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WILL WHITEHEAD

## EDITORIAL

It is with immense pride that we present the 9<sup>th</sup> volume of ESTRO, the University of Essex student research online journal. It is a multidisciplinary academic journal run by and for students at the University of Essex. The journal aims to provide students at all levels and from all faculties the opportunity to publish excellent writing, contributing at the same time to the constantly expanding and evolving academic community at Essex. The articles selected here represent the research strength and intellectual rigour across the disciplines in the university. We are confident that each article is an engaging and enlightening read for people within and beyond their subject areas.

Our intellectual odyssey begins with Daniel Roberts' exploration of two different yet easily confused types of war trauma—PTSD and Shellshock. Roberts' careful delineation of the genealogy of these two conditions helps to contextualize the fundamental difference of PTSD and Shellshock and enables astute and sensitive understanding of their conditions and their treatments.

In line with the microscopic attention to detail and difference, Lakshmi Premchand takes up the question of social justice and John Rawls' difference principle in the second article of this issue. Investigating John Rawls' classical exegesis of social justice theory in *A Theory of Justice*, Premchand challenges Rawls' famous Difference Principle whereby any inequality that is permitted in society should only be permitted on the basis that it benefits the least favoured in society. Premchand's eloquent contention shows the flaws in this otherwise illuminating principle.

Continuing with the issue of justice, Jake Lehrle-Fry asks us to consider Derek Parfit's non-identity problem—whether it is fairer to deplete our resources and live for the present or whether we should conserve for future generation when our very act of conserving causes different people to be born, thereby creating the non-identity paradox. Lehrle-Fry concludes by suggesting that the non-identity problem does not stand up in the face of deontological questioning and re-affirms our moral obligation to conserve.



Crossing into the realm of politics and spatial studies is Lewis Charles Smith's thought-provoking article which interrogates the familiar space of the Essex campus. Through a microhistorical exploration of the Albert Sloman Archive, Smith explores the role of The University of Essex campus as an exacerbator of the student protests of the 60s and 70s.

Our next submission in this issue takes us to investigate how we may improve the quality of end-of-life care for Motor Neurone Disease (MND) patients. Michael Bebbington argues that MND patients' ability to swallow and speak will deteriorate with the progress of their condition which has an impact on both physiological and mental/emotional quality of life, hence it is important that we explore the methods of assessment and treatment that can be utilised by clinicians for patients with MND.

The next article from Marina Higa considers English Language Teaching in Okinawa, a small island off the coast of Japan. It gives an insight into the history of how English is taught in Okinawa and Japan with a focus on the way in which this is changing to fit with the modern world. Higa explores the view of English

as a ‘lingua franca’ and how Okinawa has been affected since America’s defeat of Japan in World War Two, when Okinawa was left under American occupation. She concludes with some suggestions for Okinawa to incorporate glocalised English Language Teaching, admitting that she feels it is something that will require a lot of attention and care from both the political and educational realms, but that it is something very possible.

Will Chamberlain’s article provides a perceptive vision of a Russia to which Lenin did not return in April 1917. Chamberlain, rather than adding to the many available sources on Lenin’s influence in Russia, takes a unique and intelligent stance in showing Lenin’s impact through imagining how the Bolshevik party would have developed without him. Including a great amount of context and information for the reader, this is a great read to enrich any prior knowledge of Soviet Russia throughout the 20th century.

Andreea Stapleton continues this series of submissions with her article on deixis in modern linguistics—a term referring to words and phrases that cannot be fully understood without additional contextual

information. Stapleton discusses deictic expressions, their definitions and categories and the different types of uses of deictic expressions.

The last two critical essays in this issue both address the problem of weapon development, arms race and international relations. Marthe Kielland Røssaak's article analyses the US intelligence failure in the 2003 invasion of Iraq and concludes that the intelligence failure was due to politicisation throughout that hindered judgement and policy implementation. In a similar vein, Jacob Barry questions Britain's independence in its effort to develop nuclear deterrent program. Through detailed examination of nuclear programmes such as Polaris and Trident, Barry shows that the British self-sufficiency is but a myth and that Britain depends upon the US for almost every aspect of its nuclear deterrent programmes.

Different from our usual fare, we close the issue with four creative writing pieces—psychogeographical poetry, epistolary short story, reflection on year abroad experience and a short play. Together they demonstrate the diversity of creative genius at Essex.

“LOYALTY: Or a Boy Born of Two Fathers” is told through correspondence between a soldier and his family, revealing Captain R Loveday’s experience through the Second World War. The fictitious short story makes clever use of letters and documents as well as censorship that was present throughout the war. The reader is asked to be active in piecing together the information they are given and work out what the true story really is, providing an emotional and insightful account of what that period may have been like.

The six poems by Eliza O’Toole is a tour-de-force that discloses our emplacedness and embodiment, demonstrating the need to construct a textual space for human emplacement and being-in-place. O’Toole’s innovative typographical arrangement takes after the style of Projective verse. In exploring the palimpsestic traces of human subjectivity, O’Toole paints a phenomenological picture of how we embed ourselves in space and place.

Joshua Grocott’s short play takes a suspicious look at the ethics of British response as a global pandemic unfolds that involves quarantine of medical

professionals. In this sophisticated short play, Grocott questions the decision and predicament to quarantine medical doctors from the infected citizens in order to preserve those with life-saving skills in the bleak time of a global pandemic.

Finally, the last article in this issue is “A Snapshot of America” by Will Whitehead, which provides a very vivid and entertaining account of his experience on a year abroad at Indiana University of Pennsylvania. From the shock of being one of the only English people and being expected to impart his wisdom like the Dalai Lama, to an incredible trip to Washington DC during the run up to the 2016 election, Whitehead gives us an inside look into what a year abroad is really like.

To conclude, we would like to say a huge and truly heartfelt thank you to everyone that has contributed to this edition; from the authors of the articles, to everyone involved in the editing and publishing process behind the scenes here at ESTRO. We hope that you will enjoy reading this issue as much as we have enjoyed editing and compiling it.

*Lin Su and Melanie Ashton, Editors*

# **“Shellshock” and “PTSD”: Two Different Conditions, Two Different Ways of Understanding and Handling War Trauma**

Daniel Roberts

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## ABSTRACT

It is often thought by lay readers that Shellshock and the more contemporary PTSD are just different terms for the same condition, caused by the traumas of warfare. Yet this is inaccurate because it simplifies and homogenises them. This article reveals the complicated truth of each condition, in turn war trauma more generally, showing readers the lack of nuance in the above view by comparing and contrasting the ways each is understood and handled. Ultimately both

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are different conditions because they come from separate eras of human history, and the fact is that all health conditions are created by society, they are not objective of it. Comparing today’s world of PTSD with the early 20<sup>th</sup> century trenches Shellshock emerged from, society has clearly changed. Simple answers are out of the question: To understand the far horizons of our minds, we must first understand how they work, and looking at it from the angle of war trauma is one way of doing so.

### **Introduction**

Shellshock and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) are two well-known conditions which can occur during and/or after war trauma. Trauma is “a kind of wound” which originally referred to physical injury but has become attributed to psychological wounds over the past century (Garland, 1998, p. 9). Definitively, Shellshock is a nervous reaction in warfare significant enough to stop normal human

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functioning, coined by Dr Charles Myers during the First World War (WW1) (Shepherd, 2002 and Green, 2015). PTSD, included in ‘the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders’ (the DSM), from 1980, is when debilitating symptoms appear after a soldier has seen horrific events, usually months or years later (Herzog, 2014, pp. 128-129). Typically, both lead to long-lasting influences on the lives of the individuals affected. They can be compared and contrasted in numerous ways; in terms of historical origins, symptoms and causes, treatments, and criticisms against them, all of which will be covered in this essay. Additionally, this is an important aspect to investigate as it covers a gap in the research seldom referred to in other works on the subject, providing a deeper understanding of each condition and war trauma in general. Thus, despite space constraints, this essay aims to provide a concise comparison of the main points of Shellshock and PTSD, exploring how each is understood and dealt with, and concluding on whether or not they are the same disorder.



## **The Historical Context**

A brief historical context is important because it provides some grounding for comparisons in the themes that will follow. Shellshock is considered the first partial acknowledgement of the psychological costs of warfare, whereas the dawn of PTSD is thought to signify the moment when veteran’s suffering was fully realised and put into law (Wessely, 2006, p. 269). Each condition was formed in different environmental, social and medical contexts. For example, WW1 was an industrialised war, subjecting troops to static trench combat with shells constantly raining down on them, so the first physical and later psychological understandings of Shellshock developed in this context (Shepherd, 2002). Vietnam, however, was a long guerrilla war fought in hot and wet jungle conditions where the enemy was often unseen, so had immediately more psychological connotations (Shepherd, 2002). Additionally, psychiatry was in its infancy at the time of WW1, whereas by Vietnam, although PTSD was not yet official, military psychiatry was a more powerful force (Shepherd, 2002, p. 341).

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During WW1, German Psychiatrists thought Shellshock was not a condition, but instead showed that the affected soldier was weak or lying, it was part of the “malingerer’s charter” for a free war pension (Wessely, 2006, p. 271). The British had similar general views, believing soldiers who succumbed lacked the “moral fibre” to keep fighting: thus, psychiatric and medical diagnoses were avoided to reduce manpower wastage; Shellshock was nothing more than a cowardly excuse (Wessely, 2006, p. 271 and Shepherd, 2002). This was powered by Edwardian English and German traditional values, in which manliness, self-control and patriotism were paramount (Shepherd, 2002, p. 19). In complete contrast, PTSD is far more sympathetic and political: it developed after the Holocaust and Vietnam, enthused by psychiatrists like Robert J Lifton, Holocaust experts, Hiroshima survivors, Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) and many more (Herzog, 2014, p. 150). They campaigned for decades to obtain medical and social acknowledgement of psychologically wounded victims of wars and other traumatic events, pushing PTSD into the DSM and showing the public that trauma can be psychological, and thus exist without visible signs (Herzog, 2014, pp.

150-152 & Shepherd, 2002, pp. 366-367). Differing from Shellshock, PTSD was born out of massive social changes during the 1960s and 70s, including the civil rights movement, which led to changes in outlooks on trauma, so it was never limited by tradition (Shepherd, 2002). These historical understandings and ways of handling Shellshock and PTSD suggest they are not merely dissimilar ways of looking at the same condition, but that they are different conditions altogether.

### **The Symptoms and Causes**

The many symptoms and causes of each condition are the main way to compare and contrast Shellshock and PTSD, revealing much about how they are understood. The first recorded case of Shellshock was a young soldier in 1914 who was almost killed by German artillery, immediately believing he was going blind despite the absence of physical injury (Shepherd, 2002, p. 1). He was seen by Charles Myers who coined the term Shellshock when others started coming down with symptoms, including the inability to smell, taste, hear, stand up or defecate properly, involuntary

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movements and vomiting, amnesia, nightmares, odd gaits and so on (Shepherd, 2002, pp. 1, 73-74). Barry Heard, an Australian Vietnam veteran who suffered from PTSD years after the war, had comparable symptoms, including soiling himself in everyday situations, shaking and weeping uncontrollably, and amnesia- he could not remember the first months of his collapse, suggesting that they are similar disorders (Heard, 2008, pp. 265-267, 263-264). One officer in WW1 had recurring nightmares of his mangled friend walking toward him; Heard also had frightening dreams, eventually collapsing with severe PTSD after a nightmare during which he returned to the Vietnamese jungle, causing symptoms of a severe heart attack (Rivers, 1920, pp. 190-191 and Heard, 2008, pp. 261-264). Here it looks as though they are comparable conditions, yet, conversely, PTSD usually develops months or even decades later, as in Heard's case, it has a “delayed onset,” whilst Shellshock symptoms can have immediate effects (Heard, 2008 and Young, 1995, pp. 107-108).

Additionally, there are other differences, namely that accounts of Shellshock do not directly include the uncontrollable aggression and guilt that can be

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symptoms of PTSD. For instance, AJ, an ex-Royal Marine sniper suffering from PTSD after the war in Afghanistan, lost control when another car cut him off; chasing the driver and then getting out in the middle of the road shouting and swearing, despite the presence of his family (Green, 2015, p. 5). Furthermore, Heard felt incredibly guilty for making a mistake with his radio which meant some of his friends died before the medivac helicopter could save them, the situation he returned to in the nightmare (2008, pp. 278-280). This guilt was arguably one of the causes of his symptoms, he could not let go of his error during the traumatic events of that day in Vietnam (Heard, 2008, pp. 278-280). The distressing incident itself is the key causal understanding of PTSD, part of criterion A in the DSM-IV-TR, the fourth edition of the ‘Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders,’ published in 2000 by the American Psychiatric Association, and providing global standard criteria for classifying mental disorders. (Hunt, 2010, p. 53). It is psychosomatic, the “traumatic memory” of the frightening and unforgettable event leads to a malfunction in the mind’s ability to handle stress, causing mental and physical symptoms (Hunt, 2010, p.

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53 and Shepherd, 2002, p. 389). This memory is permanently etched into the mind, hence the reason why AJ cannot forget the faces of two young Afghan police who bled to death during a firefight (Green, 2015, p. 1).

In opposition, Shellshock symptoms were initially thought to be caused by somatic damage to the nervous system resulting from shell blasts (Shepherd, 2002, pp. 2-3). This is similar to the idea that Mild Traumatic Brain Injuries (MTBI's- concussions), which could happen after large explosions, might be a cause of PTSD: people with these injuries can suffer analogous symptoms, which led to Pentagon funded research (Green, 2015, p. 8). Otherwise, PTSD, distinct from Shellshock, is understood to be purely psychologically produced. Yet, understandings of Shellshock did shift to psychological ones, but the conventional view still differed from PTSD. For instance, connected to the historical perspectives on moral causes, prevalent military psychiatrists like Edgar Douglas Adrian and Lewis Yealland considered Shellshock to be the reaction of cowards, caused by “a weakness of the will...and the intellect, hyper-suggestibility and negativism” (Shepherd, 2002, p. 76). This is the

understanding that Shellshock victims have fixed ideas which override the more positive suggestions of others, the resulting debilitating symptoms being a way to avoid the front (Shepherd, 2002, p. 76). Another perspective contrasting PTSD was based on the hereditary and personal predispositions of the soldier rather than what he witnessed; some being more susceptible to Shellshock than others (Young, 1995, p. 55). To illustrate, one account describes a soldier with Shellshock symptoms, the cause being put down to his father being an alcoholic, his excessive smoking habits-bringing in the moral element- and reports that he was a nervous loner at school (Young, 1995, p. 55).

Nonetheless, despite being virtually ignored and limited by the tradition-based military, some proposed the event was the cause of Shellshock, the precursor for the understandings of PTSD deliberated earlier. To illustrate, Rivers suggested symptoms are caused by repressed traumatic memories of highly stressful events (1920, p. 186). He thought that if these memories were repressed rather than properly faced, a behaviour fortified by the stiff upper-lip culture of the time, symptoms would become worse over the years (Rivers, 1920, p. 186). This parallels the delayed onset

characterising PTSD and Heard’s fear of being judged badly for his collapse, which took decades of avoidance to become severe (2008, pp. 263-267). Linking to the politicised nature of PTSD, which contrasted Shellshock in the historical context, enormous social changes, alongside media coverage of the Vietnam War, led many Americans to mistreat already culture shocked veterans on their homecoming, worsening or triggering PTSD symptoms (Shepherd, 2002, pp. 343-344, 358-359). Thus, Shellshock and PTSD have relatively similar symptoms, but mostly differ around causal understandings, meaning they cannot be defined as the same condition.

### **Ways of Treating Shellshock and PTSD**

Treatments for each condition also highlight comparisons and contrasts. Reflecting the historical context, psychiatry was in its infancy during WW1, and so the military objective was to maintain manpower against cowardice. This meant most Shellshock treatments were primitive, pushing for quick recovery and immediate re-deployment (Shepherd, 2002). The average treatment for



Shellshock was to tell the soldier there was nothing wrong with him and allow a few days rest (Shepherd, 2002, p. 57). Others were sent out to work on French farms for a month before returning to the front (Shepherd, 2002, p. 60). Adrian and Yealland, introduced in the last theme, had the quick fixes the military desired: they treated Shellshock by authoritative suggestion with the aid of faradic electricity (Shepherd, 2002, p. 76). Thus military discipline was brought into treatment: they would tell the Shellshock sufferer that they would recover when commanded, and would electrocute them until they obeyed, the voltage constantly increasing to excruciatingly painful levels (Shepherd, 2002, pp. 76-77). They believed soldiers could be ‘re-educated’ by suggestion, overcoming their supposedly weak intellect and its irrational reasoning, so they applied the same methods to every case (Shepherd, 2002, p. 77). Advocates of this treatment, such as Dr Arthur Hurst, claimed to be able to cure Shellshock in twenty-four hours (Shepherd, 2002, p. 79). Peer pressure was another useful method at the time, especially as Shellshock was highly stigmatised, leading soldiers to ignore their symptoms to avoid losing face (Shepherd,

2002, p. 57). Conversely, the military and charities encourage those with PTSD symptoms to come forward for treatment, differing from the subjective assumptions around Shellshock treatments (Green, 2015, pp. 6-7).

Contrasting against the harsh approaches to Shellshock, PTSD treatments are gentle and advanced, including prescription drugs, cognitive behavioural therapy (CBT), psychodynamics and so forth, providing a gradual healing process rather than a short sharp fix (Shepherd, 2002 and Young, 1995). For example, Barry Heard joined a twelve month programme for PTSD sufferers at the Heidelberg Repatriation Hospital in Melbourne (2008, p. 272). It included exercise, lectures about PTSD, yoga and meditation, music, art, making friends with fellow victims, CBT and group therapy, all based on the acknowledgement that it takes time to heal and that some wounds never will (Heard, 2008, pp. 272-278). In one of the group therapy sessions, Heard released the painful guilt of the radio incident; the discussion with the therapist and other sufferers helping him see the event in a fairer light, and to remember that he was only twenty-one at the time (Heard, 2008, pp. 278-

280). Accordingly, PTSD treatment involves a very understanding and compassionate environment, a far cry from the lonely tortures Shellshock casualties faced in Yealland’s company. CBT teaches strategies for dealing with anxiety and stress, replacing negative thoughts with positive ones, in turn helping victims reinterpret traumatic events (Young, 1995, pp. 177-179). Heard was taught breathing and muscle controlling techniques, the latter preventing him from soiling himself as often (2008, pp. 283-284).

The marine sniper AJ tried “Eye Movement Desensitisation and Reprocessing” (EMDR) for his PTSD, which encourages sufferers to recollect traumatic memories in order to desensitise/objectify the emotions around them, which did not work for him (Green, 2015, p. 4). This underscores the understanding around PTSD that each person is affected differently, so particular combinations of treatments are tailored to the individual through regular discussions with them about what is working and what needs adjusting (Young, 1995, pp. 179-186). Following on from Rivers understanding of Shellshock causes conferred earlier, PTSD treatment is consequently grounded in facing the traumatic event,

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contrasting the orthodox Shellshock ‘cures’ which ignored distressing memories in favour of overcoming reputed weaknesses: a quick fix for military efficiency.

Despite the vast contrasts, as with causes, PTSD treatments are somewhat similar to Rivers humane ones. As he understood the event to be the cause of the symptoms, he talked with victims to try and make them feel better about and accept what happened, to prevent unhealthy repression (Rivers, 1920). Myers used hypnosis for the same reason, to gently help Shellshock sufferers extricate themselves from the traumatic memory, and its symptoms, by calmly reliving it, similar to Heard’s experience in group therapy (Shepherd, 2002, p. 49). For example, returning to the Shell-shocked officer with nightmares of his dead friend blown apart by a shell, Rivers highlighted the fact that he likely died instantly without suffering, something the officer took comfort in, leading him to find closure in a dream where he spoke to the friend, his health subsequently returning (1920, pp. 190-192). Still, treatments like these were outweighed by the likes of Dr Gordon Holmes who thought Shellshock should be callously cut out to stem the flow of hysteria through the ranks, regardless of

the underlying psychological causes (Shepherd, 2002, pp. 48-49). Accordingly, the treatments contrast so much that it is impossible to argue that Shellshock and PTSD are merely different ways of understanding and handling the same condition.

### **The Criticisms of each Condition**

Lastly some criticisms of Shellshock and PTSD reveal comparisons and contrasts between them, and emphasise others already mentioned. Although PTSD understandings and treatments are advantageously more sympathetic than Shellshock, any trauma, not just war, can be considered a cause, so someone can abuse it by faking symptoms (Shepherd, 2002 and Summerfield, 2001). It has become so wide ranging that it “lacks specificity,” and risks becoming “clinically meaningless” as anything from being mugged to childbirth and “verbal sexual harassment” are considered causes of PTSD (Summerfield, 2001, pp. 96-97). To illustrate, in the western materialistic society an industry has formed around compensation claims in the UK and elsewhere, so people seek PTSD status to make money, even for minor incidents or normal job

stress, one ambulance driver claiming £5000 because he saw people dying at work (Summerfield, 2001, p. 96 and Toolis, 2009). From previous discussion, this was never a problem with Shellshock as it was assumed those with it were cowards or malingerers who wanted to avoid being sent back to fight (Wessely, 2006, p. 271). Accordingly, the term PTSD can be considered too inclusive whilst Shellshock was never wide-ranging enough.

Nevertheless, analogous to the official understanding of Shellshock at the time, some believe PTSD is not a condition, but just a lie used by malingerers, a view promulgated by publications such as ‘Posttraumatic Stress Disorder: How to Apply for 100 Percent Total Disability,’ which encouraged faking symptoms to receive benefits (Shepherd, 2002, pp. 387 & 395). Also, as touched on in parts of this essay, both have stigma in common, albeit on differing levels: Shellshock was stigmatised officially in the views of generals and psychiatrists such as Yealland, and unofficially as the peer pressure treatment emphasised (Shepherd, 2002). The stigma surrounding PTSD is mostly unofficial, deterring many from receiving treatment. To illustrate, Heard avoided his PTSD diagnosis because he feared

being judged badly (2008, p. 267 and Green, 2015, p. 6). Clearly, with all these problems, a more specific understanding of war trauma is required; PTSD may eventually be replaced by something new, as occurred with Shellshock a century ago. Therefore, in terms of criticisms, Shellshock and PTSD are products of different times with their own problems, some of which are comparable, others contrasting. Despite a few similarities, they cannot be argued to be the same condition here.

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## Social Justice and Rawls' Difference Principle

Lakshmi Premchand

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### ABSTRACT

In *A Theory of Justice* John Rawls provides a theory of social distribution based on two principles. The Difference Principle is the second principle which states that any inequality that is permitted in society should only be permitted on the basis that it benefits the least favoured in society. Rawls argues that given a situation in which one could not choose one's status beforehand, people would choose a system of social justice according to the Difference Principle. This paper describes three contentions with Rawls' theory. Firstly, it does not account for the 'free-rider problem' whereby the worse

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off may benefit more by doing less at the expense of the better off. Secondly, one could solve this issue by appealing to the concept of desert which rewards people for their natural abilities, however Rawls rejects this idea. Lastly, it does not address the idea that the least advantaged are motivated by envy. Thus, this essay concludes with the idea that while Rawls' theory of social justice is illuminating, the Difference Principle itself has some flaws.

In *A Theory of Justice*, John Rawls provides a contract theory of the principles of social justice in terms of the 'basic structure of society, or [in other words] the way in which the major social institutions distribute fundamental rights and duties [to] determine the division of advantages from social cooperation' (Rawls, 1971, p. 6) The distributive justice proposed by Rawls is underpinned by two fundamental principles. The first principle, which is prioritised over the second, is the idea that people's liberties should be preserved in distribution. The second principle is the idea that any

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inequality that is permitted should only be permitted on the basis that it benefits the least favoured in society. This is the Difference Principle which is arrived at from the hypothetical situation of the Original Position. This essay will explain this principle and the way in which Rawls formulates it. It will argue that while the Difference Principle taken from the stance of the Original Position provides a promising framework for the distribution of advantages in society, it is lacking in certain areas, of which this essay focuses on three. Firstly, it does not deal with the free-rider problem, where those who do less work can benefit from the extra work done by others. Secondly, it leaves the possibility that the least advantaged are motivated by envy, which is not a just reason for benefitting from the hard work of others. Lastly by ruling out the concept of desert, it provides a view of personal autonomy that is contradictory to its principles.

Rawls begins his theory by assuming a hypothetical situation which will be known as the Original Position. In order to arrive at a just system of social distribution which is also fair and in which everyone

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cooperates with each other and is assumed to act justly, one must first remove all biases in order to come to a common consensus on the good of society. Thus the Original Position assumes a veil of ignorance in which one is unaware of what one's social status, income, religion or natural endowments might be when making one's decision. This is so that no one can design the principles in their own favour or allow them to be influenced by 'natural chance or the contingencies of social status' (Rawls, 1971, p. 11). Rawls is specifically concerned with the 'principles that free and rational people concerned with furthering their own interests would accept in an initial position of equality as defining the fundamental terms of their association' (Rawls, 1971, p. 10). This is known as justice as fairness.

According to Rawls, given the Original Position, people would choose two fundamental principles in assigning the distribution of goods in society. Firstly, people would choose 'equality in the assignment of basic rights and duties.' This argument can be comprehended in two different ways. First it can be

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understood in the sense that 'each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive scheme of equal basic liberties compatible with a similar scheme for others' (Rawls, 1971, p. 51). Liberties here include 'political liberty, freedom of speech and assembly, liberty of conscience and freedom of thought, freedom from oppression, right to hold personal property' (Rawls, 1971, p. 53), and similar liberties. The second connotation of this argument is that 'social and economic inequalities be arranged so that they are both reasonably expected to be to everyone's advantage and attached to positions and offices open to all' (Rawls, 1971, p. 53). In other words, there should be an equality of opportunity such that people are not prevented from attaining higher positions based on arbitrary social contingencies such as class or social position.

The second principle people would choose given the original position relates to distributive justice, specifically 'the distribution of income and wealth' (Rawls, 1971, p. 53). Rawls says that people would choose a distribution such that 'while the distribution

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of wealth and income need not be equal, it must be to everyone's advantage' (Rawls, 1971, p. 53). Rawls' formulation of this principle is known as the Difference Principle. The second principle, according to Rawls, that everyone would unanimously agree upon is that 'social and economic inequalities of wealth and authority are only just if they result in compensating benefits for everyone, particularly the least advantaged in society' (Rawls, 1971, p. 51). The idea is that it is just for say a doctor or a pilot to earn a higher salary as he would be providing a service to everyone, therefore it benefits the least advantaged members of society as well. The higher salary provides incentive to complete the necessary qualifications and investment of time and effort required to reach the higher position.

The first contention with Rawls' argument comes from the idea of incentive. Rawls agrees, by allowing for some inequalities to exist in society, that the idea of incentive to encourage people to wish to attain higher positions is important. However, he ignores the opposite issue of the free-rider problem. As Robert

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Nozick says, by allowing the less advantaged members of society to benefit from the work of the richer, one is essentially allowing the poorer to make claims on the goods of the richer (Nozick, 1973, p. 81). While the presence of a little inequality provides some incentive to work, some of this incentive is taken away by the idea that it would be easier to work less and still achieve some gains at the expense of others' hard work. This is the essence of the free-rider problem. People can choose not to work and be satisfied by reaping the benefits, even whether very little, of the more advantaged, but the more advantaged cannot choose to work for their own benefit without contributing to the less advantaged. Understood in this way, the free-rider problem may hinder the incentivisation of earning a higher salary. Nozick phrases this in a similar way by saying that those who sacrifice working for leisure time can benefit from more leisure but those who choose to work overtime cannot enjoy the extra goods that they could afford. Even if only a little bit of the gains go to another person, 'it is like forcing the other person to



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work  $n$  hours for another's purpose' (Nozick, 1973, p. 63).

Nozick points out that in such a situation the better endowed are worse off because they cannot choose to work harder to benefit themselves without forgoing some of this benefit. He says that 'the less well-endowed gain more than the better endowed' (Nozick, 1973, p. 64), and even more than they would in a situation where there was no Difference Principle. Rawls might argue that if the difference between the less well-endowed and the better endowed was not significant, this does not dispute the Difference Principle as long as the less-endowed are still gaining from the situation. While their goods aren't being maximised, they are still close to the maximum, therefore the situation is less than ideal, however this situation is preferable to the less advantaged losing out while the more advantaged gain. As long as 'society [avoids] those situations where the marginal contributions of those better off are negative' (Rawls, 1971, p. 68), there isn't a problem. However, this still begs the question of why the less-endowed should be

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able to make such a strong statement to their benefit while the more advantaged cannot. Rawls does not explain why the better off would willingly oblige to make this sacrifice. A potential Rawlsian response could be that the better off choose to oblige by entering the social contract from behind the hypothetical veil of ignorance. In such a case, when everyone assumes that they could be at the less-endowed part of society, they formulate a principle that will ensure that the less well-endowed gain the most benefit. However, this response still does not justify the idea that the more advantaged in society must willingly, for instance, sacrifice their leisure for labour that they cannot benefit from themselves, whilst the lesser advantaged gain a benefit from that labour.

Rawls gives a range of possible interpretations of the principle of liberty, concluding that the form he wishes to argue for is the democratic interpretation. This includes 'a framework of institutions required by equal liberty and fair equality of opportunity' (Rawls, 1971, p. 65). This alone considered without the

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Difference Principle should include 'improvements in society so that people avoid too much poverty and wealth' (Rawls, 1971, p. 65), as well as a 'school system to even out class barriers' (Rawls, 1971, p. 65). Also, Rawls specifically talks about a free and rational society, therefore not one in which people are so constrained by poverty that they can no longer be rational. In such a case, one would think that the difference between the least well-off and most well-off shouldn't be so great as to reflect the need for a Difference Principle. Although there may be many different positions in society, from low position to high position jobs, there should also be an array of different opportunities and viable alternatives so that no one is forced to take up any kind of job. In that case, any wish for the least advantaged to gain more from people in higher positions must be motivated by envy (Nozick, 1973, p. 110). This is not a fair basis to make a theory of social justice. The least advantaged would only want to be more advantaged if unwilling or unable to help themselves, which would lead us back to the free-rider problem. If the least advantaged were just those who were unable to help themselves,

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there would be less contention, but the theory fails to take into consideration those who are unwilling. A fair theory of social justice must not allow the choice of some to work harder for a greater benefit to themselves to be undermined by the choice of some to refuse to work as hard but still gain a benefit from someone else. Rather, it seems fairer that the better endowed have the same amount of choice as the less-endowed as to whether they are willing to make a sacrifice for those unwilling to help themselves. While Rawls might respond that by choosing to enter into this social contract, one has a moral and social obligation to work as hard as others even if they are paid more, there may be no way of guaranteeing that this is the case.

One solution to this problem which Rawls rejects is an appeal to the concept of desert. As David Miller notes, this concept says that people are endowed with unlimited talents and success depends on the willingness to use them, but also on personal preferences and decisions (Miller, 1999). The idea of willingness and preference are the key. When a person

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uses their talent or natural ability in some performance or activity, they should benefit as long as it wasn't a fluke or based on integral luck (Miller, 1999). This gives people the incentive to work harder and have more entitlement to their earnings. However, Rawls disagrees with this principle. According to him, natural endowments are morally arbitrary as they are arbitrarily distributed and are part of a natural lottery that has more to do with luck than anything else. Similarly, whether one is born into the least advantaged or most advantaged place in society is also a matter of luck and therefore shouldn't be included as a determinant for fair and equal justice. The closest he comes to describing this is in his discussion of the principle of liberty. Here, Rawls describes as a situation in which people with similar skills and abilities have a similar prospect of success regardless of their initial status (Rawls, 1971, p. 63). This is known as the principle of fair opportunity. Rawls rejects this idea, stating that there is no way to guarantee that those talents were not the result, for instance, of being in a family that supports these better qualities. As Nozick points out though, to take away

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all natural characteristics of a person is to 'denigrate a person's autonomy' (Nozick, 1973, p. 65). People adopt and use their skills in a variety of circumstances and often regardless of their social backgrounds. Nozick's point seems to be that this individuality should be celebrated, as each person's own skill and talent is an advantage. Rawls' rejection of this seems to be contradictory to the concept of human dignity itself that he is trying to uphold. The rejection of this expression of individuality seems contradictory to Rawls' position that the principle of preserving people's liberties should take precedence over the Difference Principle.

In conclusion, although Rawls' argument for the Difference Principle based on the Original Position and veil of ignorance provide some useful insights into how to form principles of social justice, particularly his concept of liberty, the Difference Principle itself has some flaws. It allows for the existence of the free-rider problem where it is easier to contribute less and gain more than it is to contribute more, thus blocking productive incentives. Rawls doesn't provide an

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adequate guarantee that those who were unwilling to work would not exploit the labour gain of those who work harder. In a free and rational society, the Difference Principle shouldn't be needed if other institutions are upheld and constantly working to fix inherent inequalities in societies, such as by reducing class barriers. Any existing wish for the least advantaged to want to gain more would be motivated by envy, which is not a fair basis for a theory of justice. A possible solution to this problem would be to include the concept of desert, which focuses on actual action and willingness to perform. However, Rawls' rejection of this concept shows a denigrating view of personal autonomy which is contradictory to the very principles he wishes to preserve.

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## Can We Overcome Parfit's Non-Identity Problem?

Jake Lehrle-Fry

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### ABSTRACT

Derek Parfit's non-identity problem defies our intuitions in thinking intergenerational justice. It seems as though we can no longer justify conservation and instead our moral duty is to deplete our resources and live for the present. In this essay I offer a critique of the non-identity problem by targeting its consequentialist outcomes. I conclude by suggesting that the non-identity problem does not stand up in the face of deontological questioning and that we do in fact have a duty to conserve for future generations.

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In this essay I will examine Parfit's non-identity problem (NIP) and its relevance in modern political discourse on trans-generational justice. Firstly, I will detail Parfit's own thoughts on the matter. Following this, I shall criticise Parfit's conclusions with reference to James Woodward and Rahul Kumar in particular, and argue that we can overcome the NIP, though not for the reasons Parfit suggests.

The NIP suggests that decisions we make with the intention of benefitting future generations instead harms future generations. Parfit (1984) explains the NIP with the example of a 14 year-old girl. In this example, a 14 year old girl decides to have a child, and is told that by having the child now she is giving the child a worse start in life than if she waits to have the child when she is older and more capable of looking after it. The NIP suggests that we cannot claim that by delaying the pregnancy the girl in question is improving the life of the child. This is because the child she would have at 14 and the child she would have if she waited are not the same person. It will be a different egg and a different sperm that create the two

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children. We cannot say that by waiting until she is older the girl ensures a better life for the child she was going to have at 14. Rather, that by waiting, she causes the child not to exist. Parfit summaries this neatly when he says, “We cannot claim that this girl's decision (to have the child at 14) was worse for her child... in the different outcomes, different people would be born” (Parfit, 1984, p. 359). When faced with the options of not existing versus a worse start in life we cannot say that the girl has made the worse decision for her child by choosing the latter (by having the child at 14 rather than waiting). In short the NIP is the suggestion that, when making decisions designed to benefit future generations, we are causing those we intended to benefit not to exist and thus are harming them rather than helping them.

Parfit (1984) illustrates the relevance of the NIP with his principle of depletion vs principle of conservation example. Society must choose between two principles. This choice is one between the principles of depletion, where we use up all the fossil fuels and have a high quality of life but once the fuel runs out (after 200 years) the quality of life drops considerably, or the

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principle of conservation, where we ensure the preservation of fossil fuels so that they are available for longer in the future. As a result, the quality of life remains consistently good for longer under the principle of conservation, though marginally lower than during the initial two-hundred years or so under the principle of depletion. The principle of conservation ensures that the quality of life remains consistently good after the 200 year mark whereas the principle of depletion ensures that after the 200 year mark the quality of life falls disproportionately. The obvious choice here seems to be the principle of conservation because millions of people would be better off in the future, whereas under the principle of depletion millions will live poor lives in the future once the fuel runs out.

This view is challenged by the NIP. If we choose the principle of conservation our decision will completely alter the lives of the people in the present and as such they would find different times to procreate than they would under depletion, which would mean two different generations under the principle of depletion and the principle of conservation (Parfit, 1984). For

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example, if we choose the principle of conservation then Joe must walk home instead of drive, he gets home 30 minutes later than he would under depletion. As a result he procreates with his wife 30 minutes later than he would have under depletion. This creates a completely different child from the one who would have lived under depletion. The choice of the principle of conservation results in the non-existence of many, who, under the principle of depletion, would have existed and benefitted from the higher, though shorter-term, quality of life. It is true that the principle of depletion would mean a hard life for millions of people but “since it would be different people who would later live, these policies would not be worse for any of these people” (Parfit, 2011, p. 218). Thus understood, in our attempts to benefit future generations we are actually harming them by causing them not to exist at all.

Parfit's (1984) solution to the NIP is the “no difference view”. He argues that regardless of who lives in the future it's not desirable to create a world in which they have worse lives than they could have, moreover if we have the opportunity to enhance others' lives we

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should do so. The no difference view is that it does not matter who lives in the future, what matters is that the actions we take in the present do effect whomever may come to be in the future (Parfit, 2011). This means that matters of justice across generations are not affected by the NIP. That is, it is irrelevant who eventually is born, we must strive to give them a good life. Parfit introduces the idea of a general person, who, he explains, “is a large group of possible people, one of whom will be actual.” (Parfit, 2011, p. 220) In the example of the 14 year old girl the child in question is a “general person”. Under the no difference view we have a simple choice which is to let that “general” child become a real person with a compromised start or a real person with a relatively uncompromised start. As a result we should advise against early pregnancy. All we care about is the fact that a child will be worse off if the girl gives birth at 14.

This logic applies to the principle of depletion vs principle of conservation argument. The no difference view suggests that we should conserve because we have a choice to create a society in which the “general

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people” become real people who have good lives (conserve) or poor lives (depletion). We do not favour a world in which they have worse lives than they could have. Instead we recognise that we have the opportunity to improve the lives of future generations by choosing the principle of conservation. However, I do not believe that the no difference view overcomes the NIP because it works within the consequentialist parameters established by the NIP.

The NIP considers justice to be consequential in nature. That is, I have acted unjustly if my action ends with someone being harmed in some way. I shall argue that this is the wrong way to think about justice. Instead, I believe that the act of doing something unjust is enough for said act to be labelled unjust regardless of whether the outcome you produce is better or worse for whomever you have acted against. As noted, Parfit's no difference view works within the consequentialist parameters and, as a result, I find it unconvincing because it fails to properly consider more deontological views of justice.

James Woodward (1986) criticises the consequentialist thinking behind the NIP. Instead he champions two

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specific lines of thought. The first concerns a deontological approach to justice, in which he argues that actions are just as important as the final state of affairs when we talk about issues of justice. It is not always acceptable to say that because we achieved a positive end state we have acted justly. The second concerns particularism, in that people have specific interests and it is not acceptable to override these interests in order to pursue a more common good.

Woodward's (1986) airliner example is a good illustration of the failings of consequentialism in the NIP. Imagine you try to board a plane but the airliner refuses you entry due to your ethnicity. You later find out that the plane you wanted to board crashed and all the passengers died. Despite the fact that the airliners racist action has saved your life, the airliner has still acted unjustly. Woodward argues this is because the airliner has infringed on your basic expectations about rights (specifically the right not to be discriminated against based on one's ethnicity). An action that does so is unjust regardless of the outcome.

In choosing the principle of depletion, the rights of those who will live 200 years later are being infringed.



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We have a right to an existence in which we have access to key resources like fossil fuels. I agree with Woodward that the infringing of this right is not overruled by the argument that they are actually better off under the principle of depletion because they exist. In the same way as the discriminatory airline employee acted unjustly towards the would-be passenger, despite saving their life, the choice of the principle of depletion wrongs the future generations even if it causes them to exist. When dealing with justice, the actions, not just the consequences, must be considered. If the actions infringe on our rights then they are not just, regardless of the outcome. The fact that the NIP ignores this point and instead places too much emphasis on the consequentialist features of justice represents a major flaw in the NIP's logic.

Rahul Kumar presents similar objections. Kumar (2003, p. 111) argues that there are “types” of people who are entitled to expect things of other “types” of people depending on the “type of situation”. A “type” of person is not a real person; it is merely a set of characteristics that could be applied to a person. The same is true of a “type of situation” in that it's a set of

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characteristics that can be applied to a specific situation. Kumar gives the example of a student (James) who has an appointment with his teacher (Peter). The teacher has made this commitment but is tired, and is trying to think of a way in which it is permissible to go home. In this case the “type” of person is a student and a teacher while the “type of situation” is an interaction between a student and a teacher. The expectation here is what the student can expect from the teacher rather than what James can expect from Peter.

We fit into a “type” if we have the relevant characteristics of the type in question. This is important because, as Kumar (2003, p. 110) suggests that what people can expect of each other is based on “both (a) what expectations can in fact be defended on the basis of the relevant principle, and (b) the relevant type descriptions that happen to fit her and her circumstances at that time.” Wrongdoing is about violating the actions that can be reasonably expected between the “types” of people involved. The consequences are not as important as the NIP would suggest. For example, we can say that a drunk driver

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has not met the simple expectation not to drive drunk and thus wronged an individual if they drive near the individual. Even if the driver does not hit the individual they have still wronged them because they have failed to live up to what the individual could reasonably expect of them, to not endanger other lives by drink driving.

The NIP suggests that one cannot complain of harm due to poor decisions by previous generations as they exist as a result of the decisions. Kumar (2003) suggests that one can complain of harm on the basis that the previous generations did not do what could reasonably have been expected of them. In the case of the 14 year-old girl, it is reasonable to expect her to wait to ensure her child has a better life. If she has the child at 14 the child could complain as her mother has not provided the sort of start to life that could be reasonably expected from a mother "type" to a child "type". Furthermore, those born into the principle of depletion could argue that they were wronged because previous generations did not provide a standard of living that could be reasonably expected from the present people "type" to the future people "type". The

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NIP would suggest that neither the child nor the 'principle of depletion generation' could complain but I agree with Kumar that the importance of failing to meet reasonable expectations would allow them to complain. This is something that the NIP just does not consider and as a result I believe Kumar's argument nullifies the NIP.

To conclude, I believe that we can overcome Parfit's NIP. However, I do not believe Parfit's solution, the no difference view, is valid because it allows the NIP to describe justice as intrinsically consequentialist. Instead I believe that an action can be unjust even if the end result is positive. Consequently, I am sympathetic to Woodward's argument, which promotes a deontological view of justice, and Kumar's argument that the breaking of expectations is in itself wrong regardless of the consequences. Both these critics highlight the consequentialist flaws of the NIP and prove that we can overcome it by embracing a deontological view of justice. Kumar's deontological view successfully challenges the assertions of consequentialist thinking that are prevalent in the NIP. Instead, Kumar's argument for what we can

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reasonably expect from past generations successfully challenges the NIP by arguing that future generations would have legitimate reasons to complain if previous generations had failed to do what can be reasonably expected from them. He can therefore be seen to provide strong and compelling reasons to choose the principle of conservation over the principle of depletion, in overcoming the non-identity problem.

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# The Campus Sphere: An Examination of the Role of the Campus in the University of Essex Protests of 1968 and 1972

Lewis Charles Smith

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## ABSTRACT

The University's employment of the student protests has become an integral part of both the life of students and the nature of research, encouraging new ways of thinking and interpretation. In a similar suit, historians have recently been looking at the changing nature of spaces and environments and their effects on lives in the past. This paper aims to examine the role of The University of Essex campus as an exacerbator of the student protests of

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the 60s and 70s through a microhistorical exploration of the Albert Sloman Archive.

For those University of Essex students unfamiliar with the origin of the phrase ‘We Are Essex’ emblazoned throughout the University brand, it derives from the student protests that occurred through 1960 and 1970 in resistance to the vice-chancellor, Albert Sloman, and his decision to suspend three students for interrupting a guest lecture. This paper ignores these motivations. Instead, it will suggest that the campus physically separated itself from the public, creating what can be referred to as a ‘campus sphere’, which caused political, ideological, and social isolation from the affairs of those outside. The protestors were then seen to be using the campus as a tool to forward the views of the wider community of students by further isolating the space and using the legitimacy of the crowd. Ultimately, what lay behind the unrest was the University architecture, which infused the day to day lives of students and encapsulated an atmosphere of challenge and expression through the physical architecture, which held within it a fundamental undertone of urban decay and social unrest that motivated the politics of the 60s and 70s.

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The phrase ‘Rebels with a cause’ has become an integral message within the brand of the University, finding itself emblazoned on Essex merchandise, buildings, and prospectuses, and is core to the University’s marketing efforts. The University has captured the history of protest within its vision, becoming an integral part of both the life of students and the nature of research, encouraging new ways of thinking and interpreting. In a similar suit, the recent popularity in studying the history of physical spaces has contributed many new approaches for social and cultural historians. In Courtney Campbell’s (2016, p.1) examination of *Past and Present*, she notes how ‘spatial history can serve as methodology, approach and object’, which has led historians to explore aspects of space in new and innovative ways. This paper does not intend to break new grounds within the theories of social and cultural history. Instead, it utilises a microhistorical approach to indicate how the protestors ‘construed the world, invested it with meaning, and infused it with emotion’ (Darnton, 2009, p.3).

The inspiration of this study is taken from the University of Essex’s foundations. There is an



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important psychological undertone related to the University architecture, which is known amongst architectural experts as ‘Brutalism’. At its simplest, Brutalism encompasses buildings with unusual shapes, massive forms, and heavy looking materials (Waters, 2017), which tends to be concrete, and conceals ‘a subtle gamut of textures and colours’ (Calder, 2016, p.5). Many scholars, like Elain Harwood, understand Brutalist designers as driven by ‘optimism and endeavour’ (Harwood, 2015, p.xxxi), and similarly Barnabas Calder explores how Brutalism captured an ‘unapologetic strength’, and inspired the ‘dazzling confidence of their designers in making their substantial mark’ (Calder, 2016, p.3). This sense of energy and optimism underpinned a design philosophy that encapsulated themes of progression and forward thinking with limited resources, and a defiance of traditional conceptions. Brutalism encompasses a notion of political undertones due to its use of concrete, a relatively cheap material used to build new blocks for bombed areas of London’s East End, representing a ‘social ideology’ reminiscent of the Labour party’s forwarding of social housing and acting towards a more ‘utopian ideology’ (Harwood, 2015,

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p.7). Either way, the scholarly consensus implies that Brutalism inspired a new sense of architectural optimism following the Second World War, and indicates that the students were constantly surrounded by bold, new, innovative and ‘fierce’ design that underpinned their day to day lives. Another, slightly different interpretation as to the Brutalist design choice is the idea that ‘brutalist structures came to be associated with the blight of urban decay’ (Chadwick, 2016, p.7). Brutalism therefore encapsulated elements of society that were socially contested, implying that students’ lives were constantly surrounded by the ideas that inspired the building of Brutalist structures in the first place, serving as a constant reminder of the social and political challenges that symbolised the time.

In order to develop a conception of the power of the architecture, the implicit psychological connection between the architectural and emotional thoughts of those subjected to the environment must be understood. The most apt connection between the environment and the psychological mind-set comes from Yi-Fu Tuan, who wrote that ‘human beings not only discern geometric patterns in nature and create

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abstract spaces in the mind, they also try to embody their feelings, images, thoughts in tangible material. The result is sculptural and architectural space,' (Tuan, 1977, p.17). He also wrote about how people develop 'strong feelings for space and spatial qualities' through 'kinaesthesia, sight, and touch' (Tuan, 1977, p.12), suggesting that the physicalities of an environment contribute to emotion, connection, and human actions within a space. This is reflected within the context of the University of Essex, whereby an edition of the *Times Educational Supplement* contemplated: 'has the Brutalism of the campus architecture helped to provoke demonstrations like these?' (Doe, 1974). This suggests that the protestor's mind-sets were underpinned by the very notion of the brutalist architecture. This implies that it is not an entirely original idea to suggest that the campus further enlivened the University protests, and that Brutalism was held to some account to have been a cause. By consolidating the conceptions of Brutalism with the theory of space presented by Tuan, there existed a psychological affiliation amongst students towards the environment which permeated the day to day life of the campus. Undertones of unapologetic strength,

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social decay, and ‘something fierce’ – the slogan attached to the University’s architecture - were cemented within the collective psyche of the student body.

As Peter Chadwick notes, there is also a more physical explanation for the function of Brutalism in the protests: ‘as they decayed the buildings became targets for vandalism and graffiti’ (Chadwick, 2016, p.7). While this approach is based in the idea of the longer-term decay of the buildings, the practical element of the flat shapes and large blank areas suggests architecture that is comparable to a canvas and a means of expression of ideas and beliefs. Using this analysis, Brutalism can be understood as a *means* of expression as well as a *cause* of expression. Archival evidence favours this interpretation, as newspapers tended to observe graffiti appearing throughout the campus, with one notable example (*Wyvern Newspapers*, 1968b) being ‘where has all the knowledge gone? Longtime passing...’ Brutalism instilled a mind-set with the constant presence of expression and enabled students of the protest to ‘leave a mark’ of the movement on the campus, thus utilising

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the physical surroundings of the campus as a means of expression.

Indeed, architectural factors have a strong behavioural influence within the University of Essex. Many scholars have discussed the importance of the physicality of space and its impact on human behaviour. One such idea comes from Richard Sennett, who has noted the paradox of space and behaviour, writing that ‘people are more sociable, the more they have some tangible barriers between them, just as they need specific places in public whose sole purpose is to bring them together (...) Human beings need to have some distance from intimate observation by others to feel sociable’ (Sennett, 1974, p.15). This is applicable to the University of Essex, which can represent an embodiment of not only this theory, but of this paradox. This was embodied within the original vision of the University, which rested on ‘intimacy through small groups for teaching and living and through the architecture’ (Sloman, 1964, p.16). This suggests that the seminar embodied the tangible barriers, the corners of the corridors and the right angles, which created intimate interactions between academics and students. These architectural elements

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opened out into huge squares that brought each corridor and every student together. Furthermore, Sloman's vision (Sloman, 1964, p.63) intended the 'whole centre of the University to be vital and alive with students and staff long into the evenings', which implies that architectural design was intended to affect student behaviour at all times of the day, and that the architecture encouraged a high degree of sociability. This recalls the communal areas of discussion about which Habermas (1989, p.59) wrote: the 'coffee houses', which were 'seedbeds of political unrest', used as a means to 'censure and defame the proceedings of the State'. When looking through the Wyvern collection, the squares were undoubtedly the space of expression that centred large meetings of students and were the epicentres of unrest. This phenomenon is particularly noted in (*Wyvern Newspapers*, 1969) the first days of the 'revolutionary festival' for which one of the University squares featured prominently.

The action of invading space is particularly important when distinguishing between a public and a private sphere, as it indicates students challenging the preconceived notions of public and private space as a means of protest. A poignant example of this breach of

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the private sphere came across in an article (*Wyvern Newspapers*, 1968a) that recorded students marching to the Lakeside House and demanding to speak with the Vice-Chancellor. With no luck, they ‘presented the petition to a frightened Mrs Sloman and a guardian porter’. It is particularly notable that the article chose to mention Mrs Sloman, as it uses the closeness of women to the private sphere to emphasise the significance of the breach. Mrs Sloman is also rarely mentioned in terms of university management, which further emphasises a breach of a clearly separated private sphere. The notion of public and private space is best understood in terms of work by Don Slater (cited in Jenks, 1998, p.146), who notes the Bourgeois idealization of ‘home as ‘haven’ from the public world’ noting how the private became seen as ‘virtually a sacred place which was filled with all the emotion, security, solidarity, continuity, substantive values and moral cohesion that had been squeezed out of the public world’. The protesters used this notion, deliberately ignoring the private sphere’s quasi-religious significance to express a deeply felt political emotion.

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In these instances, the breaching of space is performed not by individuals, but by groups that possess communal ideals of the campus as a place within the wider student community. Here we can return to the work of Yi-Fu Tuan (1977, p.12) who distinguishes between space and place from a perspective of values, noting that 'place is a special kind of object. It is a concretion of value, though not a valued thing that can be handled or carried about easily; it is an object in which one can dwell. Space... is given by the ability to move'. This underpins the idea that a place is somewhere in which one's fundamental ideals, motivations, beliefs, and basis for action are intertwined. Butz and Eyles (1997, p.4) identify the idea that 'place necessarily locates activities and has meaning as an area for social activities or for the expression of sentiments,' noting the value of the ability of expression, and the ability to use a place for the articulation of societal ideals. But they further note that 'places are often constituted by the people who live in them' (Butz and Eyles, 1997, p.4), which aids in our interpretation of the differences in student and staff attitude. The simple action of having students *living* on campus rather than commuting in suggests



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that there was an increased likelihood for the development of a sense of place, and a more significant concretion of values within a 'special kind' of place, much more so than those who commuted in for daytime work. The student body therefore possessed the means by which to develop relationships between Habermas's key elements of 'communicative action, instrumental action and life world [which would] help clarify the ways that place, community and senses of place are integrated,' (Butz and Eyles, 1997, p.5) and therefore further help to develop a stronger sense of place. This is explicitly important to the University of Essex because it directly echoes Albert Sloman's (1964, p.67) original vision for the University. Sloman himself lectured on the subject of the integration of different aspects of one life, stating that 'just as we have tried to avoid the division between a student's working and social activities, so the teaching and living buildings are, as far as possible, integrated.' The values held within the students' home, work, and social lives therefore amalgamated, and underpinned many of the motivations within the University protests. Students therefore saw little if any distinction between these separate elements of their lives, and

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could be said to have developed a much stronger sense of place than the staff.

This notion of students living, and therefore developing a stronger sense of place can be seen to have hastened the campus to become its own individual, ideologically and politically isolated sphere. Sloman (1964, p. 69) predicted from the outset that this could occur, writing: 'For some years the University is bound to be more cut off from the community than if it were in a town, and it could easily become cloistered and introverted'. Sloman foresaw a geographic isolation, but also an implicit political or ideological isolation between the students and the University, and the public who did not interact with the campus. Archival sources provide evidence that Sloman's fear did indeed culminate in negative reactions to the protests from the more separate public, as one concerned local resident submitted a letter to the *Essex County Standard* (Long, 1974): 'Our task as local ratepayers is to support the good work being done at Wivenhoe park and to take pride in the University's academic reputation'. Certain other readers would claim that the University was viewed as a 'concrete jungle, a fit place for animals'.

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Additionally, this separation is observable from the student perspective, as in another newspaper (Venning, 1974) the student's union is reported to have placed a 'blacklist' on the University, with the intention of preventing further sixth form intake into the University. An edition of the *Colchester Express* (*Colchester Express* 1974) noted students' threats, such as: 'look for another job, we are going to close this university' and 'we would use all our resources to ensure that all students go elsewhere to study'. This halted essential financial lifelines and reinforced the values and beliefs of the community space, which emphasised the idea of the campus as 'a centre of felt value, centres of experience and aspirations of people' (Butz and Eyles, 1997, p.2). Therefore, the campus was doubly isolated. It forcibly chained the values of each individual student together in one common campus goal, and it then used this to create a distinct physical barrier to clearly separate itself as a campus from the outside public.

The University of Essex campus was a tool of the protestors through the protests of the 60s and 70s. The metaphorical isolation became physical with the use of pickets, preventing the normality of campus and

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binding each and every student together in one unified cause against the political and social systems imposed upon them. Spatial history also contributes to explaining the psychological motivations behind the atmosphere of the protests, as architectural experts acknowledge the meaning of strength and social degradation represented by the concrete of Brutalism, and how, if interpreted as a psychological manifestation of shapes and emotions, it can be seen as the manifestation of societal unrest that penetrated the mind-set of those living within its boundaries. A microhistorical approach has enabled a brief interpretation of the events of the University of Essex protests and shown how they contribute to the wider literature in social and cultural history.

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# **Communication and Swallowing Issues in Patients with Motor Neurone Disease: The Role of Speech and Language Therapy**

Michael Bebbington

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## ABSTRACT

Motor Neurone Disease (or MND) is a degenerative disease which directly targets the motor neurones in the spinal cord which in turn causes a global reduction in muscle movement. Patients diagnosed with the disease often die within 3-5 years with a gradual decline in overall health and mobility. During this period, a patient's ability to swallow and speak will likely also deteriorate which has an impact on both physiological and mental/emotional quality of life. Speech & Language therapists attend to both of

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these areas but their role has arguably not been well defined by professional bodies until recently. The following paper is an attempt to highlight methods of assessment and treatment that can be utilised by clinicians for patients with MND.

Motor Neurone Disease (hereinafter MND) is a degenerative disease that directly affects both upper and lower motor neurones in the brain and/or spinal cord, which in turn reduces muscle movement. Those afflicted with the condition on average die within 3-5 years, and in the majority of cases this is through respiratory failure (Schiffer et al. 1987). Since the muscle wastage caused by the disease occurs at a global level, it has wide implications for the patient; the care provided spreads across many medical disciplines.

One of these disciplines is Speech and Language therapy (hereinafter SLT). The two key areas of focus for SLT are communication and swallowing function; both are vital, but arguably for different reasons. Being

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unable to swallow has consequences for the medical health of the patient as there is greater risk of malnutrition and weight loss (Körner et al. 2013), as well as the additional risk of pneumonia caused by aspiration<sup>1</sup> (Langmore et al. 1998). Communication impairment interferes less with the physical health of the patient, but can have negative effects on their mental and emotional health. Therefore the role of SLT is unique in its responsibility in maintaining communication between the patient and their loved ones, as well as to the staff managing the health of the patient. The failure of a patient to be able to communicate their wishes has been reported to be linked with depression, a sense of powerlessness and emotional disengagement (Hecht et al, 2002). Additionally, many relevant sources such as the Royal College of Speech & Language Therapists (hereinafter RCSLT) do not provide specific documents that focus on the role of SLT for this population.

This piece aims to catalogue the relevant issues for this field in a holistic context, presenting the evidence and

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<sup>1</sup> Aspiration is the term given for when food/fluid matter enters the airway. If substantial enough this can lead to a chest infection (aspiration pneumonia).

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rationale for therapies at the disposal of SLTs to maximise the patient's quality of life both physically and emotionally.

Following on from a diagnosis of MND the organisation of care should be established using interprofessional teams, with the patient and their family at the nucleus. This approach aligns with the fourth objective of the NHS Constitution (2015), which aims to have care tailored and coordinated around the patient and their family. These interprofessionals will usually be led by a neurologist and may also involve the general practitioner, a nurse specialist, occupational therapist (OT), physiotherapist (PT), SLT and/or dietician. In the later stages of the disease the involvement of gastroenterology and respiratory physicians may be required; also the involvement of other organisations such as the MNDA (Motor Neurone Disease Association), hospices, social workers or advocates should be linked to the patient (Wood-Allum & Shaw, 2010). The interprofessional method is highly recommended by the National Institute for Clinical Excellence (hereinafter NICE) (NICE, 2016) guidelines and is further endorsed by

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qualitative studies that have explored the opinions of healthcare professionals (Hogden et al. 2012) and of patients themselves (Oishi & Murtagh, 2014). Although there does seem to be a lack of systematic research exploring the effectiveness of interprofessional working in MND, the evidence currently available would imply that this method is effective.

### **Swallowing Assessment**

The progression of muscular degeneration and reduced muscle control means that patients with MND are at risk of dysphagia. Dysphagia is the term that denotes an impairment of the swallow mechanism. SLTs are one of the primary professionals managing a patient's swallow mechanism, but other professionals that can also advise include: dieticians, OTs and PTs (MNDA, 2017). The cooperation of these professions means that the patient's weight, risk of aspiration and positioning are evaluated so that the patient's comfort is ensured. The patient's swallow mechanism is an important factor for many other treatments to be carried out, for

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example, the administration of drugs or the management of nutrition. These depend on the SLT to assess and manage any dysphagic symptoms that may occur. Whilst the NICE (2016) guidelines state the importance of the swallowing assessment, there is seemingly a lack of SLT specific guidance in relation to MND dysphagia assessment; this may be due to the rarity of the condition and therefore a lack of participants to carry out research upon. Thus, SLTs may use different assessment techniques depending on the setting in which the patient resides at the time of assessment. If the patient is receiving care in their own home then a bedside swallowing assessment, monitoring the sound of the swallow using a stethoscope and measuring the blood-oxygen levels, may be carried out to establish if the patient is experiencing difficulties in their swallow such as aspiration, which will have a detrimental effect on their respiration, which is the leading cause of death in patients with MND (Rowland & Shneider, 2001). Despite evidence suggesting that these methods of assessment are determined to be less accurate (Ramsey et al. 2003), they are easily accessible and timely. If the patient is in a specialist facility then the options of

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more in-depth and thorough assessments such as videofluoroscopy<sup>2</sup> become available. Such assessments have found to be accurate but are also uncomfortable for the patient (ibid, 2003). It can be argued that the comfort of the patient in a degenerative condition is paramount unless the clinical risk of aspiration outweighs the patient's comfort. In such instances discussions with the patient and their family would be ideal and would reflect the NHS constitution (2015) in providing dignity, respect and compassion. Overall it would appear that the assessment of swallowing for patients with MND solely relies on the judgement of the SLT and their own experience as there are no specific guidelines or research to suggest that certain methods are more suitable for patients with MND.

### **Communication Assessment**

Dysarthria, a disorder of motor speech that causes a slurring of speech to occur, can become a symptom of the disease in the first instance; Duffy (2013) claims

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<sup>2</sup> An examination of a patient's swallowing function using an X-ray machine.

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that 25% of patients with MND develop dysarthric symptoms. Whether or not the patient has dysarthria post diagnosis is arguably irrelevant as dysarthria develops in over 80% of patients with MND at some point in the disease (Tomik & Guilloff, 2000). Therefore early assessment and subsequent management should be put in place to help the patient and their family ease through the transition of the disease. To this end, the SLT plays a vital role in maintaining the patient's ability to communicate, which in turn has wide implications that range from the patient giving consent, to ultimately, their quality of life (Hecht et al. 2002), which the NHS constitution states as vital (NHS, 2015). Therefore all parties involved need the SLT to allow the patient to have a meaningful method of communication to express their thoughts and desires.

The SLT should initially carry out assessments to establish whether the patient at the early stage of the disease has dysarthria and if so, its severity. In order to establish a baseline the SLT could use a standardised dysarthria assessment such as the Frenchay Dysarthria Assessment (Enderby, 1983), which would allow a



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comprehensive assessment of the patient's potential dysfluency; furthermore it would allow the SLT to track the deterioration of the patient and therefore begin to develop contingencies for their communicative deterioration. Duffy (2013) has reported that in a sample of dysarthric MND patients in the Mayo clinic, nearly 99% had mixed dysarthria. Mixed dysarthria impairs the larynx, resulting in a quiet, breathy voice as well as weakening the oral musculature leading to imprecise consonants (ibid, 2013). If the SLT decides that speech is still a functional option for the patient then adjustments would need to be made to accommodate the patient's dysarthria. The SLT may employ strategies including: reduced speech rate, over-articulation and the use of breath control (Tomik & Guiloff, 2010). In order to help facilitate the patient's speech the patient's family may need to be trained to develop helpful conversational practices that will enable the patient to be heard, for example, a reduction in background noise via home adaptations. Such decisions can be challenging for the patient's family to undertake and therefore discussions alongside occupational therapy should be held to make suitable adaptations for

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carrying out activities for daily living (Scott & McPhee, 2014).

There is little evidence in the literature regarding therapy in MND patients with dysarthria, and the evidence itself consists of limited case series designs (Murphy, 2004; Yorkston et al. 1996). Scott & McPhee (2014) state that dysarthria management should be used with caution as the inevitable deterioration of a patient's speech may lead to the patient feeling powerless, despite efforts to manage the dysarthria symptom. Studies have also claimed that overexertion of oral mechanisms through therapies can be detrimental in the long term (Beukelman et al. 2011). Neither the RCSLT nor the NICE guidelines provide any information for SLTs regarding managing dysarthria in the context of patients with MND. In comparison with other degenerative diseases such as Parkinson's disease, the evidence for dysarthria in MND is lacking. This is particularly worrying as the patient literature also suggests that patients with MND wish to retain their own speech for as long as possible (Murphy, 2004). Therefore, more research needs to

find dysarthria management strategies in MND otherwise patients' own perception of their quality of life may be harmed.

### **Swallowing Intervention**

As the disease progresses the risk of aspiration in a patient increases, therefore the SLT, as well as other health professionals, have a duty of care to ensure that the risk of swallowing difficulties is managed. One method of managing swallowing is texture modifications of food. Texture modifications involve blending food so that it becomes a thicker consistency to allow for a patient to swallow it more easily; this has been shown to slightly improve swallowing safety in patients with risk of dysphagia (Steele et al. 2015). Texture modifications allow the patient to continue orally feeding and arguably retain some normality in their quality of life (Leigh et al, 2003). However texture modification intervention will need the input of the dietician as weight loss and malnutrition may become a risk for those with MND (ibid, 2003).

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Initially the SLT may opt to teach the patient safer swallowing techniques such as the chin tuck or the supraglottic swallow (Desport et al. 1999; Heffernan et al. 2004) to reduce the risk of aspiration during the swallow. This method allows the patient to feel that they are managing their own condition (NHS England, 2015). The difficulty may be that further in the disease process the ability for the patient to voluntarily carry out these techniques will be limited. Therefore, the SLT may adopt this technique in the early stages of the disease but they may not be appropriate in the later stages so the SLT should carefully monitor the swallowing of the patient.

Other professionals are also able to contribute to the management of a patient's swallow mechanism in MND. OTs and PTs are able to suggest optimal positioning and modified cutlery to enable a more comfortable and safer entry for food/fluid into the mouth (Wood-Allun & Shaw, 2010) and therefore collaboration would allow the symptoms of the muscular degeneration to be less impactful on eating and drinking. In the later stages of the disease, patients with MND can begin to have difficulties with saliva

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control, which in turn can lead to aspiration. In such cases the SLT may need to begin to consult with nurses to carry out suctioning or specialist nurses to administer drugs to manage the saliva production and its thickness. Finally, when the disease process reaches a severity whereby the patient becomes unable to physically swallow, then the SLT will need to raise the possibility of inserting a PEG<sup>3</sup> tube in the patient. Such a decision would first and foremost require the consent of the patient and their families. Moreover, a meeting would need to be held to discuss the implication of the PEG for other healthcare professionals; for example the SLT would need to balance the risk of aspiration via oral feeding as opposed to enteral as there is still debate as to whether PEG feeding prevents aspiration (Heffernan et al. 2004; Blumenstein et al. 2014). Nevertheless, a referral to a gastroenterologist to assess the viability of a PEG insertion would be required. Considerations at this stage of the disease must balance the desires and quality of life of the patient and family, alongside the clinical risk of aspiration.

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<sup>3</sup> An instrument used to insert foods and fluids directly into a patient's stomach through the abdominal wall.

### **Communication Intervention**

When the patient reaches a stage in which the SLT decides it is no longer viable for them to use their own speech to communicate, then the SLT must consider alternative methods in which the patient is able to communicate. The SLT may incorporate Alternative Augmentative Communication devices (hereinafter AAC), but prior to their implementation the SLT should consult both the patient and their family to establish the desires and motivations behind the use of an AAC device and implement it based on the will of these parties (MNDA, 2016; Scott & McPhee, 2014). A series of assessments will be carried out to examine the eligibility of the patient and whether the stage of their disease allows them to physically access either low-tech or hi-tech devices. Low-tech AAC devices include: voice amplifiers, pen and paper, alphabet boards which need little training and can be easily adapted for the specific needs of the individual. In MND the control of the eyes is usually spared from the disease (Duffy, 2013) therefore a patient can use hi-tech AAC eye-gaze systems to communicate with others if they are unable to use their limbs for low-

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tech devices. However, the downfall of using such a device is that the effective use of them requires prolonged training as well as the installation and continued management of the electronic device.

If the patient is deemed to have sufficient need to use hi-tech AAC, then the equipment is loaned from a specialist AAC hub complying with the NICE (2016) guidelines that state that patients should be given a suitable device without delay. Once the AAC device is able to be used at a functional level by the patient, the SLT should specifically train family members, since they will be the prime facilitators of the patient and their communication (Ball et al. 2005). The SLT's role in training the family members is vital as studies have found that successful implementation and use of AAC comes down to the training that the SLT provides to the patient, their family and other professionals (Ball et al. 2010; Murphy, 2004).

The SLT must ensure that the interprofessional team is aware of the AAC system and how it is used so that they can effectively communicate and carry out their interventions with the consent of the patient. Furthermore, the SLT may consult with PTs and OTs

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to ensure that the AAC equipment is in a position that is accessible and comfortable for the user (Scott & McPhee, 2014). The patient literature overwhelmingly suggests that the successful implementation of AAC has positive impacts to patients with MND; studies report feelings of purpose, happiness and mental and emotional wellbeing (Beukelman et al. 2011; Murphy, 2004; MNDA, 2016). Although, Murphy (2004) also found that some patients felt that AAC correlated to admitting defeat and wished to use their own voice for as long as possible. Clearly, the wishes of the patient are crucial as their own perceived quality of life could be changed if an AAC device is applied without the patient's full acknowledgement and consent; these actions are supported by the NHS constitution (2015). Ultimately it is the right of the patient to decide the care pathway they use from the options they have available to them, and as healthcare professionals we must respect the patient's dignities and choices.



### **End of Life**

As MND is terminal, the outcome of the disease will be death; ergo the care aim of these professionals is palliative (Maclomness, 2005). At this stage the SLT should regularly review the communication of the patient (NICE, 2016) to ensure that it is functional. Functionality of communication is vital at this stage as discussions with health professionals regarding end of life preparations (advanced care planning or lasting power of attorney) will likely take place (ibid, 2016). The SLT may be required to help facilitate the communication of the patient to enable the messages of the patient to be unambiguous. These should be documented in a health plan for all professionals to be aware of so that they can act in accordance with the patient's requests. If the patient wishes to die in a new location then accommodations must be made to ensure this is carried out; the SLT may have to retrain those around the patient in their preferred method of communication. The interprofessional team may refer the patient to specialist palliative services, if there are additional concerns regarding family members surrounding the patient, then referrals may be made to

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mental health teams and social services to aid in the affairs of the patient once they have died (NHS England, 2015; MNDA, 2013). Clearly, at the final stages of the patient's life, the ability to communicate with loved ones is of the utmost importance and all staff involved with the patient must be receptive to the wishes of the individual.

### **Conclusion**

The role of the SLT in MND is twofold, firstly the assessment and management of the swallow has implications on the medical health of the patient, the second is to assess and provide a suitable method of communication in which the patient can express themselves. This piece aimed to document the unique responsibilities of SLT within this population and has subsequently highlighted multiple areas in which further research is needed to improve our practices in terms of both swallowing and the recognition and facilitation of communication.

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## English or Englishes? Glocalisation of English Language Teaching in Okinawa as Expanding Circle

Marina Higa

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### ABSTRACT

Sociologist Roland Robertson saw *glocalisation* as “the simultaneity – the co-presence – of both universalizing and particularizing tendencies” (1997:16), which describes how, multinational products or companies that aim for global expansion adapt to specific local conditions. This paper aims to shed some light on the way that English has spread around the globalised world and also, to analyse its implications. Okinawa is a small island off the coast of Japan where

American culture has been influencing people in the form of residual colonial influence since the end of the Second World War (WW2) including 27 years of trusteeship period. This paper focuses on the island of Okinawa and aims to look at the history of teaching English in Okinawa, as well as in Japan, in order to examine what can be learnt about the process of English Language Teaching (ELT) in a modernising and evolving world. Suggestions and implications will be discussed, which will include local knowledge as a way to seek more equality and diversity of the languages in ELT.

As a result of becoming the language of communication for many professional fields and industries, the English language has become a '*lingua franca*', a language that is widely used as a means of communication among people with different mother tongues. The spread of English through globalisation has led to native standards, especially that of Britain or

America, being the goal for other ‘norm-dependent’ or “Expanding circle” (Kachru, 1985:12) countries. In my experience of teaching English in Okinawa, many young learners and even some Japanese teachers of English viewed native English as a superior language to any other. Likewise, they considered English culture to be superior to theirs. The effects of such views on English Language Teaching (ELT) in those areas are salient, taking the form of native English chauvinism, a very strong aspiration and assimilation of mainly American norms due to historical tensions and occupation. American English has had a strong influence yet, there are calls for ‘glocalisation’ in ELT that encourage non-native English speakers to prioritise local knowledge, materials and uses of English into their teaching.

### **Brief History of the English Language and of that in Okinawan context**

To understand the emergence of English as a *lingua franca*, it is important to acknowledge Kachru’s discussion of the “Three Concentric Circles of world Englishes” (1985:12). He divided English into three

circles: the norm-providing “Inner circle”, the norm-developing “Outer circle”, and the norm-dependent “Expanding circle”. I will further explain Kachru’s perception on the spread of English around the world, from the powerful native speaking countries such as Britain and America, as well as countries that used to be colonies of “Inner-circle” countries, to countries like Japan where English is a foreign language. This norm-providing influence is reflected in English language teaching. In inner-circle-produced coursebooks such as *Clockwise* (Naunton, 2000) and *New Cutting Edge* (Cunningham, & Moor, P.2005), European or American styles of living, learning and thinking are introduced as standardised and desirable. As a result, many learners from “Expanding circle” countries consider those cultures as superior to their own cultures and lifestyles. It is not surprising that these famous textbooks have been affecting English language learners for many decades.

In East Asia, particularly in Japan, the demand for English language has dramatically increased. This derives from what happened following Japan’s defeat by America in the WW2. This defeat significantly affected Japanese people’s sense of value as they finally

realised the overwhelming difference between the two nations in terms of power and wealth after the war. This change of people's feelings from hostility to admiration of America can be clearly seen in Okinawa, which was occupied by the American army for 27 years after the end of the WW2. Okinawans' freedom was restricted under American occupation, but with each succeeding generation the attitudes towards America and its culture softened and, many younger Okinawans aspire to learn English in order to become a part of America. This native English language imperialism especially in the Expanding circle is one of the main challenges that contemporary ELT faces. This raises important questions about the role of English in Japan as well as in other contexts in East Asia.

### **Globalisation on ELT in East Asia**

#### *The Case of Japan*

According to Kachru (1985), the core influence of globalisation regarding ELT in the periphery occurs in expanding-circle countries such as Japan. In the

Cambridge Dictionary, the term ‘globalisation’ has two meanings. The first definition refers to an economic situation and the second one defines the term as: “a situation in which available goods and services, or social and cultural influences, gradually become similar in all parts of the world” (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.). Japan’s relationship with the English language became prominent in the 1980s when the country’s economic growth began to expand on the global stage. Accompanied with this expansion, the government recognised the important role of English as a *lingua franca*, and decided that Japan should aim to be one of the best English speaking countries in East Asia by proposing to develop people’s communicative skills to enhance the development of global human resources (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology-MEXT, 2014).

In the case of junior and senior high school education, MEXT set English as a foreign language subject that should be taught at school and also laid out goals for students to:

1. Deepen their understandings of languages and cultures,



2. Nurture attitudes towards active communications,
  3. Foster the foundation for communicative skills such as listening, speaking, reading and writing (for Junior high school).
  4. Foster the communicative competence that enables them to accurately understand and deliver the information and / or thoughts (for high school)
- (MEXT, October 2014, own translation)

These are globalisation-conscious aims that intend to nurture human resources by improving English skills. State, private, junior and senior high schools in Japan are trying to achieve those goals. One example is people called ALT: Assistant Language Teacher. Now that the government aims to improve communicative skills, prefectures and municipalities in Japan have started hiring teachers whose L1 is not Japanese, or, who have learnt how to teach TEFL / TESOL (Okinawa Board of Education, 2015). However, although the policy does not make a direct reference to the nationalities of the teachers that schools employ, many tend to look for native teachers rather than teachers whose English is an additional / second language. This preference towards native English

teachers is very prominent in Japan and as Kubota (1998) points out; “teaching and learning English taught and learned in Japan will continue to gravitate toward the Inner Circle varieties and to promote Westernization in various aspects of Japanese life while failing to provide global socio-linguistic perspectives” (302). This is clearly illustrated in the MEXT’s website (2016) where the most popular choice for people studying abroad in 2013, was the USA as 19,334 chose to go there. For Japanese people, it seems that Westernisation relatively implies Americanisation.

### *The Case of Okinawa*

Okinawa is in a particularly unique situation in Japan. Once, it had been an independent country called *the Kingdom of Ryukyu*, but in 1879 it became a part of Japan. This small island was under American military rule for 27 years after Japan lost the war. During the occupation, as it can be seen in many colonised lands, people started working for American soldiers for better payments and better lives, which made Okinawan people who had lost everything aspire to

those affluent American lifestyles. The return of Okinawa to Japan took place in 1972 but all the American bases have remained in Okinawa. This historical background is crucial when considering Okinawan ELT because, as explained, since the end of WW2, Okinawans have been directly influenced by the American culture, lifestyle and values, which have resulted in younger generations being more and more Americanised. This is reflected in a place called *American Village* (American Village, 2013). One retroceded area from the US government was utilised for tourism purposes and received attention from both local and foreigners. *Chatan Town* – a town in Okinawa - decided to create an ‘America’ within Okinawa so that people could experience how it would feel to be American.

Another aspect that reflects Americanisation in Okinawa is shown in school textbooks. Such an example can be found in the grammar series *New Treasure 1* which is aimed at first year students of junior high school. The content starts with a Japanese girl and her family arriving in San Francisco, where she begins her new life at a new junior high school. The textbook includes many topics regarding

American culture such as the Smithsonian National Zoo in Washington D.C. (70), volunteer activities in the US (94), Denali National Park in Alaska (118) and so on. The first year at junior high school is when students begin to study English as a compulsory subject, so the contents can have a direct influence on students' image of the English language, which in this case is the dominant variety of American English. This could lead students to homogenise the Englishes into one overall westernised concept of English language. Nevertheless, current English education in Japan focuses on passing university entrance exams by teaching predominantly grammar rather than communication skills. There is a huge gap between the government's aims of communicative English education and the English taught in schools. To fill in the gap or simply because of their strong aspiration for 'America', a large number of young Okinawans go to the *American Village* or to the bases to interact with American soldiers. Kubota (2002:27) suggests that the "Japanese attitude towards learning foreign languages has been influenced by an inferiority complex towards foreign cultures, which promoted self-colonization or self-Americanization." Therefore, it can be argued that

until the discussions of glocalisation emerged, the strong demand and desire for Americanised ELT had been given importance by the people of the Expanding circle, especially from East Asian countries. The challenge in East Asia is balancing over-Americanisation with introducing culture whilst teaching English. Having interests in the English language and its culture is beneficial, but it is also important to preserve and distinguish the different Englishes by interweaving local contexts so that English education creates opportunities to broaden students' minds and to give them a chance to understand the importance of diversity. One way of achieving this is glocalisation.

### **Opinions on Glocalisation**

Glocalisation – reflecting local knowledge, aspects and cultures to the globalised world is becoming an apt topic for discussion as globalisation has reached its critical point. In the field of ELT in particular, scholars are now focusing on the importance of introducing local aspects into classroom teaching, especially in the countries of the Expanding Circle. Globalisation has

lessened the space, time and borders between people and at the same time has allowed for cross-fertilisation, that is, mixing local and global elements of the world (Kumaravadivelu, 2008). For that, Tsou (2015) expresses that in Taiwan, there is also an increasing need for inclusion of local aspects and cross-cultural understanding into ELT. Canagarajah (2005) points out that although our positionalities have been based on Westernised values, it is important to pay positive attention and take the local knowledge, value and validity for language education into great account. Gray (2002) looks at this view from the perspectives of material usage. Gray considers global English textbooks as a source of spreading European/American dominance using the phrase “one size fits all” and that those textbooks have been excluding the local contents. To solve the problem and raise awareness for diversity, acceptance and better understandings of the world outside the Inner Circle, he suggests to include local aspects into coursebooks for “a better fit” (2002:166). From the literature, it is illustrated that there is an increase in shared awareness of certain importances for addressing local aspects in ELT worldwide. Localising ELT does not

only develop learners' awareness towards their own cultures but also draws attention to real world issues outside of the classroom, giving both local and global perspectives in balance. This could help prevent further dominance of the idea of English language superiority. Based on the above discussion, I would like to introduce my suggestions as to how ELT in Okinawan context could support the element of glocalisation.

### **Suggestions for Glocalised ELT in Okinawan Context**

Okinawa, as a part of Japan, receives strict guidelines for English education for junior and senior high schools from the Japanese government. Although both the local and national governments aim at developing communicative skills and international human resources, education at school still remains grammar-centered. This derives from an entrance examination system that is quite common in East-Asian countries. No matter what schools they go to, students generally have to take entrance examinations for junior and senior high schools as well as for university acceptance. As academic credentials are still important

for job-hunting, it is necessary for students to concentrate on gaining the grammatical knowledge and skills whilst they are at school through government-approved textbooks. Thus, it is not practical to abruptly change the entire English educational system at school and adopt a globalised English Language Teaching approach. So what can be done? I suggest the following:

- 1) Introducing locally-produced English books into ALT lessons. Currently, English communication lessons take place at school once or twice a week with foreign teachers, to make up for the lack of teaching, speaking and listening skills in normal English lessons. In those lessons, it could be useful to use books or materials that reflect local aspects. For example, there is a book called *EAT OKINAWA* which introduces Okinawan local vegetables, recipes and indicates where to source those vegetables (Ryukyu Shimpo, 2016). The book is written for foreigners (mainly Americans living in Okinawa) so some explanations or dialogues are written in Japanese, therefore it is convenient for ALTs to use them in classroom as it will make it easier for students to understand the



content and to learn about local aspects in both English and Japanese.

2) Recruiting more non-native teachers with ELT experience. As for ALTs, there is still a tendency to hire native speakers with less teaching experience over non-native teachers with more experience. This derives from the widespread idea of native-supremacy. For students to recognise the existence of *Englishes* outside the classroom, it is advisable to hire more non-native English teachers with experience of teaching English as ALTs. This could help students assimilate the importance of many other elements of the “Outer-circle” in the world of English.

3) Introducing some materials from locally-based licensed guide studies (Okinawa Convention & Visitors Bureau, n.d.). To get approval from the local government to be a licensed guide, candidates need to pass both language and local knowledge examinations. ALTs could introduce materials that draw on and make use of local knowledge into their lessons so that students can be aware of their own history and culture.

Glocalisation of ELT is not an easy business. In fact, it does need a lot of attention and effort from schools, the local governments, public administration and the national government. However, if they can hybridise their own ‘locality’ with traditional globalisation and link it to local business, economy, society and daily lives, it can be a strong selling point of Okinawa/Japan/East Asia. Taking local knowledge and aspects into account in classroom materials and practices will definitely help the future of ELT.

For school education, it can be possible for Japanese teachers of English to discuss glocalising ELT with ALTs and gradually introduce small elements of local aspects into their grammar-centred lessons. Glocalising ELT should not be down to ALTs only, but, ultimately, full-time teachers of the English language should also be able to involve some kind of glocalisation into their own classroom teaching. Through a more glocalised ELT approach adopted by both Japanese teachers of English and ALTs who know other worlds of Englishes, students will not only be able to avoid learning only Americanised English but they will also grasp the concept of English diversity. Diversity in many ways can enrich humanity and

foster a better understanding towards other cultures, people, and different values. If Americanised/Westernised mindsets in education were prevented from dominating and diversity was embraced and encouraged through glocalisation in ELT, students and their effect on society, not only in Okinawa but also around the world, could stand to benefit themselves and others in the future.

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## **A Revolution without Lenin? The great impact of Lenin's return to Russia in April 1917**

Will Chamberlain

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### ABSTRACT

Much has been written on the significance of Lenin as a party leader, revolutionary, and later statesman, with much of this research primarily focusing on his words, actions, and impact. Little work, in comparison, has considered what may have happened if Lenin did not, or was not able to, return to Russia in April 1917. The consideration of what may have happened without Lenin not only

further develops an analysis of his importance, but also allows an examination of other key figures who may have stepped forward in his absence, as well as the significance of events that would likely have occurred regardless of his presence. This work makes use of a variety of studies that have focused on Lenin himself, the Bolshevik party, and the revolution as a whole, as well as Sean McMeekin's alternative study of a revolution without Lenin. Through these works an analysis of Lenin's considerable impact in 1917 is offered, as well as an examination of the likelihood of a democratic soviet government led by the Socialist Revolutionary party and a plausible separate peace had Lenin not returned to Russia.

Lenin, along with a number of other political dissidents, was residing in Switzerland when news



broke of the fall of the Tsar. Upon hearing of this, Lenin worked to organise his return to Russia to take charge of the Bolsheviks and guide what he considered to be the proletarian revolution. Lenin's return to Russia in early April 1917 greatly affected the course of the Russian Revolution. His 'April Theses' had great impact, managing to mobilise large numbers of young and radical revolutionaries with calls for immediate soviet power and revolutionary defeatism, and also partially resulted in propelling the Bolshevik party's popularity. The nature of his return, which saw him covertly transported back to Russia by the German government with great financial aid for revolutionary action, allowed him to finance Bolshevik operations as he desired. To better comprehend Lenin's significance however, the situation before his return, as well as the roles of other key figures should also be considered in order to formulate an educated prediction of what may have happened without Lenin.

Before Lenin's return in spring 1917, the February Revolution of 1917 had already seen Tsar Nicholas II's abdication following numerous military defeats, along with food shortages, leading to strikes and rioting. The Provisional Government was then formed, made up

primarily of liberal politicians from the tsar's reign (Wade, 1997). However, alongside the formal government was the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, both of whom received more support than the Provisional Government, though they lacked its legal authority. Thus, following the February Revolution the Provisional Government and Petrograd Soviet essentially shared power (Hasegawa, 1972). This dual power resulted in some discordance, such as the Soviet's Order No. 1 on 1 March. The order chiefly declared to the Petrograd garrison that the Soviet's commands outweighed the Provisional Government's (Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, 1917). Nevertheless, the majority of leading soviet members decided to support, or at least accept, the Provisional Government's actions including both adhering to the system of dual power as well as accepting the Provisional Government's pro-war stance (McMeekin, 2016). Consequently, following some disorder, Russian troops remained predominantly anti-German and appeared psychologically willing to fight (Merridale, 2016).

The state of the Bolsheviks prior to Lenin's return should also be considered. On 3 March the Petersburg

Committee, which led Bolshevik operations in Petrograd, voted against opposing the Provisional Government as it believed that it mainly shared the interests of the proletariat. The Pravda Group, a small faction within the Petersburg Committee associated with the production of the newspaper *Pravda*, outwardly supported the Provisional Government as they considered the revolution a 'bourgeois' capitalist one (Longley, 1972). Nevertheless, shortly after Joseph Stalin and Lev Kamenev's return from exile in mid-March and subsequent assumption of positions of leadership, a *Pravda* article published on 26 March declared that the main Bolshevik party line believed that the 'bourgeois' government's revolutionary ability was limited, and at a particular moment in the revolution's development the soviets would take over (Lih, 2011). Equally radical were the Bolsheviks of the Petrograd Vyborg District, who supported the formation of a Provisional Revolutionary Government made up of soviet party representatives in preparation for a Constituent Assembly. The Russian Bureau of the Central Committee similarly opposed a 'bourgeois' Provisional Government, though by late March their stance further radicalised as they proposed immediate,

full and permanent soviet power, but with little influence were unable to push for this (Longley, 1972). Thus, even before Lenin's arrival the Bolsheviks had taken the role of the anti-*soglashenie* party (*soglashenie* meaning 'agreement' or 'consent'), though they remained a minority party with divisions (Lih, 2011).

On 3 April 1917 at 11pm, Lenin arrived at Finland Station in Petrograd. Lenin's presence was soon felt as he delivered his revolutionary programme at the Bolshevik party headquarters, denouncing those who had provided support to the 'bourgeois' government and accepted the 'imperialist' war. Lenin's programme, so radical that *Pravda* originally refused to publish it, later became known as the 'April Theses' (McMeekin, 2016). Chiefly, Lenin's theses advocated the immediate transition from 'bourgeois' governance to soviet power and strongly opposed the "predatory imperialist war." Importantly, there would also be no 'retrograde' step from soviet power to 'bourgeois' parliamentary control, similar to the Russian Bureau, and also no coalition with any other socialist party (Lenin, 1917: Merridale, 2016). Nevertheless, Mikhail Kalinin later stated that Lenin's theses only introduced the (new)

idea that only the soviet could allow the revolution to progress (Lih, 2011). Key differences with the main Bolshevik line were also the rapidity and method (naturally or forcefully) in which the ‘bourgeois’ government would fall, and be replaced.

Following Lenin’s return, the appeal of his theses greatly varied depending on his audience. Although Lenin possessed prestige (Longley, 1972), his radicalism was considered out of touch with reality by many leading figures. Despite arguing his case to fellow key Bolsheviks, Lenin’s proposals were generally dismissed. For example, his proposal of ‘revolutionary defeatism’, amongst others such as opposing the Provisional Government’s authority, was rejected by thirteen to two votes at the Petersburg Committee on 4 April (Merridale, 2016). However some, such as Stalin and Kalinin, did partially agree with Lenin’s ideas as they only minutely differed from those of Old Bolshevism (Lih, 2011). Predictably, responses were even less receptive outside of the Bolshevik party in the wider Soviet Executive Committee. Nevertheless, Lenin was uncompromising and tireless in the expression of his theses. Whereas other leading soviet figures (especially Mensheviks and moderate Socialist

Revolutionaries) advocated patience and passivity, Lenin called for action. Lenin's doctrine resonated with working class, and primarily young Russians who had rioted for peace, bread, and land, and whose lives had not significantly improved since their revolutionary success. As a result, from 23,600 members in February, the Bolsheviks expanded to near 80,000 by late April. These young radicals, who included the majority of the Vyborg Committee, were receptive to Lenin's ideas because they desired action. What Lenin further gave them was direction, supporting theory, and leadership (Merridale, 2016).

Lenin also greatly influenced the Russian army, through his idea of revolutionary defeatism from his 'April Theses'. As well as financing Lenin's journey, the German government importantly provided him with five million gold marks for initial operations (McMeekin, 2016). Although Order No. 1 had produced chaos in the army, order was restored to functional levels by April. In preparation for an offensive in June, Kerensky attempted to rally Russian troops across the European front. Meanwhile, Lenin was making use of his German funding. Anti-war messages were soon being sent through newspapers

such as *Soldatskaia Pravda* (targeted at the army) and *Okopnaia Pravda* (directly to the front-line), and print-runs increased to over 100,000 copies in May and June 1917 (McMeekin, 2016). Although it is impossible to precisely gauge the effects of this propaganda on Russian troops, Alfred Knox, a British liaison officer in Russia, believed that anti-war ideas had had some effect (Merridale, 2016). Petrograd's 1<sup>st</sup> machine-gun regiment acts as an example of the effects of Lenin's German funded propaganda. On 30 June, the regiment refused to obey the Provisional Government's order to go the European front, and within weeks was heavily involved in July's anti-war and anti-Provisional Government demonstrations. The radical Kronstadt sailors also rallied for soviet power and around 5,000 supported Lenin during the unsuccessful, though spontaneous, Bolshevik coup in July which followed the aforementioned demonstrations (McMeekin, 2016).

Taking all of this into account, it is clear that Lenin's impact was vast. Following his return to Russia he radicalised the political scene, offering leadership towards an immediate alternative to the Provisional Government, which then held the acceptance and

even support of much of the Soviet Executive Committee (McMeekin, 2016). This gave way for increased Bolshevik support, as the party of action. The protests and rioting that ensued in the months following Lenin's return occurred to the extent they did because of his widely circulated idea of revolutionary defeatism, and his call for immediate soviet power, all made possible because of German funding. Lenin's rallying of opposition to 'bourgeois' governance and the 'imperialist' war eventually succeeded in October when the Bolsheviks seized power from the Provisional Government. The coup itself was relatively opportunistic, demonstrated by the suddenness of Lenin's summoning of the troops (Lenin, 1917), although it would not have been possible without the growing support for Lenin's cause. Significantly, it should also be noted that Trotsky returned to Russia after Lenin, and after reading Lenin's theses Trotsky converted to his cause (McMeekin, 2016). Without the leadership of these two men the success of a Bolshevik dictatorship seems highly improbable.

Nevertheless, if Lenin did not return to Russia there is no guarantee that the Provisional Government would



have lasted anyway. Due to the monumental task the Provisional Government faced, moderate socialists would have eventually replaced 'bourgeois' politicians at the very least. Also, as aforementioned, there already existed Bolsheviks (including leading ones) who desired sole soviet power, as well as a receptive mass of young radicals who desired immediate action to be taken to improve their livelihoods (Longley, 1972: Lih, 2011: Merridale, 2016). Thus, continuing the war beyond 1917 would have been highly improbable. Maintaining control was especially difficult following the disclosure that Miliukov had privately promised Russia's commitment to the war to the Allied nations after publicly suggesting the contrary. This resulted in the April Crisis, which saw anti-government protests and a subsequent overhaul of government personnel (Wade, 2006). Further problems arose in mid-June within the army due to Kerensky's failed Galician offensive, resulting in large numbers of Russian casualties. Arguably, this sparked the First Machine Gun Regiment's refusal to adhere to government orders as much, if not more than Lenin's propaganda (Wood, 2003). German military strength and organisation would likely have ensured the demise

of pro-war politicians, then Russia's 'bourgeois' leadership would entirely lose support, allowing soviet leaders to rise using pro-peace messages. If untainted by 'bourgeois' association, the leading SR, Viktor Chernov, would likely then have chaired the Constituent Assembly (as he did anyway) and overseen revolutionary transitioning as the leading, SR, party saw fit (McMeekin, 2016). This, in theory, would have made Russia a democracy led by socialists, differing greatly to Lenin's authoritarian and frankly ruthless state.

Without Lenin's German funded arrival, the partially divided Bolshevik party would likely not have possessed the means to promote their ideas and garner support. Moreover, without his added pressure for immediate revolutionary transition, the party would not have appealed so strongly to radicals. Thus, without Lenin's efforts pushing for immediate soviet (Bolshevik) control, it appears plausible that a provisional coalition, led by SRs, would have led to a Constituent Assembly and establishment of soviet democracy. With respect to the war, a separate and early peace would still be possible, as maintaining domestic order with ongoing mass food shortages and

inflation, along with reckless offensives like Kerensky's damaging morale, could have proven too difficult to manage (McMeekin, 2016). It is highly probable then that if Lenin were to have not returned until late 1918 or 1919, a SR led democracy may have already prevailed, which Lenin would likely have found more difficult to derail.

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## Deixis in Modern Linguistics

Andreea Stapleton

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### ABSTRACT

Modern linguistics is one of the most exceptional scientific revolutions of the twentieth century. It is related to linguistic studies where the original focus from prescriptive grammar and the purpose of improving how people write and speak shifted to the idea that a language can be viewed as a self-contained and structured system situated at a particular point in time. Pragmatics, a subfield of linguistics, studies how people understand and produce a speech act in a concrete speech situation. Deixis belongs to the area of pragmatics because it directly involves the relationship between

the structure of language and the context in which it is used (Levinson 83, p. 55). This essay will discuss deictic expressions, firstly by giving various definitions by different linguists, secondly by presenting and discussing the different deictic categories and finally by commenting on the different types of uses of deictic expressions such as deictic and anaphoric.

## **Introduction**

The linguistic subfields of semantics and pragmatics are both related to the study of meaning. Semantics studies the relation between word meanings. On the other hand, pragmatics studies the way in which the context shapes meaning. Pragmatics show that the interpretation of utterances not only depends on linguistic knowledge, but also depends on knowledge about the context of the utterance, knowledge about the status of those involved, such as the social information that is encoded with various expressions regarding the relative social status and familiarity, the intent of the speaker, the place and time of the

utterance. Pragmatic awareness is regarded as one of the most challenging aspects of language learning, and it often comes through experience. Deictic expressions fall into the following categories: person deixis, spatial deixis, temporal deixis, social deixis, and discourse deixis.

### **Deictic expressions – definitions, categories and types of uses**

Deictic expressions represent a key connection between the time frame, space, and people involved. The word deictic has its roots in the Greek word “deiknynai”, meaning “to show”. A related word, “deixis”, is used in pragmatics and linguistics and it refers to a process whereby either words or expressions are seen to rely utterly on context. Levinson (1983) accentuates the role of the context; he argues that deixis is the reflection of the relationship between language and context and defines deixis as follows:

Deixis is an important field studied in pragmatics, semantics and linguistics. Deixis refers to the phenomenon wherein



understanding the meaning of certain words and phrases in an utterance requires contextual information. Words or phrases that require contextual information to convey meaning are deictic. (Levinson, 1983, p. 54)

The contextual information of the utterance mentioned by Levinson (1983) consists of information about the speaker, the addressee, the time and the place. For example, if we take a close look on the sentence *I am leaving tomorrow*, who does *I*, *am*, and *tomorrow* refer to? We cannot identify the meaning of this utterance, unless we know the time of the utterance, the place, and who the speaker is, in other words the context of the utterance. Expressions like *I*, *you*, *we*, *this*, *that*, *here*, *there*, *today*, *tomorrow*, are all indexed, and the listener needs to identify the speaker, the time and the place of the utterance to fully understand what is being said and meant. There are three deictic categories identified in the literature. These are: **personal deixis** (*I*, *you*, *we*), **spatial deixis** (*this*, *that*, *here*, *there*), and **temporal deixis** (*now*, *today*, *yesterday*). In addition to person, place and time deixis, Levinson (1983), following Lyons (1977) and

Filmore (1977), adds two other deictic categories. These are: **social deixis** which covers the encoding of social distinctions that are relative to participant-roles, particularly aspects of the social relationship holding between speaker and addressee(s) or speaker and some referents, and **discourse deixis** which involves the encoding of reference to portions of the unfolding discourse in which the utterance is located.

As opposed to Levinson, Yule (1996, p. 9) describes deixis as a way of “pointing through language”, and also refers to deixis as a technical word that comes from Greek. Yule (1996) also admits that deictic expressions have their most basic uses in face-to-face spoken utterances. In addition, Lyons (1977, p. 377) has defined deixis as follows:

By deixis is meant the location and identification of persons, objects, events, processes and activities talked about, or referred to, in relation to the spatio-temporal context created and sustained by the act of utterance and the participation in it, typically, of a single speaker and a least one addressee (Lyons 1997, p. 377).

In other words, an utterance containing deictic expressions such as *I will move this chair over here*

requires contextual information for an accurate meaning: which chair is being referred to, knowledge about space – knowing where here is, and who the speaker is. Levinson (1983) states that an utterance can be tested as being deictic or not in terms of its truth conditions. For example, if we say *George is the husband of Maria*, the utterance can be either true or false, however if we say *He is the husband of Maria*, we cannot assess whether the sentence is true or false because it depends who the *he* is. If we take another example, such as *I'll come and see you tomorrow*, we cannot assess whether this sentence is true or false because we are not aware of when the sentence was written, therefore we do not know when *tomorrow* is. Thus, knowledge about the context in the interpretation of utterances containing deictic expressions is crucial.

For Levinson (1983, p. 64), deixis is organised in an egocentric way, with the deictic centre constituting the reference point in relation to which a deictic expression is to be interpreted. For example, in an utterance such as *I'm over here now*, the speaker, the actual location and the actual time of the utterance are respectively the deictic centres. The term deictic

centre underlines that the deictic term has to relate to the situation exactly at the point where the utterance is made or the text is written, in other words it has to relate to the position from which the deictic terms are understood. In conversations, the deictic centre is constantly changing between the partners; the speech event is conceptualised from a different point of view.

A deictic expression is a word or phrase that points out the different meaning the words have in various situations. Without a pragmatic approach, the interpretation of an utterance would be impossible to understand, therefore deictic expressions are crucial and it involves the relationship between the structure of languages and the contexts in which they are used. A word that depends on deictic indicators is called a **deictic word**, and is bound to a context. Hence, words that are deictic hold a denotational meaning which varies depending on time and/or place, and a fixed semantic meaning (Levinson, 1983).

In addition to knowing the time, place and the speaker and addressee, deictic expressions help us realise what is close to the speaker and what is not. This is defined by the following two terms: **proximal** (near the

speaker), such as *this, here, now*, and **distal** (away from the speaker) such as *that, there, then* (Levinson, 1983). This concept of distance is more relevant to the study of spatial deixis. Deictic expressions also help us realise if the movement is away from the speaker or towards the speaker (*go vs come*). According to Fillmore (1977), the most obvious manifestations of deictic categories in languages are to be found in the systems of pronouns i.e. *I, we, she*, demonstratives i.e. *this, these*; and tenses i.e. *walk, walked*.

**Person deixis** localises an entity in relation to the position of the speaker and/or hearer (Green, 2008). First and second person pronouns typically refer to the speaking and hearing speech participants, whereas third person pronouns designate the non-speech or narrated participant. According to Lyons (1983) the active participants are the speaker and the addressee, whereas the third person is not an active participant in the speech act.

To give an illustration of what I mean let us look at the following examples:

- 1) *I* was late.
- 2) *You* arrived early.

3) *I saw them.*

Third person pronouns may be used deictically or anaphorically. An anaphoric use of a deictic expression occurs when reference is being made to another entity that was introduced earlier in the text/speech.

Examples:

4) John believes *she* is beautiful. (deictic use)

5) John thinks I heard *him*. (anaphoric use)

In English, pronouns come in singular and plural forms, several are marked for case, and the third person singular forms encode gender. This is shown in Table 1.

*Table 1 – Personal Pronouns in English*

	<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>	
	<i>Nominativ e</i>	<i>Accusativ e</i>	<i>Nominativ e</i>	<i>Accusativ e</i>
<i>1<sup>st</sup> perso n</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>Me</i>	<i>We</i>	<i>Us</i>
<i>2<sup>nd</sup> perso</i>	<i>You</i>		<i>You</i>	

<i>n</i>				
<i>3<sup>rd</sup></i> <i>perso</i> <i>n</i>	<i>Masculine</i> <i>He</i>	<i>Masculin</i> <i>e Him</i>	<i>They</i>	<i>Them</i>
	<i>Feminine</i> <i>She</i>	<i>Feminine</i> <i>Her</i>		
	<i>Neuter It</i>			

Another category of deixis is **spatial deixis**. Spatial deixis localises both the speech participants and the narrated participants in space. The most frequent words are the pronouns *this/that* and *these/those*. Other expressions that belong to this category are the adverbs *here/there* and prepositions *in/on* (Levinson, 1983). Spatial deixis also entails whether something is near the speaker or not (*this vs that*). In all languages, there are pairs of verbs such as *come/go*, *bring/take*, which are interpreted to identify the direction of the motion, towards or away from the place of speech event, hence the spatial deixis is the marking in language of the orientation or position in a space. Lyons (1977, p. 648) states that “there are two ways in which we can identify an object by means of a referring expression: first, by informing the addressee

where it is; second, by telling him what is like, what the properties it has or what class of objects it belongs to”.

Fillmore (1977) talks about the fact that deictic pointing can be achieved in different ways. He distinguishes between two types of uses: the gestural and symbolic ones. The gestural use requires monitoring the speech event in order to identify the referent, whereas the symbolic use involves activating knowledge about the communicative situation and the referent. Levinson (1983) exemplifies the two uses with the following examples:

- 6) *This* finger hurts (gestural).
- 7) *This* city stinks (symbolic).

In the first example, we notice that the demonstrative can be accompanied by a pointing gesture which illustrates the gestural use. In the second example, which does not involve a pointing gesture and shows a larger situational context illustrates the symbolic use.

**Temporal deixis** is another category of deictic expressions. It refers to an event of an utterance, which takes place any time relative to the speaking time and



is, therefore, represented by tense, time adverbials and sometimes by spatial prepositions such *as in the evening, at midnight, on time*. The location of an event referred to and represented by time and tense constitutes the deictic centre in the utterance of a speaker. In English, the present and the past are morphologically marked. Morphology is an area of study within grammar that describes how words are composed. A linguistic element is morphologically marked when it is more distinctively identified than another element, by adding a morpheme. A morpheme is the minimal unit of meaning. For example, the first person present tense *I work* is not morphologically marked. On the other hand, the third person *he work-s*, and the past tense *he work-ed* are marked by the morpheme *-s* and *-ed*. The future is constructed using the modal verb *will*. Another way to express the future in English is by attaching an adverb of time indicating the future illustrated in the following example:

8) I *go* on holiday *next week*.

More examples of temporal deixis:

9) My friend *is going to* sing in a concert tomorrow. (future with phrasal verb *be going to*)

- 10) They *will* bring the car in to be fixed. (future with modal verb *will*)
- 11) I *lived* in Cyprus for eight years. (morphologically marked past tense *-ed*)
- 12) She *drinks* tea *every morning*. (morphologically marked present tense *-s*, expressing an event occurring on a regular basis)

Levinson (1983, p. 73) argues that “complexities arise in the usage of tense, time adverbs and other time deictic morphemes wherever there is a departure from this assumption, for example in letter writing, or the pre-recording of media programmes”. For example, if a letter says *I am leaving tomorrow*, we are unaware of when tomorrow is, unless we have a fixed reference point of when the letter was written.

Fillmore (1977) and Levinson (1983) note that the deictic words *yesterday*, *today*, and *tomorrow*, preempt the absolute ways of referring to the relevant days. Thus, the utterance, *I will see you on Thursday*, said on Thursday, can only be referring to next Thursday, otherwise the speaker should have said today. If it is said on a Wednesday, the speaker should use *tomorrow*.

Having presented the traditional deictic categories, what will now be discussed is the discourse and the social deixis. The **discourse deixis** provides a reference to an utterance backward or forward to other utterances. Levinson (1985, p. 62) states that discourse deixis is “the encoding of reference to portions of the unfolding discourse in which the utterance is located”. In other words, discourse deixis refers to all expressions and phrases that point the reader or hearer through spoken or written text.

These examples illustrate discourse deixis (Fillmore 1977):

*earlier, later, the preceding x, the following s, in the following paragraphs, in the following weeks, during next month, in the next chapter*

Discourse deixis can very easily be confused with anaphora; anaphora is used to refer to something previously mentioned.

Examples:

- 13) *That* was interesting.
- 14) *This* is a lie.

Examples of anaphora:

15) Take a look at *this* book. *This* is the best book I have read in a long time.

Anaphora is often contrasted with cataphora where the words refer forwards. It has been shown that *this* can be used both anaphorically and cataphorically, whereas *that* can be used anaphorically only.

Examples:

16) *This* is what I mean. (anaphoric or cataphoric reference)

17) *That* is what I mean (anaphoric reference only).

Some forms of deixis may be simultaneously deictic and anaphoric.

Example:

18) Lola is coming over later; we are having dinner together.

19) She was born in Romania and has lived there all her life.

Example 18 refers to the set consisting of *Lola and me*: the speaker component of this is determined deictically

by *we* being a first person pronoun, while the inclusion of *Lola* in the set is determined anaphorically by the previous mention of her. In example 19 *there* is anaphora in that *there* obtains the interpretation, *in Romania*, from the preceding preposition phrase, but at the same time it is deictic in that it refers to a place, which includes where the utterance-act takes place.

**Social deixis** refers to the relation between the speaker and the addressee and third party referents (Fillmore, 1977). According to Levinson (1983, p. 63) social deixis is “those aspects of language structure that are anchored to the social identities of participants in the speech event, or to relations between them, or to relations between them and other referents” (Levinson, 1983, p. 63). In some languages, such as Spanish, French, Romanian, the singular second person pronoun has two forms: *tu* and *usted* - *vous-dumneavoastra*. The first form (*tu*) is used to address to a speaker in an informal or relaxed way. The second form (*usted* - *vous* - *dumneavoastra*) is used in a more formal or polite context. In Modern English, there is no such distinction for the second person pronoun *you*. However, in the Elizabethan English *thee*, an archaic

pronoun has been widely used with the same role as *vous* in French (Hornblower, 2012).

20) I tell *Thee* what Antonio, I love *Thee*, and it is my love that speaks (Holderness, 1993)

Under the cover term of social deixis, Fillmore (1977) includes the following linguistic phenomena: devices for person marking, for example pronouns; the various ways of separating speech levels; distinctions in utterances of various types which are dependent on certain properties of the speech act participants; the various ways in which names, titles, and kinship terms vary in form and usage according to the relationships among the speaker, the addressee, the audience and the person referred to; linguistic performance which can appear in terms of social acts, such as insults, greetings, expressions of gratitude; linguistic performances which can accompany social acts, such as *there you go*, and, finally, the various linguistic devices that helps a speaker establish and maintain a deictic anchoring with a given addressee.

Furthermore, Foley (1997) talks about the numerous Asian languages. These languages have an elaborate system of honorifics, “grammatical morphemes and

special classes of words indicating social deixis among the interlocutors or the referent of a participant in the utterance” (Foley 1997, p. 319). By the appropriate use of honorifics, one is able to label a referent or to identify oneself with a certain social standing. Levinson (1983) suggested restricting the term *honorific* to the cases in which the relations between speaker-referent, speaker addressee, speaker-bystander express relative rank or respect. This phenomenon is well exemplified in Japanese, since it is a language distinguished by a rich system of honorifics. As any other society, regardless of the form of the government, the Japanese society has social stratification. The language reflects this situation most closely, and the norms of appropriate linguistic behaviour are based on the way in which the society is stratified. The ability to use such expressions appropriately, not only in Japanese, but in some other languages too, such as European Languages with T/V distinction, such as *tu* vs *vous* in French, is considered to be a mark of good education and a good upbringing. Well educated intellectuals are generally more conservative regarding the use of deferential expressions.

## Conclusion

There are some expressions that are not understood unless the interlocutors have some knowledge about the context of the utterance, knowledge about the status of those involved, the intend of the speaker, the place and time of the utterance. These words do not have a constant meaning, and they are known as deictic words. Deictic words are a crucial element of pragmatics because they are related to the context of the utterance. In this essay, different types of deictic words and categories have been presented and discussed.

To sum up, personal deixis system in English marks distinctions in gender (in the third person only) and number (in first and third person); the second person pronoun *you* can refer to both singular and plural entities, i.e. neutralised. Thus, personal deixis can mark a number of overlapping distinctions: person, gender, number, and social status. Spatial deixis involves the specification of locations relative to points of reference in the speech event. English has a proximal or distal distance from speaker. A third type of deixis is temporal deixis which shows the orientation or



position of the referent of actions and events in time. As shown in temporal deixis section, the concept of time English is represented by three main classes: time adverbials, tenses, and time expressions. These three categories of deixis are known as traditional deictic categories. Further to this, Fillmore (1997) identified two more categories: discourse and social deixis. Discourse deixis indicates or refers to some portion or aspect of the ongoing discourse, and the social deixis reflects the social relation between the speakers, and classifiers used with human referents.

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# Searching for Weapons of Mass Destruction: US Intelligence Failure in the 2003 Invasion of Iraq

Marthe Kielland Røssaak

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## ABSTRACT

In 2003 the United States of America invaded Iraq without prior approval from the United Nations. The political leadership deemed that the intelligence was sufficient to prove that Saddam Hussein was in possession of weapons of mass destruction. The invasion led to what has later been named 'the perfect intelligence failure', as it became clear that the intelligence conclusions were

wrongful. This essay offers an analysis of the failures that occurred on all stages of the intelligence cycle, and the basis on which the decision to invade was made. The essay concludes that the intelligence was politicised from the point of directions on collection, throughout the cycle, until the point of dissemination and policy implementation.

In this essay I will look at the different factors that determine intelligence failure in general to see which of these were present in the US intelligence's failure to find large-scale weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) in Iraq. To do this, intelligence in general will be described and the intelligence cycle will be explained and utilised to analyse the different stages of where intelligence can fail. However, using the intelligence cycle to aid the understanding of intelligence failures is solely a method of simplification. It does not imply that failures cannot be continuous over several steps of the intelligence cycle. I will explore below, especially when looking at failures in the Iraq invasion, how the

practical distinction between failures at separate the stages is rather blurry. Failures were made in collection, analysis, dissemination and communication, to name a few. Despite the findings of the prominent investigative reports after the US invasion of Iraq in 2003, I believe that politicization of the intelligence community (IC) on this matter was a prominent factor in obscuring the intelligence findings and ultimately led to the intelligence failure of the Iraq War 2003. I will explain why in the following paragraphs.

### **Intelligence and Intelligence Failure**

Intelligence is data and knowledge collected from a range of different sources. In a modern political context, it is “the official, secret collection and processing of information on foreign countries to aid in formulating and implementing foreign policy, and the conduct of covert activities abroad to facilitate the implementation of foreign policy” (Random, 1958). Intelligence is often collected to acquire knowledge of other countries’ military strength, economic power, internal political situation and levels of domestic unrest. The primary job of intelligence is to reduce

uncertainty by identifying issues of policy relevance with policy makers, collecting and analysing information (Gentry, 2008, p. 267), and issuing policy makers with timely advance warning of potential threats (Pythian, 2006, p. 401). The intelligence is used to estimate threats, capabilities and intentions of adversaries (Betts, 1978, p. 68). Political leaders analyse these warnings in the relevant strategic and domestic political context, make decisions under conflicting pressures and manage policy-implementing agencies (Gentry, 2008, p. 267). In this way, intelligence is used to guide policy makers and other senior decision makers in the national security and defence arenas (CIA, 2007).

Intelligence failure can be at blame if events “of strategic significance” occur without forewarning (Pythian, 2006, p. 401). Intelligence failure can occur when a state fails in collecting or analysing information, national leaders fail to make sound policy on the disseminated intelligence or fails to act effectively on the information received (Gentry, 2008, p. 249). Gentry (2008, p. 248) argues that reasons for intelligence failure can include organizational, cultural, cognitive or psychological factors. The intelligence

cycle includes the direction from policy makers, the “requirement” of what should be investigated, the collection and analysis of intelligence, the finished product of intelligence analysis that is delivered to the policymakers, and again the directions from policymakers on implementation and further targets of analysis. According to Betts (1978, p. 63) crucial mistakes are sometimes made by the professionals that produce the finished analysis, but most often by the decision makers who consume the products of intelligence services. It is impossible to account for all the possible mistakes that can be made in attempting to take advantage of intelligence, but the following paragraphs will give examples of how possible failures can erupt on all stages of the intelligence cycle and how it is all linked.

### **Failure Determinant at Different Stages**

The directions given by the policymakers in relation to the target of the intelligence-gathering are relevant because different targets require different forms of intelligence. For example, human intelligence (HUMINT) can be a beneficial way of collecting

information if the collecting country has an official presence in the country. Additionally, targets of intelligence, usually states or non-state actors, often know that they are targets of intelligence and may act to hinder foreign intelligence efforts through active defences like counter-intelligence activities, deception and concealing sensitive installations (Gentry, 2008, p. 255), which can lead to misleading information and wrongful analysis. One writer who focuses on the act of deception by intelligence targets is Barton Whaley (1973, p. 2). He claims that it was Hitler's deceptions, rather than mistakes made by the Soviets, that made the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941 so surprising. Additionally, collection of intelligence is always incomplete (Dahl, 2005, p. 37), and different targets require different forms of collection. Analysts have concluded that the rising global threat of terrorism, for example, poses new and difficult challenges for the IC, which can best be overcome by more HUMINT (Dahl, 2005, p. 33).

Failures in the intelligence cycle can also happen at the stage of analysis, and when information is processed by the intelligence agencies. Analysts try to identify significant information, distinguish noise from relevant



signals, and make accurate forecasts (Gentry, 2008, p. 252). Errors at this level can occur in misunderstanding of information and recognition of “noise” instead of relevant signals. Additionally, errors can happen through cognitive or institutional bias by the analyst. There might also be a problem of compartmentalization of information, because of restrictions on information sharing, security concerns and fears of compromising sources that creates mistrust between intelligence agencies (Hulnick, 2006, p. 962). By sharing intelligence, gaps in information can be filled, and conflicting analysis can be found. The 2004 Madrid bombings underlined how compartmentalisation of intelligence can impede security operations. Some of the suspects in the Madrid bombing had been known to the French and Spanish police in 2001, and had, since 2003, been on a list of suspects issued by the Moroccan police for a series of café bombings in Casablanca, but were still living openly in Madrid. Several countries seemed to have a few pieces of intelligence each (Finn and Richburg, 2004), which, if shared, could have led to a prevention of the attack.

Other major sources of intelligence failure can be the method of dissemination; the communication to the policy-makers, and possibly also the access to raw material outside the intelligence agencies. For communication to be effective, analysts must present clear, accurate and persuasive warnings. A former Defence Intelligence Officer claimed that analysts cannot only give reports stating that a bombing might happen, they must tell the policy-makers what this means and what is really likely to happen (Dahl, 2005, p. 47). Both insufficient information and an overload of information can lead to unclear messages being communicated. Where there is ambiguous information and limited time for thorough assessment of sources, intelligence analysis can be driven by intuition and conclusions can be led by instinct. As stated by Betts (1978, p. 71): the greater the ambiguity, the greater the impact of preconceptions. Another source of challenge in the intersection between analysts and policy-makers in the US, is that raw reporting from the collection process usually reaches both at the same time (Hulnick, 2006, p. 961). Some of this raw intelligence may be incomplete, contradictory or wrong, and policy officials sometimes take the reporting as having been

judged or evaluated (Hulnick, 2006, p. 962). This can create serious problems on both sides.

In the final stage of the intelligence cycle, intelligence is communicated to policymakers, who must then react appropriately and implement policies accordingly. The task of the policy-maker is to place the intelligence warnings in political contexts and make decisions based on their political circumstances and limited tools for implementation. Factors such as psychology, experience and interests can increase cognitive bias of a policy-maker in interpreting warnings and may lead decisions to become defective policies (Genry, 2008, p. 254). It was noted in relation to the Beirut bombings in 1983 that failures in collection and processing of information were much less significant than the attitudes and lack of action by the consumers of intelligence (Dahl, 2005, p. 46). Directors of intelligence agencies can tend to dismiss critical intelligence, and cling to data that supports continued commitment to established policies (Betts, 1978, p. 65). Additionally, policy-makers might not have trust in the intelligence personnel, and may therefore refrain from acting on certain warnings. According to Gentry (2008, p. 256) presidents Truman, Johnson, Nixon and

Bill Clinton sometimes displayed suspicion of the CIA and at times ignored intelligence. One Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) reportedly quashed a CIA report warning of the dangers of invading Cambodia in 1971, because President Nixon had already decided to invade (Ibid, 2008, p. 252).

Additionally, policy-makers' bias can occur as a source of intelligence failure if politicians create an environment of presumed facts, and indirectly force intelligence agencies to operate in concert with those presumed facts. Or failure can arise if intelligence professionals attempt to increase personal or institutional favour by providing specific intelligence messages that they imagine are wanted or necessary for the leaders (Gentry, 2008, p. 252). It is also said that "the principal cause of surprise is not the failure of intelligence, but the unwillingness of political leaders to believe intelligence or to react to it with sufficient dispatch" (Wohlsetter, 1962, p. 227). Desires to prevent recrimination may drive intelligence agencies to withhold warnings until uncertainties recede, and therefore keep raw information to themselves (Gentry, 2008, p. 253). The allocation of time and resources for intelligence professionals provide additional

constraints (Betts, 1978, p. 68). Additionally, agencies responsible for the implementation of policies are subject to certain limitations that impact their ability to respond to intelligence warnings. This way, failures that appear on the implementation stage may superficially look like intelligence failures, but actually reflect structural issues created through previous policy decisions (Gentry, 2008, p. 256).

### **The Intelligence Failure of the 2003 Iraq Invasion**

In 2003 the US invaded Iraq to eliminate the perceived threat posed by Saddam Hussein's possession of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) (Pythian, 2006, p. 400). The invasion has later been named 'the perfect intelligence failure', as failure occurred on all stages of the intelligence cycle, and no WMDs were found (Hulnick, 2006, p. 967). Some see it as the worst intelligence failure since the founding of the modern intelligence community (IC). The *National Intelligence Estimate (NIE)* that 'justified' the intervention in Iraq was based on reporting from unreliable sources and biased preconceptions grounded in the previous experiences of WMD programs in Iraq (Hulnick, 2006,

p. 967). Subsequent investigations into the failed intervention claimed that the failure was in collection and analysis, poor management and organizational weaknesses (Pythian, 2006, p. 401).

Since the US did not have an official presence in Iraq, collection of intelligence relied on a few HUMINT sources that were dependent on “defectors and foreign government services” (US Congress, 2004, p. 24). One of these was ‘Curveball’, a chemical engineer from Baghdad (Betts, 2007, p. 602), who provided the bases of around 112 separate reports (US Congress, 2004, p. 149), and subsequently was deemed to be a fabricator (Ibid, 2004, p. 462). Analysts further failed to investigate dual-use equipment bought through illicit channels (Ibid, 2004, p. 14), and assumed that these were for the development of a WMD program, and not actually for the legal tactical rockets (Pythian, 2006, p. 408). The Silberman-Robb commission (2005, p. 52) claimed that this constituted “errors in technical and factual analysis”. A compartmentalization of information made the DCI unaware of dissenting opinions within the IC (US Congress, 2005, p. 28). Additionally, the CIA tended to deny information to more specialist agencies that could have provided input

that challenged existing assumptions (Ibid, 2004, p. 28). These, along with similar findings, led the Silberman-Robb Commission (2005, p. 5) to describe the IC as “fragmented, loosely managed and poorly coordinated”.

### **Politicization at All Levels**

Even though the subsequent investigations rejected politicization, and absolved the Bush administration of all charges (Pythian, 2006, p. 401), some reports gave hints of an environment that was not conducive to questioning the dominant assumption on Iraq, which strengthens Betts’ hypothesis that intelligence failure usually lies with the consumers of intelligence (Pythian, 2006, p. 418). Senator Ron Widen stated that the Bush administration had “repeatedly and independently made the case for war not by relying on US intelligence but by ignoring and directly contradicting the same” (US Congress, 2004, p. 489-490). Senior Bush administration officials had made forceful public statements for war (Silberman-Robb, 2005, p. 189) and prevalence of repetitive tasking of intelligence personnel was found, including questions

of judgments on a particular issue over and over again by “senior customers” (US Congress, 2004, p. 456). According to Hulnick (2006, p. 967) some also speculate that that the NIE was drawn up in order to meet the political needs of the White House. Richard Clarke (2004, p. 264) claimed that the Bush administration entered office “with Iraq on its agenda”, and a leaked minute from a meeting record shows the head of MI6, Sir Richard Dearlove, reporting to the prime minister that “military action was now seen as inevitable” and that “intelligence and facts were being fixed around the policy” (Danner, 2005).

Deception practices employed by Iraq in the past, and the failure to account satisfactorily for WMDs during the 1991 war, gave US policymakers and intelligence professionals logical reasons for why there was evidence denying the existence of WMDs (Pythian, 2006, p. 408). In a context of seemingly obvious guilt, an environment of pressure to find WMDs and a political desire to intervene in Iraq, analysts shifted the burden of proof from requiring evidence of WMDs, to require evidence showing that Iraq did not possess WMDs, a theory that could not be disproved (Silberman-Robb, 2005, p. 168). The NIE was written



with the assumption that the US was going to war (US Congress, 2004, p. 505), and intervention could only take place if the IC concluded that Iraq still had illegal WMD programs. This justification was the only way to secure public support for the Bush administration to initiate a war (Betts, 2007, p. 598). This sentiment caused findings of evidence that denied WMDs to be downplayed and ignored. Even when Saddam Hussein's son-in-law, Hussein Kamel, told his debriefers that old stocks of WMD had been destroyed, this was not believed (Jervis, 2006, p. 40). Thin amounts of evidence gave room for preconceptions and the ability to shape verifications according to these. Influenced by decisive policymakers, judgments on all levels were driven by circumstantial evidence (Betts, 2007, p. 602) and the necessity of finding WMDs to justify invasion of Iraq.

Cirincione et al (2004, p. 50) confirm my opinion, and found it unlikely that the behaviour at policymaker level did not create an environment of pressure to reach a conclusion confirming WMDs in Iraq. Along with the increased publicity of the immediate threat of Iraq's WMD, the intelligence judgments became more absolute and supportive of the administration's case

(Pythian, 2006, p. 417). IC managers failed to utilize mechanisms in order to challenge the prevailing conclusions (US Congress, 2004, p. 23), and concerns regarding credibility of sources were not conveyed to policy makers. The Senate Select Committee explained this behaviour as “groupthink” (US Congress, 2004, p. 18), referring to a desire for unanimity overriding a realistic appraisal of alternative courses of action (Janis, 1983, p. 9), recognized in the selective use of information and collective rationalization of WMD intelligence in Iraq (US Congress, 2004, p. 18). The conclusion reached by the analysts went beyond anything that could safely be reached on the basis of available intelligence (US Congress, 2004, p. 14), and the Senate Select Committee found that the *NIE* “did not accurately portray the uncertainty of the information”, but formulated assumptions and theories as if they were facts (US Congress, 2004, p. 17). According to Betts (2007, p. 605) the Key Judgments of the summary conveyed a message that the conclusions “derived from observed activities as much as preconceptions” and assumed intentions. This shows how politicisation possibly influenced the IC to such

an extent as to form the intelligence according to preconceptions and desires of the Bush administration.

## **Conclusion**

In many ways, the failure to find WMDs in Iraq could be described as the perfect intelligence failure, as failures can be found to have occurred at all stages of the intelligence cycle. It ranged from collection of intelligence, analysis, dissemination, within management, in the structure of the IC, and at the level of policymakers (Pythian, 2006, p. 419). However, as has been shown in the previous paragraphs, I believe that politicisation ultimately led to obscure intelligence findings, which consequently led to the intelligence failure of the Iraq War. As the collection of intelligence is carried out by humans, ensuring neutrality is of wide importance, and therefore strategies of ensuring this should be employed. In the case of the 2003 Iraq invasion, neutrality was far from ensured. Policymakers and senior officials created a bias towards the existence of WMDs in Iraq, and successfully implemented this bias at all stages of the intelligence cycle, in order to enable

a conclusion justifying an intervention in Iraq. Given the secretive nature of intelligence, and the minimal political constituency of intelligence agencies, presidents can blame intelligence for their own errors in policy and its execution, and I believe this is in fact what happened in the 2003 Iraq invasion. Intelligence was twisted by politicisation and pressure from government officials, which ultimately culminated in a failed invasion and the onset of war.

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# The British Nuclear Program and the United States: Dependency and Interdependency in the 1950s and early 1960s

Jacob Barry

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## ABSTRACT

In twenty-first century Britain, the idea of a nuclear deterrent has developed into one of contention. One of the most important issues surrounding this topic is the dependency of Britain on the United States for the supply, and possibly even the use of, Britain's nuclear arsenal. The current programme, Trident, was established in 1980 and the missiles were purchased from the United States in the mid-1990s. Trident itself replaced Polaris, another nuclear programme developed



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entirely by the US. Traditionally, historians such as Edward Spiers have been more optimistic about Britain's dependence, focusing more upon the idea of interdependency. Recently, with historians such as Andrew Scott and Andrew Priest, the debate has shifted more pragmatically towards dependency. This paper claims that Britain had completely failed in its attempts to maintain independence in its efforts to achieve a working nuclear deterrent, showing how almost every aspect of the development and supply came from the US.

Great Britain was the third country to successfully develop and test an atomic bomb in 1952, after Russia in 1949 and the United States in 1945. Initially, it was the British who were leading the development of nuclear weaponry, yet this did not last due to Britain's considerable lack of manpower and resources in comparison with that of the United States. After the

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Quebec agreement in 1943, all British scientists working on uranium-235 related projects and atomic research calculations moved to the American project. Most worked at Los Alamos, but no British scientists were even permitted to enter US factories where plutonium was produced. Britain quickly became the junior partner of the project they had launched (Gowing, 1981). With the introduction of the McMahon Act (The Atomic Energy Act of 1946, which brought the sharing of nuclear information to an end), British involvement in the American project came to an end. When the McMahon Act was scrapped, full co-operation between Britain and the United States began again, however, this gave way to the belief that the British nuclear deterrent was dependent on assistance from the United States. This essay will take a chronological approach towards the analysis of Britain's nuclear project, analysing the role both nations played in the establishment of the nuclear deterrent in the 1950s through to the 1960s. It will also look at the attempts to achieve interdependency by the British government, and how these ultimately failed to have any real effect.

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With the implementation of the McMahon Act, it became illegal for any classified atomic information to be divulged to any foreign power, including Great Britain (Gowing, 1981). Yet this was not received so negatively by all the British. Christopher Hinton, a nuclear engineer, said that “it would make the British think for themselves” (Gowing, 1981). And indeed it did. As mentioned before, Great Britain developed its first atomic bomb in 1952. Anglo-American co-operation was not needed for the construction of atomic plants and the basic atomic bomb. In 1957, Britain unleashed a series of megaton bomb tests, and by 1958 it had its first hydrogen bomb ready (Dumbrell, 2001). But to what extent was this project truly independent? Although the McMahon Act was not fully repealed until 1958, it was amended in 1954. This amendment enabled nuclear co-operation between the United States and any independent country that had achieved significant advances in the field of nuclear energy. A year later, the United States and Great Britain had signed civil and military co-operation agreements, as well as a grant of \$210 million dollars in March 1954 (Ball, 1995). The US military had agreed to pass on to the British details of

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size, weight, and attachment systems so that they could carry American weapons in the future. This move was a little more covert as the Atomic Energy Commission had denied the Department of Defence's request to send the information to the British, but the military did it anyway, as the United States Air Force pushed for closer ties with the British Royal Air Force, bringing some of their intelligence with them (Ball, 1995). However, the British treasury initially blocked the funding to adjust the British V-bombers so they could carry American weapons, fearing that this would compromise the independence of the British nuclear force. Not long after, the treasury was overruled and 176 aircraft of varying types were converted to accommodate American weapons (Ball, 1995). Even early on, there were clear signs of dependency on the United States in the British quest for a nuclear deterrent.

Eventually, the McMahon Act was amended yet again, allowing the United States to share information with any of its close allies (although this had already happened with Britain as previously mentioned). It is important to question what changed the minds of the

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American legislature. First, in 1957, the Soviets surprised the world (and more importantly, the United States) by launching the Sputnik 1, the first artificial Earth satellite. Although its apoapsis (the highest point of orbit) was only around 583 miles, the distance between Berlin and London is only around 579 miles (Nssdc.gsfc.nasa.gov, 2017). The vehicle that launched Sputnik was capable of launching rockets over 3,700 miles, meaning it was the first intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) (Arnold, 2001). Due to this vehicle, the Soviet Union could now strike the US, who then decided they could no longer afford to be the only western nuclear power. Another factor that influenced the end of the McMahon Act was the understanding of its futility. It was designed to help the United States keep its monopoly on nuclear weapons, but a mere seven years later, both the Soviet Union and Great Britain had developed their own. Churchill was convinced that Operation Hurricane (the official name of the test), would impress the United States into co-operating again like they had during the Second World War. Yet, by 1952, the US had already refined the atom bomb and moved onto the hydrogen bomb. When asked what they thought

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about possible atomic energy exchanges with Britain, one congressman replied with “We would be trading a horse for a rabbit” (Arnold, 2001). It was Britain’s subsequent “hydrogen bomb” in 1958 that did leave an impression, coupled with the advances in Soviet technology which destroyed American complacency that led to the changes in the McMahon Act and the development of overt US-Anglo nuclear co-operation.

As the construction of Britain’s nuclear deterrent became built upon the practice of purchasing missiles from the United States, Britain’s involvement continued to dwindle. The first weapon sold to the British was the PGM-17 Thor missile, also the first ICBM developed by the Americans. It was deployed in Britain in 1959, but only as a temporary measure, completely dependent on the United States, and was retired in September 1963 (Gibson, 1996). It was intended as an interim deterrent until the US had finished the development of Skybolt, their new missile delivery system, which Great Britain was to have as an “independent deterrent” (Gowing, 1964) . Britain was to put all of its proverbial eggs in one basket with Skybolt. Recent advances in Surface-to-Air missiles

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meant that dropping bombs was implausible; therefore, a new alternative was needed. Skybolt meant the extended lifespan of the British V-bombers, thus avoiding the search for a new delivery system such as Blue Streak, the British attempt at an independent delivery system which was scrapped in 1960. It gave the RAF greater strategic flexibility and range, as well as preventing the further unbalancing of the RAF and the Royal Navy (Priest, 2006). Britain based its entire “independent” deterrent force on the Skybolt. The subsequent crisis when the US pulled development on it is a clear demonstration of the dependence of Britain on the United States, as Her Majesty’s Government broke out into protests. Britain had cancelled all other projects to focus on assisting and preparing for Skybolt, and with its cancellation in 1962, Britain was left without an effective nuclear deterrent to call its own.

Before this, Britain had planned and begun the development of its own, new weapon delivery system, the Blue Streak. The operational requirement was issued in 1955, and the design for the middle was completed by 1957, but it became apparent quite

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quickly that Blue Streak was going to be too expensive. When compared with the progress that the Soviet Union or the United States was making with their new delivery systems, it became abundantly clear that Blue Streak was progressively becoming a less and less viable option. The weapons systems were also particularly vulnerable to first-strike attacks due to recent improvements to the accuracy of ballistic missiles, and would only be viable as a second-strike deterrent; they were outdated before they had even become deployed (Dumbrell, 2001). It was scrapped in 1960, and while it never served as a nuclear deterrent it was moved to civil programmes and developed over the 1960s-70s (Hill, 2006). Britain had started reasonably well in its pursuit of an independent deterrent in the 1950s. Yet, the later in the decade, the more it began to rely on the United States. Even during the McMahon years, Britain was covertly supplied information by parties in the USAF. When Blue Streak proved a failure, Britain moved to Skybolt, which was developed almost purely by the US, and when that failed to bear fruit and was cancelled, Britain was left without any nuclear deterrent to speak of. The weapons it had already developed had been



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made redundant by advances in Surface to Air Missile technology, and other preventative measures. The Thor missiles deployed in Britain were not sold or granted to Britain.

With the failure of Skybolt the US agreed to sell Britain the Polaris missile for 105% of the material costs (5% for the cost of research and development). For 9 submarines and 125 weapons, it would cost the British around £800 million (Priest, 2006). Yet it is not just the provision of the missiles they relied on, under the Nassau agreement Britain was granted the following: “details on the launching system, components of the inertial navigation system, the fire control, satellite intelligence, communications equipment, testing facilities in Nevada, and even the high stress steel for the submarine hulls” (Spiers, 1981). Both the equipment and the training in the use of the Polaris missile came from the United States, something the Pentagon’s staff was incredibly forthcoming with, especially considering some of their prior reservations about trading atomic secrets. The majority of the equipment used in Polaris was also manufactured by the Americans, especially in the

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construction of the Polaris submarines. There was no effort made to hide this high level of US involvement, in fact, the former First Lord of the Admiralty Carrington is quoted to have said: “we must buy in the USA every item of sub-installed Polaris weapon system that they will sell to us” (Priest, 2005). Britain could claim some of the “independence” of their deterrence as they designed the warheads themselves.

By choosing the most advanced version of the Polaris possible, the A3, it had meant that the US could not provide either the warheads or the re-entry vehicles for the missile. But even here, the US made themselves available and their help was crucial to the British effort. As it was not possible that the British could simply copy the American’s warhead, the US Navy had made information on their warhead design and theories of penetration aids readily available for the British engineers and scientists. The spare parts for Polaris were provided almost entirely by American firms, as they were cheaper and the British firms were plagued by delays. Even when the Minister of Technology tried to continue the practice of using British firms, the tender passed to the US (Priest 2005).

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These are not phenomena unique to the 1950s and 1960s either, this reliance on the US for the British deterrent continued well into the 1970s. Polaris missiles found themselves quickly outdated by more recent weapons, such as the Poseidon missiles. When the British attempted to improve upon the Polaris design, they encountered similar issues to those they had experienced before; they could not afford to upgrade nor could they keep up with technological advancements made in the United States. As a result, they asked and received US assistance in their “Antelope Operation”, which had intended to improve the likelihood of a missile reaching its target by reducing the chances of interception by an anti-ballistic missile. Yet again, the British sacrificed their independence in their nuclear projects, as they had neither the manpower nor the money to continue their own work (Scott, 2011).

Throughout this period, parts of the British government spent considerable amounts of time convincing itself that the nuclear co-operation between Great Britain and the United States was one of “Interdependency”. How much of this is true? In

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order for there to be interdependency, there would have to be some form of British independence in their nuclear deterrent. In this case, some of the previous points made stand, namely the fact that the British were responsible (in part) for their own nuclear warheads. The Nassau agreement also bestowed upon Britain the right to use their nuclear deterrent independently where “supreme national interests are at stake” (Spiers, 1981).<sup>4</sup> Nor was it as if the United States was the sole contributor to the British nuclear project. From 1958, Britain exported plutonium from its civil and military reactors in the UK (although it still relied heavily on the import of uranium and tritium) (Dumbrell, 2001). Another factor that adds “interdependency” to Britain is the existence of the dual key, originally implemented with the placement of Thor missiles in Great Britain. This meant that both the US and Britain had to agree to launch any missiles, granting the British an effective veto over the use of the missiles (Dumbrell, 2001). But how much of this has any real impact? It is important to note that Robert McNamara, the Secretary of Defence to Kennedy and Johnson in the United States, was against the

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<sup>4</sup> Spiers, ‘The British Nuclear Deterrent’ 1981, p. 160

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European powers having their own independent deterrents, the only reason he went ahead with any plans was because he acknowledged that it was better to control what the British could do by helping, rather than leaving them to their own devices. On the question of veto, McNamara stated in 1983: “I doubt very much that there was any understanding that Britain had a veto”. Similarly, Kissinger wrote, “to be frank, we could not have accepted a judgement different from our own” (Dumbrell, 2001). The US was also using the provision of the nuclear deterrent in an attempt to leverage Britain into joining the Multilateral Force (MLF), an international fleet of ballistic missile submarines and warships manned by NATO crews. Although the British managed to resist this for the most part, the use of the nuclear deterrent as a part of NATO (commanded by a US general), or the MLF, would have meant that the British deterrent was not remotely independent (Dumbrell, 2001). This push shows the US attempting to decrease the amount of independence Britain had with its nuclear deterrent, yet even with their overwhelming influence, the British ultimately resisted these efforts,

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as they were aware of the need of the US for their missile bases.

To conclude, although Britain had played a pivotal role in the original development of nuclear weapons, it quickly found itself slowly alienated from its own project in World War Two. With the introduction of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 (McMahon), this was further compounded. Whilst this did not stop the sending of covert assistance, Britain did not always have the tools to advance on its own. They simply had neither the technology nor the economic capacity to do that level of research and development. This became more evident when the McMahon act was amended twice, leading to the Skybolt crisis, which clearly indicated that the British were forced to rely on the US as they could not do it on their own. The only real aspects of British independence in this is the need for Britain to construct its own warheads, its exportation of plutonium, dual key system and veto, and the independence “guaranteed” by the original Nassau Agreement. With the British resisting the push from the US to join the MLF or cede over more control to NATO, their influence on the British

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nuclear project was not absolute, and therefore the British did still have some control as to where or to what they put their missiles to. Yet even some of those concepts have intrinsic flaws. The statements made by McNamara and Kissinger show that they would never have respected Britain's "right" to a veto in a serious situation. Even with the independence they had, and their involvement in the creation of the nuclear warheads themselves, the failures of Blue Streak and Skybolt paint too clear a picture. Ultimately, Britain was phased out as an independent nuclear power by the 1960s and was heavily dependent on the US due to its failure to provide its own.

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## LOYALTY: Or a Boy Born of Two Fathers

J. A. Stapleton

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### ABSTRACT

*Loyalty, or a Boy Born of Two Fathers*, is an epistolary short story that chronicles the collapse of a marriage, an empire and a man's spirit. Told through censored letters and diary entries made available to the public in London's Imperial War Museum, we learn of Captain R. Loveday's escapades during the Battle of Kohima. Our journey stretches from the stability of the Anglo-French Suez Canal in Imperial Egypt, through to the Japanese-occupied jungle state of Nagaland. The battle is often referred to as the Stalingrad of the East and was voted "Britain's Greatest

## Loyalty — J. A. Stapleton

Battle” by the National Army Museum in 2013.

His narrative captures the change in tide of global events akin to the dramas of home, tragedy and heroism during the eclipse of the Second World War. Will the tide of the Brahmaputra break and let him sail home to North London?

The story, all names, characters, and incidents featured in this short are entirely fictitious.

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The featured entries featured were recovered amid a clear-out at the residence of a Mr. Arthur Loveday - at his home in Edmonton, North London – following a fatal heart attack in 1981.

# LOYALTY

Or A Boy Born of Two Fathers.

1.

## THE VOYAGE.

18 . 04 . 1944.

Dear Arthur,

First and foremost, my condolences, I heard of Ethel's sudden decline from our sister. I express my sorrow and apologies to you and the boys for not attending the funeral; I anticipate there was a great turnout. She was a fine woman and will be sorely missed.

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Thanks for your letter old man. Upon receiving it I was at once filled with high spirits. ~~It didn't last.~~ Later aboard our ship, ~~The Empress,~~ the Colonel called a conference of all officers and informed us that the cogs are set in motion for my lads to join the War in the East. ~~I'm not most keen on the idea.~~ Pass on my love to Mother and Sister, thanks for checking on the wife.

R.

\*\*\*

24 . 04 . 1944.

Brother,

Since I last wrote we've parted the Suez Canal and are crossing the blasted Arabian Sea. ~~We're headed for Nagaland, via the Brahmaputra River and along the Assam Valley.~~ Fighting the Japs in ~~North-East~~ India.

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The mood aboard has changed with the wind. ~~The lads are dreading the exercise to Burma. Tensions are high.~~ A boxing ring has been erected in the lower levels to ease them. ~~Officers are forbidden to partake in such activities.~~ One has chosen to break ~~this rule;~~ Lieutenant Kenworthy. The lads respect him and I will attempt to honour him likewise.

Yesterday evening two men, ~~with enough towel rations for a fortnight,~~ bundled - being the appropriate word - in to fight. One man entered the ring, taller than Kenworthy, with short hair and furry eyebrows - Private Johnson, ~~a degenerate gambler.~~ The men applauded Kenworthy as he made quick double jabs and sharp right hooks: glamorising it all ~~and heightening the imbecilic air about him.~~ Eyes ~~flashing red.~~ Johnson was bashed about despite being a monster in comparison - 6' 4" - absolutely battered by the cruel-bodied man. The chaps roared with excitement, I

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can imagine you doing likewise. The air was much too stuffy so I quit the room and joined the officers in the Mess Decks for drinks.

At 21.00 hrs, I decided to have a tinkle on the piano. I was contented with the reception I received - song. The tune, "Boys of the Southern Cross", had raised their spirits and, to best explain, driven them to claim ~~Kohima~~ once more for the British. I returned to my quarters, around 22:30, ~~somewhat drunk~~, and glimpsed of Kenworthy, ~~the cocky bastard~~, on a stairway to the Upper Decks. Later I sat on my bunk and thought of Eleanor. Winfrey, the splendid lad I share a cabin with, was snoring again and so I went without sleep.

Hope you're holding up O.K. following the funeral.

R.

\*\*\*

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27 . 04 . 1944

Arthur,

Orders have come ! Tomorrow we land. ~~We're to rendezvous with Indian forces east of the Assam. The Japs have brought the 1<sup>st</sup> Infantry Division (15,000 bodies) to play with.~~ We are to lead a second wave frontal assault with the Chindt Brigade on flank.

At the time, us officers stood about in the boardroom, smoking cigarettes, ~~consoling ourselves.~~ Comments included:- "THEY must have an alternative plan." ~~Will THEY hell!~~

We went on down to the Mess Decks where the men stood about ready. ~~Sad to say, I wondered, looking over them, who'd be killed first -~~ Kenworthy rallied the cry.

Wish Mother a happy birthday. I don't have it in me to write to



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her, it'll be some time before you  
hear word from me.

2.

THE ARRIVAL.  
**CAPT. R. LOVEDAY'S DIARY**  
**[TYPED, COMPILED AND CHRONOLOGICALLY**  
**INSERTED BY THE IMPERIAL WAR MUSEUM]**

NO. 1

28<sup>th</sup> April '44

NOTE: I've begun this diary to chronicle our time in Kohima. An extraordinary scene unfolded on deck today. I was directing the men into the landing crafts when both Sergeants Robson and Stephens were mowed down by machine gun fire I imagine both telegrams will include "quick deaths". They've nicknamed this the Stalingrad of the East, and they're bloody well right.

Invasion conditions were terrible. Nonetheless, we gunned

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across the choppy waters: headlong into the line of fire. Strong winds caused a heavy swell, slinging [the] smaller vessels [inc. Loveday's] from wavetop to wavetop.

One of the lads radioed in air support. Three RAF bombers soared overhead and blew the [snipers], taking pot-shots at us, to kingdom come. I waited in the boat with my flask, toasting the prodigious performance: the planes, dancing amid falling bombs in the orange skies above. I could almost taste that coppery blood smell in the air.

The sea eventually calmed and we bailed out of the boats. We shot at the treeline for good measure: no retort came and amounted a heath of scorched soil and burning bamboo, dropped into prone positions and waited. Watching. Nine wounded Japs, arms raised in surrender, padded over to us.

"No shoot." A bespectacled fellow cried.

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From the bushes there was a whistle. Sickening cracks. Rifles ripping them apart. Popping heads. Flailing limbs. Guilt in my heart. We'd gone and slaughtered them.

On the right flank came Kenworthy and his contingency of delinquents, smoking weapons over their shoulders, like medals, boasting their hunt. Kenworthy stopped at the boy in specs, whose eyes bore into his, nudged his face away and stepped over him.

"This isn't war. It's murder!"

His eyes rolled. "Tell someone who gives a [damn] old boy. These slanty-eyed [men] done two of yours and a few of mine. If we didn't shoot them, they'd have returned the favour."

I cursed at him, we could've easily taken them prisoner.

"Funny, your magazine's empty too. You do come out with some absolute [baloney]!"

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Under that tobacco ridden breath of his, in his tone, I was also to blame: so, I hit him. He wasn't as tough as first thought. I couldn't have him belittling me, I'm the Captain. I broke his nose and put him on his arse for good measure. When he got back up, ready, he did the dirty and head-butted. We went for it like children, rolling about in the mud. I'll soon have him.

No. 4

1st May '44

These past days have been the most fascinating in my life. Every evening I wonder, somewhat drunk about the state of the human condition and how loyalty comes and goes with servicemen. Fatigue is high and morale is low since setting off into the wilderness of the jungle after the Japanese, somewhere out in the bush.

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Stapleton

Within this fantastical landscape Thomas Hardy surfaced in my mind: "The languid perfume of the summer fruits, the mists...the flowers, formed therein a vast pool of odour which...seemed to make the animals, the very bees and butterflies drowsy." Not to mention the drink too.

Out in the bulrushes there was a whip and a crack. A lad, Livingston, was killed. No sniper spotted. After waiting a moment, we pressed on. Winfrey, damn brave fellow, was on flamethrower duty; filling in for Johnson after his hospitalization in the boxing match.

He led a path of smouldering earth. Then, after traversing the jungle for over an hour there was a rustle above. The Devil's breath, engulfed a tree and a Jap tangled down from its bosom, in the rope, aflame. Kenworthy tore the poor sod to shreds with a Lee-Enfield rifle. The Jap was smiling at me.

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No. 7

4th May '44

I haven't slept since the Jap. A great many atrocities have occurred under my command. Too many men killed in this Battle for barren land. I'll be one of them. I think this daily, wondering how long it can last. I have a family waiting for me: an estranged wife, we didn't end on great terms when I departed for Africa many months ago. I need to write Arthur, his Ethel died, I need him to pass on a message to mine and possibly save what is left of my marriage.

ORDERS: We are now to capture the Imphal road.

No. 9

6<sup>th</sup> May '44

More dead. Nothing to show for it: 1 corpse for 3 empty boxes of ammunition. There's nothing of

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saving the free world, only  
safeguarding trading interests.  
Kenworthy and I are to attend a  
meeting tomorrow evening.

3.

**THE LAST RECEIVED LETTER.**

19 . 05 . 1944

Dearest Mother and brother,

The war for me is at an end. I've  
been wounded in a grenade attack  
that has claimed the lives of many  
men and the altruistic, Lieutenant  
Kenworthy.

I intend to inform his family upon  
my return.

The doctors have described my  
condition as stable after a  
fortnight here in the Camp hospital,  
only a few minor injuries.

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You've been on my mind a great deal during my travels across the sub-continents of Africa and India. I will make amends for being gone these past months.

Your loving son and brother,

Captain R. Loveday.

P.S. Arthur, will receive a letter, read it well.

Arthur,

This'll be posted to you anonymously. I've done something terrible. On May 7<sup>th</sup> I planned to divulge evidence of mass murder in a meeting, executed by Lieutenant Kenworthy and myself, to Lt. Colonel George Brown. I bid that boy Jon Winfrey, farewell and went to the command-post. Kenworthy went for me. A grenade was tossed in and we were blown out of it. I was thrown clear of the escarpment and into the reeds below – for the most part unscathed.

I came to a few hours later, the ensuing gunfire had died down, the Japs had made for the hills. I found



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Kenworthy near the escarpment. His torso splintered and the better part of his face blown off. I didn't know what to do, so I had a drink. I shot him in the knee, twice in his chest, then three or four times to the face. I took a few of his teeth. Lancasters soared overhead, a finer display of fireworks has never been given. There was a squelching beneath my boots, plummeting bombs overhead and satisfying screams. Winfrey struggled up after me and said nothing. He's seen what I've done. They'll court-martial me for this once I'm out this hospital.

Winfrey'll be back for me, I'm sure of it, sooner or later.

Accept this as my admission of guilt. What I intend to do now, I don't know, but I'm certain of this, you will never hear of me again.

charges to pay  
s. d.  
RECEIVED  
24/10/41  
m

POST OFFICE  
TELEGRAM  
Prefix. Time banded in. Office of Origin and Service Instructions. Words.

OFFICE STAMP  
LONDON

222 2:7 PADSTON T OHMS 28.

To

49 WOODFORD AVENUE ILFORD

= DEEPLY REGRET TO INFORM YOU YOUR SON 42737  
HAS BEEN REPORTED MISSING LETTER  
FOLLOWS = OC STEVAL

For free cancellation of doubtful messages return to "TELEGRAMS ENQUIRY" or call, with this form, accompanied by this form, and, if possible, the envelope

42737-P/O F-13

## Pandemonium

Joshua Grocott

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### ABSTRACT

Sarah has been separated from her husband and daughter during a nationwide quarantine. The quarantine has been designed to divide people by their skill sets, so Sarah finds herself amongst other medical professionals. Sarah is bemused to realise that she is being kept in a state of inertia (along with fellow MDs, Faye and Mike), while a horrific sickness ravages the rest of the global population.

Sarah is confronted with a ridiculous antagonist. Medical doctors are more valuable alive and untouched by the world-ending pandemic in the *novus ordo seclorum* (new order of the ages); it stands to reason that they would be kept away

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from the infected denizens during the spread, if at all possible.

This short play focuses on the mathematics of survival. An equation that demonstrates how those most likely to be of help in a state of global contagion are the ones who should be prevented from helping and protected at all costs, once it passes the point-of-no-return. Inspired by an extrapolation of the ethical thought experiment, “the trolley problem”, the play takes a rather cynical view of one possible British response in the midst of a global pandemic.

Pandemonium – Joshua Grocott

# PANDEMONIUM



Pandemonium – Joshua Grocott

**DRAMATIS PERSONAE**

SARAH

Sarah Lima, M.D.

FAYE

Faye Sartre, M.D.

MIKE

Michael Wherry, M.D.

MULCIBER  
Her Majesty's Armed Forces

Field Marshal of

GAS-MASKED SOLDIERS  
Miscellaneous

SCENE I

*GAS-MASKED SOLDIERS greet audience members and guide them to their seats. House lights dimmed. Lighting provided by lamps/torches carried by actors.*

SARAH:

*(Addressing the audience)* Excuse me, has anyone seen my husband? His name is John Lima? We were travelling with our daughter, Laura. She's seven. They both have light blonde hair... We got separated on the platform at King's Cross... If anyone does see them, could— could you tell them that I'm— that Sarah— is alright? I don't want them to worry...

FAYE:

You're wasting your time. Everyone here has lost someone.

SARAH:

Does anyone know where else they're sending people?

FAYE:

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No one even knows where we are now.

SARAH:

Why are they separating us like this?

FAYE:

What do you do? Sarah, was it?

SARAH:

Yes. Sarah. Sarah Lima. *Doctor* Sarah Lima.

FAYE:

M.D.?

SARAH:

Yes... I'm – I'm a paediatrician.

FAYE:

I'm internal medicine... Well, I was. I'm retired now. Everyone here has medical training. I expect we're being put to work.

SARAH:

You really think so?

FAYE:

Standard practice in this kind of situation... At least, I'd imagine it is.

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SARAH:

Yes I suppose it is. I mean – most of the hospital doctors would probably have gone down with the initial infection.

FAYE:

I heard that Ground Zero was Central St. Sebastian's. That was my old hospital.

SARAH:

My god... I'm so sorry.

FAYE:

Don't be. I trained there forty years ago. I don't expect anyone I knew was still there. Besides, that's all academic now anyway. A pandemic goes well beyond nationwide spread. Anyone I know who's not dead already surely will be soon.

SARAH:

That's an awful thing to say!

FAYE:

We're all doctors here Sarah. We all know the probable scenario for a contagion on this scale. Localised containment is a total impossibility.



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The world should count itself lucky that it broke out on an island like ours. At least there's half a chance for the rest of the world—

SARAH:

We could still get outside help. There's always evacuation?

FAYE:

We just became the largest leper colony in the world. The most we can hope for is an air drop of food, fresh water and meds... but the best we can hope for is a mercy kill.

SARAH:

Well I for one, intend to remain a little more optimistic. I don't understand why no one has told us what's going on. Why aren't they letting us help?

*Another lamp is illuminated to reveal MIKE.*

MIKE:

Stage one of containment – Militia Rule.  
General populace is placed under house arrest.  
All civilians already in transit are secured in quarantine camps. Any personnel identified as

Pandemonium – Joshua Grocott

having medical or scientific expertise are separated from the populace and drafted as ancillary staff for rapid utilisation.

SARAH:

How do you know that?

MIKE:

I had the honour of training in Her Majesty's Armed Forces. I was recalled to active duty from my home this morning.

SARAH:

Why are you here with us then? Surely you should be on the frontlines, or something?

FAYE:

He probably would be – if he wasn't blind drunk when they picked him up.

MIKE:

I'll have you know that my blindness exists independently from my drunkenness!

SARAH:

What happens next? When will they talk to us?

MIKE:

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Once the nature of the contagion is confirmed, stage two will be devised subjectively. We'll probably be informed then.

SARAH:

But we should be helping now!

FAYE:

This is a military operation now. And the forces don't involve civilians until they ain't got any other choice.

MIKE:

Way it should be. Civilians make the mess – we clean it up.

FAYE:

You couldn't clean up your own vomit just now Michael—

MIKE:

—And I already apologised for that, thank you so very much, Faye.

SARAH:

Do you two know each other?

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FAYE:

We were in practice together a few years back. The bastard thought it would be funny to give the Military Police my address—

MIKE:

—Wouldn't be a plague camp, Faye – not without you.

*MULCIBER enters, carrying a lamp and gesturing for the civilian's attention.*

MULCIBER:

Ladies and gentlemen – I'm sure you've all worked out why you're here. I apologise if you feel left in the dark, but these are dark times and we are working hard to fix the lights. Et lux in tenebris lucet, and all that.

SARAH:

Excuse me, sir? I wonder if you could help me? It's about my husband—

MULCIBER:

—Rest assured madam, we have some of our top men working hard to fix your husband.

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SARAH:

But there was nothing wrong with him! He had no symptoms at all... He couldn't have been ill—

MULCIBER:

—If your bloke ain't broke ma'am, then we can't fix him.

SARAH:

I just want to know where he is?

MULCIBER:

You can remember that he ain't broke, but you can't remember where you left him?

SARAH:

Well no—

MULCIBER:

—If you didn't look after your husband ma'am, you'll forgive me for implying that it's no wonder he ended up wherever he is.

SARAH:

Where is that?

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MULCIBER:

Where's what?

SARAH:

This is ridiculous.

MIKE:

Captain Michael Wherry, Doctor, retired sir.

MULCIBER:

How do you do old boy?

MIKE:

This lady's husband was relocated from King's Cross, she wants to know where to?

MULCIBER:

Well why the devil didn't she say so? I'll need the gent's name of course—

SARAH:

—It's John. John Lima. And our daughter—

MULCIBER:

—No point in telling me old girl. Brain like a sieve I'm afraid. Write it down though and I'll make some enquiries.

Pandemonium – Joshua Grocott

SARAH:

Does anyone have a pen? And something to write on?

FAYE:

Here (*produces a pen and paper for SARAH*).  
Any chance of a sit-rep, sir?

MULCIBER:

Early days yet my dear, early days... But don't worry, we'll let you know just as soon as we let you know. You're all in the hands of Her Majesty now, and the old girl's grip is still quite strong. An aceplay for everyoneway and everyoneway in their aceplay, as they say.

*MULCIBER strides away for a brisk exit.*

SARAH:

Wait sir – my husband, and my daughter – I've written their names and descriptions!

MIKE:

Don't worry m'dear... He wouldn't have looked for them anyway.

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FAYE:

What're two lost people in a sea of lost souls?

*End scene.*

SCENE II

*SARAH, MIKE and FAYE sit on boxes. Scene lit with lamps/candles.*

SARAH:

We were going on holiday. That's why we were at King's Cross. Then the soldiers came and took control of the station. They told us the planes had been grounded. They wouldn't let us go home. When they asked to see our tickets I showed them. That's probably why I'm here. Why do I insist on having 'Doctor' written on all of my documents? If I'd just booked my seat under 'Missus' Lima, I'd still be with John and Laura now. But no – I worked hard for my title and I always have to use it!

FAYE:

Why shouldn't you? We all do. Plus it's sometimes good for a free upgrade or two...



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MIKE:

Never hurts to have a doctor on-board, after all...

SARAH:

Victims of our own hubris—

MIKE:

—I wouldn't exactly call us victims Sarah. We have a much higher chance of survival, now we've been extracted from the general populace.

SARAH:

Exactly. While everyone I love is condemned to perish in a death camp.

FAYE:

Oh come now – you're starting to sound like me!

SARAH:

Why shouldn't I? If they're being held in camps, my husband and child are already dead! You were right. We all know that infection spreads infinitely quicker when people are kept in large groups! That's why cities are the first to

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fall. All it takes is one sick person to slip through the net. It might not even be the pandemic that kills them! They could catch anything, and anything could be fatal... You know it and I know it.

MIKE:

The army will take care of it—

SARAH:

—The army's answer to everything is to stick people in camps! I'll never forget Laura's screams.

FAYE:

Sarah...

SARAH:

The worst of it is – they won't even let us help. We could have the answer to the problem, and they aren't even using us!

MIKE:

It's not that simple—

SARAH:

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—Nothing ever is. It's always shades of grey, and that's where the army works best – in a fog. A great dense grey one!

FAYE:

I agree, I really do, but there's no point in getting upset about it.

MIKE:

Nothing like a nice dense fog to hide you from your enemies.

SARAH:

What enemies? This is a virus, not an insurgency!

MIKE:

Still... It helps to have good cover when fighting an unknown force.

*Enter MULCIBER.*

MULCIBER:

Now ladies and gentlemen, I have news from the frontline. Our boys are tackling the pandemic. We've been working out whether the outbreak was accidental or incidental – germ warfare or germ welfare – expectamus, et cetera...

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FAYE:

So what news do you have?

MULCIBER:

I just told you.

FAYE:

Your news is that you've been "looking into it"?

MULCIBER:

Absolutely! Our top priority is keeping you chaps in the loop.

SARAH:

But we're not in the loop. We have no idea what you're actually doing!

MULCIBER:

Of course you don't – you don't have clearance. As I said, our top priority is keeping you in the loop, so we've been working hard to get you clearance so that we can get you working hard.

FAYE:

You haven't even told us where we are.

Pandemonium – Joshua Grocott

MULCIBER:

That information is on a need to know basis.

FAYE:

Well we need to know.

MULCIBER:

Whatever for? You can't go anywhere, there's a quarantine on. Anyway; if we told you where you were, that would only leave you vulnerable if the worst were to happen.

FAYE:

How so?

MULCIBER:

Well if it turns out that terrorists are involved, it's best that no one knows where to find you – including you.

SARAH:

What a joke.

MULCIBER:

Pandemonium – Joshua Grocott

No. No joke. This is not the time for jokes! I do, however, have some good news for the woman who was enquiring about her husband—

SARAH:

—I'm here!

MULCIBER:

And he was... Geoff?

SARAH:

John.

MULCIBER:

Yes, that's right—

SARAH:

—And my daughter?

MULCIBER:

Yes we expect her to pull through any day now.

SARAH:

She's sick?

MULCIBER:

Is she?

Pandemonium – Joshua Grocott

SARAH:

I was asking you.

MULCIBER:

Well, go ahead then my girl, ask away – I don't have all day.

SARAH:

No; I was asking you *if* she's sick.

MULCIBER:

If *who's* sick?

SARAH:

Laura? ...Are my husband and child okay?

MULCIBER:

As I said – we found your husband and child. I did not call upon them personally to enquire about their health. They're in a quarantine camp; I can't risk going *in there* – I might catch something!

SARAH:

What?

Pandemonium – Joshua Grocott

MULCIBER:

Now, I must be off. We all have work to do!

SARAH:

No – we don't! We wish we did, but you won't let us work! All you do is taunt us with nonsensical gibberish and keep us cooped up in this awful camp!

MULCIBER:

Of course we do, my darling – that's what being under quarantine is all about. And ixnay onway ethay awfulway ampday – it's just not cricket!

*MULCIBER exits, SARAH collapses.*

*End scene.*

SCENE III

*MIKE and FAYE sit either side of the stage, SARAH paces between them; lit with lamps/torches/candles.*



Pandemonium – Joshua Grocott

SARAH:

It's been weeks!

MIKE:

What are you complaining about? They keep us well fed. It's just like being on a very long *on-call* shift.

FAYE:

Considering how drunk they're keeping you, I doubt you'd be able to perform if anyone actually needed you to... Hang on... When you were *on-call* at the practice, you weren't drinking all the time were you?

MIKE:

Of course not – not all the time, certainly! ...I was a professional then. Now I'm retired, I can do what I like.

FAYE:

You've already said yourself that you're "*back on active duty*"!

MIKE:

Well – if Her Majesty's Forces have seen fit to supply me with a brandy ration to stave off the

Pandemonium – Joshua Grocott

cold and tedium, I will not cause dissention in the ranks by turning it down!

FAYE:

But you're quite happy to cause dissention by drinking the whole-bloody-lot, all by yourself?

SARAH:

Will you two stop bickering! ... You're making me miss my husband!

FAYE:

That is truly awful Sarah... Do you actually *like* your husband?

SARAH:

It's not that! I just... I just miss arguing about the silly, trivial things with him. If I saw John now, I swear I'd never argue with him again. Because, when you think about it, nothing we ever argued about ever actually mattered.

FAYE:

It must have mattered at the time...

SARAH:

That's not the point!

Pandemonium – Joshua Grocott

MIKE:

Just the tip?

SARAH:

No! None of the things we argued about really mattered. Not *really*. It's the arguing itself that I miss... Expressing our perspectives in heated passion—

MIKE:

—Now you're talking—

SARAH:

—Showing each other that we cared enough to disagree. But now I don't care! Now I just wish John would say something to me that I fervently know is wrong, just so I can embrace his erroneousness with every fibre of my being!

FAYE:

I hope you see John again soon Sarah – and may you never argue ever again when you do...

*Enter MULCIBER.*

MULCIBER:

Pandemonium – Joshua Grocott

I bring very grave tidings indeed – mala ipsa nova – the *worst* has been discovered.

FAYE:

Which worst would that be?

MULCIBER:

We have discovered that this pandemic is the result of a terrorist attack.

MIKE:

Oh... Jolly bad show!

FAYE:

How has it taken you so long to discover this ground-breaking revelation?

MULCIBER:

Well, it didn't take us that long really... You've *only just* been granted clearance, you see. But the truth is – we were fighting an uphill battle from the very start.

SARAH:

In what way?

MULCIBER:

Pandemonium – Joshua Grocott

Well most of our germ-warfare lads were wiped out in the opening salvo.

MIKE:

That's terrible!

FAYE:

How could that happen?

MULCIBER:

Well – the attack was launched at our germ-warfare laboratories, in Central St. Sebastian's hospital.

MIKE:

How tragic!

FAYE:

How could any terrorists have got the intelligence for that? I worked at St. Seb's for years, and I had no idea there was a germ, a germ-what-have-you-lab, there!

MULCIBER:

Well... Obviously... We don't advertise the place to the public, do we? But whichever terrorist organisation was responsible clearly had an intricate intelligence network that

Pandemonium – Joshua Grocott

burrowed deep into the heart of our country. At this stage we have no evidence to support this theory, but we have people working hard to make it seem like we do.

FAYE:

Isn't it far more likely that any outbreak was a result of an accident on the part of your germ-what-warfare technicians?

MULCIBER:

That kind of question is counter-productive... And, *now I think about it*, it's exactly what a terrorist might say! When exactly *did* you work at Central St. Sebastian's?

*GAS-MASKED SOLDIERS enter.*

FAYE:

What? ... You can't seriously be suggesting that—

MULCIBER:

Arrest that woman!

*GAS-MASKED SOLDIERS grab*

*FAYE.*

Pandemonium – Joshua Grocott

FAYE:

Mike, for god's sake! You've known me for twenty years... Say something!

MIKE:

Faye, you are quite right! Field Marshal Mulciber? I'd like to distance myself from the accused. I'd also like my service to this country, and these armed forces, to be considered.

FAYE:

You treacherous git!

MULCIBER:

The prisoner will remain silent until I arrange for them to be taken to the brig!

FAYE:

What bloody difference will that make? I'm already a damn prisoner!

*FAYE is escorted offstage by  
GAS-MASKED SOLDIERS.*

MULCIBER:

Believe me, madam, when I tell you that it can always get worse! Now... Where is the young lady who lost her husband and child?

Pandemonium – Joshua Grocott

SARAH:

That... That's me, sir.

MULCIBER:

Good. We believe that we have located them.  
They're in the next room.

SARAH:

That... That's fantastic news!

MULCIBER:

Well that's hardly the reaction I'd expected  
from a woman who's just lost her spouse and  
offspring!

SARAH:

I... I'm afraid I don't follow you, sir... You said  
you'd just found John and Laura?

MULCIBER:

Yes, and you need to identify them for our  
records.

SARAH:



Pandemonium – Joshua Grocott

Can't they identify themselves?

MULCIBER:

I'm not in the habit of questioning corpses my dear – as you'll discover if you continue to show such insolence! This is no way for a bereaved wife and mother to behave!

SARAH:

You mean—

*GAS-MASKED SOLDIERS enter.*

MULCIBER:

—Follow me and find out for yourself, since you appear completely incapable of holding a cogent conversation!

*House lights up.*

MULCIBER:

Ah, the lights are fixed. I told you we wouldn't keep you in the dark forever! Now – don't shilly-shally standing about asking pointless questions about your friends and loved ones – if they aren't standing next to you right now, then they aren't part of the solution.

Pandemonium – Joshua Grocott

SARAH:

Nobody's standing next to me now—

MULCIBER:

—My own wife and son didn't make the cut either, and you don't see me lolly-gagging when I'm supposed to be somewhere else, do you? There's much hard work yet to be done, and we're the only buggers left who can do it. And if any of you don't think it's worth your time to play an active role in our novus ordo seclorum, then you'll find yourselves as eadday as this woman's amilyfay is now—

SARAH:

Why the hell do you keep talking in bloody Pig Latin? Wait – *Eadday*? You mean John and Laura are – you mean *they're dead*? And...

MULCIBER:

Because you never know who's listening, of course! Well, come quickly then sweetheart – those odiesbay won't stay eshfray forever!

*GAS-MASKED SOLDIERS grab  
SARAH and exit with her.*

Pandemonium – Joshua Grocott

Now, as for the rest of you – you're all cleared  
for active duty on project 'Pandemonium'.  
Please proceed to debriefing, and remember:  
avesay ourselvesyay irstfay, and othersway  
onlyway if you ancaay.

*Exeunt. End.*

## Made-Ground: a Sens of Place

Eliza O'Toole

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**Sens:** these pieces abide in the phenomenological. Another way of putting this is that they are formed of a physical (sensory) feeling (seemingly a contradiction in terms), one which is/has material/materialised, and is the root (being rooted in) of that sense (i.e. its derivation, from which it is derived). That is to say, rather than representing a sentimental feeling or being 'about' something, which is derived from the feeling, they are composed of and from it. There is no narrative, no story being told. For this reason 'sens' is a vital word; it is the Latin root for 'sentire' (sensus): to feel "the homeworld might be understood as a sphere of ownness [Eigenheitssphäre] (...) it is not only the world we experience, but the world from which we experience", from which sense is derived; it's root. There are over 200 words in use today that use this particular root, so here I am explicitly emphasizing the actual root – the sens – by reverting back to the root in

## Made-Ground: a Sens of Place – Eliza O’Toole

my formation. I am using expressly the root, not a derivation or offshoot i.e. the ‘sens’. Nor am I using one of the words containing or building upon the root, e.g. sentimental. The piece is thus being both; both formed of roots in a physical sense, and also made out of (is) the morphological and etymological root of the language in which it is rooted. It is playing with the “essential duplicity of words” (Quartermain, 1992), whilst simultaneously pointing to the materiality of the ephemeral (i.e. of sense made concrete – a take on concrete poetry). The sens is sens. It is where the word and its syllables are the same as its intention, where they coalesce and become one, i.e. not a second removed use of, or derivation. That there is no slip between the cup and the lip may be another way of putting this. It means what it says. It is that from which it is formed. It is neither metaphysical nor representational. Sens(e) is a physical phenomenon as well as a transcendental thought. Having the sense one was born with: a sense of place, a sense of smell, a sense of danger, the sense not to stick your head about the parapet....

Without us *being* in space, there are no places, and home is the first poetic of place. The groundedness in

geo-specific space and rootedness in a Heideggerian sense of phenomenology underscores this poetic in the pieces presented here.

Without home, we do not belong (*be* anywhere *long*), as Olsen (cited in Clark, 2000, preface iii) says: “I have this sense,/ that I am [*not*] one/ with my skin”.<sup>1</sup> That is not to say that whilst our home is our first universe, that it is our only place; we come and go through a world of inter-related other places and outer spaces.

The theme explored in these pieces is that *we are our home*; we are palimpsest, place-bound and emplaced (embodied) simultaneously in our names, ourselves, our multiple places, and our dis-places. We dwell in all of these, all at once. Steinbock tells Husserl (Steinbock, 1995, p. 222): “the homeworld might be understood as a sphere of ownness [Eigenheitssphäre] (...) it is not only the world we experience, but the world from which we experience.”

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<sup>1</sup> Clark, T. (2000) *Charles Olson: The Allegory of a Poet’s Life*. New York: North Atlantic Books. My addition of “*not*”.

Taking that a step further, we may be said to physically embody home, that home is phenomenologically akin to our body (Jacobson, 2009). It is the bag that our bones are in. Our s/kin. Our sens of things. That is not to say that we are often not strangers in strange lands. In Frost’s words: “If the day ever comes when they know who/ They are, they may know better where they are” (cited in Kimbrough, 1962, pp. 104-107).

The method of my practice is an exploration of the sens and materiality of words, of their being-in-place, and of the alternative knowledge that is uncovered/recovered in the physical place-ment of words. I am interested in the perpetual destabilisation of wor(l)ds by words through their place-ment and the manner of physically doing that. There is meaning-making importance attached to the composition of, or the exact location of, the place in the space of the page where the words are each place/d. The words are placed in an architectural or organically botanical manner, much like the placing of bricks, or the sowing of seeds in a vegetable plot. The approach to place-ment of words, and the space (and relationship)

between them, is developed through a material process of building/growing/making, rather than through the traditional syntactical approach to words in their constituent structure of grammar. Another way of putting this is that the meaning-making is not linear and is beyond the purely language-linguistic.

Perhaps I am working in a similar space as that identified by Pound as “logopoesis” (Pound, 1918, p. 57). My words come with anchoring roots and are then unearthed. They are dis-placed and re-placed through my composition and my practice of *apo koinou*, the simultaneous holding of all directions in common. Combined with parataxis, this creates a stumble and a removal of syntactical closure, and in so doing, opens up a new sens of place. The pieces are visual and morphological, passing from text to image, in hand with ‘passing from syntax to morphology’ (Huddleston, 1989, p. 22). The pieces focus on the liminal moment when we ‘move downwards beyond the word’ (Huddleston, 1989, p. 22) into roots, moving into the soil, into the grounds<sup>2</sup> of our groundings. In

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<sup>2</sup> The etymology of ground is fertile in this context and underlies much of my work. Consider grounds as forming a basis for



undermining conventional grammatical and syntactic strategies, the pieces become re-ordered, they become *patterns* that subvert expectations and provide an alternative form of knowledge. This is a new field (or ground<sup>3</sup>) that challenges the notion of fixed clarity and the concept of any absolute truth, and instead points to the fluidity and complexity of the phenomenological world as it is, without reaction or revolt, in all its richness and intrinsic duplicity.

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action, or the justification for a belief; grounds being solid particles, forming a residue, a sediment; dumping grounds, usually offshore; grounding being an electrical connection with the earth – to earth or to ground neutral; ships run aground and bombers are grounded in bad weather. To know something solidly is to be grounded; an artist’s ground is the prepared surface upon which work is performed, *gesso* for example, which means on the ground, being *really* there and being there really. Consider ground control, controlling ground (gardening) and directing flights back to ground for a safe landing. And consider common ground and ground glass, and land-ing.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

Made-Ground: a Sens of Place – Eliza O’Toole

**We are this**

starched stars scorched

flat

ten

thousand

men

march

I

Ching

parched

eyes right

all along the

Lethe grows

daisies pushed up

thigh bones head stoned

home grown

did these feet

walk time?

Made-Ground: a Sens of Place – Eliza O’Toole

**And this.**

Rhi

Zhomed

Seed

Ling

Car

A

Paced

Lace

Wing

*flutters*

*by*

Made-Ground: a Sens of Place – Eliza O’Toole

**We were this.**

cata

strophic

arc

fired

blue

tongued

sand

painted

hail

stormed

drought

sired

skin of land

wood cut

topographed

dreaming bones

smashed ash, rocked stones

*GRIND*

Made-Ground: a Sens of Place – Eliza O’Toole

**And before that, we were.**

topo

graphed

land

scaped

ever

greened

tran

slated

scar

red

inte

grated

phano

poetically

A

lethia

night

## Made-Ground: a Sens of Place – Eliza O’Toole

mare

some

place

some

where

else.

**4NW Corridors 5A, 5B**

In the amber of the blank-eyed doors  
In the North Sea churn of the linoleum  
In the maze and the warren and the hive  
In the inner-faced, in the occluded  
In the dust motes and the turbid sens  
Pinned papers lepidotomised  
walls, introducing  
Between doors,  
Worlds without end.

**Room 5A.105**

with my eyes closed

you could set me

down

and I would be right

there

every aureole pricked pattern-full

breathed again and

picked me out still

there

a little dusty

after 20 years.



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## A Snapshot of America

Will Whitehead

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“Wow. Americans are rude.”

This was my first thought as I stepped off the plane into the cool, air-conditioned airport. The guy in front of me, after having his seat all the way reclined for the entire journey, had called me an asshole for leaving the plane before him. The anger I felt towards this man occupied my mind for all of five minutes, until I got through customs (without a hitch, thanks Obama) and I realised “shit, I’m in America”. I stepped outside into the baking New York heat, caught my first glimpse of the skyline and got into a yellow taxi, feeling more at home in that moment than I’d ever felt in my life. I only got to spend a weekend in New York City before moving onto Pennsylvania, but it was without a doubt my favourite weekend spent anywhere. Now, I won’t pretend those first few days, flying to New York for a two day whirlwind tour and then catching a bus to Pennsylvania were the most

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relaxing days of my life, but I just didn't care. I was so enamoured with the place that I could have walked the 400 miles west without a second thought. The metropolitan bustle of New York City gave way to the urban decay of New Jersey, which in turn gave way to the rolling hills and endless forests of Pennsylvania. I spent the entire six hour ride gawping out of the window, eyes wide, taking it all in. It was amazing.

The first few days at IUP (Indiana University of Pennsylvania) went by in a daze. The obligatory trip to Walmart (it's massive, you wouldn't believe how big it is) and awful introductions. I liked how bad the welcome event was; it reassured me that no matter how far I am from home, some things will always be the same. I quickly found out I was the only English male student at the whole university. There were less than ten English people total, so I felt like I was in *The Truman Show*, where I was the only real person around, and everyone else was just a character. It didn't help that despite being my usual quiet, shy self, people I'd never met before knew my name. At parties, people would constantly ask my opinion on serious issues that I had no idea about, as if I was the Dalai Lama and not just Will from Leicester. Whilst this

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served as an incredible ego boost for the first couple of weeks, its novelty quickly wore off as people started to realise that my strongest opinions were on *Gilmore Girls* and Hallowe'en.

To add to the dreamlike feel of the first week, the weather was hotter than I'd ever experienced in my life before, and the trees hissed when you got close to them. I think they were full of cicadas, but I never saw one. One of my strongest memories of that time is lying on my bed with the AC on full blast, thinking about how *loud* it was. We were in Indiana, PA, a tiny rural area with little traffic, but it was louder than the main road I live on at home. Train whistles and thousands of bugs I'd never heard before ensured it never got too quiet. I liked that.

“Wow. Americans are so nice.”

This was my first thought after starting classes at IUP. After my first day, I had a handful of people I wouldn't feel weird about calling friends, and it was kind of overwhelming. My first class was with Dr Marsden, a migrant from the UK just like me, who had studied American studies just like me, and had almost gone to

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Essex. That was spooky, and it only got spookier. In my final class of the day, a girl in the front row turned to me and said “where are you from?” I said England, and she said “yeah, but where?” I told her Essex, and she lit up. “I was at Essex last semester! Did you go to Fed?” Although I often made great efforts to avoid ‘Sports Fed’ whilst at Essex, I was suddenly incredibly thankful for its existence. The girl, whose name was Sam, and I made plans for her to show me around the IUP campus, and I cannot think of a first day that could have gone better.

The rest of the semester went pretty much as well as that day, with a few hiccups. On the internationals’ trip to Pittsburgh, I got a migraine and threw up in the parking lot of a mall. I realised that I couldn’t keep eating fast food every night without some form of exercise to burn it off, so I had to go to the gym.

I also got sick of having this exact conversation a million times:

“What do you study back in England?”

“American Studies.”

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“Oh, so what do you study here?”

“English.”

“That’s dumb as hell.”

“I know.”

IUP was nice enough to arrange an international trip to Washington D.C., the nation’s capital, towards the end of the first semester. Thanks to the 5 a.m. leaving time and a party the night before that went on way too late and culminated in my roommate puking all over my backpack, only three of my group of friends went. After three hours sleep and six hours driving, we arrived in D.C. I had all my essentials in a plastic Walmart bag which split almost immediately. I already felt ready to go home. However, D.C. turned out to be one of the best trips I’ve ever been on. After struggling to find the subway for half an hour, we managed to get to the national mall, home of the Washington Monument, the Lincoln Memorial and everything else from the opening of *House of Cards*. As we arrived we saw there was a huge crowd gathered around the monument, and a stage erected in the distance. We wandered towards it, expecting some form of political

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rally or another with the election around the corner, and were surprised to hear ex-president George W Bush announce “and now, here’s Stevie Wonder”. My jaw dropped as Stevie Wonder took the stage and played *Superstition* to a crowd of a thousand people. After Stevie, out came Will Smith and Oprah Winfrey to read some poetry by Claude McKay (one of my absolute favourites). We had stood gob-smacked for this entire time as we saw these mega-celebrities up close and completely by chance. After Will Smith and Oprah left, there was a brief lull and we snapped out of our star-struck wonder. We talked about moving on and actually seeing the sights, when the announcer came back and said “and now to give an address, President Barack Obama”. The crowd, which I was now noticing was mainly comprised of African Americans, whooped and cheered for ages. Then we saw Obama take the stage, and give a truly electrifying speech on African American excellence. Everybody in the crowd was rapt, including the three of us, and no one wanted it to end. Once it finally did, and Obama declared the Museum of African American History open, we stood stunned for a while. At the time it felt like a once-in-a-lifetime moment, and in hindsight it



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felt even more incredible. It was one of the last moments when the under-represented and systemically oppressed felt truly celebrated in the USA, at least on a governmental level. It's hard to imagine a scene that emotionally charged and joyous now, with such events as the happenings in Charlottesville hearkening back to an abhorrent past.

When Trump got elected, no one at IUP was surprised. My friends in the UK and in big cities elsewhere were shocked and dumbstruck by the news. However, as a (temporary) resident of Western Pennsylvania, I understood the sheer power of the rural vote. You couldn't drive for a minute in Indiana without seeing five Trump signs, a truck with a confederate flag attached to the bed, or a guy wearing a Make America Great Again hat. My roommate was an avid Trump supporter, and I had to implore him not to put a confederate flag up in our room. Living in Indiana made me understand the extent to which social bubbles distort our view of the world. There are thousands of towns just like Indiana all over America, and they all voted Trump. It was a sad, alienating time, but undeniably one of the most historic moments in recent memory, so I was glad to be there for it.

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Indiana is a really small town, but don't let that fool you. It has the greatest Thai food I've ever eaten. It has more bars than supermarkets by a *lot*, and 50c drinks on Wednesdays for Country Night at 'Wolfie's'. The crosswalk button speaks in Jimmy Stewart's voice because he's from there! It has a bus that takes half an hour to get to the nearest Walmart and *always* has an old man in a fishnet shirt and pink hot pants who tells you how much he loves college girls' feet. There's open mic poetry on the last Friday of every month at 'The Artist's Hand', and it's BYOB (if you're over 21). The county fair is \$5 but if you come back when the manager's not looking the lady will let you in for free. 'Bob's Pizza' over on 4<sup>th</sup> Street is great if you smother the greasy 25c slices with every condiment available, and I often dream of the lentil soup at 'Romeo's Pizzeria'.

9 months at IUP flew by, and I barely got a chance to catch my breath, especially in the second semester. Before I knew it, it was May and I'd just handed in my room card for the final time. Sam's parents were kind enough to let me stay with them until my visa ran out, and I got to go to a baseball game and a drive-in movie theatre, and ride a wooden rollercoaster thanks to

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them. When I finally had to leave, I didn't get time to dwell on feeling sad thanks to a thirty-hour homeward journey that I had convinced myself would be just fine. Lugging a broken suitcase through Broadway in thirty-degree heat proved otherwise. Either way, I made it home in one piece, and I'm ashamed to say I got a little teary upon hearing an English accent for the first time in months. That quickly wore off.

Fast forward two months and I'm writing this at the end of a nine-hour shift washing dishes for a restaurant thanks to the enormous debt I racked up just surviving in America, but I don't mind. It was all worth it. I know it's cliché to declare how much you've grown as a person thanks to your year abroad, but my time in America honestly did. Americans have taught me that the old saying about strangers being friends you haven't met yet is true if you want it to be, and that everyone you meet, even Trump supporters, has something good about them. I know America has a bad reputation, particularly now, and it would be disingenuous to deny that. But for every loud bigot, there are ten warm, kind citizens who truly believe in the goodness of not only their country, but the world in general.