts…"

The result of this abortion of momentum is a narrative that feels fragmented and slow – the poem seems to be moving behind the 'beat'. In 'Prufrock', Eliot interrupts himself with leading questions that serve to build on the momentum of the poem, whereas in 'Gerontion', ideas are simply cut off – often mid-line – and momentum is aborted.

Indeed, the use of questions in the two poems is another source of contrast. In 'Prufrock', the speaker is brimming with questions, while 'Gerontion' seems almost burnt out. The narrator of 'Gerontion's "dry brain in a dry season" carries a sense of infertility and intellectual drought – the speaker has only four questions to Prufrock's seventeen. Not only are questions in 'Prufrock' numerous, but they are used frequently in certain sections, creating dense chunks of question-filled text. (See, for example, the stanza that ends with two successive questions "And should I then presume?/And how should I begin?")

The broader contrast between the two poems in content and style becomes important when considering the poet himself. Here, Eliot's ideology shifts from urgent, liberal ideas of self-expression and self-actualisation in 'Prufrock' to cynicism, especially surrounding the post-war principle of self-determination in 'Gerontion'. Liberalism as an ideology, in terms of the focus on the individual, permeates 'Prufrock' in sections like the one above. Pre-war, *Prufrock* Eliot revolves around individual freedoms and desires, whereas post-war, *Gerontion* Eliot retroactively criticises this mode of thinking.

A Close Reading of 'Gerontion' in Relation to the Treaty of Versailles

Indeed, it is in 'Gerontion' that some of Eliot's most nonconformist ideology shines through. The poem can be read without much strain as an extended criticism of the Treaty of Versailles and the ideal of self-determination lauded by most immediate post-war thinkers, such as the American sociologist W.E.B. Du Bois, who cited self-determination in an argument for further recognition of the African-American population. Self-determination in the Treaty of Versailles was one of American President Woodrow Wilson's ideals for Europe, leading to the formation of 'Frankenstein' states like Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Poland – countries that combined disparate ethnic groups, especially in South-eastern Europe.[13]

A close reading of the poem is essential to understanding Eliot's non-conformism here, to fully grasp the poetic shift this paper has detailed as reflective of Eliot's radical reactionism. In the opening of the poem, Eliot's attitude towards the state of post-war Europe is clearly one of disillusionment. The central conceit of the poem is the image of the "decayed house", inhabited by an eclectic collection of residents (clearly an analogy for Europe as a continent made up of new states full of displaced individuals.) The origin of the "Jew squat[ting] on the windowsill" is confused: he was "spawned in…Antwerp", "blistered in Brussels", and "patched and peeled in London". Eliot chooses his verbs carefully here to illustrate the Jew's life as having been drawn across Europe in seemingly random lines, the passive recipient of continental whims, as he is passively "spawned", "blistered", and "peeled" by external forces.

It is Eliot's implication that the post-war New European world has created this icon of displacement. Eliot mocks this, too, in his language, with his use of edgy plosives "**B**listered in **B**russels…**p**atched and **p**eeling" connoting disdain for the New European diaspora. This is not limited to the opening stanza but spread throughout the poem. In one stanza, Eliot addresses the supposedly muddled idea of internationalised Europe – a list of foreign names ("Hakagawa", "Madame de Tornquist", "Fräulein von Kulp"), originating from a vast geographical area, are forced into one small poetic space: the "decayed house." There is a fascination in this image with the idea of Old Europe versus New Europe – "Hakagawa", the East Asian foreign interloper in modern international relations, physically defers to the artistic culture of an older Europe: "bowing among the Titians". Again, Eliot examines post-war Europe not through the popular, self-deterministic lens, but through one of confused surrealism.

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[13] L. Garcés, 'The League of Nations' Predicament in Southeastern Europe,' *World Affairs*, Summer 1995, Vol. 158, No. 1.

This confusion climaxes in the penultimate stanza, where variety becomes a "wilderness" in the wake of the Treaty as the presumably European individuals "De Bailhache, Fresca, Mrs. Cammel" are forcibly uprooted and whirled beyond the constellations (specifically, "the circuit of the shuddering Bear"). Eliot's deliberately violent word choices in these lines are disapproving – individuals are "whirled" and "fractured" rather than simply displaced. Eliot's opinion is clear; he views the Treaty's insistence on self-determination as a force of destruction, rather than a positive symbol of modern international relations. For an even more overt reference to Versailles, take the earlier section which refers to the negotiation of the Treaty. Eliot spells out the negotiation for the reader: in the line "these with a thousand small deliberations" Eliot imagines the negotiators 'deliberating' the articles and terms of the Treaty. These negotiators upset the Europeans affected by the Treaty by redesigning the international order[14] ("excite the membrane, when the sense has cooled") when the true violence of the war is over; Eliot articulates this as "the sense has cooled." Eliot describes these negotiators as inciting upset with the introduction of "pungent sauces", possibly referring to the post-war influx of foreign ethnic groups into new regions. The word "mirrors" is perhaps the most overt reference Eliot makes to Versailles, referring to the Hall of Mirrors where the Treaty was signed.

Returning to the idea of Eliot's conservatism, many cite Eliot's condemnation of 'tolerance' as evidence for a securely right-wing position – one critic claims: 'In Eliot's ideal society, tolerance is not seen as an especially good thing…Eliot was far too clever a conservative…'[15] It is interesting to bring up here the deep empathy Eliot's poem feels for the people of Eastern and Central Europe, particularly Germans being 'punished' for harm done – this seems almost the epitome of the 'tolerance' Eliot is seen to disapprove of.[16] After all, Eliot's criticism of the Treaty is not only ideological but emotional – 'Gerontion' taps into a sense of grief and loss felt by Europeans post-war with lines like "Tears are shaken from the wrath-bearing tree." This specific example is presumably in reference to German citizens suffering from the economic aftereffects of the Treaty on their country, the preceding "Virtues are forced upon us by our impudent crimes" suggestive of the reparative efforts made by penalising Germany in particular for damages done during the war.[17] Loss in particular is given great focus in the poem, as

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[14] L. Garces, 'The League of Nations' Predicament in Southeastern Europe,' p. 5.
[15] R. Kaveney, 'TS Eliot and the politics of culture,' *The Guardian*, 28th April 2014.
[16] Ibid.
[17] A.S. Hershey, 'German Reparations,' *The American Journal of International Law*, Jul. 1921, Vol. 15, No. 3.

Eliot's narrator laments both his loss of beauty and passion and all of his senses ("I have lost my sight, smell, hearing, taste and touch.")

Small contradictions like this one between intolerance and empathy in Eliot's work seem to indicate less of a fixed ideological position, and instead a long-term effort to remain the model reactionary.

An Analysis of Contemporary Sources on the Post-WW I Principle of Self-determination

This sort of non-conformism can be seen when juxtaposing 'Gerontion's critical views of self-determination with common positive consensus at the time - an extract from *The Tablet*, December 1918, elevates the principle conspicuously: "Reduced to its final analysis the great war just closed was fought for the principle of self-determination."[18] An issue of *The Baltimore Sun,* 16 Feb 1919, expresses universal approval for the principle: "Other statesmen also have remarked that the only safe and sane policy to follow for the future peace of the world is that of granting self-government to all peoples…That self-determination is a splendid thing, that a sound settlement of it is necessary for the future peace of the world, all agree."[19]

Before a more in-depth analysis, it is important to note that these two articles were published in America, and no doubt were at some level propaganda for Wilson's European political efforts. It is interesting to note how far Eliot's views diverge from these American papers even as an American immigrant – his criticism of the United States foreign policy in this situation implies a persistent cynical nonconformism in Eliot's views that would translate to his writing, both critical and literary.

The articles themselves, given their arguable status of American government propaganda, are fascinating for their glowing pictures of self-determination. *The Tablet* in particular revels in its assertion that "Self-determination triumphed, autocracy was defeated, the rule of the people won,"[20] framing the policy as an essential ingredient of modern democracy. Even the emphasis on 'self-determination' placed at the beginning of this tricolon frames *it*, above all else, as the purpose and victor of the 'Great War'. Perhaps the most interesting element of the text is the claim that "This country from its President down is pledged to

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[18] 'Self-Determination Week,' *The Tablet,* December 14, 1918.
[19] *The Baltimore Sun,* 16 Feb 1919.
[20] Self-Determination Week,' *The Tablet.*

the dictum that nations have a right to govern themselves[.]"[21] The text's claim of a united American public in favour of self-determination is obviously contradicted in the American Eliot's criticisms in 'Gerontion' discussed previously – Eliot is straying from the public consensus.

The extract from *The Baltimore Sun* is in many ways similar – but here, the opinion of the *British* public is introduced: "Lord Grey expressed the opinion of the British public in his statement that we shall struggle until…we have assured the free development…to their own genius of all the states, large and small[.]"[22] Considering the nationality of Eliot, one could argue that by now Eliot saw himself as British, rather than American. In this case, Eliot's nonconformism would be doubly confirmed in refusing to conform to the opinion of both British and American citizenry: "That self-determination is a splendid thing, that a sound settlement of it is necessary for the future peace of the world, all agree."[23] In separating himself completely from this universal support of self-determination in 'Gerontion', Eliot demonstrates his reactionism.

Taking the caveat of American press bias into account, an alternative source can be referred to prove the popularity of self-determination. Below is an extract from W.E.B. Du Bois' letter to Woodrow Wilson in 1918, using self-determination as an argument for acknowledging the fundamental rights of Black American citizens:

> "Has this race not earned as much consideration as most of the smaller nations whose liberties and rights are to be safeguarded by international convention? In principle this is as much an international question as that of the Poles or the Yugo-Slaves who were comprised until recently within the Central Empires…"[24]

W.E.B. Du Bois is an interesting figure to compare to Eliot – the two scholars are similarly regarded as titans in modern American thinking, but, as seen here, can come into intellectual conflict over major 20th-century issues. This letter touches several times on self-determination as a triumph of modern international relations, to argue its relevance to the American 'race problem'. Du Bois looks at America as the international community in microcosm – if rights concerning "distinctive peoples" (such as the European "Poles [and] Yugoslavs")[25]

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[21] Ibid.
[22] *The Baltimore Sun,* 16 Feb 1919.
[23] Ibid.
[24] W.E.B. Du Bois, Letter to President Woodrow Wilson, November 1918.
[25] Ibid., 4.

were a priority of American foreign policy, why should America not act on this principle domestically? All this to say, Du Bois' exemplification of self-determination suggests that he approved of the principle as an icon of liberal American thinking – it is, therefore, clear to observe Eliot's 'Gerontion' as the reactionary naysayer in response.

The Presentation of Fascism in Eliot's Critical Work and the Poems 'Triumphal March' and 'Difficulties of a Statesman'

An alternative example of Eliot's reactionism is his unpublished sequence of poems, titled 'Coriolan', written around the year 1931. 'Coriolan' contains two complete poems: 'Triumphal March' and 'Difficulties of a Statesman'. Both poems engage closely with fascist trappings and ideals, just as Fascism was beginning to become a source of wider political anxiety. Eliot courted the ideology in his poetry and in *The Criterion* – in 'Coriolan' it takes the form of mocking both a) 'communist' unity and groupthink and b) the League of Nations, as a body increasingly concerned in the 1930s with combatting rising fascist regimes in Central Europe. In fact, a contemporary *Foreign Affairs* article posited that 'Germany is under the influence of Hitler's revolutionary movement, Italy under that of the Fascist revolution…The more abnormal the situation of the chief members of the League, the more difficult it is for the League to function'[26]

Some may claim this shift is not reactionary, and simply indicative of a change in personal ideologies; it is relevant here to point to Eliot's writing in the late 1920s concerning the rise of Fascism, which in this period became briefly popular among the Western intelligentsia:[27] Eliot himself stated that H.G. Wells and Wyndham Lewis were at the time inclining 'in the direction of some kind of fascism.'[28] In 'The Rise and Fall of British Fascism: Sir Oswald Mosely and the British Union of Fascists', Bret Rubin states: "In the late 1920s…fascism was often admired by the public…many pointed to emerging autocracies in Italy and Germany as powerful new examples of effective modern government."[29] Eliot criticised this trend in his *Criterion* article 'The Literature of Fascism': "I cannot share enthusiastically in this vigorous repudiation of 'democracy'… how can we, out of the materials at hand,

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[26] E. Beneš, 'The League of Nations: Successes and Failures,' *Foreign Affairs*, Oct. 1932, Vol. 11, No. 1.

[27] B. Rubin, "The Rise and Fall of British Fascism: Sir Oswald Mosley and the British Union of Fascists," *Intersections*, Vol. 11, No. 2, Autumn 2010.

[28] T.S. Eliot, 'A Commentary,' *The Criterion*, April 1929.

[29] B. Rubin, "The Rise and Fall of British Fascism: Sir Oswald Mosley and the British Union of Fascists."

build a new structure in which democracy can live?"[30] The article clearly demonstrates that Eliot has not, in fact, by the late 1920s, begun to shift rightwards towards authoritarian fascism as some may claim, but instead puts forward a strong defence of the democratic idea. Even in isolation, this article is somewhat non-conformist in Eliot's anti-establishment desire to 'build a new structure in which democracy can live.'[31] However, what is most important in 'The Literature of Fascism' is the evidence it gives against the claim that the 'Coriolan' sequence was extrapolated from Eliot's growing enthusiasm for Fascism as an ideology. In fact, the opposite is proven to be true – 'Coriolan' can therefore be maintained as a reactionary sequence, as Eliot's perceived shift towards Fascism is underpinned by a far more influential shift: that of British public opinion.

In 1933, *The Guardian* published an article reading, "This year the school has met under the shadow of an international attack upon Liberalism more widespread and more dangerous than any since the war… To speak of a general breakdown of democracy is equivalent to saying that the free spirit of man has broken down. World Fascism is an unthinkable nightmare."[32] Eliot's 'Coriolan' indeed contradicts early twentieth-century Liberal values, especially in 'Difficulties of a Statesman's blatant criticism of the peace-keeping body, the League of Nations. This can be most clearly seen in a section of the poem criticising the bureaucracy of the League, which lists exhaustively its comedic number of committees (Eliot lists the word six times in this short section.)

The criticism of the League of Nations Eliot makes in this section of the poem is multifaceted. He conveys absurdity through the repetition of bureaucratic language: "the consultative councils, the standing committees/committees and sub-committees." Eliot is clearly mocking the League's inefficient internal structure, which consisted of several humanitarian committees and commissions advising on areas like public health ('The Provisional Health Committee of the League has been called to the aid of the Opium Advisory Committee…'[33]) whose expansive work is criticised here as being inefficiently handled by the League's small secretariat, in Eliot's sly assertion that "One secretary will do for several committees." Eliot uses this technique again in his repetition of "A commission is appointed," perhaps to criticise the

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[30] T.S. Eliot, 'The Literature of Fascism,' *The Criterion*, December 1928.
[31] Ibid.
[32] *The Guardian*, 1933.
[33] 'Noxious Drugs and The League of Nations,' *The British Medical Journal*, May 6, 1922, Vol. 1, pp. 728-729.

inefficiency of an organisation concerned more with the language of diplomacy than the practice of it. Eliot mocks the League not only in poetic content but also in structure. In the phrase "consultative councils", Eliot's repeated c's and t's create a soundscape of over-complication, almost reflecting the League's own growing impotence due to its cumbersome internal structure in the 1930s. More interesting than this general structural criticism, however, is Eliot's controversial attitude towards the League as a peacekeeping body: "A commission is appointed/to confer with a Volscian commission/About perpetual peace." The tone is, again, mocking. Eliot (similarly to the technique used in 'Gerontion') uses the plosives in "**p**erpetual **p**eace" to criticise the idea. Eliot's cynicism towards what he called the modern 'tolerant' system is clear.

The second poem in the 'Coriolan' sequence, 'Triumphal March', is far more concerned with visually Fascist trappings than the ideological alignment seen in 'Difficulties of a Statesman', where Eliot simply pitted himself against the 'Liberal' League of Nations. In 'The Literary and Political Hinterland of T.S. Eliot's *Coriolan*', Steven Matthews emphasises the relevance of Ancient Rome as an icon of 20th century Fascism: "The "Authority and Tradition" emanating from Rome through to the present day of the early 1930s had more unsettling implication at the point at which Eliot was writing the unfinished poems[.]"[34] Roman 'Fascist' iconography in the poem is anachronized, as Eliot lists confiscated German armaments from the Treaty of Versailles alongside 'classical' images:

"5,800,000 rifles and carbines,
102,000 machine guns,
28,000 trench mortars,
53,000 field and heavy guns,
…
Now they go up to the temple. Then the sacrifice.
Now come the virgins bearing urns…"

In this poem, the present becomes inextricable from the past as Eliot transforms his Roman protagonist into an anachronistic representation of the European Fascist dictator of the twentieth century. In fact, 'Triumphal March's anachronisms span the whole political spectrum, as Eliot uses the image of the faceless crowd to critique the near-blind unity Communism might espouse. Eliot uses the crowd's

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[34] S. Matthews, "'You can see some eagles. And hear the trumpets": The Literary and Political Hinterland of T.S. Eliot's *Coriolan*,' *Journal of Modern Literature*, Vol. 36, No. 2, Winter 2013.

unity as a political image in the lines 'such a press of people/We hardly knew ourselves that day.' This is repeated shortly after as Eliot's speaker becomes uncaring of the difference between one large unit and a crowd made up of individuals in the line "So many waiting, how many waiting? what did it matter, on such a day?" Here, the Ego becomes obsolete, as the audience gives over to fusion. The crowd as individuals no longer 'matter' – in their mass and unity, individualism has been stripped and disregarded: "What did it matter?"

The Eliot in 'Coriolan' is the Eliot most fascinated by Fascism, at a global point of anxiety around it. A few years earlier, he had been the leading critic of the British intellectuals gripped by similar fascinations: "I cannot share enthusiastically in this vigorous repudiation of 'democracy.'"[35] 'Coriolan' as an unpublished sequence is interesting from the snapshot viewpoint it gives the reader perhaps a less edited, more truthful Eliot. The poems are far more explicitly reactionary than 'Prufrock' was earlier, but are not essentially 'different' in their underlying ideology, as modern critics might claim. The poems simply reflect what has recurred throughout all of Eliot's work, which he aptly describes himself in 'The Literature of Fascism': "This is one point on which intellectuals and populace, reactionaries and communists, the million-press and the revolutionary sheet, are more and more inclined to agree; and the danger is that when everyone agrees, we shall all get something worse than what we have already."[36] Eliot has become here what he so admired in fellow critic T.E. Hulme: "classical, reactionary, and revolutionary."[37] He, too, pushed himself continually to the "antipodes" of public opinion, as the ultimate twentieth-century contrarian.

Conclusion

Political undertones (and overtones) in T.S. Eliot's early poetry have often driven critics to cite the works out-of-context as being indicative of fascist or 'intolerant' beliefs. However, through close literary analysis, examining Eliot's poetry in literary and political contexts, Eliot's ideology can be seen as far more nuanced than the modern consensus of simple conservatism. One marked piece of evidence for Eliot's conservatism is his criticism of self-determination (as seen in 'Gerontion'), which has been seen as both antiquated and intolerant. However, instead of conservatism, this critique can be seen to stem from both Eliot's reaction to the principle's widespread popularity

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[35] T.S. Eliot, 'The Literature of Fascism'
[36] T.S. Eliot, 'The Literature of Fascism'
[37] T.S. Eliot, T.S. Eliot, 'A Commentary,' *The Criterion*, April 1924.

(among both popular society and fellow American intellectuals like Du Bois) and a keen recognition of the negative emotional and cultural effects the principle wrought on Central and Eastern Europe. Similarly, through close attention to shifts in public opinion during the early 1930s and Eliot's own telling critical work, one can see that what has long been labelled Eliot's 'fascination with Fascism' in reality reflected Eliot's non-conformist reaction to a newly anti-Fascist shift in British public opinion in the 1930s. These examples serve to highlight how easy it has been for both scholarship and popular media to assign to Eliot the label of 'Conservative', when 'intellectual non-conformist' would be far more accurate. Not only is it reductive to label Eliot as a symbol of 20th-century Conservatism, but patently untrue; Eliot consistently prioritised *radicalism* in his critical and poetic work throughout the early 20th century, using writing as a mechanism through which to productively challenge the public consensus. Through provoking ideological controversy, Eliot's work continues to inspire new political debate and discourse, allowing us as readers to fulfil the role of the reactionary.

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Political Sociology

Transnational Solidarity:
The Dalit Panthers and the Black Panther Party

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Abstract

The legacy of the Black Panther Party (BPP) is transnational yet the transnational character of the most influential black power organization of the late 1960s has traditionally been understudied. Most historical accounts of the Black Panther Party (BPP) focus on the BPP's impact and legacy within the United States. However, understanding the global impact of the Black Panther Party is essential to understanding its message of black nationalism and internationalism, community organizing, and the impact of capitalism on race relations whose influence upon various social issues was borderless. The Dalit Panthers of Mumbai is one of the most relevant examples of the far-reaching impact of the Black Panther Party's message of liberation that continues to echo and reverberate across all corners of the globe. Using primary sources and writings of notable figures such as Huey P. Newton, Malcolm X, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, W.E.B. Du Bois, Namdeo Dhasal, J.V. Pawar, and Elaine Brown alongside secondary sources, this paper examines the transnational connections between the Black Panthers and Dalit Panthers. It studies the historical background of Dalit African American solidarity, origins, ideology, and differences between Black and Dalit Panthers, militaristic defense alongside art and literature as means of resistance for the two movements, and the experiences of Dalit and Black women within the Panthers.

Introduction

On the 26th anniversary of Indian Independence, 15th August 1973, a group of radical Dalit activists called the Dalit Panthers organized a march through the streets of Bombay celebrating "Kala Swatantra Din" or "Black Independence Day."[1] Inspired by the Black Panther Party, the Dalit Panthers is a group of student activists from the lowest caste in Indian society. After reading about the Black Panthers in *Time* magazine, the Dalit Panthers chose their name, presenting themselves as a militant opposition against the caste-based violence of India's self-proclaimed "democracy."[2] The Dalit Panther Manifesto directly references the Black Panthers, stating "Even in America, a handful of reactionary whites are exploiting blacks. To meet the force of reaction and remove this exploitation, the Black Panther movement grew. From the Black Panthers, Black Power emerged . . . We claim a close relationship with this struggle."[3]

Both Black Power and the Dalit Panther Party sought to spread their mission beyond the nation-state's borders by pursuing integration with the global masses. Black student groups like the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) championed the idea of Black internationalism, arguing that "Black people of the world (darker races, black, yellow, brown, red, oppressed peoples) are all enslaved by the same forces."[4] The Dalit Panthers called for "joining hands with the Dalits (oppressed) of the world which includes the oppressed and the exploited people in Cambodia, Vietnam, Africa, Latin America, Japan and in the USA (especially with the Blacks)."[5] From their inception, Indian and African American liberation movements have challenged boundaries of race, caste, and nationality. The global impact of the Black

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[1] Nico Slate., ed. "Black Power Beyond Borders: The Global Dimensions of the Black Power Movement." *New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.* Accessed May 1, 2023. ProQuest Ebook Central, 127.

[2] Diane Pien, Dalit Panther *Dalit Panther Movement (1972-1977).* BlackPast.org. https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/dalit-panther-movement-1972-1977/s.

[3] Manifesto, Barbara Joshi, ed. "Untouchable! Voices of the Dalit Liberation Movement" (London: Zed Books, 1986), 145.

[4] Joseph E. Peniel "Dashikis and Democracy: Black Studies, Student Activism, and the Black Power Movement." *The Journal of African American History* 88, no. 2 (2003): 182–203. https://doi.org/10.2307/3559065, 189.

[5] K. P. Singh, "Liberation Movements in Comparative Perspective: Dalit Indians and Black Americans," in *Dalits in Modern India: Vision and Values, Second Edition,* S. M. Michael, ed. (New Delhi, Sage, 2007), 162–178.

Panther Party's message of liberation "by any means necessary"[6] continues to inspire activists across the globe.

Historical Background of Dalit and African-American Solidarity

Transnational solidarity between Dalit and African-American activists predates the Black and Dalit Panthers by nearly a century. Using the writings of Christian missionaries in India, key abolitionist activists including Frederick Douglass, William Lloyd Garrison, Horace Greeley, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Charles Sumner would mention caste in their writings and speeches to support their arguments against slavery.[7] Caste even appeared on the front cover of the first issue of *The Liberator,* the most widely circulated anti-slavery newspaper during the Civil War and the antebellum era.[8]

Many key Indian anti-caste leaders such as Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Jyotirao Phule also found parallels between the systems of race in the United States and caste in India. Jyotirao Phule, a social reformer from the Mali sub-caste who came up with the Marathi word "Dalit" to describe members of lower castes,[9] first took an interest in the United States in the late 1840s, when Brahman nationalists gave him Thomas Paine's *The Rights of Man*.[10] The Brahmans hoped the message Phule would take away from Paine's book would be that Indians of all castes must unite to throw off British rule. Instead, Phule realized the power of education in mobilizing the lower castes against centuries of tyranny. Phule's seminary critique of the caste system is titled *Gulamgiri*, which translates to slavery in English and compares the conditions of Black Americans and lower-caste Indians. He even dedicated the book to the people of the United States "as a token of admiration for their sublime disinterested and self-sacrificing [*sic*] devotion in the cause of Negro Slavery."[11]

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[6] Daniel Pearlstein, "Chapter Two: Minds Stayed on Freedom: POLITICS and PEDAGOGY in the AFRICAN AMERICAN FREEDOM STRUGGLE." *Counterpoints* 237 (2005): 33–65. http://www.jstor.org/stable/42978674, 48.

[7] Charles Sumner, "The Question of Caste," Charles Sumner: His Complete Works, Vol. 17" (New York: Negro University Press, 1969), 131-183.

[8] Daniel Immerwahr, "Caste or Colony? Indianizing Race in the United States." M*odern Intellectual History*, 4, 2 (2007), pp. 275–301 (2007) Cambridge University Press, 277.

[9] M. Nissar, Meena Kandasamy, "Ayyankali - Dalit Leader of Organic Protest," 8.

[10] Immerwahr, "Caste or Colony? Indianizing Race in the United States," 277.

[11] Jotirao Phule, Slavery (in the Civilized British Government under the Cloak of Brahmanism), 2nd edn, trans. Maya Pandit (1911), in Selected Writings of Jotirao Phule, ed. G. P. Deshpande (Delhi: LeftWord Books, 2002), 25.

Phule's acquaintance and sponsor, the Maharaja of Baroda Sayajirao Gayakavad, shared his interest in the United States. When the Maharaja visited Chicago in 1893 for the Columbian Exposition, he brought professors and librarians back with him to Baroda where they prepared a US-centric curriculum in contrast to the British-centric one that most Indian students were studying at the time.[12] Thus, when Krishnarao Arjun Keluskar, a close friend and colleague of Phule's, introduced him to an extremely intelligent Mahar student named B. R. Ambedkar, the Maharaja decided to send him not to England, but to Columbia University in New York City to complete his higher education.[13]

Dr. Ambedkar's time at Columbia University from 1913-1916 coincided with the Harlem Renaissance, one of the most important movements in Black and American history. His proximity to the movement and his work with his Columbia professors such as John Dewey and James Shotwell had distinct impacts on his approach to caste.[14] Like Phule, his work repeatedly compared untouchability to slavery and he saw the two systems not just as assaults on human dignity but also as obstacles to functioning society. In *Annihilation of Caste* (1936), he writes that "An ideal society should be mobile, should be full of channels for conveying a change taking place in one part to other parts. There should be varied and free points of contact with other modes of association."[15] Thus, untouchability and racism hindered progress because they sentenced Dalits and African Americans to the bottom of the socio-economic pyramid with no options for social mobility.

Columbia was also where Dr. Ambedkar was introduced to the work of Black revolutionaries such as W.E.B. Du Bois, with whom he would later become close acquaintances.[16] His correspondence with W.E.B. Du Bois shows that leading intellectuals within the Dalit and African Americans understood the similar realities faced by the two groups. In a letter to Du Bois, Ambedkar writes, "There is so much similarity between the position of the Untouchables in India and of the position of the Blacks in America and that the study of the latter is not

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[12] Immerwahr, "Caste or Colony? Indianizing Race in the United States," 277.

[13] Immerwahr, "Caste or Colony? Indianizing Race in the United States," 278.

[14] Immerwahr, "Caste or Colony? Indianizing Race in the United States," 279.

[15] B. R. Ambedkar, The Annihilation of Caste, 2nd edn (Bombay: B. R. Kadrekar, 1937), 38, 41.

[16] S. D. Kapoor. "B. R. Ambedkar, W.E.B. Du Bois and the Process of Liberation." *Economic and Political Weekly* 38, no. 51/52 (2003): 5344–49. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4414430.

only natural but necessary."[17] Throughout his career, Dr. Ambedkar would continuously refer to American history – particularly the Civil War and Reformation Era – in his writings and speeches when making arguments for anti-caste movements in India.[18]

Origins and Ideology of the Black Panther Party

With over 5,000 full-time members across 45 major US cities, the Black Panther Party was the largest Black revolutionary organization to have existed in the United States.[19] Founded in 1966 by Bobby Seale and Huey P. Newton in Oakland, California, the Black Panther Party grew out of frustrations with the Civil Rights movement's failure to improve the lives of Black Americans outside of the South.[20] Non-violent protests against segregation failed to adequately address issues of poverty and powerlessness that were the result of generations of systemic violence and discrimination against Black Americans. Bobby Seale and Huey P. Newton first met in 1962, when they were both students at Merritt Junior College. Both Seale and Newton had been members of the Student Afro-American Association and Soul Students advisory, organizations that advocated for more African-American history courses and Black faculty.[21] However, the duo soon became dissatisfied with the organization's non-violent methods, causing them to leave the college in 1965 to start their organization for Black Americans in the Oakland area.[22]

The biggest catalyst for the formation of the Black Panther Party was police violence and brutality. Members of the Black Panther Party

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[17] B. R. (Bhimrao Ramji) Ambedkar, "Letter from B. R. Ambedkar to W.E.B. Du Bois, ca. July 1946. W.E.B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312)." *Special Collections and University Archives*, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries.

[18] B. R. Ambedkar, *Writings and Speeches,* Volume 17, Part III (Education Department, Government of Maharashtra, Bombay: 1979-1993), 134.

[19] Albert Duncan, "Black Panther Party." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, August 14, 2023. https://www.britannica.com/topic/Black-Panther-Party.

[20] National Museum of African American History & Culture. "The Black Panther Party: Challenging Police and Promoting Social Change | National Museum of African American History and Culture." *Smithsonian.* (July 23, 2019). https://nmaahc.si.edu/explore/stories/black-panther-party-challenging-police-and-promoting-social-change.

[21] Jessica C. Harris, "Revolutionary Black Nationalism: The Black Panther Party." *The Journal of Negro History* 86 no. 3 (2001): 409–21. https://doi.org/10.2307/1562458, 412.

[22] Dorothy Lazard, "The Afro-American Association: Forerunner to the Panthers." *Oakland Public Library.* (November 5, 2020). Retrieved 2022-02-13. https://oaklandlibrary.org/blogs/post/the-afro-american-association-forerunner-to-the-panthers/.

regarded the police as the official representatives of the status quo wielding violence against Black Americans at the endorsement of the "establishment."[23] Thus, in 1966 when a 16-year-old Black boy named Matthew Johnson was brutally shot in the back by a police officer in San Francisco, Seale and Newton decided to form an organization to "police the pigs" called the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense.[24]

The core tenets of the Black Panther Party's mission are the beliefs that all people (including Black Americans) have the right to self-determination and that it is impossible for African Americans to achieve liberation within the existing socio-political systems of the United States. This is echoed in the *Black Panther Party's Ten-Point Program* that demands the right to freedom and self-determination for Black Americans; full-employment or guaranteed income for all Black Americans; an end to robbery of the Black community by white capitalists; decent housing; education that teaches African-American history; the exemption of all Black men from military service; an immediate end to police brutality and the murder of black people at the hands of police officers; freedom for all black men held in federal, state, national and city prisons or jails; that all Black people be trial by a jury of peers from Black communities and lastly, land, bread, housing, justice and peace for all Black Americans.[25] The Black Panther Party believed that the current government of the United States and its subsidiary institutions were "illegitimate because they failed to meet the needs of the people; therefore, they had no right to exist."[26] Huey P. Newton and other Panthers called for economic systems in which the production of goods and services is "based on the needs of people and does not function for profit-making purposes."[27]

Because Black Panthers analyzed power on the axis of both race and class, they often had differences with other revolutionary student groups such as the Revolutionary Action Movement. The Black Panthers were opposed to what they described as "cultural nationalism." Cultural

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[23] Harris, "Revolutionary Black Nationalism: The Black Panther Party," 413.
[24] California African-American Museum Web Staff, "#black history: On October 15, 1966, Bobby Seale and Huey Newton form the Black Panther Party in Oakland, California" African-American Museum, Los Angeles CA. https://caamuseum.org/learn/600state/black-history/blackhistory-on-october-15-1966-bobby-seale-and-huey-p-newton-form-the-black-panther-party-in-oakland-california.
[25] Roland Martin, "Black Panther Ten-Point Program" *Encyclopedia Britannica*, September 22, 2023. https://www.britannica.com/topic/Black-Panther-Ten-Point-Program.
[26] Huey P. Newton, "Panthers," *Ebony Magazine*, (August, 1969), 107.
[27] Newton, "Panthers," 108.

nationalism believed that all Black people throughout the world had a distinct culture. Cultural nationalists believed that before Black liberation could be achieved, all Black people in the United States needed to reassert their cultural heritage to unite as a community to successfully revolt against their oppressors.[28] The Panthers' key problem with cultural nationalism was its lack of distinction between racist and non-racist white Americans and the absence of class analysis within the Black community. Thus, they viewed it as an ineffective strategy for liberation. As Bobby Seale writes in *Seize the Time: The Story of the Black Panther Party and Huey P. Newton*, "The cultural nationalists say that a black man cannot be an enemy of the black people, while the Panthers believe that black capitalists are exploiters and oppressors. Although the Black Panther Party believes in black nationalism and black culture, it does not believe that either will lead to black liberation or the overthrow of the capitalist system and are therefore ineffective."[29]

The revolutionary nationalism of the Black Panther Party caused them to reject both the integrationist approach of the Civil Rights movement and the separatist approach of the cultural nationalists. The leaders of the Black Panther Party saw themselves as part of a worldwide, multi-racial, anti-capitalist movement, conceptualizing Black liberation as a struggle against both race and caste.[30] Black revolutionary nationalists such as Malcolm X described black liberation as "worldwide in both scope and nature."[31] Others like Stokely Carmichael put the transnational nature of oppression at the forefront of their activism, as seen by his opening speech as Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC):

> The colonies of the United States, and this includes the black ghettos within its borders, north and south, must be liberated. For a century, this nation has been like an octopus of exploitation, its tentacles stretching from Mississippi and Harlem to South America, the Middle East, southern Africa, and Vietnam; the form of exploitation varies from area to area but the essential result has been the same, a powerful few have been maintained

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[28] Harris, "Revolutionary Black Nationalism: The Black Panther Party," 410.
[29] Bobby Seale. *Seize the Time: The Story of the Black Panther Party and Huey P. Newton*. (Baltimore, MD: Black Classic Press, 1991), 37.
[30] Alphonso Pinkney, *Red, Black and Green: Black Nationalism in the United States*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 13.
[31] Malcolm X, 'Message to the Grassroots.'" *BlackPast*. August 16, 2010. https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/speeches-african-american-history/1963-malcolm-x-message-grassroots/.

and enriched at the expense of the poor and voiceless colored masses.[32]

Black Internationalism – the conjoining of race and class to resist imperialism and white supremacy – was central to the Black Panther Party's philosophy and led the movement to openly ally itself with people across the world as they criticized caste in India, imperialism, and occupation in the Middle East and Vietnam and apartheid in South Africa.[33]

Origins and Ideology of Dalit Panthers

The founder of the Dalit Panthers, Namdeo Dhasal, was born in a small hamlet outside the city of Pune in Maharashtra.[34] His family were Mahars, a subcaste of Dalits predominantly found in the state of Maharashtra who are also considered the original inhabitants of the state.[35] The caste system dictates that the Mahars' occupation is handling the carcasses of dead animals, which is why when Dhasal was seven years old, his father moved to Mumbai to work as a butcher's assistant, bringing his wife and son with him.[36]

A brilliant student, Dhasal was a vicarious reader and a talented writer. During his teenage years, he eloped with an upper-caste girl that he was seeing at the time, nearly causing a communal riot in his neighborhood in Mumbai. Disillusioned by Indian politics and society, he started self-educating himself on Marxist ideologies after high school by reading works like the Communist Manifesto, Das Kapital, and essays written by Indian socialists like Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar and Dr. Manohar Lohia.[37] After reading about the Black Panthers in *Time* Magazine, Dhasal was inspired to start a similar organization that

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[32] Stokely Carmichael, "What We Want," *The New York Review of Books*, Vol. 7 (September 22, 1966), pp. 5-6, 8.
[33] Joseph E. Peniel "Dashikis and Democracy: Black Studies, Student Activism, and the Black Power Movement," 189.
[34] Dilip Chitre, "Poet of the Underworld" *Outlook India*. (Mumbai) Published February 3, 2022. https://www.outlookindia.com/website/story/poet-of-the-underworld/289178.
[35] Meera Kosambi, "Intersections: Socio-cultural Trends in Maharashtra" (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2000), 121.
[36] Laurie Hovell, "NAMDEO DHASAL: POET AND PANTHER." *Journal of South Asian Literature* 24, no. 2 (1989): 65–82. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40873091, 66.
[37] Chitre, "Poet of the Underworld."

combined the philosophies of Ambedkar and Marx with the militant self-defense of the Black Panthers to combat caste oppression.[38]

In its early stages, the Dalit Panther movement had no specific political ideology and vaguely drew from Buddhist and leftist writings. However, as the movement became better organized and more popular, like the Black Panthers, the Dalit Panthers went beyond the criticism of caste and placed a heavy emphasis on the lens of class.[39] Dalit Panthers believed that the complacency of India's democracy was inherently violent and like the Black Panthers, believed that lasting change could not be brought about through the existing socio-economic institutions of India. In their party manifesto, Dhasal and his co-founder, J.V. Pawar write:

> Therefore, this Congress cannot bring about social change. Under pressure from the masses, it passed many laws but it could not implement them. Because the entire state machinery is dominated by feudal interests, the same hands who, for thousands of years, under religious sanctions, controlled all the wealth and power, today own most of the agricultural land, industry, economic resources, and all other instruments of power. Therefore, in spite of independence and the democratic set-ups, the problems of the Dalits remain unsolved.[40]

Both political organizations also viewed themselves as part of a global revolutionary movement and considered class consciousness as essential to the struggle against racism and casteism. In their Manifesto, the Dalit Panthers claimed a "close relationship" with the Black Panther Party's struggle and cited American imperialism along with the savarna system as the root cause of their suffering.[41] Furthermore, they mention resistance movements in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Africa and refer to their allies as "all other sections of society that are suffering due to the economic and political oppression."[42] The demands and programs of the Dalit Panthers show influences from the Black Panthers' *Ten Point*

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[38] Pien, Dalit Panther *Dalit Panther Movement (1972-1977)*. BlackPast.org. https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/dalit-panther-movement-1972-1977/.

[39] Janet A. Contursi "Political Theology: Text and Practice in a Dalit Panther Community." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 52, no. 2 (1993): 320–39. https://doi.org/10.2307/2059650, 326.

[40] Namdeo Dhasal and J.V. Pawar. *Dalit Panthers Manifesto* (Bombay, 1973), 1.

[41] Dhasal and Pawar, *Dalit Panthers Manifesto,* 5.

[42] Dhasal and Pawar, *Dalit Panthers Manifesto,* 6.

Program including access to education, healthcare, and housing; assured employment and daily wages for Dalits and land redistribution.[43]

Differences between the Black Panther Party and Dalit Panthers

While the Dalit Panthers were inspired by and adopted policies and rhetoric from the Black Panther Party, it is important to note that the hierarchies and systems of oppression the two organizations are organizing against are different. This is visible when reading the Dalit Panther Party's Manifesto and The Black Panthers' *Ten-Point Program* side by side. In the United States, African Americans have internal differences along "vertical dimensions [such] as education, occupational status, income; the Dalits have more "horizontal differentiation – they speak different languages, belong to more identifiable subgroups (subcastes) and tend to be concentrated in rural areas, and increasingly, in urban outskirts."[44] Due to the lack of "horizontal differentiation" amongst African-American communities within the United States, the Black Panthers were able to advocate for ideas such as hosting a United Nations-supervised plebiscite for Black Americans.[45] Uniting all Dalits alongside other Scheduled Castes and Tribes in India would be impossible due to mere population numbers and diversity within the groups which is why the Dalit Panthers called for the implementation of socialist ideologies of land redistribution and increased wages for landless laborers within India as the majority of the population lived in rural areas.[46] Both the Dalit Panthers and Black Panthers discuss the issue of land relating to their communities in their manifestos yet their demands are distinctly different because while Dalits are the indigenous people of the Indian Subcontinent, African-Americans are descendants of enslaved people forcibly brought to the United States.

Additionally, while African-Americans see themselves as part of the "Third World," Dalits see themselves as subalterns or the others of the "Third World." The idea of the "Third World" was coined in 1952 by the French demographer, Alfred Sauvy who drew directly from French history by comparing it to the Third Estate.[47] In an article for L'Observateur, a French Magazine, he described these countries and

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[43] Dhasal and Pawar, *Dalit Panthers Manifesto,* 7, 8.

[44] Sidney Verba, Bashiruddin Ahmed, and Anil Bhat, "Caste, Race and Politics" Beverly Hills, California, Sage Publications, 1971, 34.

[45] BlackPast, B. (2018, April 05). *(1966) The Black Panther Party Ten-Point Program.* BlackPast.org. https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/primary-documents-african-american-history/black-panther-party-ten-point-program-1966/.

[46] Dhasal and Pawar, "The Dalit Panther Manifesto" (Bombay, 1973), 6.

[47] Slate, "Black Power Beyond Borders: The Global Dimensions of the Black Power Movement," 128.

colonies as "ignored, exploited, scorned."[48] One of the key discrepancies of the Third World in the context of caste and race is that it included all of India and ignored the glaring caste inequalities that shaped Indian society, which is why the Dalit Panthers use the word "Third Dalit World" in their manifesto to separate themselves from their oppressors and help translate their true position in the Indian and global socio-economic pyramid.

Militaristic Defense, Art, and Literature as Means of Resistance in the Black and Dalit Panthers

The Black Panthers were believers in community empowerment and self-defense against illegal police brutality and other forms of state-sponsored violence, based on the constitutional right to bear arms and the legal right to self-defense.[49] The BPP (Black Panther Party) manifesto explicitly states that "all Black people should arm themselves for self-defense," based on their Second Amendment Rights. [50] Yet their community empowerment initiatives went beyond their efforts to "police the pigs." They also used community survival programs and mutual aid initiatives to give black people power over their own lives. These survival programs included the free breakfast program that fed over 20,000 children each day, as well as a free food program for families and the elderly. Additionally, they sponsored schools (like the Oakland Community School), set up free legal aid offices, conducted clothing distribution drives, as well as organized health clinics and sickle-cell testing centers in several cities.[51]

The Dalit Panthers adopted not only their name but also their approach to the problem of caste from the Black Panthers. Like race, centuries of untouchability, allowed upper-caste Hindus violently hoard resources, while simultaneously economically exploiting Dalits. The Dalit Panthers were amongst the first Dalit activist groups to recognize that a

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[48] Alfred Sauvy, "Document: Trois Mondes, Une Planète." *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'histoire*, no. 12 (1986): 81–83. https://doi.org/10.2307/3768593, 83.

[49] Curtis J. Austin, *Up Against the Wall: Violence in the Making and Unmaking of the Black Panther Party*. University of Arkansas Press, 2006. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1ffjh84.

[50] BlackPast, (2018, April 05). *(1966) The Black Panther Party Ten-Point Program*. BlackPast.org. https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/primary-documents-african-american-history/black-panther-party-ten-point-program-1966/.

[51] National Museum of African-American History and Culture, "The Black Panther Party: Challenging Police and Promoting Social Change" Nmaahc.si.edu. Smithsonian. July 23, 2019.

multidimensional approach involving both violent protest and a cultural revolution was needed to tackle the issue of caste in India.[52]

In addition to armed resistance, Black Power artists, such as Emory Douglas, and Dalit Poets, like Namdeo Dhasal, provided a visual language of resistance against the cultural hegemony that accompanies white and Brahman supremacy. As the Black Panther Party expanded from its roots in Oakland, so did its mission and community programs.[53] Around this time, Emory Douglas, Minister of Culture for the Black Panther Party, became the Director of Art for the weekly newspaper called *The Black Panther*. In contrast to other organizations during the Civil Rights era that relied on simple slogans, Douglas created unforgettable visual imagery that depicted ordinary, working-class black men and women asserting themselves against white supremacy.[54]

Despite being historically excluded from art and intellectual spaces, Black Americans have always been key contributors to art and popular culture. Artists like Emory Douglas and Faith Ringgold, whose famous painting *American People Series #20: Die* holds the well-off American middle class accountable for their role in racial violence of the era by depicting an interracial group of professionals clad in business attire splattered in blood,[55] used their art to galvanize working-class African-Americans.

Just as the Black Panthers and Black Power artists led to the cultural resurgence and pride in the word "Black," the Dalit Panthers and Dalit poets also encouraged Dalits to embrace language and aspects of their identity that had long been used to degrade them. The Dalit Panthers were the first to embrace the word "Dalit" according to its literal definition in Marathi meaning "broken." The Panthers and many Dalit authors inspired by them encouraged young Dalits to embrace their own "brokenness" and see their oppression as a source of strength and

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[52] Karen Escalona, "India's Dalit Panthers – the Black Panther Party: History and Theory." https://wp.nyu.edu/gallatin-bpparchive2021/international-branches/indias-dalit-panthers/.

[53] Mary Duncan. "Emory Douglas and the Art of the Black Panther Party." *Spectrum: A Journal on Black Men* 5, no. 1 (2016). 117-135, https://doi.org/10.2979/spectrum.5.1.06. 119.

[54] Susan, David C Driskell, Edmund B Gaither, Linda Goode-Bryant, Jae Jarrell, Wadsworth Jarrell, Samella S Lewis, Tate Modern (Gallery), Crystal Bridges Museum of American Art, and Brooklyn Museum. 2017. *Soul of a Nation: Art in the Age of Black Power*. Edited by Mark Godfrey and Whitley Zoé. London: Tate Publishing.

[55] Faith Ringgold, "American People Series #20: Die" *Museum of Modern Art*, New York City.

pride, just like Black Americans.[56] The popularity of the word "Dalit" and the N-word stems from the ability of oppressed groups to "appropriate" and therefore undermine derogatory terms of abuse.

Many Dalit authors have used race as a mirror to both galvanize Dalits and confront the complacency of the upper castes in India. Daya Pawar, a poet and active member of the Dalit Panther Party, wrote "You Wrote from Los Angeles" and challenged the caste-privileged Indian diaspora who were enraged by the racism they encountered in the United States.[57] Published in 1978, the poem begins by quoting unnamed upper-caste Indians outraged by their experiences with racism. Pawar attacks their hypocrisy, demanding how upper-caste Indians could complain about racism while perpetuating the injustice of caste.

Dr. Janardan Waghmare, a lower caste Indian political activist and Member of the Rajya Sabha, writes about the similarities between Dalit and Black Literature movements in the Marathi Dalit literature journal *Asmitadarsh*, "The Negro should not change the color of his hide, nor the Untouchable his caste even though for a long time both were caught in the whirlwind of self-denigration and self-hatred."[58] Because the caste system dictates one's occupation, Dalits have been historically segregated from mainstream culture and academic circles, and forced into professions such as leatherwork and manual scavenging. Thus, Dalit literature in and of itself is fundamentally an act of resistance and rebellion.

While most contemporary Dalit Literature is heavily inspired by African-American authors, Dalit literature has not risen to the international stage of Black literature, partially because most of it is not written in English, but rather in native Indian languages. Another reason is that caste is not discussed as heavily on an international scale as race is because the Indian government blocks discussions of caste in international bodies dedicated to fighting issues surrounding forms of racial discrimination. An example of this is the Conference on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance held in South Africa, in 2001. Indian representatives blocked any moves by academics and Dalit activists to include the topic of caste because that meant acknowledging that casteism was a similar form of intolerance as

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[56] Slate, "Black Power Beyond Borders: The Global Dimensions of the Black Power Movement" 138.

[57] Daya Pawar, "You Wrote from Los Angeles," in Sanjay Paswan and Pramanshi Jaideva, eds. Encyclopedia of Dalits in India, vol. 11, Literature (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2002), 45.

[58] Slate, "Black Power Beyond Borders: The Global Dimensions of the Black Power Movement," 139.

racism.[59] If caste was included in the discussions, the Indian government would be confronted for their failure to act on caste repression, and this would disrupt the moral high ground the Indian government takes at international forums on the issues of race or apartheid.[60]

Experiences of Women in the Black Panther Party and Dalit Panthers

The Black Panther Party and the Dalit Panthers are revered today as revolutionaries whose rich legacy continues to inspire young radicals fighting race and caste oppression, but the women of these movements paint a much darker picture. The daughter of an upper-caste Hindu and a Muslim, Mallika Amar Sheikh was a Maharashtrian writer and activist who married Namdeo Dhasal, the founder of the Dalit Panther Party when she was only seventeen years old.[61] In her memoir titled *I Want to Destroy Myself*, she exposes not just the personal but also the political hypocrisy of Namdeo Dhasal and the Dalit Panthers. Like many others, Shaikh was mesmerized by Dhasal's charisma and the raw, explicit power of his rhetoric and poetry. The romance of the moment swept her off her feet and she passionately agreed to marry Dhasal, despite staunch opposition from her family.[62]

From the start of their relationship, Malika Amar Shaikh is a victim of the deep-rooted violence and misogyny rampant that is within the movement and larger Indian society. Dhasal forcibly had sex with her before marriage, physically abused her on multiple occasions, passed on a sexually transmitted disease which he acquired in one of his visits to a sex worker in Kamathipura and even separated their son from her in a fit of rage for many months.[63]

Amar Sheikh exposes Namdeo Dhasal's ideological hypocrisy through his abuse of her and his parenting decisions. Not only did

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[59] Shiv Visvanathan. "The Race for Caste: Prolegomena to the Durban Conference." *Economic and Political Weekly* 36, no. 27 (2001): 2512–16. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4410826, 2512.

[60] Kumar, "Discrimination and Resistance: A Comparative Study of Black Movements in the US and Dalit Movements in India." 234.

[61] Vrinda Nabar, "Review: I Want to Destroy Myself: A Memoir by Malika Amar Shaikh" *Hindustan Times* (Mumbai). February 2, 2018. https://www.hindustantimes.com/books/review-i-want-to-destroy-myself-a-memoir-by-malika-amar-shaikh/story-P8va6ubvoVtkfQA22oKAZO.html.

[62] Suyashi Smridhi, "Book Review: I Want to Destroy Myself By Malika Amar Shaikh," *Feminism In India,* April 2nd, 2019. https://feminisminindia.com/2019/04/02/i-want-to-destroy-myself-malika-amar-shaikh/.

[63] Nabar, "Review: I Want to Destroy Myself: A Memoir by Malika Amar Shaikh."

Dhasal not contribute to household expenses, he forced Amar Shaikh to pawn off her jewelry to maintain his lavish lifestyle which included indulging in expensive liquor and cigars in posh hotels across Bombay and party worker trips to brothels in red light districts.[64] Yet, he attacked her desire for a decent home as no more than "bourgeois dreams."[65] Being the daughter of an inter-faith marriage and having grown up in a communist environment, Amar Shaikh was certain about how she wanted to raise her child – without religion, caste, and rituals like the naming ceremony. Dhasal's hypocrisy is visible once again as he decides to install a statue of Buddha on their child's birthday, even though the Panthers reject Hindu rituals of idol worship.[66] Amar Shaikh's abuse at the hands of her husband takes place against the background of the 1975 Emergency, imposed by then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi after she was convicted by the Allahabad High Court of electoral malpractices and debarred from holding any elected post.[67] Dhasal was an open supporter of the Emergency, hoping that in doing so the Gandhi government would drop all court cases against the Panthers even though the Emergency era was marked with unprecedented state incarceration, stifling of dissent, and harsh government crackdown on civil liberties.[68]

Like Malika Amar Shaikh, Elaine Brown, the first and only woman to serve as Chairman of the Black Panther Party, faced rampant sexism and threats of violence during her time in the movement. Born and brought up in North Philadelphia, a predominantly black, overpoliced, and impoverished neighborhood, Elaine Brown attended a predominantly white experimental elementary school.[69] Brown grew up between two worlds: the comfortable bubble of her wealthy, white elementary school, and the harsh realities of systemic racism in her neighborhood. Following high school Brown enrolled at Temple University but left the campus for Los Angeles, California before the end of her first year. In Los Angeles, she started working as a cocktail waitress at a Hollywood nightclub where she made acquaintances with Jay Richard Kennedy, a record executive to whom Brown credits part of

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[64] Smridhi, "Book Review: I Want to Destroy Myself by Malika Amar Shaikh,"

[65] Nabar, "Review: I Want to Destroy Myself: A Memoir by Malika Amar Shaikh"

[66] Mihir Chitre, "Interview: Malika Amar Sheikh" *Hindustan Times (Mumbai)* Published July 4, 2020. https://www.hindustantimes.com/books/interview-malika-amar-shaikh/story-mFFW3ttjiykate3wR49tIM.html.

[67] Himanshu Jha. "India's Authoritarian Turn: Understanding the Emergency (1975–1977) and Its Afterlife." *Pacificaffairs.ubc.ca* 96 (1). https://doi.org/10.5509/2023961119.

[68] Chitre, "Interview: Malika Amar Sheikh."

[69] P Walton, (2007, November 24). *Elaine Brown (1943-)*. BlackPast.org. https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/people-african-american-history/brown-elaine-1943/.

her political education. Alongside her increased interest in the Civil Rights Movement and police brutality in Los Angeles, her experiences giving piano lessons in Watts, a predominantly Afro-Latinx neighborhood that is one of the most impoverished areas in the city, served as her social awakening.[70] In her memoir, *Taste of Power: A Black Woman's Story*, Elaine is moved when she was teaching piano to young Black girls at the Jordan Downs Housing Project in Watts and sees parts of her racial trauma in the girls. She writes:

> I saw the poverty of our lives, the poverty of little black girls who live on the same planet where people like me drank expensive bottles of champagne that clouded the mind with bubbles that obliterated them; us; where men, powerful men, made big decisions about their own lives and footnotes about the lives of them, us, pushed us back, back into nothing little corners on the outskirts of life.[71]

Not long after this encounter, Brown began writing for the radical Black Congress Newspaper, *Harambee*, and following the assassination of Martin Luther King Junior, she attended the first meeting of the Los Angeles Chapter of the Black Panther Party.[72] During her time as a member of the Los Angeles chapter of the Black Panther Party, Elaine Brown helped establish the party's first Free Breakfast for Children program outside of Oakland alongside other key initiatives such as the free Busing to Prisons Program, Free Legal Aid Program, and the Liberation School.[73] By 1971, Brown became editor of the party paper, *The Black Panther*, and was soon elected as Minister of Information and became the first female member of the Panther Central Committee.[74] In 1974, when Huey Newton, the founder of the Black Panther Party fled to Cuba to escape charges of murder and assault, he appointed Elaine Brown as Chairman of the Black Panthers, making Brown the first and last woman to ever lead the Panthers.[75]

Brown cites the unprecedented levels of sexism and abuse she experienced during her tenure as Chairman of the BPP as the reason she

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[70] Elaine Brown, "A Taste of Power: A Black Woman's Story." 1st ed. New York: Pantheon Books, 1992, 99.

[71] Brown, "A Taste of Power: A Black Woman's Story," 100.

[72] Brown, "A Taste of Power: A Black Woman's Story," 134.

[73] Walton, *Elaine Brown (1943-)*.

[74] Walton, *Elaine Brown (1943-)*.

[75] Michael Segalov, "Activist Elaine Brown: 'You Must Be Willing to Die for What You Believe In.'" 2022. The Guardian. March 27, 2022. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/mar/27/activist-elaine-brown-you-must-be-willing-to-die-for-what-you-believe-in.

officially left the Black Panther Party in 1977. Even though Panther membership was almost two-thirds female by the end of the 1960s[76] and women served as the backbone of many key Panther community initiatives such as the Free Breakfast and Free Legal Aid programs, Brown says their involvement was considered "irrelevant" at best.[77] Black Panther women such as Brown who asserted themselves were considered "pariahs; eroding black manhood and hindering the process of the black race."[78] Even though the Panthers lacked intersectionality when fighting for Black liberation, Elaine Brown doesn't fail to credit the organization that sparked a permanent fire of change within her. "The legacy of the Party I believe is solid," she gushes. "I don't think there was any greater. … We were the greatest effort ever made by Black people for Black liberation."[79]

Conclusion

Last year marked the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Dalit Panther Party. This occasion was celebrated during the first international conference of the Black Panthers and Dalit Panthers in Maharashtra, attended by J.V. Pawar, the co-founder of the Dalit Panthers, and members of the famed Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party such as Henry "Poison" Gaddis and Michael D. McCarty. Not only was the conference two days of in-depth discussion about similarities between race and caste, but it was also a moment of cross-continental solidarity. Black Panthers proudly joined the chants of "*Jai Bhim*," the most popular slogan of the anti-caste movement in India, and Dalit activists in turn were overhead saying "Power to the people!" and singing Bob Marley.[80] At the conference, J.V. Pawar reminded attendees that the Panthers were not just an organization but a movement, and though not much has changed in the past fifty years, continued solidarity

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[76] Salamishah Tillet. "The Panthers' Revolutionary Feminism." *The New York Times*, October 2, 2015. https://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/04/movies/the-panthers-revolutionary-feminism.html.

[77] Brown, "A Taste of Power: A Black Woman's Story," 357.

[78] Brown, "A Taste of Power: A Black Woman's Story," 357.

[79] "Elaine Brown: A Black Panther's Journey in Breaking New Ground." NBC Boston. February 1, 2021. https://www.nbcboston.com/news/national-international/elaine-brown-a-black-panthers-journey-in-breaking-new-ground/2290001/.

[80] Suraj Yendge, "The Dalit Panthers was an ideology and a sight of the Dalit response to injustice." *The Indian Express*. (Mumbai) May 29th, 2022. https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/dalit-panthers-black-panthers-maharashtra-br-ambedkar-7941737/.

is the path towards change lest the world forgets the atrocities faced by the Dalits.[81]

The impact of the Black Panther Party goes beyond the connection between the Dalit Panthers and Black Panthers. When visiting a museum dedicated to B.R. Ambedkar in Aurangabad, Maharashtra, British journalist Edward Luce found that half of the books in the museum's library were about the Black Panthers. The museum curator told Luce, "We feel a lot of kinship with what blacks suffered in America before the civil rights movement and what blacks suffered in South Africa under apartheid."[82]

In the choice of their name and message, the Dalit Panthers joined the Black Panthers in what they viewed as a global struggle against caste and oppression in all forms. By analyzing the Dalit Panthers side by side with the Black Panthers, we can better understand how the global impact of the Black Panther Party was fueled by their core values of the right to self-determination and unity of all oppressed people against imperialist socio-economic structures. Translational solidarity in the context of the Black Panther Party and Dalit Panthers goes beyond the recognition of parallel experiences under racism and casteism but shared values and ideals that extend beyond the borders of any individual state.

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[81] Santoshi Mishra, "Dalit Panthers: With rusty arms and burning flags, they fought for their rights" *The National Herald.* (Mumbai) 6th December, 2022. https://www.nationalheraldindia.com/opinion/dalit-panthers-with-rusty-arms-and-burning-flags-they-fought-for-their-rights.

[82] Slate, "Black Power Beyond Borders: The Global Dimensions of the Black Power Movement," 139.

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