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THE LANGUAGE OF PEACE: A BURKEIAN ANALYSIS OF THE
PEACE RHETORIC OF WILLIAM SLOANE COFFIN, JR.

DISSERTATION

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By

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Rhetorical analysis, offered by Kenneth Burke, has the potential to address the study of the language of peace because of his emphasis on the motives of language. Burke uses the pentad to examine motives and has applied this method to the analysis of all kinds of literature, including speeches.

The purpose of this research was to identify the motives and use of language of William Sloane Coffin, Jr., president of SANE/FREEZE organization. The rhetorical elements of his peace speeches between the years 1978-1988 were analyzed using Kenneth Burke's dramatic pentad as a method of analysis.

Burke's pentad was externally and internally applied to Coffin and his speeches. Once each pentadic analysis was applied, the second step was to discover the interrelationship between the different parts of the pentad (ratios). Through this process the dominant ratio became evident, which was Agent-Scene. The Agent-Scene ratio demonstrated that the Agent (Coffin) and Co-Agents (Audience) affected, determined, and constrained the Scene (world). The featured

element, Agent, and its matching philosophical system idealism, must control and constrain the Scene and its matching philosophical system materialism. Coffin's motive is to point out that through idealism, the Agents can have hope because the Agent can choose to act out of will, causing the Scene to respond and set into motion a chain of positive events. In this drama, the Scene is the goal. It must be maintained because it is all the Agents have. The Agents can choose to live in peace with one another in the Scene (world) or hurtle helplessly toward destruction of the Scene and all the Agents in the Scene.

Recommendations for further study would include studying the peace rhetoric of various individuals such as Martin Luther King, Jr., Mikhail Gorbachev, former President Jimmy Carter, and Reverend Jesse Jackson. Peace Movements could also be analyzed from a language of peace perspective.

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CHAPTER I

PEACE EDUCATION

Introduction and Theoretical Rationale

One who has witnessed the horror and the lingering sadness of war is one who knows that another war could utterly destroy this civilization which has been so slowly and painfully built over thousands of years. I like to believe that people in the long run are going to do more to promote peace than are governments. Indeed I think that one of these days governments had better get out of their way and let them have it.

--President Dwight D. Eisenhower
(Gleazer, 1983, p. 32)

With increasing soberness brought about by experience with traditional warfare and with the possibility of nuclear annihilation, people are asking questions of peace and war, life and death, hope and destruction. The United States, holds the world's largest nuclear arsenal with more than 20,000 nuclear warheads. It is the world's leading arms merchant, holding 47 percent of a \$20 billion per year industry, and the U.S. military budget is larger than the after-tax profits of American corporations. Approximately one-half of the research and development program for the

federal government is for weapons development. Terry Herndon (1983) states in one article, "U.S. military strategists, for the first time in history, seem to be operating on the premise that nuclear war can be limited and that nuclear war can be won" (p. 529). In addition, the nuclear capacity of other world powers, the expanding availability of nuclear weapons to developing countries, and the continuing problems of human rights and human dignity have quickened interest by academicians, politicians, private individuals, and interest groups in gaining an understanding of the elements and conditions of contemporary peace.

The development of a systematic study of peace and peace education as a specific discipline is evident in the growing number of institutions established for that purpose and in the increase in scholarly research devoted to this subject. Such institutions as the Global Peace Research Institute in Canada, The United Nations Peace University in Costa Rica, the New Zealand Foundation for Peace Studies, and The Austrian Institute for Peace are dedicated to peace research, and an increasing number of universities have courses and academic units whose major concern is peace studies. A large number of peace organizations publish their own journals, e.g., the International Peace Research Newsletter published by the most active professional body in the peace education field, the International Peace Research Association.

While a significant effort is being made to advance understanding of peace through research and education, problems arise in the differences in definitions held by those involved. Bert Roling, the founder of peace research in Holland, defines peace as "the science of survival" (O'Connell and Curle, 1985, p. 12). Ian M. Harris, the author of Peace Education (1943), defines peace as, "human beings working together to resolve conflicts, respect standards of justice, satisfy basic needs, and honor human rights" (p. 29).

Problems with definitions, development, and expansion of the concept of peace can be seen if one looks at the history of peace studies as sketched by James O'Connell (O'Connell and Curle, 1985). O'Connell states that in the earliest phase of peace studies, researchers tend to define peace as the absence of war, while the second phase expands to a more positive view of peace, one which focuses on social reform and the elimination of structural injustices. The third phase defines peace in an even more active way, i.e., the support of wars of liberation. Peace then, becomes a state that follows a "just war." Today, there continues to be a wide variety of definitions and foci among peace researchers. According to O'Connell, peace contains two elements: (1) "willing cooperation among persons for social and personal goals," and (2) "the absence of violence

in the shape of direct physical, psychological, or moral violence" (p. 13). O'Connell (1985) states:

[There is now] harder-headed and more scientific thinking among those in peace groups who had never given up their commitment to the non-violence and opposition to war, and new efforts to tie together concepts of positive and negative peace have meant that a matured syntheses of thinking and experience in relation to peace is now possible. (p. 29)

In order to define peace, one needs to see its relationship to other areas of related study. Peace studies are related to a wide range of research areas such as conflict negotiation, war, and strategic studies. War studies examine the process of war, for example, how war arises, how it is conducted, how war is brought to an end, and finally its social and economic impact. Strategic studies are concerned with many of the same issues, but emphasize the wider strategic issues; geopolitics, balance of power, economic warfare, and use of strategic weapons. Conflict studies emphasize mutual reactions of people and groups in conflict situations, including international, industrial, social, racial, and other sorts of conflict. They generally emphasize only one stage of peacemaking; the stage of negotiation and bargaining. International relations is defined as the relationship between states, diplomacy,

international law, international order and the way it is maintained, international conflict, and the processes of international peace making. While all these areas are highly relevant to the study of peace, researchers make a distinction between them and the specific area of peace research. Adam Curle, holder of the first Chair of Peace Studies in Great Britain, states that peace studies differ from other studies:

[They focus on the] relationships between individuals, groups, nations, or even larger units, which is based on cooperation. It analyzes these conditions in which, instead of cooperation, there is mutual hostility and violence, and seeks to discover techniques by which these relationships may be changed into peace ones.

(O'Connell and Curle, 1985, p. 12)

One of the criticisms of peace studies is that they often have not recognized the complicated and contradictory nature of peace. Much of peace research has been empirical in nature, e.g., the research of founding fathers of peace education Lewis Fry Richardson and Quincy Wright (Boulding, 1985). Both used stringent scientific methods and quantitative methods to study war and to advocate peace. While much can be learned from identifying component variables of war and peace, such research is limited, as is most empirical research, in the necessity to isolate variables

rather than to study them in interactive process, and in the failure to take into account human thought and activity, both of which may intervene in any "laws" of human behavior. Such a narrow approach is limited in its ability to explain the complex concept of peace.

A second criticism is that the research is so inclusive and unfocused that the literature has become the equivalent of a "black hole" (Wallensteen, 1988, p. 46). Any research that makes a significant contribution to the field will, therefore, need to both refine the parameters of the discipline and offer a better means of coping with the intricacies of the concept.

Rhetorical analysis, particularly the perspective and methodology offered by Kenneth Burke, has potential to address the problem of the elements and conditions of contemporary peace. Rhetorical approaches, in general, assume descriptive rules, not prescriptive laws of human behavior. Secondly, it studies the process as a whole, not as artificially isolated variables. Thirdly, rhetorical criticism studies symbolic activity, which includes all forms of expression.

Kenneth Burke offers a rhetorical approach which is particularly well-suited to the analysis of peace rhetoric because of his emphasis on the motives of language, i.e., the use of symbols to identify with one another to overcome loneliness and to achieve cooperation with other humans.

The rhetorical critic, according to Burke, has as his or her ultimate end "to promote social cohesion and to perfect society" (Holland, 1959, p. 84). War, says Burke, is "a disease of cooperation" (1969, p. 330). Such a disease can be cured through purification, a term he uses which means to symbolically kill. As applied to war, this means one can achieve a state of society in which one wars with words, not with weapons. Peace can be achieved through knowledge and understanding of humans' use of symbols. Burke uses what he calls the "pentad" to examine the motives of language and has applied this method to the analysis of a variety of kinds of literature. If one were going to analyze the language of contemporary peace, it would be difficult to find a speaker more appropriate than William Sloane Coffin, Jr. Coffin is the president and spokesperson of SANE/FREEZE, a peace, disarmament, and development organization formed by the merger of the two smaller original organizations, SANE (begun in the late 1950's in response to the Atmospheric Testing Ban) and FREEZE (an early 1980's Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign). The organization is now the largest peace organization in the United States. Formerly a chaplain at Yale University, Coffin came to national prominence in the 1960's through his involvement in civil rights and anti-war activities. He pursued a course of civil disobedience in 1967 by giving sanctuary in his chapel at Yale to young men resisting the draft. Along with

Benjamin Spock, he was indicted in 1967 for leading a Boston rally in which 944 men turned in their draft cards to indicate unwillingness to serve in the military. Later pastor of the Riverside Church in New York City, Coffin attracted international attention to himself and his church through his controversial social reform rhetoric and activity and through his attraction of such guest speakers as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Olaf Palma, and Daniel Ortega. An application of Kenneth Burke's perspective and methodology to analyze the peace rhetoric of Coffin is a way to understand motive in language in order to perpetuate a better society, one which engages in verbal battle.

Statement of the Problem

The problem of this study has been an analysis of the rhetorical elements of the peace speeches of Coffin between 1978-1988, using Kenneth Burke's pentad as a method of rhetorical analysis.

Purpose

The purpose of this research has been to identify Coffin's motives and use of language in his peace rhetoric.

Questions

1. What are Coffin's rhetorical motives?

2. What are the internal relationships which the five terms of the pentad bear to one another?
3. How does Coffin manage symbols to coordinate (identify) social action?
4. How does Coffin define and legitimize himself?
5. How does Coffin use language for unification and disunification?
6. What terministic screens does Coffin identify and how does he shape destinies through dramatic screens in his rhetoric?
7. What religious patterns of thought (Logology, the study of the nature of language) does Coffin use in order to achieve his motives through rhetoric?
8. What "common enemy" does Coffin identify in his rhetoric?
9. What are Coffin's unifying device(s)?
10. How and what does Coffin symbolically kill and purify through his rhetoric?
11. With what and with whom does Coffin want his audience to identify and does he attempt consubstantiality? If so, with what?

Limitations and Delimitations

One limitation which had to be recognized was that there were too many speeches by Coffin to do a thorough analysis of them all. Also, Coffin speaks on a wide range

of topics. This study has delineated as to topic, and excluded anything not central to peace or peace education. A stratified sample of speeches has been limited to one every two years covering the decade from 1978-1988, except for the year 1988, from which two have been taken by random sample since there were no peace speeches available in 1982, and there were several available in 1988.

Significance to Higher Education and Communication

The interdisciplinary field of peace research and education is one that seeks to understand the components and conditions of peace and to educate people to take responsibility for developing and maintaining peace. The body of literature, while prolific, is, in a sense, stalled by lack of definition and focus and by simplistic research methodology. While the discipline of communication has provided a focus to its study of peace, i.e., interpersonal conflict management, it has, in general, failed to apply methods of rhetorical criticism to the study of peace. Those rhetorical analyses of war rhetoric and of the rhetoric of such movements as the civil rights movement have not related their findings to the understanding of peace education.

This study contributes to both peace research and education and to the communication discipline in the following ways:

(1) It applies a rhetorical methodology, using the message as the focus of analysis, since, according to Burke, language is evidence of the process of human thought activity. This approach, which sees humans as active and not controlled by "laws," has potential to move the body of research literature to a level above that achieved by variable analysis.

(2) It provides an appropriate focus for peace research, i.e., the language of people as they attempt to negotiate peace. Burke's understanding of the complexity of language and his ability to analyze that complexity through his pentad provides a means of understanding the complexities involved in negotiating peace through symbols.

(3) It identifies the motives and strategies of the language of one of the most successful and influential proponents of peace, William Sloane Coffin, Jr.

Summary

The development of a systematic study of peace and peace education is an area of research that is becoming more and more prevalent in the disciplines of communication and education. This chapter has provided an introduction to peace education and offered a rationale for this study. The chapter identified the problem and purpose of this study. The problem of this study has been an analysis of the rhetorical elements of the peace speeches of William Sloane

Coffin, Jr., between 1978 and 1988 using Kenneth Burke's pentad as a method of rhetorical analysis. The purpose of this research has been to identify William Sloane Coffin's motive(s) and use of language in his peace rhetoric. The chapter then discussed questions relating to the study as well as limitations and delimitations of the research. The chapter closed with the relevance of the problem to Higher Education and Communication.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE OF PEACE

Survey of the Literature

The massive interdisciplinary literature on peace education can be divided into five basic areas. The first area of peace education, concerns the validity of the inclusion of studying peace in curricula (Callender 1962, Deonanan 1977, Herndon 1983, Howlett 1987, Kekkonen 1978, "Kevin Michael Marion" 1973, Monez 1973). An article by Carlton T. Doenanan (1977) supports the concept that "education is the answer to war, an education of quality and not necessarily quantity, emphasizing rationality as opposed to brutal strength" (p. 25). Deonanan continues, "Certainly, education can elevate man beyond war because man possesses 'the capacity to reason' thereby avoiding warlike conflicts through reason based on a change in perception away from war, not a reasoning dominated by 'vested interest', but for the benefits of all mankind," (p. 30). Deonanan identifies war as a disease, postulates education can cure the world of this disease through an education that uses rationality as its basis. Another article in this area is a Phi Delta Kappan interview with Kevin Michael Marion (1973), the undergraduate who installed a new major in peace studies at William Peters College. Marion states in this interview,

"War affects all phases of life, past, present, and future, and I believe that there is no university subject that could not be integrated with peace studies, with an overview or a lecture devoted to the war/peace concerns" (p. 187). Still another article is "UNESCO and Education for Peace," in which UNESCO republishes an important text adopted by the General Conference of the organization in 1974 (UNESCO, 1985). In this text, the organization members identify key terms and definitions, guiding principles, particular aspects of learning, training and action, as well as many other aspects of peace education in curricula.

The second area of peace education deals with events in the peace movement (Gleazer 1983, Gordon 1980, Land 1984, Swineford 1974). For instance, peace institutes are being set up in places around the world from Delhi to Egypt to Switzerland. Also, there are lecture series, seminars, and symposiums across the world on peace. For example, in the article "The UN World Disarmament Campaign: Challenge for Adult Education," the symposium held in June, 1983 at Murikka, Finland, Dr. Edmund J. Gleazer (1983), who is treasurer of the International Council for Adult Education, was invited to give a lecture on peace by the Association of Finnish Adult Education Organizations which coordinates the Adult Education and Peace Network of ICAE (International Council for Adult Education).

Controversial aspects of peace are the third area dealt with in which definitions, scope, disciplinary versus interdisciplinary areas are examined (Galtung 1983, Howlett 1982, Lefever 1983, McConagy 1986, Mueller 1977, Musil 1982, Wood 1983, Zacharias 1983). Johan Galtung in his article (1983) deals with definitional aspects of peace education by saying it must be "active" as war is "active". He maintains:

Peace education has to be concerned not only with the projection of images of the horrors of war, the suffering and the costs (easily done), and the images of the delights of peace, the enjoyment and the benefits (more difficult, as this is ordinary life, this thing referred to as "peace," which means that real peace studies have to have a tinge of the utopian about them, to go further than non-war, that is, beyond data and into the realm of imagination). (p. 283)

Peace Education is also concerned with what to do about it, which means that there has to be not only a theory of how to discourage war and establish peace, but a "do-able" theory, linked to some kind of practice for those who study this field, not only for "others." Of course, one may study chemistry without necessarily becoming a chemist, but then there are at least laboratory exercises. Chemistry, however, does not have to be everybody's concern, directly; peace does. Galtung also states:

Hence, a society set up so that there is nothing people can do about peace except as participants, actors or victims or both, in a war, is a bad society however much else good may be said about it. To have not only "a say" but also "something to do" in connection with peace, should be a human right. (p. 283)

In another article Jerrold Zacharias (1983) perceives peace education as specifically dealing with the fight against nuclear war. This approach to peace education is not an unusual one. Many seem to agree with this perspective. The scope of peace education is dealt with in a creative way in an article by Robert K. Musil (1982) who states that peace education should be studied from the perspective of "nuclear stories" (p. 87). Through vivid language of stories and literature, students would be faced with the harsh facts of nuclear holocaust. This third area also explores whether peace as an academic area should be its own discipline or remain interdisciplinary. Charles Howlett in an article (1982) discusses John Dewey's beliefs on peace education by writing:

Dewey's lectures at Columbia during the 1920's provide useful insights into his concern for the philosophical and educational perplexities of social cooperation and human understanding. Whether it was in the educational courses he taught at Teachers College or in those of a more technical nature in the department of philosophy,

Dewey constantly stressed the need for schools to promote ideas such as "shared experience," "cooperative culture," "communication," and "communal participation," the school should be "a form of community life." He considered his lectures guide posts for prospective educators to develop techniques for social engineering. (p. 438)

Definitions, scope, and disciplinary versus interdisciplinary aspects of peace have clearly not been resolved, but active discussion of these areas continue to abound.

The fourth area of peace education is peace research (E. Boulding 1988, K. Boulding 1985, K. Boulding 1964, Park, 1959). Kenneth and Elise Boulding are considered authorities in the area of peace research and study. In one work (1988), Elise Boulding deals with the craft and skills of "doing peace" via a "peace process" (p. 140). She proposes that "We are social beings and cannot find completeness alone. How we deal with the tensions between the two conflicting needs determines whether we are 'peace makers' or 'war makers'" (pp. 140, 141). She provides a conflict management continuum to explain her perspective. Kenneth Boulding (1985) in one work deals with the philosophy of peace research, the balance of peace, the peace research movement, whether or not peace is researchable, and other areas of key interest. Peace research is alive, well, and current.

Peace education as studied in specific disciplines is the fifth and final area (Burrows 1960, Fry 1986, Kekkonen 1978, Park 1959, Wagner and Bronzaft 1987). This area of study is very large because peace education is studied in many different disciplines such as social studies, adult education, communication, psychology, science, etc. For instance, No-Yong Park (1959) asserts that a knowledge of the history of how wars were started and the motivations behind them can lead to the understanding of ways in which war can be stopped and peace can become reality. Park argues that the motive behind war is international anarchy. In another article Hellena Kekkonen (1978) asserts that the study of peace is a necessary area that should be pursued in adult education. She claims that it should be studied in a way that "an individual gradually will begin to consider work for peace as a permanent task, a part of the way of life" (p. 3-4). She then pursues methods of learning that should be incorporated in the study of peace in adult education. Psychologists Richard V. Wagner and Arline L. Bronzaft (1987) maintain that the field of psychology has paid very little attention to the most important issue facing our world which is the threat of nuclear war. They assert, "We propose that psychology teachers help to promote a more active consideration of psychology and peace/war in the nuclear age by including the topic in their courses" (p. 75). They explain it is important that psychology explore

the importance of psychology to specific social problems and war/peace is a specific problem area. The article pursues methods and areas that should be examined in psychology courses in the study of war/peace.

In the communication discipline specifically, the study of peace has been developing and spreading into different areas of the field. Todd Fry (1986) says:

The only aspect of communications that is generally included in peace education is conflict management or resolution. Conflict is certainly an important area when one considers war and peace. Yet it seems that peace educators' emphasis on nuclear war, history, and managing conflict has come at the expense of the more delicate educating of consciousness that underlies the will to engage in the search for peace. (p. 77)

In the past, peace education has been studied, for the most part, from a broadly interpersonal perspective and more specifically from the areas of conflict management, negotiation and game theory (Cohen 1980, Rapoport 1966, Sillars 1982). This perspective pursues the possibility that peacemakers must first be skilled game players, able to negotiate and manage conflict one on one only. If they are able to do so, then they can apply those skills on a mass scale (country negotiating country). There are also studies in communication committed to researching international

negotiation (Allen 1976, Eger 1979) and conflict (Prosser 1983, Starosta 1971). Here the emphasis is again on negotiation and conflict management, but on a much grander scale. There are also studies which explore peace education in relation to mass media (Bruck 1989, Robinson 1989). In the rhetorical area of communication studies, there is research on war and terrorism (Brock and Howell 1988, Underhill 1961) which is the antithesis of and yet related to peace research. Research, primarily from the 1950's explores the roles of peace and diplomacy (Oliver 1950, 1951, 1952). The study of peace from a rhetorical standpoint develops appropriately in relationship to these other communication research perspectives (i.e., interpersonal, mass, public speaking, etc.). Fry (1986) states, "The study of peace is highly interdisciplinary, and refreshingly undefined. This is a chance to exercise creativity at the grassroots level" (p. 77). He also explains that out of this broad creativity, different perspectives of studying peace in the communication discipline are valid:

The study of communication is the study of the social relations. All of what we now include in communication courses is relevant to peace education: debate, public address, persuasion, interpersonal and group processes, mass media, oral interpretation, and theater. (p. 78)

Several studies from the rhetorical perspective should be noted. Donald K. Enholm (1976) explores the rhetorical

similarities in the writings of I. A. Richards and Kenneth Burke, especially the importance of dialectic as a means for understanding how language works and developing it to work for a better life. In another study, Barry Brummett (1989) utilizes Burke's theory of "perfection" to study the way in which the nuclear weapon is a symbol that serves as a God term and some motivating vocabularies of American public discourse and the meaning of this use. Several rhetorical studies have analyzed peace movements (Benson 1968, Cox 1974) in terms of the impact of collective behavior, focusing on the peace efforts and goals of peace orators as a group. Robert Cox (1974) concludes, "Rhetorical theorists and critics need to investigate more thoroughly than before the variables that affect auditors' reception of messages in the context of a mass movement" (p. 268).

While several studies examine the rhetoric of peace groups, a study by Martin J. Medhurst (1987) examines the rhetoric of Dwight D. Eisenhower in a speech supposedly designed to encourage peace. He discovers hidden motives, however, from which he argues that it was in fact "a carefully-crafted piece of cold war rhetoric specifically designed to gain a 'psychological' victory over the Soviet Union" (p. 204). The purpose appeared to be peace, but in fact, had hidden, darker motives. Medhurst concluded that:

This study demonstrates how a particular group of speakers used language to address multiple audiences

for divergent purposes while, at the same moment, maintaining that the audience was one and the purpose straightforward. Criticism, at this level, is the study of how language is used by humans to channel response, and is, in the case examined, a paradigm both of linguistic deception and strategic posturing at the highest levels of government. (p. 219)

Colleen E. Kelly (1988) examines motives and language of Mikhail Gorbachev's peace rhetoric using a Burkeian analysis. Kelly identifies the main strategies or dramas Gorbachev uses to achieve identification.

Out of eighteen dissertations on peace education, only two offer valuable insights. Alva Juanita Gault's (1985) dissertation in Education, applied the UNESCO 1974 recommendations to the development of a global paradigm for peace education suggests the potential for an understanding of a universal language of peace. Secondly, Rosemarie Dinklage's (1986) dissertation in Education, compared American and German children's perceptions of peace. While children differed on their understanding of war (which for both groups of children came primarily from television), children did not differ significantly in their understanding of peace. (The sources of that information were the children's mothers.) The fact that "mother" is a somewhat universal relationship and concept of nurture, may mean that a study of mother/child communication may contribute

something to our understanding of a possible universal language of peace. Although there are at least dissertations relating Kenneth Burke and peace studies, none applied Burkeian methodology to the area of peace education.

It is clear that with all the rich, diverse peace education material that is available, peace is an important and valid social issue which educators must pursue in the classroom as well as in research. The varied, creative discussions of peace within these five realms keeps the subject current and relevant to educators and researchers today.

The literature relevant to this study of Coffin can be divided into two major groups: (1) those books and articles written by Coffin, and (2) those articles written about him.

In 1976 Coffin resigned his chaplaincy at Yale, and spent a year writing his autobiography Once to Every Man (Coffin 1976). In this book, Coffin discusses his life from birth through his resignation at Yale. He focuses his attention on the events in his life which affected his philosophy and actions. Coffin discusses his birth into wealth and security on the east side of New York City and his aspirations to become a concert pianist. In 1942, after studying music in Paris and at Yale, he entered the U.S. Army, where he was sent to Europe as an Infantry Officer. Coffin became the liaison with French officers because of his language skills, and following a crash course in

Russian, he became liaison with the Russian Army. He became involved in the forced repatriation of Soviet soldiers who were considered traitors. He then spent several years in the CIA, operating in both the U.S.S.R. and Germany. These experiences caused him to seek a new direction in life. In 1956 he received his B.A. at the Yale University Divinity School and began an eighteen year career as chaplain at Yale. During this time he became heavily involved in social issues of the time, one of which was racial discrimination. He was arrested for the first time in 1961 in Montgomery, Alabama, where he protested segregationist bus policy by becoming a freedom rider.

He also became active in antiwar activities and he helped to found the Clergy and Laity Concerned about Vietnam organization. He embarked in 1967 on a course of civil disobedience by offering his chapel as a sanctuary to young men resisting the draft. Coffin and Benjamin Spock were indicted in 1967 for being leaders of a rally in Boston where 944 young men turned in their draft cards. In Once to Every Man, Coffin delves into how the events of his life motivated him in the paths he chose to take and affected the discourse and rhetoric in which he engaged.

In Coffin's book The Courage to Love, published in 1982, and in his book Living the Truth in a World of Illusions published in 1985, he compiled his sermons which deal with varied and controversial subjects but which have one

thing in common, they all are concerned with the social issues of the period. The subjects, however, range from abortion to homosexuality, to the homeless and reversing the arms race.

Coffin has written many articles which vary in subject matter, but the theme of each one concerns a relevant social issue of the current time period. In one article, (1970) Coffin expresses views on peace in an academic atmosphere. He believes students in the classroom should have decision-making opportunities that relate to nonviolence. In another article (1963) he outlines strategies parents can use to help their children improve their lives. One of these strategies includes educating for peace. A few other Coffin publications are less relevant to this topic.

The articles written about Coffin fall into three distinct time and subject categories. The first time period is from 1958 through 1976, the period of his chaplaincy at Yale. The topics are his involvement in the civil rights ("Yale Chaplain" 1961, "Desecration" 1961, "Prejudice" 1965) and antiwar movements and activities (Jackson, 1968, "Spock-Coffin: Verdict" 1968). The trial of Coffin and Benjamin Spock then spurred the occurrence of a debate between Coffin and Morris I. Liebman on the topic of civil disobedience which was presented in manuscript form in the book Civil Disobedience (1972). Coffin argues that there are times when civil disobedience is necessary and

worthwhile, whereas Liebman argues in favor of reasonable discourse, and working through the system.

The second time period was from 1977 through 1987, during which time Coffin was senior pastor at the Riverside Church in New York City. While at the Riverside Church, he was committed to starting and supporting social issue programs. The articles published during this time reflected that involvement. The social issues to which he was committed were the Guatemala refugees (Briggs 1984), war and communism ("an interview" 1982, "Door mini-interview" 1982), military aid to Central America (Herbut 1983), the arms race (Briggs 1979), and American hostages in Teheran (Kifner 1979). There were quite a few articles which dealt with Coffin's connection with the hostages in Teheran. In December of 1979, he was one of the four clergy who was invited to Teheran (at his own expense) by Iran's ruling Revolutionary Council to be a mediator and return home to answer increasing world fears about the hostages' treatment. While there, Coffin, along with the other clergy, prayed with the hostages and encouraged them. This brought a fair amount of media coverage.

During this time, Coffin was also deeply committed to reversing the arms race. He started programs to support it and held many "peace evenings" of music and rhetoric led by leaders from around the world. The Riverside Church became nationally known as a place where people like Daniel Ortega

and Olaf Palma spoke at seminars and evenings of peace Coffin 1979, Weiss 1987).

The third time period is from 1987 to present, during which time Coffin serves as president of SANE/FREEZE. The articles deal with the more focused aspect of his work, i.e., peace (Astle 1989, Goldman 1988, Ungeheuer 1989).

Frederick Ungeheuer (1989) interviewed Coffin in an article specifically about his views on the Gorbachev era, nuclear arms and peace. In this article Coffin stated bluntly:

We now have a new opportunity to end the arms race. But where Gorbachev is bold, Bush is cautious to a fault. I wish he would agree that we have a lot to fear today, but not a Soviet Union prepared to negotiate. (p. 76)

Cynthia B. Astle in her articles (1989a, 1989b) describes Coffin's views about peace, social issues, and spirituality as expressed at a worship service focusing on ministry to people with acquired immune deficiency syndrome. At this service, he asserted that Christians must become actively involved in social justice. Most important among social choices is nuclear disarmament. Coffin maintained, "Only God has the authority to end life on this planet. All we have is the power. Our mere possession of nuclear weapons must be an abomination to the Almighty" (p. 8).

Two dissertations focus on the peace rhetoric of Reverend William Sloane Coffin. The first dissertation titled: Old Testament Prophecy and the Question of Prophetic Preaching: A Perspective on Ecclesiastical protest to the Vietnam War and the Participation of William Sloane Coffin, Jr. (Carl, 1977) which is in Speech Communication, examines the similarities of Coffin's rhetoric to the speech of Old Testament prophets. The second dissertation titled: The Thought of William Sloane Coffin, Jr.: The Correlation Between Spiritual and Social Revolution in Our Time in History (Heister 1974), investigates the themes which Coffin stands against and the strategies he adapts from Old Testament prophecies.

Coffin's consistent pursuit of social justice, particularly in the area of peace, is clearly traceable through studying the literature available which has chronicled his views and activities for almost thirty years.

Another significant source of information for this study was personal interviews. One interview I had with Coffin took place in his office at SANE/FREEZE headquarters in Washington, D.C. on April 20, 1989. That interview was followed by a telephone interview on November 11, 1990 which helped update and clarify information. I interviewed Cora Weiss, former Director of the Disarmament Program from 1978 to 1988 at Riverside Church, who is presently the

International Peace Representative for SANE/FREEZE. The telephone interview was conducted on November 10, 1990. David Courtright who is currently the Visiting Fellow at the International Peace Institute at the University of Notre Dame, also provided helpful information in a telephone interview which took place on November 14, 1990. All four of these interviews produced valuable information regarding Coffin, his language, and his motives.

Summary

This chapter has conducted a survey of the literature. The literature dealing with peace education was examined in five areas: (1) Validity of the inclusion of studying peace in curricula, (2) Events in the peace movement, (3) Controversial aspects of peace, (4) Peace research, and (5) Peace education in specific disciplines. The two areas examined which represent the literature pertaining to Coffin, were (1) Books and articles written by Coffin, and (2) Articles written about him. The chapter closed with a discussion of the personal interviews conducted in this study.

CHAPTER III

PEACE RHETORIC/VERBAL BATTLE

Burke Methodology and Literature

Kenneth Burke offers a rhetorical approach which is particularly well-suited to the analysis of peace rhetoric because of his emphasis on the motives of language, i.e., the use of symbols to identify with one another to achieve cooperation with other human beings. He believes that a study of humans using language results in better understanding of human motivation. Language is central to Burke's methodology. His unique solution to problems is different from that of many of his contemporaries like Richard Weaver who believes dialectic could be used to find absolute truth or I.A. Richards who advocates a rhetoric of clarity. Burke believes that the trouble lies with languages, but he is against attempts to minimize its rich ambiguity. Language is able to unify people and it is also able to separate them. It separates, for instance, when motives, values, attitudes, etc., are in conflict. It brings people together and transcends differences brought about through rhetoric (brings cooperation out of conflict, agreement out of disagreement). His method of analysis accepts ambiguity and uses the concept of identification to explain how language helps and confuses human relations. He treats language as

the main instrument that manages social relationships. If critics can make clear the motives of language, they can understand human behavior. His rhetorical philosophy comes from the view that language is a strategic response to a situation.

The method he uses to analyze all kinds of literature is dramatism. Burke maintains that drama exists whenever people come together but that the relevant drama in a situation is not made known until rhetoric reveals it. Roderick P. Hart (1990) explains, "Rhetoric is, therefore, a compass for dramatic action: It points out what is at stake, for whom, by affixing labels to activities. Without such labels, Burke says, people cannot describe what they feel, even to themselves" (p. 347). The drama of life as seen by Burke has five parts which he calls the pentad. The pentad provides a way of deciding how a speaker views the world, and it provides a way to analyze human motivation. Burke's pentad "treats language and thought primarily as modes of action" (Burke, 1969A, p. xxii). Burke explains, "Language being essentially human, we should view human relations in terms of the linguistic instrument" (Burke, 1969A, p. 317). Burke's pentad is made up of the five basic elements of drama, which are: Act, Agent, Agency, Scene, and Purpose. The elements are used as principles of a "grammar" to reveal motives. Pentadic criticism involves three steps: (1) discovering the five elements of

the pentad, (2) identifying the ratios to find the speaker's featured element, and (3) naming the motive from the featured element.

The Act is purposeful and symbolic, what was said and what took place. It involves finding the major action described as presented by the speaker. Sonja K. Foss (1989) gives examples of what the Act may be when she states, "... a lawyer's discussion of the act of murder, a film's presentation of a mutiny by a ship's crew, an artist's depiction of war, or a poet's description of the act of walking through a field of daffodils" (p. 337).

The Scene is where the Act occurs, the occasion, what happened to the speaker, and events surrounding the speech prior to the event. It may include time, setting, and historical period. According to Burke, there is no description of the Scene that is correct. How the Scene is named simply explains the scope of the critic's interpretation. It expresses how limited or how broad it will be. Foss (1989) gives an example, "... the scene is Picasso's painting, Guernica, which depicts the bombing of the town of Guernica during the Spanish Civil War, may be described as a battlefield, Guernica, Spain, Europe, or the planet earth" (p. 339). The scope of the Scene is important in that it will affect the possibilities as to what is the Purpose and who is the Agent.

Agency involves the strategies used to achieve a Purpose. Burke says the primary emphasis of rhetorical analysis should be rested in Agency because it is used to establish identification with the audience to overcome a sense of alienation. The agency is the method used to perform the Act or the instruments used to achieve it. Foss (1989) illustrates this when she states:

In the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C., for example, the means used to accomplish the act of memorializing the dead include the black color of the Memorial, which may suggest death and mourning; the listing of the names of the dead on the wall of the monument in the order in which they died; and the submersion of the Memorial in the ground, evoking images either of descent into hell or of a feeling of being comforted in the folds of the earth. (p. 388)

The Agent is the one who performed the Act. The Agent may be the name of the specific person, for example, George Bush, Dionne Warwick, or a daughter. It may be used to express a collective term for several of many Agents, such as Southern Baptists, Democrats, or the Supreme Court. Agent-naming may also include descriptions of what the Agent is like: morbid, lovely brunette, frenetic, or sly.

The Purpose is the fifth and final element of the pentad. It is the goal or cause behind the Act. It is what the Agent wants to achieve by doing the Act. Purpose is not

the same as motive because Purpose is the reason for the Act suggested or specified by the Agent while motive is the explanation for the Act which is discovered after the Act is completed. There are time when the Agent may be unaware of their own true motives for various reasons. An Agent may believe he or she has a certain Purpose and in fact, there may be another hidden or unconscious motive for engaging in the Act. Foss (1989) states:

In his gloomy predictions about the future of America, former Colorado governor Richard Lamm, for example, may have believed his purpose was to warn Americans to take needed action now. His motive, however, probably went beyond that purpose. A pentadic analysis of his rhetoric might reveal that he was attempting to differentiate himself from other politicians, to justify his own turn away from his formerly held ideals, or even to sabotage his own political career so that he could pursue other interests. (p. 338)

A pentadic analysis can be used both internally and externally. An internal analysis is from the point of view of the speaker. The critic finds out how the speaker perceives and interacts with the world. For example, Foss (1989) claims:

Using the pentad to discover the motive of a hijacking, for example, the act is whatever act the hijacker chooses to address in her discourse about it (the

hijacking); the scene is where she says the act occurs (in an oppressive political system); the agent is the person she sees as engaging the act, with all of that person's qualities and characteristics (herself, perhaps described as willing to sacrifice her life for a cause in which she believes); the agent's purpose is her own purported purpose (to force the release of three friends who are prisoners in the Atlanta penitentiary); and the agency is the means by which the hijacker describes the act as being accomplished (through force and violence). (p. 339)

An external pentadic analysis focuses on how the rhetorical artifact works as part of a situation that implies certain ways of seeing and reacting to it. In this case, the act is the rhetorical act of speaking itself. The external pentadic analysis focuses more on the accumulation of information outside the artifact rather than focusing on the artifact itself for analysis. This analysis has examined both the internal and external perspectives in order to understand the drama in which Coffin exists, and the drama which he creates.

The second step in the pentadic analysis is discovering the interrelationship between the different parts of the pentad. These are called ratios or clusters. Ratios are the uniting of two of the elements of the pentad with the intention of finding the relationship between them and the

effect they have on each other. It is possible for the pentad to have the following ratios:

- (1) Scene-Act
- (2) Scene-Agent
- (3) Scene-Agency
- (4) Scene-Purpose
- (5) Agent-Purpose
- (6) Agent-Act
- (7) Agent-Agency
- (8) Agent-Scene
- (9) Agency-Agent
- (10) Agency-Scene
- (11) Agency-Act
- (12) Agency-Purpose
- (13) Act-Agent
- (14) Act-Agency
- (15) Act-Scene
- (16) Act-Purpose
- (17) Purpose-Scene
- (18) Purpose-Agency
- (19) Purpose-Act
- (20) Purpose-Agent

The critic begins pairing different elements of the pentad and searches for relationships between the two terms in the

rhetorical artifact. The importance of the different ratios can be made only after a thorough analysis has been done. The critic then looks at how the first element affects or decides the nature of the second element. Some ratios are then determined to be important and others are not. Burke maintained that the ratios are basically analogies. For example, "Agent-Purpose" implies that the nature of the Purpose was analogously present in the nature of the Agent. On the other hand, the "Agent-Scene" ratio reflects the the Agent had a bearing on the Scene. The critic explores in this way, seeking out the different possible ratios, attempting to find if the first element in the pair constrains, determines, or affects the second element in the pair. All the ratios examined are not discussed in the criticism essay. Only the ratios that involve valuable insights are included in the written pentadic criticism.

The third part of the pentadic analysis involves naming the motive. Once the critic discovers the dominant ratios, he/she discovers the key to the motives of the speaker. An analysis of many or all of the ratios possible should suggest one key element that determines the nature of most or all of the other elements in the pentad. In this element, the critic seeks the motive of the Act. Burke claims that once the critic locates the dominant term, he or she can discover a philosophical system to which the term belongs, and the philosophical system can produce ideas

about what the rhetorical motive may be. Foss (1989) explains Burke's philosophical system this way:

If the act is featured in the pentad, Burke says, the philosophy that corresponds is realism, the doctrine that universal principles are more real than objects as sensed. This philosophical position is opposite that of nominalism, the doctrine that abstract concepts, general terms, or universals have no objective reference but exist only as names. If the scene is featured, the philosophy that corresponds is materialism. The system that regards all facts and reality as explainable in terms of matter and motion or physical laws. If the agent is featured, the corresponding philosophy is idealism the system that views the mind or spirit as each person experiences it as fundamentally real, and the totality of the universe is believed to be mind or spirit in its essence. If the means or agency is featured, the pragmatic philosophy corresponds. Pragmatism is the means necessary to the attainment of a goal, instrumentalism or concern with consequences, function, and what something is "good for." In this doctrine, the meaning of a proposition or course of action lies in its observable consequences, and the sum of these consequences constitutes meaning. If the purpose is featured, the corresponding philosophy is mysticism. In mysticism, the element of

unity is emphasized to the point that individuality disappear. Identification often becomes so strong that the individual is unified with some cosmic or universal purpose. (pp. 341-342)

By using a dramatistic approach to criticism, critics are not as bound to their own "terministic" screens. They are able to "see" various perspectives and from that, understand human motivation much better. People are able to choose to act by deliberate choice, rather than be only beings "in motion" (moving only in response to stimuli). Language use involves action, not motion. Motion does not involve the use of symbols and is therefore non-symbolic. Motion deals with the animal or biological aspect of humans that is concerned with areas such as digestion, respiration, food and shelter. Action, on the other hand, deals with the neurological or symbolic aspect of humans. Burke maintains that this is the ability of a human to have language or a symbolic system. There are three necessary components that must be presented for action rather than motion to be present: (1) Freedom of choice (choose to move rather than respond simply to stimuli), (2) Choice of purpose (select from various possibilities), and (3) Motion (action is not reduced to motion, but it is grounded in motion). Therefore, individuals are free to use "symbolic acts" as tools for social action.

The following is a glossary of Burkeian terms that will be used throughout this study.

Special Burke Glossary

1. Rhetorical Motives - what is involved when a study is made of what people are doing and why they are doing it.
2. Identification - overcoming division; communicate another's language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea.
3. Unification and Disunification - the joining and separation of humans through symbols (i.e., language).
4. Terministic Screens - Humans can be trapped by language. It keeps humans from seeking other perspectives besides their own and can lead to the misuse of symbols so that the user does not know that he or she is doing it.
5. Dramatistic Screens - provides strategies for achieving social cohesion through identification.
6. Logology - "words about words" (Theology, words about God). Logology does not deal with man's relationship with God, but with the word "God."
7. Common Enemy - "Men who can unite on nothing else can unite on the basis of a foe shared by all" (Burke, 1967, p. 193).
8. Unifying Device - rhetorical strategy used to achieve unification.

9. Demonic Trinity - Humans feel guilty (state of imperfection) because they do not have the place they want in the hierarchical order. Language enables humans to "symbolically kill" guilt through purgation in one of two ways: (1) Mortification (put self through painful, cleansing process), or (2) Victimage-Scapegoating (putting the blame on someone else). Once guilt is symbolically purged the human is "reborn," i.e., saved. This is sometimes called the Rhetoric of Rebirth.
10. Consubstantiality - ultimate identification. This is becoming one with audience in thought, word, and deed.
11. New Rhetoric - identification (Burke), (Old Rhetoric, persuasion, Aristotle).
12. Strategies - will or motive through language, stylized answers to specific situations.
13. Language - use of symbols (necessary for human cooperation to occur). It is human nature not to cooperate. Communication arises from estrangement. Symbols are used to identify with one another.
14. Symbolic Action - any verbal act (naming a thing "enemy" or "friend" suggests certain courses of action).
15. Hierarchy - social ladder, order, "higher" and "lower" beings.
16. Man - symbol-using, misusing animal.
17. Negative - thing determined by what it is not. This is inherently part of identification. When individuals identify with other individuals, they are most aware of their

being different from the other individuals; the individuals are then able to define themselves in terms of what they are not.

18. Mystery - All social structures are based on class divisions and people in one class are "strange" to people in another class, in the sense that each social class is "shut off" from all other social classes. Mystery is necessary to order because it controls and supports the distribution of authority that is essential to act.

19. Polar Terms - opposites, dualism. Example: Order-Disorder, cooperation-competition.

20. Transcendence - Overcoming differences.

21. Substance - what lies underneath something. Bernard L. Brock says it is the basic philosophical structure of the message in the rhetorical act (Brock, Scott, and Chesebro, 1989). As a set of motives; i.e., in stating the character of an object "brother" or "enemy", it at the same time contains an implicit program of action with regard to the object and therefore serves as motive.

The literature of Burke can be divided into three areas. The first area is the literature written by Kenneth Burke, especially his books. Some of them pertain specifically to this study. In his book: Permanence and Change (1954), he tries to unite language, motive, and society. Burke establishes man as actor and introduces the important concept, identification, in The Philosophy of Literary Form

(1973). He also defines his concepts of mortification, victimage, and demonic trinity in this book. In Grammar of Motives (1969A), Burke discusses dramatism, language and thought as modes of action. In this book he develops the dramatistic pentad. Man's use of symbols is the topic of discussion in Burke's Rhetoric of Motives (1969B). Burke changed direction from dramatism to logology (study of man-symbol-using animal) in which he derives logology from the ultimate ground of theology in The Rhetoric of Religion (1970). Burke's most recent book On Symbols and Society (1989), explores the relationship between symbols and social relations.

The second area of literature includes works written about Burke (Foss 1989, Hart 1990, Heath 1986, Holland 1959, Rueckert 1982, White and Brose 1982). These works explain and clarify Burke's rhetorical methods and philosophies which can be difficult to understand when studied in their original forms. These works proved beneficial to this dissertation study in understanding and explaining Burke's methodology.

The third area of literature on Burke includes studies conducted using Burkeian analysis. The body of Burkeian studies (articles, dissertations, etc.) which employs the pentad methodology is very large. Burke's pentad has been used to analyze many and varied types of "symbolic acts" (i.e., music, plays, literature, poetry, diaries, television

shows, and speeches). There were several pentadic studies which proved helpful in preparing to do a pentadic analysis in this dissertation (Ling 1970, Brummett 1989, Kelley 1988). Colleen E. Kelley's study (1988), proved particularly beneficial because not only did she do a pentadic analysis, but she analyzed a speech which held "the promise of peace" (p. 321). Kelley incorporated Burke's pentad in order to search out rhetorical choices made in the public rhetoric of Mikhail Gorbachev delivered in Moscow before an international audience with the theme of world peace. She discusses his motive to "invite the world community to participate in a 'vision of peace' in order to create 'a new world order'" (p. 329).

This study has applied a pentad analysis to selected speeches of Coffin, Jr. from 1978 through 1988.

Summary

This chapter has examined Burke's methodology, and identified its link to the study of peace rhetoric through his emphasis on the motives of language. His method for examining all kinds of literature is dramatism which has five parts called the pentad. These five parts are: (1) Act, (2) Scene, (3) Agency, (4) Agent, and (5) Purpose. A pentadic analysis can be used both internally and externally in order to discover the speaker's motives. Once the pentad

has been applied ratios or clusters (uniting of two elements of the pentad) are examined. Once the dominant ratios are identified, the dominant terms are discovered, the philosophical system to which they belong can be identified. The philosophical system can then produce ideas about what the rhetorical motive may be. A Burke glossary was then given to help explain his methodology. The chapter closed with a discussion of the literature on Burke which was divided into three areas: (1) Literature written by Burke, (2) Works about Burke, and (3) Studies conducted using a Burkeian analysis.

CHAPTER IV
THE AGENT OF PEACE
External Pentad

Chapter four identifies the external pentad to explain the drama in which Coffin exists by ultimately discovering his motives and understanding his language of peace. The external pentadic analysis focuses on the accumulation of information outside the artifact rather than focusing on the artifact itself for analysis. More specifically, this chapter identifies the external pentad, discusses the dominant ratio of this drama, discovers the motives that evolve out of the dominant ratio, and forms conclusions about Coffin's language of peace. Once the external drama is identified and motives named, the internal drama that Coffin creates in his language will be more easily identified and understood.

The pentad is made up of five parts which interrelate with one another. The parts of the pentad are: (1) Agent - the one responsible for the act, (2) Scene - where the act takes place, (3) Act - what is said and done, (4) Agency - strategies used to achieve the purpose, and (5) Purpose - why the act is done. In this drama, the external pentad is made up of the following parts: (1) Agent - Coffin, Co-Agents - audience, (2) Scene - the world, more

specifically the United States (there is an immediate, historical, political, economic, and future scene), (3) Act - Coffin's speeches, (4) Agency(ies) - unification and prophecy, and (5) Purpose - to call for nuclear disarmament, the preservation of world ecology, and the establishment of economic justice; to provide vehicles for fund-raising; to establish an organized link to the general public; and to motivate new converts to Act as Co-Agents.

Agent

This section examines Coffin as Agent in the following contexts: (1) the roles he played in the years in which his speeches were given (2) other's perceptions of him as Agent, (3) his perception of himself as Agent, and (4) his speaking delivery style.

Coffin has played varied roles during his lifetime. For example, he studied to be a concert pianist, fought in World War II and serving as a Russian liaison, worked for the CIA, and was chaplain of Yale University. He resigned from the chaplaincy in 1976 and authored his autobiography Once to Every Man. In 1977, he became the pastor of the Riverside Church in New York City. There he started many programs which support social justice issues. One of those programs concerned disarmament. The ten years he served as pastor covered the time period in which four of the speeches analyzed in this dissertation were given. He left Riverside

in 1987 to become the president and chief spokesperson for the SANE/FREEZE Peace Disarmament Organization which he presently serves in Washington, D.C. The last two speeches analyzed were given during his sojourn as president of SANE/FREEZE. Whether it was addressing people in their native language, using language skills in the field of espionage, or engaging in the persuasive rhetoric of religion, his entire life has been dedicated to communication. His life roles are a living testimony to his commitment to the power and beauty of language.

Unlike his uncle, the famous Protestant theologian Henry Sloane Coffin, Coffin does not fit into the category of a stereotypical minister. He is unorthodox in that he has been divorced twice, drinks alcohol, and uses profanity as a means of punctuating conversation. Because of his uniqueness, he is considered a controversial public figure who is perceived in various ways by different people.

It is certainly Coffin's personality and rhetoric that breed much of this controversy. However, Cora Weiss, who is the International representative for SANE/FREEZE and has known Coffin since 1962, says, "You cannot separate the persona from the person. There's something striking about his form as well as his format." She went on to point out that he is "big and tall," and one woman at a recent peace fund raiser asked, "How can I say no to the big bear?" (referring to Coffin). Weiss claims he has this persona in

some part because of his "deep voice and big hug." Weiss concluded, "In body and soul Bill has resonance."

(C. Weiss, personal communication, November 10, 1990). Not only does Coffin's height and largeness add to his authority and power, but the fact that Coffin wears glasses and has gray hair adds to his credibility. There are other aspects of his physical presence that are interesting to note. Coffin's physical characteristics are described by Gene Preston (1981) when Preston compares Coffin's physical persona as seen from the perspective of an audience of West Point cadets as opposed to an audience of older religious people. Preston states:

None of the earnest, courteous, sincere young men and women could associate this middle-aged, slightly unkept, energetic man with those images which older Christians has of Coffin: the early freedom rider into the south, a moral force at Selma, a principal and antiwar organizer and spokesperson. In fact, the cadets had some difficulty picturing Coffin, dressed in his eternal, baggy corduroy suit as the prestigious pastor of Manhattan's largest mainline Protestant congregation, Riverside Church. (p. 730)

Gene Preston proceeds to describe Coffin's "unruly hair" (p. 730). Coffin does not seem to concern himself a great deal with physical appearance. His drive and verve move past the mere outward appearance.

Coffin's personality is a source of controversy. There are critics who accuse him of being "soft" on communism and encouraging toward America's antagonists. While Coffin was chaplain of Yale University, Kingman Brewster, the president of Yale at the time, attempted in one of his speeches to separate the university from "Coffin's 'unworthy' tactics and his 'strident' advice" (Newsweek, 1967, p. 67). The "unworthy" tactics were in reference to Coffin's advice to students about draft cards and the Vietnam War. During the years Coffin pastored the Riverside Church, there were congregation members who said he "is not pastoral enough," and others who said he "does not always channel the enthusiasm he has generated into well-administered programs" ("Coffin and his," 1979, p. B1). Coffin was perceived as being only interested in preaching and not pastoring. In one article, it is pointed out:

The criticisms of him have more to do with his competence in duties other than preaching. Church officials frequently complain that he is not attentive to administrative detail, and they despair at attempts to organize or "program" him. Some grumble that he diverts too much of the church's money to projects in which he takes a proprietary interest like the disarmament campaign.

Mr. Coffin's rambunctious style and his unpredictable streak strike some members as barriers to his

ability to serve as a pastor. To them, he seems always busy, too often out of town and too caught up in world affairs to care enough for the needs of the individual.

("Coffin and his", 1979, p. B1)

Criticism of Coffin's lack of pastoral skills have continued long after Coffin left The Riverside Church. The church was declared an economic "disaster" by the interim senior minister in July of 1988 (Goldman, 1988, p. B1, B2). There are members who blame Coffin for the situation (even though under his leadership the church doubled in size to 3,000 people). One member, Bryan Sterling, claimed that, "He didn't plan for the future and felt that the endowment was there to be used to further his own ultra-liberal causes" (Goldman, 1988, p. B1, B2). Cora Weiss says that when Coffin became president of SANE/FREEZE there was a small group of dissenters who did not know "what to do with him." She says:

Some object to his phrasing, his syntax. He doesn't say things straight forward. Instead he uses allegory and metaphor. This group said you can't solve problems by turning a phrase, and Bill Coffin turns phrases. We at one point attempted to write a book which would be called "Coffinisms: Coffin from A to Z" but the project is too big. The materials are so vast we haven't been able to do it yet. (C. Weiss, personal communication, November 10, 1990)

Coffin has many advocates who have very positive things to say about him. Cora Weiss maintains, "Bill walks into a room and automatically assumes leadership through humor, storytelling, singing, asking important questions, and therefore attracts attention. He's a lot of fun" (C. Weiss, personal communication, November 10, 1990). He has been referred to as a "glamorous activist" and the "very model of a twentieth century man" because:

He was riding freedom buses down in Alabama at a time when John Kennedy and The New York Times ("Non-violence that deliberately provokes violence is a logical contradiction") were nervously splitting legalisms. He got himself arrested and indicted for helping undergraduate draft resisters at Yale, and he made a mission to Hanoi. He infuriated most of Yale's stuffy rich alumni and failed in both his marriages. You can't get much more "now" than all of that. (Boeth, 1977, p. 120)

Boeth goes on to say that he not only has lived a colorful life which contributes to his interesting personality, but the people he has known have also contributed to his unique individualism. Boeth says:

Through the years, both Reinhold and Richard Niebuhr taught him theology, Arthur Goldberg defended him in court, Erik Erikson psychoanalyzed him, all of Skull and Bones called him brother. All in all, a hell of a life, glamorous, exciting, and useful. (p. 120)

Many of Coffin's critics grudgingly agree that he is energetic and magnetic. Because of his energy and magnetism, many claim that Coffin is "the most persuasive preacher to assume the role" ("Coffin and his," 1979, p. B3), as pastor of Riverside Church since the church's first senior minister, the legendary Harry Emerson Fosdick. Fosdick created controversy by his support of pacifism during World War II. Kingman Brewster, though critical of Coffin at times in his own speeches, personally acknowledged that because of Coffin's "personal verse and social action, religious life within and without the church reaches more people at Yale than on any other campus I know about" ("Coffin and man", 1979, p. B3). In fact, Coffin spoke at Brewster's funeral.

In Coffin's autobiography, he describes himself through the way he relates to events and people in his life. As a child, Coffin was quick to be compassionate if an injustice was done to someone. For example, he cried when the kidnapped Lindberg baby was found dead. However, he also loved to fight as a child. He states:

Every afternoon the block between Park Avenue and Lexington on Seventy-fourth Street would fill with limousines. On the sidewalk the uniformed chauffeurs would gather in small groups to talk while waiting for their charges to appear. I was quite a fighter in those days and rarely would go home without challenging

some friend or foe to a wrestling match. (Coffin, 1977, p. 67)

Clearly, Coffin was competitive and aggressive as a child. When his father died, his mother decided to start a new life and moved the family to Carmel, California. At the new school Coffin attended, a student made fun of the way Coffin was dressed. Coffin describes the incident in the following way:

Suddenly my fear and fatigue vanished. I was mad. I had been a hotshot at Buckley and now decided to waste no time establishing my credentials at Sunset. As I walked to the empty seat at the back of the room I took a good look at the boy who sounded off. His time would come, I swore to myself. (1977, pp. 9-10)

Coffin describes the time when it came:

The boy who had called me "high sky short pants" was standing in a small crowd. Pushing my way in I said, "Take back what you called me." He looked startled, as did the other boys, but when they drew back to give us room he couldn't back down.

No one in the sixth grade really knows how to box, so victory generally goes to the aggressor. Almost before the other boy had raised his dukes I was pummeling him, backing him against a cement wall. I heard a whistle blow but ignored it. Just before the supervisor arrived, and just before the boy crumbled, I turned

and walked grandly back to the classroom. When the other students returned I could see by their glances that the word had traveled fast. I felt much better.

(1977, p. 10)

Aggression and attention-getting were now vital characteristics of Coffin's personality. Ironically, later in the same day he became involved in another fight with Danny Villepondo, the first Hispanic person he had ever seen. He picked the fight with Danny because Danny was attacking other boys with spitballs. Coffin was quick to defend others as well as himself. He did not like injustice even at this early age.

As a child Coffin had two consuming passions, music and athletics. He spent hours involved in both endeavors. Slowly however, these two controlling passions made room for one more. He began to feel the first stirrings of romantic love. He later wrote in his memoirs that the three years he spent in Carmel were the "least complicated, the three most joyful years of my life" (1977, p. 14). He goes on to say of them:

"Everything," said Conrad of his young Lord Jim, "is inherent and in the genesis." And I suppose the wise can find here the source of the paradoxes and tensions that complicated my later life, without removing the joy. I was an elitist who came to question such principles; a combative young squirt who espoused

nonviolence; a boy with a gift of music and languages who became a preacher. Conrad summed it up with Jim in one word: romantic. "Ah," said the elderly Stein, "that is very good, and very bad too." (1977, p. 14) Coffin believes the contradictions in his personality began when he was a child in Carmel.

This romantic nature caused Coffin to view World War II from the perspective of the young hero, standing on the side of the right, and protector of the defenseless. He was an aggressive, enthusiastic young man who romanticized his life in the war much as he had romanticized life in Carmel as a child. General Eisenhower commented on Coffin by saying, "I wish all my officers were as aggressive as that young lieutenant" (Coffin, 1977, pp. 47-48). He describes himself and his perceptions of people and events around him during basic training when he states:

I actually enjoyed the marching, as I did firing the weapons and even the bayonet drill, at which I excelled. All the physical energy bottled up during four years of four hours a day at the piano now came pouring out. It was healthy exercise, almost good clean fun. Soldiers don't consciously have to be taught to hate the enemy; it is enough that unconsciously they learn to depersonalize him. If the enemy doesn't exist emotionally, he really doesn't exist at all.

(Remembering how easily I gave myself over to this

process-making abstract Nazis out of concrete Germans) I could better understand the three American POW's whom, years later, a few of us in the peace movement brought back from Hanoi. The pilots insisted that not until their planes had been shot out from under them, not until they had dropped into North Vietnam on the end of a parachute, did they realize emotionally that in bombing Vietnamese they had been killing and maiming fellow human beings. (Coffin, 1977, p. 35)

Involvement in the war taught Coffin some important lessons. For example, he realized as he trained soldiers that if their humanity could be reached, they could then be taught. President Roosevelt's death was insightful for Coffin during the war. He remembers:

Not being much of a believer, I didn't pray, but I remember crying. By that time I was very tired and the war had sobered me. I was no longer the young enthusiast I had been only a few months before. While America's entering had certainly altered the course of the war for the better, I was beginning to wonder if all the violence might not simply change the world into a more turbulent rather than a more peaceful one.

(Coffin, 1977, p. 80)

Coffin's war experiences helped him to begin to see the reality of humans, violence, and war. However, his romantic nature would not be quenched.

During his involvement in World War II, the Soviet influence on his life cannot be ignored. He fell in love with Manya, a Russian actress who was an exile. Through her he came to know and love not only other Russian exiles, but also to love their literature, music, and culture. By 1947, Coffin completed his time in the army and was ready to go home. He had to decide what do regarding his relationship with Manya. He writes:

The one person I could neither urge to accompany me nor bear to part with was Manya. With thoughts of college in my head I was even less eager to get married, and more than ever convinced that in her Russian theater in Paris Manya belonged to another world. But I wonder now if that actually was the case. (1977, p. 80)

Thoughts of Manya would haunt Coffin for many years to come. While the realities had dulled his romanticism of war, the people had sharpened his romanticism of humanity.

Later, while Coffin was attending Yale Divinity School, he was taught by many great teachers who would influence his thinking and personality. Of Robert Calhoun, who would teach him that there is a big difference between conventional Christianity and orthodox Christianity, Coffin says:

For instance, I had long been bothered by the apparent body-spirit dualism of the Christianity in which I'd been reared. The insistence of "sins of the flesh" seemed to me all too great. Calhoun's insistence was

quite different. He pointed out that sarx, the Greek word for "flesh" used by St. Paul, had little to do with the body and everything to do with the spirit. "Backbiting, slander, envy, hatred", these sins of the flesh were really sins of the spirit. Calhoun talked marvelously about the devil as a fallen angel symbolizing the truth that evil arises not in our "lower" but in our "higher" nature. I began to see evil as the corruption of freedom, the perversion of that which is most godlike in us. (1977, p. 115)

Orthodox Christianity helped shape Coffin's perception of god, evil, and humans, and this influenced his beliefs about life and humankind. Orthodox Christianity supports the premise that "religious conversion is not from this life to some other but from something less than life to the possibility of full life itself" (1977, p. 116). He also learned that, "Christian ethics didn't separate personal morality from social morality" (1977, p. 116).

The theological education Coffin received helped shape his later thinking, action, and rhetoric.

Interestingly, Coffin claims that he tends to save his courage and anger for "the great issues--segregation, the insanity of the arms race, the stupidity of the war, Kingman Brewster" (1977, p. 287). He acknowledges that he wanted to be a minister "more by conviction than by temperament" (1977, p. 113). One of his Russian friends commented to

Coffin about his volatile emotions, "'Like you,' said Boris, 'Fyodor Mikhailovich was a man of many conflicting passions.' 'But,' he added gently, 'he remained a Christian, and so will you'" (1977, p. 113).

In his own personal life he finds it difficult to express these emotions and attitudes. When discussing the failure of his first marriage, he maintains:

I think my main problem, more mine than Eva's, was that the courage I mustered to confront what I thought wrong in the life of the university or the nation, that courage simply was not there when it came to coping with difficulties at home. I endured them, with all the fortitude that I had first learned at Buckley School. But I think it takes less courage to endure marital problems than to face them. At least that was true in my case. (1977, p. 286-287)

Rather than channel his anger, energy, and aggression in a physical manner as he had in his younger years (piano playing, fights in school, judo and boxing experience, war activities, etc.) or through personal experience (marriage and home life), Coffin channeled his anger, energy, and aggression in his sermons and speeches when he became a minister. He expresses these elements strongly and loudly. Once Reinhold Niebuhr, the great theologian, told Coffin: "Ah, Bill, I heard a speech of yours the other day on radio. You reminded me so of my youth, all that humor, conscience,

and demagoguery" (Coffin, 1977, p. 257). Coffin has consistently verbalized loudly his beliefs regarding sin, injustice, and evil with regards to the current issues in the world. This has been true about issues such as civil rights, war, nuclear arms, abortion, homosexuality, etc.

Coffin is a man whose personality and language are characterized by contradictions. For example, he is an aggressive man in his language and attitude about peace issues. He is a romantic man by nature who sees the painful reality of the world in which he lives. He is a religious man who does not fit a conventional minister mold. These contradictions make Coffin a unique man and a unique speaker.

Coffin's speech delivery is as unusual as his personality. He breaks many public speaking rules. For example, he sometimes reads his speeches and gets lost while looking for the next point in his notes. Coffin admits:

I wrote out every single sermon on a legal pad like this, and rewrote it and rewrote it until I had it because I was always afraid I'd be through unless I wrote it down. When I write it I hear it, so I know it's going to sound right. The fact that I was trained as a musician, going to be a concert pianist was very helpful because it gives you an ear for what things sound like, it makes you hear the beauty of language,

and it gives you a sense of timing. (W.S. Coffin,
personal communication, April 20, 1989)

This insistence on language accuracy by reading his notes rather than speaking extemporaneously sometimes does the opposite of what he intends, which is to break the sense of timing. However, this breaking of good public speaking rules works for him and not against him. Because he is willing to break the "taught" techniques of public speaking, he talks to the audience as though he is more concerned about the audience grasping the content than the polish of his delivery. He is not afraid to be vulnerable. He is willing to take risks. He says clearly what he is going to talk about and there appears to be no hidden agenda. He does not seem to care what they think of him personally as much as he cares that they hear and grasp the content of his message. In Coffin's autobiography, he tells how one of his seminary professors taught him, "we make ourselves vulnerable in our sermons, believing that only if we showed our own doubts and fears could we reach the hearts of others" (1977, p. 117).

He begins his speeches by first spending a few minutes interacting with the audience, building a rapport with them. He has a special ability to identify with any audience. For example, David Courtright, who is now the visiting fellow at the International Peace Institute at the University of Notre Dame, describes many different difficult situations where

Coffin seized the moment and identified with his audience. Several years ago Courtright and Coffin were attending the Summit meeting between Reagan and Gorbachev in Russia.

Courtright states:

Wherever he went and Coffin spoke, the Russian people flipped over him. He speaks Russian fluently without a trace of accent. He knows their traditional folks songs and quotes extensively from great Russian writers like Checkhov. When he is done speaking, the people cheer widely. He is a greater entertainer in the Russian setting. We went to a rock concert in Gorke Park on a beautiful summer night in June, the night before the Summit meeting. The guy organizing the concert was a rock star named Stasnamim. He wanted Coffin to speak. The last thing youth want at a concert is a speech. But the moment Coffin started speaking, the people started listening. He is as allegorical and poetic in Russian as he is in English. Incredible. He caught the attention of this crowd and got a great hand of applause. He also spoke at a Russian Orthodox church with old Russian Orthodox priests and mostly old women in the audience. They were rapt and impressed. (D. Courtright, November 14, 1990)

Courtright also describes another event where Coffin's speaking abilities were demonstrated when he says:

In Washington, D.C., every Monday the Arms Control lobby groups from Capital Hill meet. Once they wanted Coffin to come and help settle a debate on a particular issue. They wanted him to bring the people together as he always does. Here was an audience mostly made up of young Turks in their late twenties, ambitious to make it in Washington politics. And there is Bill with his philosophical approach, quoting Shakespeare; I believe it was Hamlet. With audiences, he has this uncanny understanding of catching the moment. (D. Courtright, personal communication, November 14, 1990)

Coffin switches from one style to the other throughout the speech, from godlike to powerful, to conversational and intimate. Courtright says, "His voice quality is full and rich. There is something about it" (personal communication, November 14, 1990). Once Coffin begins his speech, he speaks in a loud, booming voice reminiscent of Charleston Heston playing Moses. This almost godlike voice is powerful in its volume and potency. The momentum of this powerful voice moves very quickly at times. This supports the later assertion that he defines and legitimizes himself as prophet. On the other hand, Coffin takes his time with important points and is not afraid to use pauses. He will stop and let the audience have time to think about what he has said. He does not worry if the pause seems too long or breaks the flow of the speech. Sometimes the sentences

ramble and are incomplete in structure. This technique is reminiscent of Mark Twain, Will Rogers, and Spencer Tracy. Coffin uses some gestures and facial expressions, but the power and charisma comes through the voice, personality, and language. Coffin breaks conventional public speaking rules and thus establishes a unique type of speaking authority.

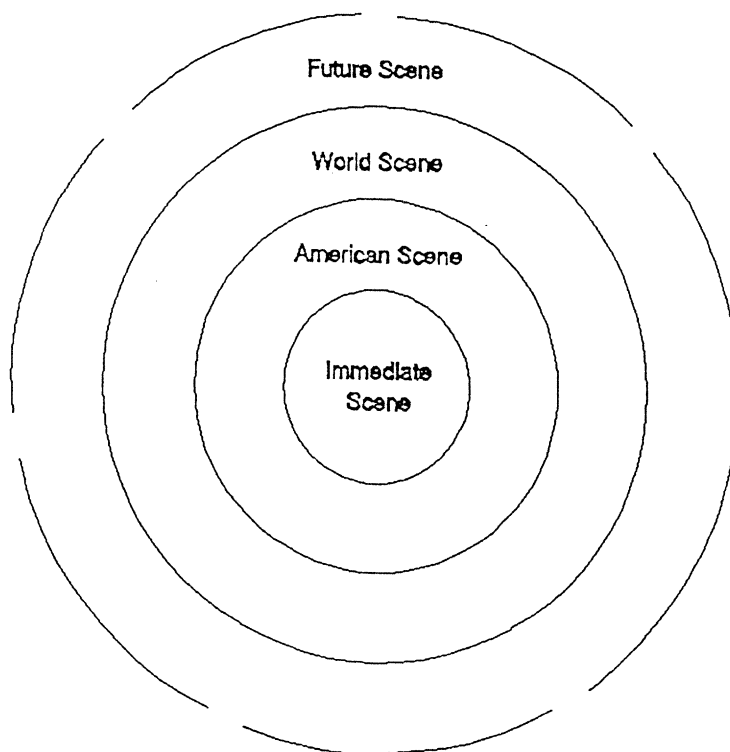
In summary, his unique speaking style stems from his equally unique personality which developed out of his varied and often incongruous life experiences. His personality is shaped in large part by anger, energy, aggression, and magnetic power. In his early years he directed these emotions toward personal issues which were expressed through playing the piano, fighting, and developing personal relationships. As he matured, he directed these emotions towards social issues which were expressed with authority and power through sermons and speeches. Coffin's persona is characterized by contradictions. For example, he is a romantic realist. Although the harsh realities dulled his romanticism of war, people sharpened his romanticism of humanity. Out of this experience Coffin dedicated his life to fight for peace.

Coffin is a very unusual persona who brings his rich heritage of experiences, studies, relationships, knowledge and wisdom to his speeches. This section has analyzed Coffin as Agent by looking at him from the perspective of persona and speaker.

Scene

Within the decade in which Coffin's speeches are examined, the Scene unfolds as the forces of the world events shift and change. This Scene can be articulated as having several parts within the whole. This layering of the different facets of the Scene is what Burke calls scenic circumferences. Coffin's external Scene can be examined within the framework of the following model.

Diagram
Scenic Circumferences



Immediate Scene

Where the Act takes place is the immediate Scene. Since the speeches were given over a period of time, the place will change from year to year. Therefore, the immediate Scene is examined within the context of the year the speech was given. Instead of giving page numbers, specific references to Coffin's transcribed speeches (see appendices) will be referenced by date throughout this paper. Since two speeches analyzed are from the year 1988, they will be specified as A and B.

1978, 1980, 1986 Immediate Scene

These speeches were given at the Riverside Church (affiliated with the Baptist denomination) where Coffin was pastor at the time. The Gothic Riverside Church, built at the turn of the century by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., in memory of his mother, is situated on the edge of Harlem in New York City. The bell tower and carillon, which soar high above the Hudson River, were inspired by the French cathedral of Notre Dame at Chartres. Inside, the church is awe inspiring with its high vaulted ceilings, costly paintings, and one of the greatest pipe organs in the world. It is considered to be one of the most beautiful churches in America.

Coffin's 1978 speech was given at an all day seminar held by the Disarmament program of Riverside Church on July

11. This audience was different from the Sunday morning sermon audience; it consisted of peace activists from all over the country. The audience was a broader spectrum in that it consisted of more young people as well as the traditional older crowd, and it included more non-believers and Jews. According to Cora Weiss who was Director of the Disarmament Program from 1978 to 1988, there was a definite distinction between Coffin's sermons and his peace speeches. At this event in 1978, Coffin was giving a peace speech. Coffin viewed his audience as a group of messengers who would take his message out to the public. Therefore, each peace message was constructed to teach a new idea to this very serious group of messengers. They came to hear the speeches for "models of replication." (C. Weiss, personal communication, November 10, 1990). Weiss maintains, "The message, method, level of activism, and nature of education, all would be taken away and recycled. That's why we publish his peace speeches, so that they could be used again elsewhere" (personal communication, November 10, 1990). Thus the audience, (the potential messengers) became then Co-Agents with Coffin in the Scene. The messengers are Co-Agents in that they commit the same action as Coffin in their various Scenes.

On the other hand, the 1980 and 1984 speeches were sermons given in the pulpit on Sunday mornings. The audience consists of Christians and people from the community.

Since the church is located on the edge of Harlem, the audience is largely integrated with Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics. Weiss says that Coffin was so popular that he also drew a large tourist audience. She states, "Easily one-third and sometimes one-half of the audience was tourists, both New Yorkers and out-of-towners, especially in the summer" (personal communication, November 10, 1990). She states that in contrast to the peace speeches, these speeches or sermons had to be "eloquent and timely" (personal communication, November 10, 1990). In other words, the speeches were directed more to the reflection of the listener of the moment, rather than for the messenger taking them out into the world to other people.

1984, 1988 B Immediate Scene

The 1984 speech was given at a church in Cheyenne, Wyoming. The 1988 Plymouth speech was given at the Plymouth Congregational Church in Fort Collins, Colorado. Both of these communities have nuclear arms plants where, for example, Pershing missiles and ICBM's are built.

Although the local pastors in Wyoming had invited Coffin to speak, they believed that only a handful of people would come and that there might be problems since Coffin was controversial. But Coffin convinced them that, "Until you have someone express themselves, you will never know how people feel" (W.S. Coffin, personal communication, November 11, 1990). The pastors were surprised on two levels.

First, the church was packed with people, and second, while not being wholehearted supporters they were open-minded about the peace movement. Coffin claims he, "was more low key in Cheyenne, because they were not as far down the road" (personal communication, November 11, 1990).

On the other hand, in Colorado Coffin says that the audience consisted of mostly the peace community and those people were therefore "sympathetic listeners" who wanted to listen to someone express their point of view. "There were probably a few who wanted to know what the opposite side of their viewpoint was saying, but only a few. Usually hawks listen to hawks and peaceniks listen to peaceniks" (W.S. Coffin, personal communication, November 11, 1990). Coffin says the two peace talks were similar because the speeches were given in churches, and many of the people were religious.

1988 A Immediate Scene

This speech was given on February 22 as testimony before The Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Usually these meetings involve different people giving speeches. First, the government officials speak; in this case, it was Secretary of State George Shultz. Following the officials, fifteen or twenty witnesses speak, followed by Joint Chiefs of Staff, and other speakers including ambassadors from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) countries. After

these, the representatives (SANE/FREEZE, for example), may have an opportunity to speak. Because of his reputation, Coffin enjoyed an unusual amount of attention for this speech and more people stayed to hear him than was custom for this type of event. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee consists of fifteen to twenty senators. However, by the time the public organization level representatives speak, only two or three senators usually remain, although their staffs are present. In Coffin's case, four or five senators were present, which was a respectable showing. According to David Courtright, who was Co-Executive Director of SANE/FREEZE at the time, the Senate is very "hierarchical which is alien to the message Coffin usually offers" (D. Courtright, personal communication, November 14, 1990). The senators sit on a raised platform at semi-circular desks, with tall leather chairs, somewhat like the Supreme Court in appearance.

In front of the senators, there is a table where the witnesses sit. This is where Coffin gave his speech. Other speakers from public organizations that day included the president of Physicians for Social Responsibility, scientist groups, and singer/songwriter Paul Simon.

Behind the table there is a railing, and the public is allowed to sit there and listen because the hearings are open to the public. Present at this hearing, were members of the press, and many SANE/FREEZE staff and volunteers.

Courtright said there were "fifty to one hundred people there totally" (personal communication, November 11, 1990).

According to Courtright:

Coffin spun out a concept that went way beyond the INF treaty. For example, the INF treaty was merely a first step. The worst case scenario is when following one of these speeches the senators do not ask any questions.

In Coffin's case, there were questions asked, particularly about his first step notion of the INF treaty.

This interested them greatly. (personal communication, November 11, 1990)

In fact, not only did the senators ask questions at the conclusion of the speech, but according to Courtright:

These hearings are usually considered very boring after the "big speakers speak", like the Secretary of State, etc. But this hearing was very different. There was a very different atmosphere. Bill speaks so passionately and eloquently. Even the aids were on the edge of their seats. There was an electric feel to the room in this particular setting. (personal communication, November 11, 1990)

The audience who heard this particular Coffin speech may have been smaller in number than usual, but it was large in power and influence.

In summary, the immediate Scene has been distinguished by the year the speech was given. A wide array of audience types listened to Coffin's speeches during the years 1978 to

1988. The audiences included people of various religions, cultures and occupation (from blue collar to politician).

American Scene

The following section examines the Scene within the framework of America, identifying the Scene within the year the speech was given.

1978 American Scene

During this year the United States was politically involved in many negotiation activities. The United States ratified new Panama Canal treaties. The United States and the People's Republic of China announced the establishment of full diplomatic relations. Israeli Premier Menahem Begin and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat agreed on a framework for Mideast peace at Camp David summit talks arranged by President Jimmy Carter. Officials from Israel and Egypt negotiated in Washington, D.C., to draft a bilateral peace treaty. The SALT talks were occurring at this time. In a news conference given a week before Coffin's 1978 speech, President Carter emphasized a unified foreign policy and stressed human rights.

At the same time these positive events were occurring, however, other more negative events were taking place with regard to human rights and relations. U.S. Representative Leo J. Ryan and four other Americans were shot to death in

Guyana by members of the People Temple, a California-based religious cult. Following that, the murder suicide of 917 people, including Peoples Temple leader Jim Jones occurred at the cult's Guyanese jungle commune. American hostages were being held in Tehran.

Competition continued between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union over Inter-continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM's) and Multiple Independently Targetable Re-entry Vehicles (MIRV's).

1980 American Scene

There were some changes in 1980 in the American Scene. Ronald Reagan ran against Jimmy Carter for the presidency. The re-election campaign for Carter gave him the image of a president dealing with the problems of the world, particularly the Iranian crisis. At this time, Carter expressed doubts about the imminent release of the American hostages held in Tehran. For the first time, he began to refer to the militants as terrorists.

The United States stepped up retaliation against the Soviets for their invasion of Afghanistan. For example, America set a grain embargo against the Soviet Union. Also, under President Carter's leadership, the United States boycotted the Moscow Olympics. Ronald Reagan, upon winning the presidential election, was calling for more severe measures against the Soviets. He wanted to give more

weapons to the freedom fighters in Afghanistan. The Carter administration predicted moderate recession for the country. There would be a mild recovery, the deficit would be down, and big cutbacks would be avoided. Reagan wanted to take much of the power away from big government.

There were arms activities in 1980 occurring in America which need to be identified. The cruise missiles were reported to have problems in their guidance systems. The missiles were supposed to correct their direction during flight, but they had crashed into natural barriers like mountains, in almost half of the missile flights. This caused grave concern because the missiles were to be a significant part of the American strategic forces in the future. Another problem concerning these missiles was that they had crashed in Southern California on a privately owned ranch and in a national forest. The Federal and Local officials expressed concern that the Air Force should not be allowed to test the missiles over populated areas in the future. Military spending and testing continued to escalate between the United States and the Soviet Union.

1984 American Scene

In 1984, Reagan announced he would seek re-election. Former vice president Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro, were the Democratic nominees. During the campaign, Reagan visited China on a journey for peace. This was his first

visit to a Communist country. While Reagan was in China, he spoke on three areas: (1) tax accord, (2) nuclear cooperation, and (3) cultural exchanges. He was very critical of the Soviet Union on this visit. The environmentalist groups were very critical of the Reagan administration during the campaign, stating that any improvements in the environment had been made in spite of Reagan's policies, not because of them. Reagan called for peace at a D-Day Commemoration, where leaders from eight western nations gathered to pay tribute to the allied troops who landed on the beaches of Normandy.

There were other significant events in the nation in 1984. The United States announced its withdrawal from UNESCO since the agency did not meet American demands that it get rid of politicization, mismanagement, and hostility toward free markets, free press, and human rights. The Carnegie Corporation of New York awarded grants to Stanford University and Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government to help implement strategies for reducing nuclear war risk. The Soviet Union and the United States began to seek better relations, but only in a tentative way. For example, the Soviets were willing to begin talks with Americans in regard to banning weapons in outer space, however, both nations still engaged in critical language of the other.

There were significant nuclear issues occurring in America in 1984. Diablo Canyon Nuclear testing in California began in May. A nonradioactive water leak was discovered in one of the coolant systems. It was controlled and named an unusual event, which is the lowest level of nuclear accident. All major programs and weapons systems the Reagan administration requested were passed by the House and Senate. However, funding for research for the anti-missile defense program was reduced substantially. Secretary of State George P. Shultz expressed in his speeches that the United States must be prepared to use military force with no guarantee of public approval for the action.

1986 American Scene

In 1986 the following activities were linked with the Reagan administration. America broke ties with Libya when the Reagan Administration accused Colonel Muammar Khadafy of supporting international terrorism. President Reagan ordered an air strike to punish Libya for their international reign of terror. Problems for the administration arose including accusations that the administration had been selling arms to Iran and some of the money had been diverted to aid rebels in Nicaragua. Also, the administration was accused of trading arms for hostages.

There were other current events taking place in the 1986 American Scene. Congress voted aid of \$100 million in

aid to the Contras in Nicaragua to overthrow the Sandinista government. Wall Street was experiencing its greatest boom in history. Since the price of petroleum had dropped, Americans saw a decrease in the cost of gasoline and other goods. The space shuttle Challenger with seven astronauts and one civilian on board tragically exploded.

There were interesting developments in the nuclear arms race and testing between the United States and the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union said it would end its moratorium on nuclear testing when the United States conducted its first test in 1987. The Soviets had stopped testing in August of 1985. They asked America to join them and negotiate a ban which would call a permanent halt to underground tests. The United States declined to join the ban because America said more tests were needed to perfect their nuclear arsenals. The United States conducted twenty weapons tests openly during the Soviet moratorium. The Soviets claimed that in addition to these, Americans had conducted secret tests as well.

1988 American Scene

The United States had many events which were important during 1988. They signed an historic trade agreement with Canada which would make both countries the largest free-trade area in the world. The United States indicted Panamanian General Manuel Antonio Noriega on charges of

taking bribes from notorious drug traffickers. Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North was indicted by the United States federal grand jury on charges of defrauding the government for his involvement with the Nicaraguan Contras. America and Iran had a confrontation and battle in the Persian Gulf. The United States Navy brought down an Iranian airbus in which all 290 people were killed on board. This was in retaliation for the battle between two United States naval vessels and Iranian gunboats. The Senate approved the genocide treaty in which they agreed not to destroy in part or whole, a racial, ethnic, religious, or national group. The United States was the 98th country to sign the treaty. George Bush became the 41st president of the United States with J. Danforth Quayle, a senator from Indiana, his Vice-President.

With regard to relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, some dramatic events occurred. Reagan and Gorbachev held a Summit meeting in Moscow which was the fourth in a series of three, and was Reagan's first visit to the Soviet Union. Both agreed that basic differences still existed between the two countries. However, they were both committed to future improvement of understanding and cooperation. In May, representatives from the United States and the Soviet Union signed nine agreements which dealt with various subjects ranging from student exchanges to nuclear testing. Gorbachev and Reagan exchanged formal documents

which ratified the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF). In November, however, the United States presented the Stealth bomber which was created to go into Soviet airspace without being detected to find underground command centers and mobile missile launchers. In 1988, the United States and the Soviet Union were equal in defense spending. The United States' military technology was superior, however, the Soviet was quickly bridging the gap.

World Scene

This section examines the Scene within the framework of the world, identifying the Scene within the year Coffin's speech was given.

1978 World Scene

Positive world events were shaping the Scene in 1978. The Nobel Peace Prize was presented to Israeli Premier Menahem Begin and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat. The Soviet Union and Vietnam signed a twenty-five year treaty of friendship and cooperation. A Japanese-Chinese treaty of peace and friendship was signed. Twenty-nine of the forty-six member Red Brigades, a revolutionary terrorist group, were put on trial and convicted of intent to subvert the government and other charges.

There were other significant events shaping the Scene in 1978. Violence engulfed Nicaragua in a leftist nation-

wide campaign by the Sandinista guerrillas to take over the government of President Anastasio Somoza. The Red Brigades kidnapped and murdered the former Italian Premier Aldo Moro. Premier Chiang Ching-Kuo was elected President of Nationalist China; he took the place of retiring President Yen Chia-Kan. The first peaceful transfer of power between constitutionally elected governments in Dominican history occurred when Antonio Guzman was elected President of the Dominican Republic, defeating Joaquin Balaguer. The Shaba (Katanga) Province was invaded by secessionist rebels and was supported by Cuba, Angola, and the Soviet Union. Belgian and French paratroopers evacuated Europeans from the area. A pro-Soviet faction seized power in South Yemen and deposed and executed the President. North Yemen's President was assassinated as well. The Arab League used military force to separate warring Christian and Syrian militia forces in order to give peace back to Lebanon. Sheh Mohammed Riza Rahlavi imposed martial rule to end the violent anti-government demonstrations in Iran, and the Iranian oil industry was shut down by striking workers. The self-exiled Moslem leader Ayatollah Ruholla Khomeini attempted to get labor strike started in order to get rid of the Shah. Earthquakes devastated Japan, Mexico, Iran, Greece, and Central Europe.

1980 World Scene

Other events occurred within the world Scene in 1980. Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Israeli Premier Menahem Begin held summit meetings. The U.N. General Assembly condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Indira Gandhi became the Indian prime minister after winning land-slide victory.

Other world-shaping events were occurring in the Scene as well. The United Nations halted aid to Cambodia. The Doomsday clock, the symbol indicating the possible catastrophe of nuclear holocaust, was moved forward. World protest grew against the Soviet Union for their invasion of Afghanistan. Israeli Premier Begin criticized the Soviet Union severely for the turmoil in the Islamic world.

1984 World Scene

Many events occurred in the world Scene in 1984. The Soviet Union wanted negotiations to occur between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, the outcome of a ban on chemical weapons in Europe. Soviet President Yuri Andropov died and Konstantin U. Chernenko replaced him. Chernenko called for peaceful coexistence with the United States, but said the Soviet Union would have to retain its stockpile of nuclear weapons for defense. The Soviet Union and Cuba continued to be a threat in Central America. It was reported that Iran had almost reached A-Bomb capacity. War and killing continued

to escalate in El Salvador, while a search for peace continued there. private corporations and individuals in the United States, and the governments of Argentina, Israel, Venezuela, Taiwan, and Guatemala were giving millions of dollars of aid to the Nicaraguan Contras. China allowed limited capitalism into their country. In an insecticide plant in Bhopal, India, a toxic gas leaked and killed over 2,100 people. Bishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

1986 World Scene

The world Scene was shaped by various events in 1986. The Ministers of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, the oil cartel, announced that the price of petroleum had dropped to less than \$15 per barrel for the first time in many years. Terrorism continued to escalate throughout the world. Libya, for example, was still engaged in a reign of terror. Ferdinand Marcos fled the Philippines and was succeeded by Corazon Aquino as president. Democratic reforms, like freedom of the press, was called for by over 50,000 Chinese students. Author Elie Wiesel, a survivor of the Nazi death camps, who wrote about the Holocaust as well as human rights suppression in other parts of the world, won the Nobel Peace Prize.

There were great tragedies which occurred in the world Scene. Europe faced a major ecological disaster because of

the discharge of tons of toxic chemicals into the Rhine River after a fire at a chemical warehouse in Basel, Switzerland, erupted. Toxic gas exploded from Lake Nios in Northeastern Cameroon, a central African nation, and at least 1,200 people were killed. Atom radiation was released at a nuclear generating plant at Chernobyl at the Ukraine, in the Soviet Union. It was believed to be the worst accident in the history of nuclear power.

1988 World Scene

The following events took place in the world Scene in 1988. The Sandinistas and Contras met to discuss conditions for terminating conflict. Iraq used toxic gas in the Persian Gulf war. A halt was called to the Ten year war between Iran and Iraq, and they exchanged prisoners of war. The government of Brazil took a series of steps to end the rapid destruction of the rain forests in the Amazon River Basin. Terrorism continued to escalate in Lebanon.

The Soviet Union experienced historic changes in the 1988 Scene. Gorbachev called for glasnost and Perestroika, (social, political, and economic reforms), changing the posture of his country in the world Scene. The Soviet government pulled out of Afghanistan, and by August no Soviet soldiers remained there. Gorbachev, who was the General Secretary of the Communist party, became president. The Soviet Union called for changes in the nation's

political system. Gorbachev stated in an address to the General Assembly of the U.N. that he was going to make unilateral cuts in the Soviet military strength. He pledged to not only reduce military strength, but also to remove many tanks and forces from Eastern Europe and along the Chinese border. Although this move was praised by Western nations, they pointed out that compared with NATO the Soviets would still be far superior in conventional forces. The proposed cuts would save the Soviet Union vast amounts of money when money was desperately needed.

The sixteen nations which make up NATO began a meeting in Brussels, Belgium. It was the first meeting in six years of these high-ranking officials. Their goal was to talk about future arms control policies with the Soviet Union. The leaders concluded with a unity of purpose and the need to keep an approximate mix of adequate conventional and nuclear forces that would be kept up to date according to need.

Future Scene

The future Scene is one which Coffin hopes to see realized; he refers to it as the "vision." This future world is not realized in heaven, which is what many preachers profess. The vision of the world as it can be and should be evolves out of Coffin's romantic nature and imagination. He believes the future Scene is as he puts it,

in his autobiography, "not from this life to some other, but from something less than life to the possibility of full life itself" (1977, p. 118). This is the vision. It is a Scene where all humans live together peacefully, no weapons or war exist, and the humans and their environment are treated with respect. It is a Scene which exists within the current world Scene. It is the current Scene in a perfect state.

Act

Act is not dealt within this chapter because Acts (what is said and done) are the speeches. The speeches are analyzed in chapter five where an internal pentadic model is applied to them.

Purpose

The Purpose is the goal or cause of the Act. The Agent is Coffin, the Scene is the world, and the Act is the speech. The Purpose or goal of the speech involves the following areas: (1) the noble, main purpose which is to end the nuclear arms race, preserve the environment and advance social justice. Coffin sometimes refers to this more specifically as economic justice. The two will be used interchangeably in this paper. The Purpose is only reached by achieving the lesser Purpose of making converts and sending out messengers (Co-Agents) who intend to make the

larger Purpose a reality. (2) Other lesser goals are public relations and fund-raising. These two areas are discussed in this section.

The noble, main Purpose of nuclear disarmament, preservation of environment and advancing economic justice is supported by the language in which Coffin engages. This was examined thoroughly in chapter five and six. When specifically asked what his speech goal is, Coffin responded, "First of all to outline the vision, and the task that leads to the vision is very important." He also explains what he believes the vision involves:

The vision of peace would have to recognize that the survival unit in our time is now the entire human race plus its environment, because peace can be threatened not only by weapons, but also by the depletion of the ozone layer and the devastation of the Amazonian forest in Brazil, and so forth. I think peace, part of the vision of peace would have to see that disarmament and ecology and economic justice; those three are inextricably linked. And I've got that in a speech that you'll get to hear. And not only by serving the first, disarmament, can you get up enough money, can you save enough money to serve the other two. See you have to have the vision. I think you also have to have a very good sense of human nature, which to me means a Biblical anthropology. There's a strong sense of human

frailty and human sin because I just think putting nuclear weapons in frail sinful hands is about as dangerously naive as putting Saturday night specials in the hands of three-year-olds. So you have to have an understanding of human nature, which is the sinful side obviously, but the better angels of our nature. And then you have to have a real sense of how you get from here to there. (W.S. Coffin, personal communication, April 20, 1989)

Coffin emphasizes in his language the purpose of nuclear disarmament for the reason he stated above, which is that only when this goal is achieved, can the other two goals (environment and social justice) be achieved. Therefore, his noble, main Purpose in his language, is to create, define, and communicate this "vision" of peace to his audience. He goes on to link the large Purpose of disarmament with human beings. In order for disarmament to become a reality, people must be convinced that this is important. Therefore, Coffin sets out to make converts, not converted from sinner to Christian, but from hawk to peacenik. They then become Co-Agent, who help make the Purpose become a reality. Cora Weiss stated that his peace sermons and peace speeches are different in that one is prepared with the audience of messengers in mind, and the other speech is prepared with the audience of converts in mind (C. Weiss, personal communication, November, 1990). Coffin in all six

speeches uses religious language regarding "salvation," "conversion," and "rebirth." (This religious language will be examined later as part of the structure of Coffin's drama and as a clue to his motives). His Purpose includes making converts and then sending them out as messengers to the rest of the world with his and their goal to make nuclear disarmament, environmental preservation, and social justice a reality in the Scene.

Less noble but realistic goals Coffin has for his speeches are to engage in public relations and raise money for the organizations and movements which support this "vision" he perpetuates. Coffin was pastor of the Riverside Church and involved in the Disarmament program which existed there. In his 1988 speeches, he was the president of and spokesperson for SANE/FREEZE. His speaking opportunities enabled him to publicize the good works of his peace organization and thus continue to perpetuate its activities, and he was also able to raise money for its activities. In fact, offerings were sometimes taken when he spoke in churches. This money was then given to the organization. Also, some of the people who heard him speak would then join the organization and pay membership dues. When Coffin received honorariums, many times he gave the money to SANE/FREEZE.

Agency

The Agency(ies) is the strategy used to achieve the Purpose. For the purpose of examination I have identified and labeled three distinct strategies used by Coffin. They are (1) Unification, (2) Empowerment, and (3) Prophecy. These are analyzed in the following section.

Coffin uses the strategy of unification in order to achieve his Purpose of disarmament, ecology, and economic justice. Coffin's personal experiences with the Soviet culture and people have led him to identify with them personally. He also personally identifies with other nationalities because of his experiences in World War II, Yale, and SANE/FREEZE. He can speak five languages and is well-read. In addition to his personal identification, he has a religious conviction that all humans in the world should identify with one another. He states in Once to Every Man, "Already before leaving the agency I was beginning to feel uncomfortable with human problems defined in solely national, political terms. I was always looking for their roots in human nature and for solutions that would make sense universally and spiritually" (p. 113). He elaborates further on this agency of unification in a personal interview:

We think it's our patriotic duty to fight for our nation but that means that somebody else has got to lose. How are we going to ever stop competition on

earth unless these martians appear, at which point the earth will immediately unite, all differences will appear petty and we'll take on the martians. What would be great would be to announce that the martians are about to attack and then when we are all wonderfully united we will say very gently "nobody get mad but there are no martians, but now that we're all so united let's stay that way." (W.S. Coffin, personal communication, April 20, 1989)

After he gave this unification example, he was asked if he deliberately intends to unify his audience with fellow humans in the world Scene. He stated:

Well yeah, I keep saying we have more in common than we have in conflict, and that's a matter of perspective. I mean, during the Cold War, when Americans saw Russians they saw red in both sense of the word; instead of seeing fellow human beings who had children, of whom they had aspirations just we we have. Yeah, I think to identify with the other is exceedingly important. Margaret Mead once said, "Whenever you see a crowd, put a face of a loved one in that crowd and then you can identify with that crowd." I had an apartment in New York that looked over the Hudson, and I saw a kind of sterile sky scraper after having just growing up on the New Jersey side. But I realized that the choir director lived in that building and immediately the

building was transformed. That's what you have to do with other countries. That's what's so important about these Russians coming over here and our going over there. We immediately see people we know, whose hands we've shaken, whose food we've eaten, whose songs we've sung, and all of that. (personal communication, April 20, 1990)

Coffin uses the strategy of unification to bring together all human beings so that they will no longer desire to compete in war and nuclear build-up. The Agency of unification will encourage a global perspective which will lead humans to desire to live in peaceful cooperation with one another in a world where no weapons exist, the earth is preserved, and human justice is maintained. He is able to use unification through the religious language of identification of love (visualizing loved one among enemies) and identification in sin (all humans are guilty of injustice and war). There will be more on these areas in the next two chapters when the speeches are analyzed. These are his unifying devices to coordinate the social action of peaceful coexistence.

The second strategy or Agency Coffin uses to achieve the Purpose is empowerment. He stated:

There are those who are, as I say, more persuasive and they are the ones who energize others. People often say to me that even though I am very critical of what

we do here in America, I always send people out with some sense of hope. And I remember when I left Yale, Clark Giomatti, who is now a big baseball commissioner, but became president of Yale; and when I was there he was a professor of comparative literature; he met me on the sidewalk once and said, "I haven't talked to you since you announced you were going to leave." He says, "You know what you have brought us?" I said, "Tell me what? What did I bring?" He says, "Energy!" And I suddenly felt exhausted, feeling that probably that was very true. I guess that is something that oratory can do. Beyond enlightenment, it can energize. There's a nice quote actually of Ellie Wisel. I've got it written in another notebook. It says in effect, "every now and then by the grace of God, words can almost obtain the stature of deeds." (personal communication, April 20, 1989)

Coffin energizes or empowers his audience to be able to transform words into actions. Cora Weiss maintains, "There are some things a language of peace cannot do. One thing Bill's speeches can do is make an audience think they are able to do more than they are able to do. It makes them into movers and shakers" (personal communication, November 1990). The empowerment strategy he uses is visualization of the reality of nuclear war as opposed to the hope of peaceful coexistence.

The third Agency Coffin uses to achieve his Purpose is prophecy. Prophecy is a religious term which describes the telling of future events by means of a message. The Agency he uses to achieve the ultimate, noble Purpose of nuclear disarmament, ecology, and economic justice is the message. This message is grounded in religious language, religious biblical scripture, and religious principle. He uses the message as a vehicle to achieve world peace. Coffin relies heavily on the vision of what will happen to the world if it continues to engage in nuclear build-up, and what will happen to the world if it chooses to engage in nuclear disarmament.

There is another way prophecy is used as an Agency. Since Coffin's Purpose is to lead the audience into a type of conversion concerning peace and then have them go out as messengers or Co-Agent(s) into the world, the message or prophecy is then a vehicle or means for the audience to be able to achieve the goal. He gives the audience the prophecy or message, and they then take the prophecy to others.

This chapter has identified the five parts of the external pentad which include: (1) Agent - Coffin; (2) Scene - Immediate, American, World, and Future; (3) Act - Speeches; (4) Purpose - Nuclear Disarmament, Ecology, and Social Justice through converts and messengers (Co-Agents), as well as public relations and fund-raising; (5) Agency - Unification, Empowerment, and Prophecy. The next section

will identify the dominant ratio and discuss its implications regarding Coffin's motives.

Dominant Ratio

The ratio is the uniting of two of the elements of the pentad with the intention of finding the relationship between them and the effect they have on each other. The critic begins pairing different elements of the pentad and searches for relationships between the two terms. The critic explores the ratio to find out if the first element in the pair determines, constrains, or affects the second element in the pair. The critic looks at how the first element affects or decides the nature of the second element. Some ratios are then determined to be important and other are not. All the ratios examined are not discussed in the criticism essay. Only the ratios that involve valuable insights are included in the written pentadic criticism. In this case, there is one ratio which is valuable in regard to the external pentadic analysis. This dominant ratio, is Agent-Scene. The Agent (Coffin) constrains, determines, and affects the Scene in this drama. Through his message, he is able to "convert" Co-Agents to go out into the world Scene and carry the message to other Co-Agents, until one day the Purpose can be achieved.

In Once to Every Man, Coffin tells of his attendance at a conference at Union Seminary where his Uncle Henry had

recently resigned as president. There he heard speakers like Reinhold Niebuhr, James Muilenburg, and other orators. The experience affected him profoundly. He writes in his autobiography:

That night, still deeply shaken, I spent a couple of hours with Webber, to whom I was particularly drawn as a war veteran only a few years older than I. He smiled at my confession that the events of the day had made mincemeat of my favorite contention that the churches were irrelevant to the social needs of the country and of the world. Then from him I heard the last persuasive words of the day: that ministers who had the courage of their convictions and knew what they were about had greater freedom to say and do what they wanted than good people in any other vocation. (1977, p. 88)

Coffin became a minister because he believed the role of preacher would enable him to say and do what was necessary to achieve his Purpose. He believes in the power of Agent to affect, constrain, and change the Scene. His life and speech are living testimony to this belief.

Once this dominant term has been located, Burke claims that the critic can discover a philosophical system to which the term belongs, and the philosophical system can produce ideas about what the rhetorical motive is. In this case, the adjoining philosophical system to the Agent is idealism.

The system of idealism controls, constrains, and affects the system of materialism which adjoins the Scene. The system of idealism focuses on the will and mind of humans over the body. The human will and spirit have the power to affect materialism as a philosophical system, which corresponds with Scene, focuses on reality and facts as explained through matter and motion or physical laws.

In this case, idealism supports the premise that the human will or spirit must dominate the Scene where materialism abounds. The Agent, Coffin, must affect, constrain, and determine Co-Agents to act and speak in a particular way in this Scene in order to determine that the material would not hurtle helplessly toward disaster. Instead, through his and their words and actions, the world Scene must be preserved and maintained. The world Scene will logically proceed toward a particular outcome, which will be determined by the acts and language of the Agent. Coffin as Agent must affect, constrain, and determine the Scene and also lead other Co-Agents to follow his example.

Motive

This rhetorical motive is expressed through Coffin's perception of himself as prophet. In Coffin's rhetoric, he refers to Amasaiah the priest who said about Amos the prophet: "The land cannot bear his words" (1984, 1986 speeches). In the present Scene, the land again does not

heed the words of the modern day prophet, Coffin. This is the key then to why Coffin has been able to have a "lover's quarrel" with America. It is why he has been able to commit "civil disobedience" (Ungeheuer, 1989, p. 76).

Others also perceive Coffin as prophet. When he first became pastor of Riverside Church, Eugene Laubach, the church's top administrator stated, "We were looking for somebody to stand in the line of prophetic preachers, to continue the tradition of an open, liberal pulpit, and to stimulate some controversy" ("Coffin and his," 1979, p. B1). Another article referred to him as "a prophet" in the "role of Amos" (Preston, 1981, p. 730). When David Courtright was asked if he believes Coffin is a modern day prophet, he replied, "Absolutely. Doonesbury even made a character of him. So he has a mythic dimension" (personal communication, November 14, 1990). When Coffin was asked what his motivating force was, he stated:

Religious faith tells me that life is fulfilled when love is shared and justice done. When love is not done, I get angry. St. Paul said, "Be angry but do not sin." I think this is important when talking about peace, understanding anger. Jesus was angry 75% of the time and I think it's a dangerous philosophy to improve on Jesus. His anger was focused. He was the example of hating sin and loving the sinner. Anger is important lest we start tolerating the intolerable. I think

what Christians have to realize is if you lower your anger at oppression, you lessen your compassion for the oppressed. Compassion demands confrontation. Many Christians don't realize that. They are too soft about that. King and Gandhi understood, but Christians don't. You have to hate evil in a world or you're sentimental. But if you hate evil more than you love the good, then you are a good hater. You have to hate evil because you so love the good. That's what you see in Jesus. In the Peace Movement there are lots of good haters. The art of life is to contend against evil without becoming wrongly contentious. (personal communication, November 11, 1990)

Coffin establishes himself in the above quote as a prophet who leads the way from Christ back to Christ, who was the perfect example of one who pursued peace and love. He also wrote in Once to Every Man, "Only men who had made themselves vulnerable to the world's pain could have produced the ethical insights of Isaiah, Jesus, St. Paul, Augustine, and Luther" (1977, p. 116). In the same way that these great prophets made themselves vulnerable to the world's pain, Coffin makes himself vulnerable to the world's pain.

There are at least two events which perhaps helped fashion Coffin into a prophet. One was the experience he went through at the end of World War II. Approximately 3,000 anti-Stalinist Soviet soldiers were interned in

Plattling, Germany. Coffin was asked to be chief interpreter of a small group of other interpreters for a weekend where these men were to be repatriated by British and American troops. Except for himself and the colonels, no one was to know the true reason for their mission. To everyone else they were only gathering information about the men's reasons for leaving the Soviet Union. When the screening began, he had very little sympathy for these Soviets in their German uniforms. He could not understand how they had agreed to fight for a villain like Hitler.

As the weekend progressed, Coffin became slowly sympathetic to their cause. He realized they were in a dilemma of loving their country and hating their dictator. He knew that there was to be a predawn attack by American soldiers, who were to insure the transportation of these Soviet soldiers back to the Soviet Union. The night before the attack, the Soviet traitors and deserters in the camp organized an evening of entertainment. They invited the colonels, but the colonels were uncomfortable attending since they knew about the predawn attack. They sent Coffin in their place.

That evening, Coffin attended the performance. He noted that the camp was minimally guarded and there was still time to warn these Soviet soldiers of the eminent attack. Coffin could not do it. He was not afraid of

court-martial, it was simply that he had his orders. He remembers in his autobiography:

It was one thing to let individual deserters escape in the woods. It was something else again to blow a Top Secret operation ordered by Washington itself with the Soviet government ready to make a terrible row if it failed. The closest I came was at the door, when the commandant said good night. In Russian it's "peaceful" night. When he said it I almost blurted out, "There's nothing peaceful about this place. Get out and quick." But I didn't. Instead I drove off cursing the commandant for being so trusting. At 5:45 the next morning, the first division moved in as planned. Despite the fact that there were three GI's to every returning Russian, I saw several men commit suicide. Two rammed their heads through windows sawing their necks on the broken glass until they cut their jugular veins. Another took his leather bootstraps, tied a loop on to the top of his triple-decker bunk, put his head through the noose and did a back flip over the edge which broke his neck. Others, less successful, were bandaged up and carried on stretchers to the boxcars into which the rest of the men had been herded. They were peering out through barred windows. (1977, pp. 76-77)

This devastating experience influenced Coffin profoundly.

He continues:

My part in the Plattling operation left me a burden of guilt I am sure to carry the rest of my life. Certainly it influenced my decision 1959 to spend three years in the CIA opposing Stalin's regime. And it made it easier for me in 1967 to commit civil disobedience in opposition to the war in Vietnam. The forced repatriation of those two thousand Russians showed me that in matters of life and death the responsibility of those who take orders is as great as those who give them. And finally what I did, or rather didn't do, as Plattling has made me sympathize with the Americans I consider war criminals in the Vietnam conflict. Some of them at least must now be experiencing the same bad moments I have had so often thinking of the lives I might have saved. (1977, pp. 77-78)

Whether or not Coffin actually had the power to save these men is open for speculation. No one will ever know.

However, the point is that Coffin believes he had the power to do so. It is clear he believes he as Agent has the power to affect, constrain, and influence the Scene. He believes in fact, that he had the power to "save lives." When asked if this was a type of "conversion" experience for him, he replied, "Yeah, some people have said, 'that changed his whole life.' I don't think that is true, but it was a very profound experience in the sense of teaching me what individual irresponsibility and individual responsibility are

all about" (personal communication, April 20, 1989). This experience helped transform Coffin into prophet and thus gave him motive as Agent.

Another conversion experience occurred several years later. While a student at Yale, Coffin became used to Christian students attempting to convert him to Christianity. He was not impressed with their attempts or their religion. Then in his senior year of college, a close friend was killed in an automobile accident. He attended the funeral with many questions left unanswered. Then the preacher spoke and referred to biblical scripture when he said, "The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord" (Coffin, 1977, p. 83). Coffin mentally struggled through his, and he writes in his autobiography about his own questioning:

"Coffin, what part of the sentence are you objecting to?" Naturally I thought it was the second part, "the Lord hath taken away," spoken all too facilely by the priest. But suddenly I realized it was the first. Suddenly I caught the full impact of "The Lord gave;" the world very simple is not ours, at best we're guests. (1977, p. 83)

This questioning led Coffin to see through reasoning and will, that only God has authority and power over the world. This had many ramifications regarding peace and war, life and death, love and justice, power and submission.

Coffin began to evolve into a prophet as Agent through these conversion experiences, intent on affecting and changing the world Scene. His role as prophet would not only lead him to convert and lead Co-Agents, but it would insure his own purging of sin and conversion through his willingness to do what is right. He missed his chance to do right in the past Scene of Plattling, but he is given other opportunities to do right in the current and future Scenes. He defines and legitimizes himself through his role as prophet. Therefore, his motives both personal and public, are inextricably linked to his role as Agent.

Summary

This chapter has identified the five parts of the external pentad which are: Agent - Coffin; Scene - Immediate, American, World, and Future; Act - Speeches; Purpose - Nuclear Disarmament, Ecology, and Economic Justice made possible through converts who become messengers, Public Relations and Fund-Raising; and Agency - Unification, Empowerment, and Prophecy. This chapter has also examined the dominant ratio which is Agent-Scene and the motive that has a corresponding philosophy which is ideology and its counterpart philosophy which is materialism. The motive has its foundation in Coffin's role as prophet which has impli-

cations both personal and public in nature. His prophet role also has implications which are both action and rhetoric in nature. The action and speech implications have been analyzed in the following chapters.

CHAPTER V

THE BITE OF THE NUCLEAR APPLE

Internal Pentad

In this chapter, the focus is from the point of view of the speaker (Coffin), and this will be achieved by focusing on an internal analysis of the artifacts from the years 1978 through 1988. The internal pentadic analysis is from the speaker's point of view. The critic finds out how the speaker perceives and interacts with the world. The model used to identify and discuss the drama Coffin creates in his rhetoric is Kenneth Burke's pentad. The pentad consists of the five basic elements of drama, which are: (1) Scene, where the Act occurred, (2) Agent, who did the Act, (3) Act, what was said and what was done, (4) Agency, strategies used to achieve the Purpose, and (5) Purpose, reason or cause of the Act.

There are two screens from which Coffin perceives the drama. Each person carries a private and unique universe or perceptual field which consists of beliefs, feelings, past experiences, etc. This collection of material forms a filter through which the individual perceives incoming messages. Kenneth Burke calls these filters terministic screens. He identifies specifically two screens through which reality is filtered. Burke believes humans are

trapped by their own language, because although language allows humans to think about and speak about concepts and ideas, it also limits their ability to experience reality completely and see things from every perspective. Language can filter reality through a symbolic screen. Individuals are at times trapped by terministic screens when symbols are misused, and the individuals are unaware they are doing it. If symbol-users are unaware of the implications, the resulting action may be disastrous. For example, humanity exploits technology in language and deed to the point where they ultimately destroy one another (i.e., nuclear war). On the other hand, the study of dramatistic screens provides hope and strategies for achieving social cohesion. When individuals become aware that certain words (such as: enemy, defense, and national interests) lock them into certain behavior, they can choose to take responsibility and break out of the tragic cycle in which they are involved. They become active choice makers rather than mere beings in motion. Also, not only do the individuals become aware of their own language, but they realize there is more than one perspective (their own), and are open about these other perspective possibilities. Through the study of literature, poetry, plays, newspapers, television, speeches, etc., individuals can become aware of various perspectives or screens. Once people develop dramatistic views of events and people, they have a better chance of understanding

themselves and their world. Individuals and societies can become more aware of the implications of their screens and language and strive to see other perspectives on life. Individuals and societies can then choose to shape their own destinies rather than helplessly wait for events to occur.

This chapter identifies two screens from the same drama, one in which the Agents act from terministic screens, and one in which the Agents act from dramatistic screens. From each perspective, the Scene, Agent, Act, Agency, and Purpose are examined. Through Coffin's terministic screen, the Agents' language calls for war, aggression, power, control, and authority. In this drama, the Agents are creating the means of their own destruction which will lead them to do the very things from which they think they are defending against. By contrast, through Coffin's dramatistic screen, Coffin tells a story of changing the language in which the Agents are involved. In this drama, the Agents have the potential to break out of the cyclical, terministic mode, by becoming aware of how language affects them and how they fall into traps of acting out their own rhetoric. They can choose to enact another drama instead where hope replaces despair and survival replaces destruction. A table with an overview of the two perspectives Coffin creates is included in the Appendices. It includes the religious as well as the secular language he incorporates in order to explain the drama taking place.

Terministic Screen

In the terministic drama Coffin presents, the Scene is the world (particularly the United States), and the Agent(s) are the American people (and various, specific groups of American people), Co-Agent is Satan, and Counter-Agents are Soviets and Christ. The Act is the threatening of the destruction of creation through the escalation of the arms race as well as the destruction of earth and the commission of social injustice. The Agencies are mechanization of humanity through mental, verbal, and behavioral identification; and their Purpose is to be as gods and rule the world.

Terministic Scene

The overall terministic Scene (where the Act took place) in each of Coffin's six speeches is the world. The threat of nuclear war as antithesis to peace, affects all humankind, according to Coffin. In his 1978 speech, the world Scene is analogous to the biblical Garden of Eden. Coffin states:

There is a Zen saying that you have to meditate and tend the garden, and that really sums up all religious life in a way. It does not say how large or how small the garden is. These days, we must think both small and fairly large. The world is now too small and too dangerous to anything but truth, but also too small for anything but love. (1978 Speech)

As this quote demonstrates, the terministic Scene is the world but more specifically, it is the United States. There is also the reminder that while the United States is responsible for the tragic, cyclical elements that characterize its small scenic parameters, it is also responsible for the tragic, cyclical elements that characterize the larger scenic parameters in which the world exists.

The terministic Scene in which the Agents hurtle toward disaster, involves a world (particularly the United States), characterized by: imperialism, killing, dictatorship, and "loveless power." Coffin identifies a world pervaded by "hucksters" and "corporate Goliaths" who are hungry for power and money, who follow "technological imperative" rather than "moral restraint," and who are engaged in war-making and nuclear escalation. These cruel, unjust, and ignorant individuals perceive the Soviet Union as "enemy" (1978, 1980, 1984 Speeches). The terministic Scene is also characterized by "violence supported by lies," madness, complacency, enmity, and ethical default. It is distinguished by individuals with "appetites for distractions," "entertained slaves" and "smooth-talking religious and political leaders." It also features "de-humanizing rhetoric," "murder breeding murder in the name of right," and "violent revolution." It is also characterized by destruction over diplomacy, "first-strike" mentality, chemical and biological warfare, "yuppie warfare" or low-intensity

conflict, and opulence versus poverty (1986, 1988A, and 1988B Speeches). This terministic Scene is a place where injustices abound, and these negative elements already mentioned lead the Agents to hurtle toward destruction of themselves and their world.

In the terministic Scene, there is a hierarchy of power and greed. The United States and the Soviet Union, as well as other countries, compete for position in the hierarchy of power and possession. Coffin says that America is ahead in power and possession but the Soviet Union is attempting to climb up higher in the hierarchy to equal and surpass America. He says: "We are number one. We are the Hertz of the world, and the Soviets are like Avis, they are trying harder" (1978 Speech). Coffin says the Soviets are a "bankrupt Superpower" who are very "insecure" and "paranoid" (1984 Speech). They cannot compete economically or politically, so they must rely on military competition with the United States to climb higher in the hierarchy. The United States in its thirst for power and possessions, cannot let this happen. Therefore in the terministic Scene, the Agents continue to thrive on competition, injustice, and distrust in order to move up and retain a place in the hierarchy of power and possession.

Terministic Agent

Coffin establishes the United States not only as a part of the Scene, but also as the Agent (group of people-Americans), responsible for action. In each speech he focuses on different groups of people in the United States, but their overall group is always mentioned.

The groups he focuses on in his speeches are varied and many. For example, he cites the following groups of people as responsible for the action in the terministic Scene: Christians, Jews, church people, "hucksters," "corporate Goliaths," Reagan administration, educators, scientists, and military, religious, and political leaders. These groups of people may be involved in the action aggressively or passively, but they are involved and are ultimately responsible for the action. Some of them, for example, may support and engage in unjust action for power and greed. Others may simply passively allow injustices to occur and be willing "victims" (1984 Speech). These people who are "victims" are headed toward disaster like beings in motion rather than active choicemakers.

Coffin uses analogy quite often when discussing the Americans, who are the terministic Agents. For example, he compares them to Rip Van Winkle who slept through a revolution (1984, 1988B Speeches). Coffin says:

Two hundred years later, his compatriots are doing much the same. Most Americans are peacefully sleeping

through, or are having positive nightmares about what Adlai Stevenson, back in the 50's, called "the revolution of rising expectations." (1984 Speech)

The Americans are willing victims, allowing the negative act to continue while they sleep peacefully. Coffin also claims Americans are analogous to alcoholics when he says: "When I think of the Soviet Union and the United States in the arms race I just think we're two, like two nations of alcoholics who know that liquor is killing them but somehow they always find a reason for one more drink" (1984 Speech). Again, Americans are willing victims trapped by their language and behavior in much the same way alcoholics are victims. Coffin also compares them to the people of Israel who did not heed the words of the prophet, Amos. Amasaiah the priest says, "The land cannot bear his words" (1984, 1986 Speeches). The Israelites were unwilling to heed the words that could lead them out of their trapped language and behavior, and the American people are also unwilling to heed the words that could lead them out of their trapped language and behavior. The negative Agents (Americans) are also analogous to the Jews during World War II when they were put in boxcars and tortured and killed once they reached their destination. Coffin claims: "We're on such a train, to an even greater incineration, and haven't the eyes to perceive it" (1984 Speech). In all of these analogous situations, the Americans are perceived as willing victims who actively

or passively allow the Act to continue, thus being responsible for the negative drama which continues to unfold, heading toward disaster.

The analogy that Coffin uses throughout most of his speeches, making reference to it in some way, is the comparison of Americans with Adam (sinful man) in the Garden of Eden. Coffin refers to Adam in this way:

It is fairly obvious that Adam's real sin was not that he may have taken the apple, but that he wasn't tending the garden. If he had tended the garden decently, he would have been in better shape, and if we tended the garden in a more decent fashion today, we too would be in better shape. (1978 Speech)

In this analogy, Coffin is saying that the inhabitants of the world, in particular the Americans, are not tending the Scene in the negative, unfolding drama. Thus, Coffin has identified American with Adam, both of whom have given into temptation which Satan presents, and sinned by their actions. Both Adam and Americans, through choice, identify with Satan. Satan is Co-Agent with Adam and is presently Co-Agent with Americans in this terministic drama.

This unification with Satan led the terministic Agents, the Americans, to disunify themselves from Christ (perfect man) who is Satan's enemy, and anyone else they name "enemy" which in this terministic drama would include the Soviets. Anyone who gets in the terministic Agents' way of power and

possession, is named "enemy" and therefore becomes Counter-Agent to the Agent. Therefore, in this negative drama, not only are the Soviets the enemy and Counter-Agent, but ultimately, Christ is enemy and Counter-Agent.

Terministic Act

In all six speeches, Coffin identifies as the terministic Act the threatening of and destruction of creation through humankind's escalation of the arms race, the destruction of earth, and the commission of social injustice. While the escalation of the arms race clearly receives the greatest degree of focus, his references to the destruction of earth and the commission of social injustice as destructive acts cannot be ignored.

Escalation of the arms race is Coffin's primary act of destruction. In this terministic drama, the Act destroys creation in many ways. It takes humans and money, for example to continue the arms race, for building and maintenance. The negative drama possesses poverty, as well as lack of education and scientific research (to name a few problem areas), while nuclear build-up continues to drain from human and monetary resources. Escalation of the arms race not only destroys the present Scene by draining from human and monetary resources, but it has the potential to destroy the future Scene and its inhabitants altogether.

Coffin predicts:

What you can now project, in a few years' time, if we continue this way, is that a U.S. computer will misread a U.S. radar screen and think that the missiles are coming, because this is a complicated technology and things can go wrong. Our missiles will be launched, whereupon the Soviet computer, accurately reading the Soviet radar screen, will launch the Soviet missiles, and somewhere up there in the Stygian darkness of outer space, U.S. missiles descending, hurtle past Soviet missiles ascending. That will be the end of both countries, and no human being will have made a decision. (1980 Speech)

The act of escalation of arms destroys the Scene in this terministic drama. It will eventually lead to destruction of life altogether.

The terministic Act is destroying creation in a spiritual way, as well as a physical way. Coffin stated his view: "Not only to use, everybody agrees to that, but merely to possess nuclear weapons, merely to possess nuclear weapons[sic] is a sin. I think we are living in sin" (1984 Speech). Sin leads to spiritual death therefore, the terministic Agents through their terministic Acts are destroying spiritual as well as physical creation.

Coffin not only discusses escalation of arms but also mentions the destruction of earth and the commission of

other social injustices that lead to destruction of creation. These do not have the focus that escalation of arms has in Coffin's rhetoric, but in some cases he does extend the terministic Act to include them. For example, he says: "ghettos have become breeding ground for terrorists," "economic outlook looks bleak" for "poorly educated-low income residents in our area," "We Americans persist in making the rich richer and the poor poorer," and "education 'neutralizes' rather than 'humanizes'" (1986 and 1988B Speeches). He also includes social issues that are abusive like chemical and bacteriological warfare, country intervention, imperialism and dictatorship, and "Yuppie warfare" or "low intensity conflict" (1988B Speech). Thus, Coffin proposes that there are many social injustices as well as nuclear build-up that contribute to domestic and foreign destruction of creation.

Terministic Agency

The Agency is the means or way the Act occurs. Escalation of arms build-up as well as other social injustice are Acts which lead to destruction of creation. These Acts have one unifying thread in that in order for them to occur, the human element must be removed. For example, the Act of nuclear build-up is made possible because the terministic Agents (Americans) do not recognize others as human beings. They are seen as objects to be controlled and destroyed.

Coffin says:

Today, we are prepared, according to our policy of deterrence, to kill 200,000,000 Soviet citizens, none of whom have anything to say about the decision to attack us, if they do attack us. Nor will any of us have anything to say about the decision to retaliate, or to attack if we attack them first. We are now prepared to slaughter 200,000,000 men, women, and children, and it must be a credible threat, not just a bluff, or it won't work. (1978 Speech)

The ability to build and maintain weapons means Americans are prepared to use them, otherwise why have them? Coffin says this is possible because as he states: "We no longer assume that the humanity is humanized. They may simply neutralize" (1988B Speech). The terministic Agency or method that makes the Act possible I have called the mechanization of humanity. When individuals are stripped of their humanity, they are left with only a shell of their former self and that shell can then be programmed by the imperialist or dictator to do the will of the state so that when these shells are terminated, they can be cast aside with the other used appliances, never giving another thought to the rights of the machine or to its desires and needs or anything else that might make it human. Coffin speaks of this in religious terms as "hating the enemy" (1984 Speech).

This terministic Agency of mechanization of humanity has means or methods of making the terministic Act possible that can be further grouped together into three main aspects. I have labeled these three Agency aspects:

(1) Mental Identification, (2) Verbal Identification, and (3) Behavior Identification. The terministic Agents (Americans) are able to identify with one another in their capacity to mechanize or dehumanize others by their thinking, speaking, and behaving. These three Agency aspects are not discrete and may overlap in many instances.

Coffin addresses the first aspect, mental identification, in his 1980 speech when he quotes Albert Einstein, "The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything except our way of thinking. Thus we are drifting towards a catastrophe beyond conception." Coffin is clearly pointing out that the Agents' thinking in this terministic drama is making the Act possible which in turn is making destruction of creation possible. He also acknowledges that thought has the power to immobilize action. He discusses in all six speeches how the negative mental identification of complacency allows the Agent to helplessly head toward destruction. Other immobilizing mental identifications are fear which "fuels the arms race," (1980 Speech), despair and cynicism. Coffin further acknowledges that mental identification can mobilize action as well as immobilize action in a negative way. For instance, he discusses the "willingness

to kill" which then leads to the physical act of killing (1978 Speech). This willingness comes from thinking and naming others as "enemy." Coffin mentions other negative mobilizing mental identifications such as hatred, competitiveness, self-righteousness, greed, and arrogance. He claims that the attitude of "enmity" leads to more damage than any "enemy" can (1984, 1988B Speeches). All of these immobilizing as well as mobilizing mental identifications are means or Agencies for the overall Agency of mechanization of humanity which then leads to the negative Act of nuclear build-up and other social injustices.

Coffin's second aspect of Agencies is verbal identification. He identifies a number of verbal or communicative occurrences which can be grouped into two categories: (1) Negotiation and (2) Public Rhetoric. Again, these are not discrete categories. For example, people may engage in a type of public rhetoric in order to prepare for negotiation (i.e., Summit meetings).

Coffin's first category: negotiation talk, involves treaties (i.e., SALT I and II, INF Treaty), test bans, "limited nuclear wars" (1988A Speech), and arms control. Coffin maintains these have had only limited success. Coffin also discusses the negative posture the Reagan administration had taken of opposition to arms control and test bans in negotiating with the Soviet Union and its own American citizens concerned for peace. He mentions the

Reagan administration's "refusal to seriously negotiate with the Soviet Union on strategic reduction, and its attempts to discredit, disparage, and vilify American citizens organized for peace" (1988A). Coffin also refers to the negative verbal identification through negotiation which is grounded in America's offensive posture. For instance, he says, "The Reagan administration also argued that only a full-scale military build-up would be sufficient to scare the Soviet Union into bargaining" (1988A Speech). He also states, "Both our nuclear and our conventional war strategies maintain an offensive posture and then label it 'defensive'" (1988A Speech). Coffin is stating that the negotiating talk in which the Agent is involved, is negative in nature and this talk makes the terministic Act possible.

Coffin's second category of negative verbal identification is public rhetoric. Coffin says:

We should remember, too, that the Administration consistently argued that the Soviet Union was impervious to world opinion, that public demonstrations only put pressure on the West and that nothing could ever change inside the Soviet Union. These bromides used to forestall disarmament opinion were just plain wrong.

(1988A Speech)

In this negative drama, the Agents are discouraged from making public discourse because they are told it is not profitable. They are led to believe that Soviets are

"enemy" and therefore public discourse is useless. Coffin also refers to the "dehumanizing rhetoric" in which the Reagan administration engaged regarding the Soviet Union as "evil empire" and other devil terms (the Soviet Union as "enemy") (1988A Speech); as well as Reagan's "Cold War" rhetoric (1988A Speech). All of this negative verbal identification through public rhetoric continues to lead to mechanization of humanity and ultimately the act of destruction of humanity.

The third terministic Agency aspect is behavioral identification. This Agency area has three categories: (1) Nuclear and Military Arms Build-Up, (2) Nuclear and Military Economics, and (3) Military and Nuclear Research. The first category is Nuclear and Military Arms Build-up which includes Multiple Reentry Vehicles, Maneuvering Reentry Vehicles, and "Yuppie Warfare" or low intensity conflict (1988 Speech). The second category is Nuclear and Military Economics which is important for "corporate Goliaths" and contractors "who profit from the deluge of weapons that pour from America's arsenals" (1988B Speech). It also supports scientists, researchers and educators with research grants, as well as politicians and warmakers at the Pentagon in the nuclear arms area (1984 Speech). The third main category of behavioral identification is military and nuclear research which includes X-ray laser, Star Wars Initiative, and testing missile flights. Coffin calls

nuclear testing "the engine of the arms race" (1988A Speech). This clearly indicates that nuclear testing as well as these other behaviors are Agencies which are a direct means to mechanizing humanity and ultimately destroying humanity.

The negative act of destroying creation is made possible through the Agency of mechanization of humanity. The terministic Agency includes three aspects which are mental, verbal, and behavioral identification.

Terministic Purpose

Coffin claims that the terministic Agents (Americans) are engaged in nuclear build-up as well as other injustices made possible by mechanization of humanity through mental, verbal, and behavioral identification. The reason or purpose for this negative drama unfolding, is the Agents' desire to be world leader because of desire for power and money. In this terministic drama, it is the desire of the Americans to possess and rule the world Scene.

Coffin uses religious language to describe the Agents' terministic Purpose. Coffin says:

In the second temptation, the Devil takes Christ up to a high place, shows him all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time, and then goes on to make the startling statement, in effect, "They all belong to me!" This is probably the clearest statement in the scripture that, at least according to the Devil,

imperialism and dictatorship are his work. They all belong to him. (1978 Speech)

When the Agent engages in Acts of imperialism and dictatorship which are Acts of injustice according to Coffin, the Agent is identifying with Satan, Satan is a Co-Agent with the Agent because Satan openly has declared these Acts to be his works. Coffin later asserts:

Now moving to the Devil, what is the one thing you cannot give up if you are serious about serving him? It occurred to me, given the temptation, maybe it's power. That's what the Devil was offering Christ. Suddenly, a lot of things became clear to me. (1978 Speech)

Coffin claims Acts of power are Acts of service to Satan. Therefore, the terministic Agents' (Americans) Purpose in religious language is to serve Satan. Coffin also says:

The devil is now taking us up to a high place, showing us all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time, and tempting us with the notion, "Let's destroy them all! Maybe we don't even have to have a war, maybe we can do it all accidental!" And we are seriously listening, or at least we aren't doing anything about it, because we Americans just love power. (1978 Speech)

Again, Satan as Co-Agent tempts the terministic Agent with the purpose of desire for power. When the Agent succumbs to

the temptation of power through possession, and escalates nuclear build-up, the Agent serves Satan.

Coffin takes this a step further and claims that the terministic Agent not only desires power, but desires to be a god because of this obsession with power. The temptation Satan offered Adam (sinful man) and the temptation he offers terministic Agents (sinful Americans) is to be gods and rule the world. Coffin says, "Consider this, having bitten the nuclear apple, there is no returning to the innocence."

(1984 Speech) This language is reminiscent of Adam's sin in the Garden of Eden when Satan promised Adam and Eve that if they ate from the tree of knowledge they would "be as gods," able to discern good from evil. The terministic Agent is tempted with the "nuclear apple" in order to "be as gods." Coffin claims:

And let us never self-righteously say that the greatest danger in this world is atheistic Communism. Atheistic Communism declares that there is no God, self-righteousness says we do not need God. What's the difference? (1986 Speech)

Coffin is again alluding to Americans not serving God, instead establishing independence from God (not heeding God because of self-righteousness), because they believe themselves to be god-like (all powerful). Coffin says this power the terministic Agents possess is "so clearly not authorized by God" (1984 Speech). This is another hierarchy

of power clearly in place in this terministic drama. The terministic Agents (Americans) with their Co-Agent, Satan, desire to be equal with or superior to God who is at the top of the hierarchy. They are not happy with their place in the hierarchy and seek the higher position of power.

The terministic Agents' Purpose in this negative drama is to possess the world because of power and greed. In religious language this is described by Coffin as the desire to serve Satan and be gods.

Dramatistic Screen

In the dramatistic drama Coffin presents, the Scene is the world (particularly the United States), and the dramatistic Agents are the American people and various, specific groups of American people, Co-Agents are Soviets and Christ, and Counter-Agents and common enemy is Satan. The dramatistic Act is to preserve creation by eliminating the arms race, to promote ecology and social justice. The Agency is the restoration of humanity through mental, verbal, and behavioral identification. The Purpose is to preserve creation and live in cooperation with fellow human beings.

Dramatistic Scene

The dramatistic Scene in Coffin's drama is the world, which he many times refers to as "creation" or "God's

creation." This creation or world Scene is a place characterized by truth, love, salvation (will be discussed in a later section), and negotiation. It has a foundation of peace, is justifiable and humanizing, involves a new and better life, eliminates all nuclear weapons, has no war, includes shame and confession (also discussed in a later section), and has respect for all humankind (1978, 1980, 1984 Speeches). The dramatistic Scene features diplomacy and nonintervention. It also features "international cooperation," peaceful revolution, balance of wealth, and obligation to do good. The people in this dramatistic Scene are driven by pursuit of freedom, truth, and knowledge; and are "reawakened" to "waging peace" (1986, 1988A and 1988B Speeches).

In this dramatistic Scene, there is a hierarchy in which all humankind live in harmony with one another, no one competing for a higher place of power but living equally on the same level. That level would be high because human energy and resources would be going towards developing science, education, and all forms of social justice rather than building weapons and warmaking. It would be a completely "restructured world" Scene created and maintained by humankind (1984 Speech).

Dramatistic Agent

Coffin establishes the United States not only as part of the dramatistic Scene, but also as the Agents (group of people-Americans), responsible for action. In each speech he focuses on different groups of people in the United States, but their overall group is always mentioned. For instance, he cites the following groups of people as responsible for the action in the dramatistic Scene: Christians, Jews, church people, educators, scientists, military, religious, and political leaders. He also emphasizes peaceniks and peace organizations, particularly SANE/FREEZE for which he is president and spokesperson. Unlike the terministic Agents in the negative drama who were passive victims helplessly moving toward disaster, the dramatistic Agents must be active choicemakers aware that thought, language, and action can trap them into negative courses of action. Because they are aware of these dangers, they actively choose to take responsibility for their thoughts, language and action.

According to Coffin, the Agents in the terministic drama were people who chose to follow the sinful self (Adam) rather than the perfect self (Christ) in the human conflict between good and evil. Christ, like Adam, was tempted by Satan. However, he chose to follow a different course of action. He took responsibility for his actions and did not

give in to weak temptation. In Coffin's speech, he tells the story of the temptation of Christ:

In the second temptation, the Devil takes Christ up to a high place, shows him all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time, and then goes on to make the startling statement, in effect, "They all belong to me!" This is probably the clearest statement in the scripture that, at least according to the Devil, imperialism and dictatorship are his work. They all belong to him. Then he says to Jesus, "Look, I will give them to you if you will serve me." Christ answers, "It is written, the Lord thy God, Him only shall you serve."

(1978 Speech)

Both the tempted and the perfect man are different sides of each person faced with choice of action in the present dramatistic drama. The dramatistic Agents, Americans, can identify with Satan, who in this case is the Counter-Agent (evil) or they can identify with Christ who is the Co-Agent (good). In fact, the common enemy that Coffin constantly comes back to in this dramatistic drama is Satan. He also specifically calls weapons and war the common enemy (1984 Speech). Satan represents ultimate evil and destruction. If the dramatistic Agents identify with Christ, then they must love all humans and live with them peacefully which is what Christ desires them to do. Coffin says, "We can't just wish for peace, we have to will it, fight for it, suffer for

it, demand it from our governments, as if peace were God's most cherished hope for humanity, as indeed it is" (1986 Speech).

This means for example, that the Soviets in this dramatistic drama must be named Co-Agents rather than Counter-Agents by the dramatistic Agents (Americans). Rather than naming them "enemy", they must be named "fellow sinners," (this will be discussed in a later section), "fellow brothers and sisters," and "fellow human beings." Rather than creating disunification with the Soviets which was done in the terministic drama, the Agents must create unification with the Soviets as well as all other human beings. Coffin maintains, "The dehumanizing rhetoric of 'evil empire' will clearly have to give way to seeing Soviets working at American nuclear sites as symbolic of what Robert Jay Lifton has called 'our shared fate' in the nuclear age" (1988A Speech). It is no longer "them and us" but "us" (1986 Speech).

On the other hand, the Agents in the dramatistic drama must disunify themselves from the actions of other humans who are not "reborn" into peace and thus are not followers of Christ who represents goodness and perfection. This does not mean that the dramatistic Agents must disunify themselves from the person, but from the evil the person is doing. For example, Coffin refers to Reagan and the Reagan administration as needing to be "reborn as a disarmer"

(1988A Speech). He gives many examples of the actions against peace which Reagan and his administration have repeatedly taken. Thus, he separates the Agents from the past negative actions of Reagan and his administration. However, he later says, "Well, I'm a believer in redemption and I'm ready to welcome Mr. Reagan as a peacemaker and to support the INF Treaty which he has negotiated" (1988A Speech). It is therefore clear that Coffin intends to separate the dramatistic Agents from evil acts which are identified with the Counter-Agent, Satan, but not from the humans who do the evils acts.

This unification and identification with Christ and peace, will lead the dramatistic Agents to unify themselves with Co-Agents "fellow humans beings." However, they must disunify themselves from the Counter-Agent and common enemy, Satan, and his evil, in order to succeed in their quest for peace and cooperation in the dramatistic Scene.

Dramatistic Act

The dramatistic Act in this drama is to save creation by the elimination of nuclear arms, the destruction of earth, and social injustice. Coffin refers to saving creation in religious language when he states, "Certainly Christians, if they believe that this is God's creation, have a particular obligation of stewardship to save the garden" (1978 Speech). This quote is also a reminder of

Adam who tended the Garden of Eden. He was given the responsibility by God to preserve the garden, and the dramatistic Agents Americans, are charged with the responsibility to preserve the world today. Coffin also queries, "If we're not privately charged with preserving God's creation, then what are we charged with? This is such a fundamental religious obligation, trying to keep this planet in one piece" (1980 Speech). Again, he is claiming that the Agents have a basic obligation to save and preserve creation.

A fundamental way to preserve creation is to reverse the arms race. In his 1978 speech he calls for "sufficiency" of weapons and beyond that, drastically reducing any unnecessary weapons. By the time Coffin presented his 1984 Speech, his call for the dramatistic Act was more extreme and specific. He was calling for not merely a decrease in nuclear arms, but elimination of them altogether. Coffin uses analogy when he compares the possession of weapons to the possession of slaves when he says:

And as the debate 200 years ago was between those who said we must humanize the institution of slavery and those who said no we must abolish it; so the debate now is between those who say we must clean up and limit those nuclear weapons; and those who say no, we must rid the face of the world of all those weapons altogether. (1984 Speech)

Coffin clearly denounces in this dramatistic Scene any place for nuclear weapons. He also says that the "modern nuclear disarmament movement was born again" when they "set out to actively stop and reverse the arms race, not merely control it" (1988A Speech). Within this "restructured world" the dramatistic Agents must engage in the Act of reversing the arms race completely because Coffin maintains that weapons and war are humans' common enemy (1984 Speech).

Coffin not only discusses elimination of nuclear arms, but also mentions that preserving earth through ecology and social justice must occur in this dramatistic drama. These do not have the focus that elimination of nuclear arms does in Coffin's rhetoric, but in some cases he does extend the dramatistic Act to include them. He states:

I want to talk about nuclear disarmament; say a word about intervention, and then suggest that those who are only interested in disarmament but not in submission to social justice may be part of a disarmament movement, but not part of a peace movement. Because peace is not the absence of conflict, but the presence of justice.

(1988B Speech)

Coffin emphasizes that in order to preserve creation, the Act must extend to all forms of social justice. Some dramatistic Acts of social justice he mentions are: ending all war and accepting Soviets as "brothers and sisters" rather than "enemy" (1984 Speech). He also says, "We must

find alternative forms of abundance, if justice is going to roll down like mighty waters" (1986 Speech). He maintains that wealth must be distributed more fairly. The Acts of dictatorship and intervention must be eliminated.

The "restructured world" created by the dramatistic Agent, must be founded on preserving creation. Creation will be preserved by the elimination of nuclear arms as well as the elimination of other social injustices.

Dramatistic Agency

Elimination of nuclear arms, promotion of ecology and social justice are dramatistic Acts which lead to preservation of creation. These Acts have one unifying thread in that in order for them to occur in the restructured world, the human element must be reinstated. Coffin states:

Now in a Christian point of view obviously the first thing you have to say about Russians is what? They're brothers, they're sisters, right? And we have to feel it that way. It's hard to feel it that way cause the journey from the head to the heart is such a long one. But if we believe in God, we have to believe they are our brothers and sisters. And it also has a lot of practical implications because wars begin in the mind. You have to think someone to death first. You can kill a Commie for Christ, some people can. But you have a much harder time killing a brother for Christ or a

sister for Christ. It's much easier to kill a leftist gorilla, than it is a brother or a sister, and work it the other way. (1984 Speech)

When the Agents mechanize humanity, it is easier to destroy as seen in the terministic drama. However, when the Agents put the human element into the dramatistic drama, then it is much more difficult to destroy another human being with whom the Agents identify. Coffin says this "is not simply an airy-fairy idea to say that they are our brothers and sisters. It is a very important Christian understanding of who people are in this world" (1984 Speech). Coffin also says there must be a return of will and individuality as well as hope and love; these are the things which make people human. People are then restored to that which they were created to be. When the restoration of the human element to humanity is reinstated, then sustaining that life becomes essential. The dramatistic Agency that makes the Act possible I named the restoration of humanity.

This dramatistic Agency of restoration of humanity has means or methods of making the dramatistic Act possible that can be further grouped together into three main aspects. These three agency aspects I have named: (1) Mental Identification, (2) Verbal Identification, and (3) Behavioral Identification. The dramatistic Agents, Americans, are able to identify with one another in their capacity to

restore humanity to others by their thinking, speaking, and behaving. These three Agency aspects are not discrete and may overlap in many instances.

Coffin deals with the first Agency aspects, mental identification in his dramatistic drama when he quotes St. Augustine, "Do not fight evil as if it were something outside of yourself" (1986 Speech). The means to do the Act must start within the Agent before it can become an outward manifestation. Coffin says the Agents must identify mentally in, for example, anger, love, hope, and shame. Coffin maintains in his 1984 speech that "anger is what keeps your sanity these days." Anger is a way of loving people and hating evil." In regard to love, for instance, Coffin states, "Love has a limbering effect on the mind" (1986 Speech). He also quotes St. Augustine in regard to love when he says, "To crown all, there must be love, to bind all together and complete the whole" (1986 Speech). The mental identification of love can lead humans to unite together as one and lead to the positive act that preserves creation. Another mental identification Coffin deals with is shame. He identifies Americans and Soviets together in their shame. Shame, in Coffin's opinion is a positive mental identification and one which can lead to positive actions. He maintains, "I would submit that shame is not only a deeply religious emotion, it's a profoundly patriotic emotion" (1984 Speech). He identifies the dramatistic Agents, Ameri-

cans, with the Soviets in shame when he says, "So if we are not one with the Soviets in love at least we are one with them in sin" (1984 Speech). Therefore, Coffin wants ultimate identification or consubstantiation to occur between Americans and Soviets. They are able to identify with one another in sin. Both Americans and Soviets are guilty of sin and should feel shame because in the terministic drama they both are engaged in suppression of civil liberties, dictatorship, and nuclear arms build-up. All of these Acts Coffin identifies as sinful acts which require shame as a just emotion. Coffin goes on to say about this mental identification of shame: "Which is a very important bond that because it precludes the possibility of separation through judgment. That's the meaning of 'Judge not that ye be not judged'" (1984 Speech). Shame unites human beings together in wrongdoing. If humans judge other humans for wrongdoing, they must judge themselves as well. The mental identifications of anger, love and shame, as well as others, are powerful Agencies of restoring humanity to the dramatistic Scene.

The second aspect of Agencies which is part of the overall Agency of restoration of humanity is verbal identification. Coffin identifies a number of verbal or communicative occurrences which can be grouped into two categories: (1) Negotiation and (2) Public Rhetoric. Again, these are not discrete categories.

Coffin's first category, negotiation talk, includes negotiating of conventional forces and weapons, and "waging peace" (1988B Speech). It also includes resolving conflict through the United Nations, solving disputes between nations in the World Court, and working nuclear freeze referenda and resolutions through government.

The second category of dramatistic verbal identification is public rhetoric. Coffin talks about the need for the mental identification of shame, and he proceeds to link this with the need to verbalize that shame through "confession" (1984 Speech). This is religious language for a verbal admittance of guilt and wrongdoing. Coffin says, "Confession is good for the national soul" (1984 Speech). Coffin speaks from personal experience when he says that he verbalizes shame through confession when he speaks to Soviet audiences and that, "They all look vastly relieved that somebody has come along, speaks their language, and understands their souls" (1984 Speech). Confession is an Agency for dramatistic Agents, Americans, to identify with Soviets and thus restore humanity to them.

In the terministic drama the Agents are discouraged by one another to verbalize through public rhetoric, and thus helplessly become beings in motion rather than active choice makers. In the dramatistic drama, the Agents are encouraged by Coffin to verbalize through public rhetoric and thus be active choicemakers responsible for their language and acts.

Coffin encourages this not only through the verbal Agency of confession, but also the verbal Agency of glasnost. Coffin states:

It is currently fashionable to speak of glasnost, a term roughly translated as "openness." But glasnost comes from the old Russian root "glas" or "voice" and literally means "voiceness" or giving voice. And so I propose some American glasnost. (1988A Speech)

Coffin proposes that Americans should engage in "voiceness" about peace, ecology, and social justice. They must be active choice-makers who speak out at every opportunity and take responsibility for their language and behavior. Only when Americans mentally and verbally identify with others can humanity be restored and creation preserved.

The third dramatistic Agency aspect is behavioral identification. This Agency has three categories: (1) Nuclear and Military Arms Build-Up, (2) Nuclear and Military Economics, and (3) Military Nuclear Research. The first category is Nuclear and Military Arms Build-Up which includes abolishing stockpiles, reducing nuclear arsenals, and initiating onsite nuclear inspections. The second category is Nuclear and Military Economics which involves halting nuclear testing, proceeding with studies of nuclear winter, and opposing the Strategic Defense Initiative. All three categories of behavioral identification are Agencies which are part of the overall Agency of restoration of humanity.

The positive Act of preserving creation is made possible through the restoration of humanity. The dramatistic Agency consists of three aspects which are mental, verbal, and behavioral identification.

Dramatistic Purpose

Coffin claims that the dramatistic Agents, Americans, are engaged in termination of nuclear arms, preserving earth through ecology and engaging in social justice, which are made possible by restoration of humanity through mental, verbal, and behavioral identification. The reason or Purpose for this dramatistic drama is the Agents' desire to be a world cooperative and live in peace with fellow human beings in the world Scene. The desire or purpose of this dramatistic drama is to live; therefore, engaging in an Act of destruction is contrary to this desire. Not only do the Agents want to live in this Scene, but they want to live peacefully with one another because continued survival is dependent on it. Coffin says, "These interim measures, however, clearly point in the direction of nuclear disarmament and ultimately, international cooperation" (1988A Speech). International cooperation in turn can make possible a world of harmonious living where life is preserved and peace prevails.

Coffin uses religious language to describe the dramatic Purpose of the Agent(s). Coffin says: "Then he [Satan] says to Jesus, 'Look, I will give them to you if you will serve me.' Christ answers, 'It is written, the Lord thy God, Him only shall you serve'" (1978 Speech). Coffin is claiming that the Agents who in the dramatic Scene identify with the Co-Agent, Jesus, must also share his Purpose which is to serve God. Coffin pursues this Purpose further when he states:

What is the one thing you cannot give up if you are serious about serving the Lord? That was fairly obvious. You can't say "I'm going to serve God and hate my fellow human beings." That just won't work. If you are going to love God, you have to be serious about love, loving God, your neighbor, even yourself. Love is simply the one thing you cannot give up if you want to serve the Lord. (1978 Speech)

Serving God is the Agents' Purpose in the dramatic drama. This Purpose must then constrain, impel and direct the Agents to humanize their fellow human beings through love (as well as other Agencies), and thus be able to engage in the Act of preserving creation through elimination of nuclear arms, preserving earth through ecology and engaging in social justice.

Coffin says that only God "has the authority" but the Agents "have the power" to destroy life on this planet. In

the terministic drama, the Agents are passive objects in motion, helplessly pursuing death and destruction. In the dramatistic drama, the Agents have the power of choice. They can decide to pursue the Purpose of service to God and preserve life. Coffin maintains:

This is such a fundamental religious obligation, trying to keep this planet in one piece. We used to think the Lord was going to end this planet, but now our arrogance has become so great, our weaponry and technology is pounced on with such viciousness, that we are the ones who will decide whether there's going to be life much longer on this planet. (1980 Speech)

The choice in the dramatistic drama is left to the Agents. They can decide to pursue the Purpose of being world leaders who desire power and possessions (service to Satan), or they can decide to pursue the Purpose of being world cooperative who desire life and peace (service to God). There is clearly a hierarchy in place in this dramatistic drama. God is at the top of the hierarchy with authority and power. He represents peace and cooperation. Satan is at the bottom of the hierarchy frustrated with longing for more authority and power. He represents hatred and competition. The Agents have a choice in the dramatistic drama. They may identify with Satan (the Counter-Agent and common enemy), and forever seek a higher place in the hierarchy, destroying themselves in the process. They may on the other hand, choose to

identify with Christ (the Co-Agent), who seeks to serve God. Once the Agents decide to serve God, they are in a position in the hierarchy which enables them to be on the same level with God, because they have the power to destroy the earth as God does, but choose not to destroy it. However, they choose to be in a position beneath God in the hierarchy because they choose to acknowledge his authority rather than attempting to be gods. They seek peace and cooperation which is at the top of the hierarchy and is representative of what God desires. The Agents then preserve life physically as well as spiritually as they move up the hierarchy because in seeking peace and cooperation they preserve physical life and in seeking God they preserve spiritual life.

The dramatistic Agents' Purpose is to create a world cooperative where physical life and peace exists. In religious language this is described by Coffin as the desire to serve God and save the spiritual life.

Other Persuasive Elements

Kenneth Burke uses approaches to explain and harmonize that which cannot be accounted for directly under the pentad, but are persuasive elements, nonetheless. One of these persuasive elements which can further help explain Coffin's motives and language of peace is the Rhetoric of

Rebirth or Demonic Trinity. Therefore an analysis of these elements will be examined at this time.

Demonic Trinity or Rhetoric of Rebirth

According to Burke, humans feel guilty because they are not perfect and do not have the place they want in the hierarchical order. Language enables humans to "symbolically kill" guilt of their "sin" through purgation in one of two ways. One way is mortification which is putting self through a painful, cleansing process. The other way is scapegoating which is putting the blame on someone else. Once the guilt of the sin is symbolically purged, the human is "reborn," (i.e., saved). The Demonic Trinity or Rhetoric of Rebirth involves three elements which are guilt, purgation, and rebirth.

Coffin uses the process of mortification. The elements of this process which are guilt, purgation, and rebirth are clearly used in Coffin's rhetoric.

Coffin is very specific when talking about the American Agents' guilt for wrongdoing. The Agents are guilty of many social injustices. For example, the mistreatment of Indians, slaves, and Japanese in the past world Scene are all sinful acts of which the Agents are guilty. The enactment of any social injustice is sin. Coffin takes this a step further and says that not only using or being willing to use nuclear weapons, which is a form of social injustice,

is a sin but he says that "merely to possess nuclear weapons is a sin" (1984 Speech). He also alludes to this guilty act when he says, "Consider this, having bitten the nuclear apple, there is no returning to the innocence" (1984 Speech). Adam and Eve's sin in the Garden of Eden was eating the apple and Americans' sin is eating the "nuclear apple." The guilt of this Act means they can never return to innocence but are guilty and will remain so unless they purge their guilt in some way.

Also, part of this state of guilt is made possible by the Agents' desire to be higher in the hierarchy rather than remain where they are. In the terministic drama, the Agents seek power and position which does not belong to them but rightfully belongs to God. When the Agents seek out a higher place in the hierarchy they are showing, that they think they are superior to others, and deserve to be higher than others rather than see that humans deserve equality in the hierarchy. This state of competition leads to guilt because it is wrong. The Agents are also seeking to be perfect ("god-like") by seeking to be higher in the hierarchy but cannot achieve perfection and therefore feel guilt.

The Agents must purge themselves of this guilt. The method Coffin presents to them is repentance. He says, "Without repentance, there's no salvation, there's no other way" (1986 Speech). This is necessary for "our personal salvation" as well as "survival for the world" (1986

Speech). This repentance takes the form of death to the old life, which includes nuclear arms escalation, warmaking, naming certain people "enemy," and involvement in all other forms of social injustices. The Agents must confess verbally their wrongdoing and then set out to stop the Act which causes their guilt. This second phase of repentance takes the form of eliminating nuclear arms and stopping warmaking, naming people "fellow human beings," preserving earth through ecology, and involving themselves in social justice. Ultimately, this repentance takes on the form of creating a new world. Coffin says the Agents cannot return to innocence, because even if all nuclear weapons are eliminated, the "know-how will forever and ever and ever be part of the storehouse of human knowledge" (1984 Speech). This means that the potential will forever be there to possess, and ultimately use nuclear weapons. This leads Coffin to state that, "And so it may not be all that naive to suggest that we need to restructure the world" (1984 Speech). Once the Agents are willing to repent by "restructuring the world," both verbally and behaviorally, they are putting themselves through the purging process.

In terms of the Agents' guilt for competing for a higher place in the hierarchy in order to be as gods and be superior to other human beings, the Agents must be willing to purge themselves by submitting to the authority of God.

In secular language, they must be willing to cooperate with fellow human beings and live equally in the hierarchy with other human beings.

Once the Agents have purged themselves of the guilt, they will be reborn into a "new and better life" (1980 Speech). This life consists of spiritual as well as physical living in a preserved Scene. Coffin asserts, "And lastly, I think it's true that great is our reward, not only in heaven but right here on earth" (1988B Speech). The reward of salvation of body and soul (rebirth), will be granted to the Agents if they purge themselves through the elimination of nuclear weapons, war, and social injustice. In addition, they must preserve the earth through ecology and perceive themselves as equal with other human beings in the hierarchy. They will be reborn into new life (physical and spiritual), where they may live peacefully with fellow human beings and enjoy the benefits of the preserved creation.

Summary

Coffin distinctly establishes terministic and dramatistic screens to view his drama and employs other persuasive elements to express his motives and language of peace. Coffin maintains:

What may make calls for nuclear disarmament seem utopian and the war planners occasionally seem sane is,

I think, the tremendous distance we have to go to get from the world we live in to the world that we want to live in. But if we lose the vision of a world without nuclear weapons, a world where diplomacy is preferred over destruction, we shall surely perish. (1988A Speech)

Coffin's language of peace leaves the audience with a sense of hope out of the despair, that there is a world of difference in the terministic drama in which the Agents are presently helplessly engaged and the dramatistic drama which allows the Agents to choose and create through language and actions. The vision can lead to the reality of a "restructured world" where life and peace coexist in harmony. Chapter six examines important ratios that exist within the pentad to discover Coffin's motives. It is important to analyze these ratios to discover the motives that form the impetus of Coffin's rhetoric.

CHAPTER VI

THE AGENT HAS TO TEND THE GARDEN

Ratios, Motive

In chapter five the five parts of Kenneth Burke's pentad: Scene, Agent, Act, Agency, and Purpose were analyzed from the internal perspective. This chapter examines ratios (what goes with what), defines the dominant ratio, and explains how that is used to decide Coffin's Motive(s).

Ratios

The ratios are the inter-relationships between the parts of the pentad. Each ratio involves two terms of the pentad and reveals a casual relationship between them. What term is named first controls the second term. As discussed in chapter three, an example of this would be "Agent-Purpose." This ratio reflects that the Agent had a bearing on the Purpose. The critic explores, seeking out the different possible ratios and attempts to find if the first element in the pair constrains, determines, affects the second element in the pair. All the possible ratios will not be discussed here. Only the ratios that involved insights are included in this criticism. The ratios which are analyzed in this chapter are 1) Purpose-Agent, 2) Purpose-Act, 3) Purpose-Agency, 4) Agency-Purpose, 5)

Agency-Agent, 6) Agency-Scene, 7) Agency-Act, 8) Act-Agency, 9) Act-Agent, 10) Act-Scene and 11) Scene-Act. The dominant ratio Agent-Scene is then examined to determine Motive(s).

Purpose-Agent

The first ratio to be examined will be Purpose-Agent. In the terministic drama, the Purpose is to desire and acquire power through imperialism and dictatorship (i.e., serve Satan and be as gods). In the dramatistic drama, the Purpose is to desire and acquire international cooperation and survival (i.e., serve God and submit to his authority). If the Purpose is to serve Satan or God, then the Agent has to be and Act a certain way in order to fulfill that goal or Purpose. The Purpose therefore, controls and constrains the Agent. Serving Satan or serving God leads an Agent to think, speak and Act a certain way. The Purpose shapes the Agent. Coffin states:

The devil is now taking us up to a high place, showing us all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time, and tempting us with the notion, "Let's destroy them all! Maybe we don't even have to have a war, maybe we can do it all accidentally! And we are seriously listening, or at least we aren't doing anything about it, because we Americans just love power. We are number one. We are the Hertz of the World, and the Soviets are like Avis, they are trying harder." (1978 Speech)

In this case, serving Satan and wanting to have power through possession of the world makes it possible for the Agent to engage in the Act of nuclear war and become murderers, which then affects the character and make-up of the Agent. Coffin maintains:

In 1986 I worry less about the American people being controlled through pain and hate; I fear for our becoming passive through our appetite for distractions. Instead of freedom-loving, people-loving, truth-seeking, i.e., God-fearing people, I fear that we shall become a nation of entertained slaves. I fear our becoming hired applauders for smooth-talking religious and political leaders, an ignorant people, because complacent. (1986 Speech)

In this case, rather than be "God-fearing" or to serve God, the Agents are doomed by Purpose to be "entertained slaves" or to serve Satan. Coffin also says in this speech:

St. Paul wrote the Colossians, "You must live your whole life according to the Christ you have received. Your whole life, not just your family life, not just your vocational life, but your life also as a citizen. Anyone who has received Christ has experienced the death of certainty and the birth of need. (1986 Speech)

Coffin explains at this point that serving God is a form of death to the old self and life to a new and better self. The

Purpose therefore, transforms the whole Agent from one state to another. Coffin calls this "conversion" (1988A and 1988B Speeches).

The Purpose does constrain, determine, and affect the Agent in very specific ways. In this case, it changes the Agent from one state to another.

Purpose-Act

The second ratio that will be examined is the Purpose-Act. The Purpose of serving God or Satan (i.e., pursuing power or cooperation) has a direct bearing on preserving or destroying creation (i.e., establishing arms and social justice or destroying arms and social justice). Coffin makes this direct link when he says:

It is natural to want to save creation, which is what we are literally talking about given the option of the arms race. Anybody, religious or non-religious, has a responsibility for doing so. Certainly Christians, if they believe that this is God's creation, have a particular obligation of stewardship to save the garden. (1978 Speech)

Coffin also directly links the Purpose to the Act when he claims that Americans are "living in sin" by the "mere possession of nuclear arms" (1984 Speech). Sin or wrongdoing is associated with serving Satan rather than God. Coffin asserts that this "possession" is no better than the "mere possession of slaves" 100 years ago. He states:

And as the debate 200 years ago was between those who said we must humanize the institution of slavery and those who said no, we must abolish it; so the debate now is between those who say that we must clear up and limit these nuclear weapons, and those who say no, we must rid the face of the world of all these weapons altogether. (1984 Speech)

Coffin says that it is "blasphemous" to possess weapons. When the Agents possess weapons, they are showing disrespect to God and identifying themselves with Satan. Coffin also asks the scriptural question, "What shall it profit a man if he should gain the whole world and lose his soul?" (1988B Speech). The Agents can gain the world by arms build-up and pursuing injustices, but in doing so, the Agents will lose their souls because they are not with God, they are against God. Coffin says it is a Christian's "calling" to "do what's right." (1988B Speech). The choice the Agents make in terms of Act, is foundational to serving God or Satan, to living in a safe or unsafe world, and cooperating or not cooperating with fellow human beings. Thus, the Purpose constrains and affects the Act directly. The Act is inherent in the foundation of the Purpose.

Purpose-Agency

The third ratio to be examined is Purpose-Agency. The Purpose of serving Satan or God (being world leader or world cooperative) affects the way the Agent perceives others

constrains and affects the Act directly. The Act is inherent in the foundation of the Purpose.

Purpose-Agency

The third ratio to be examined is Purpose-Agency. The Purpose of serving Satan or God (being world leader or world cooperative) affects the way the Agent perceives others (i.e., mechanization or restoration of humanity through mental, verbal, and behavioral identification.) These specific Agencies were identified and named in chapter four.

The ratio Purpose-Agency is explored when Coffin says that Americans are prepared to kill Soviet men, women, and children because of their desire for power. He states, "We are now prepared to slaughter 200,000,000 men, women, and children, and it must be a credible threat, not just a bluff, or it won't work" (1978 speech). When the Agents can dehumanize others, then they can mentally be prepared to kill them (mental identification) and because of this, continue to actively pursue the Purpose of power. On the other hand, Coffin says, "But if we believe in God, we have to believe they are our brothers and sisters [Soviets]." He goes on to state, "It is a very important Christian understanding of who people are in this world" (1984 speech). It is a natural outgrowth of serving God to identify with other human beings in a restorative way. Service to God means incorporating thinking, speaking and behaving in ways that

were God's most cherished hope for humanity, as indeed it is." Coffin goes on to claim that it is a Christian's "calling" to pursue peace in this way (i.e., the means they use in order to serve God) (1986 Speech).

Agency-Purpose

The Purpose affects the Agency, and the Agency also can affect the Purpose. The mechanization or restoration of humanity (i.e., hating enemy or loving fellow human being), affects the Purpose of serving Satan or God (i.e., being world leader or being world cooperative). If mechanization is an Agency and the Purpose is to rule the world, for instance, then man becomes mechanized and the Purpose has to include programming of machines (an action stemming from the Purpose of ruling the world). The Purpose is thus impacted by the Agency.

It is clear that the Purpose of serving God or Satan (i.e., seeking world cooperative or world leadership), has an impact on the means of mechanization or restoration of humanity through mental, verbal, and behavior identification (i.e., hating enemy or loving fellow human being), and vice versa.

Agency-Agent

The fourth ratio to be analyzed is Agency-Agent. The methods chosen affect the Agent and how the Agent perceives the Scene and Act (mechanizes or humanizes the Agent).

Coffin says:

And it is perfectly true if your heart's full of love you can begin to think straight, but if your heart is full of anger, your heart's full of hatred, you can't think straight. Oh, maybe you could examine the stomach of a spider but you can't examine the hearts of human beings and make much sense. Love has a limbering effect on the mind. And love makes us see what we don't see now, not only that the Russians are our brothers and sisters but we have brothers and sisters of the world over who are victims of the arms race, victims by denial because of the incredible sums that we are now spending on the arms race. (1984 Speech)

This is a clear indication that the Agency of love (i.e., mental identification) leads the Agent to think, speak, and Act a certain way toward other human beings. Love frees the mind to think clearly. Coffin goes on to point out that if American are not one with the Soviets in love, they are one with them in sin (i.e., injustices perpetrated on fellow human beings both at home and abroad). They are "fellow sinners." Coffin attempts consubstantiation (ultimate identification between American and Soviet Agents with this religious language. Thus, both need to engage in "confession" of sin in order to live in cooperation with one another (or in religious terminology, to serve God). Coffin says, "Now what a terrific thing it would be if summit meetings could start with confession. Confession is good

for the national soul" (1984 Speech). This indicates that the Agency of confession (i.e., mental identification), directly affects the Agent's being or soul. In another speech, Coffin claims that Americans have become "an ignorant people, because complacent" (1986 Speech). He goes on to say in the same speech:

St. Paul wrote the Colossians, "You must live your whole life according to the Christ you have received." Your whole life, not just your family life, not just your vocational life, but your life as a citizen. Anyone who has received Christ has experienced the death of certainty and the birth of need. Such a person is vulnerable, sensitive, with lots of love in their heart, and a stirred-up mind. It is inconceivable that a caring Christian should be ignorant through complacency. (1986 Speech)

This quote by Coffin emphasizes that the Purpose includes living the entire life, every aspect of it, in service to God. However, there is also emphasis on the impact of the Agencies of death to certainty, birth of need, anger, vulnerability, sensitivity, love, and stirred-up mind (i.e., forms of mental identification), and how these Agencies affect the Agent to be a certain type of person, capable of thinking, speaking, and acting in certain ways. When the Agent does not have these Agencies, because the Agent chooses not to think, speak, and Act (through complacency),

then the Agent is ignorant. The Agencies (mental, verbal, behavioral) affect, control, and shape every aspect of the Agent in terms of family life, vocational life, spiritual life, and social life.

Agency-Scene

The fifth ratio to be explored is the Agency-Scene. The Agency continues to define the Scene. The people become machines, and the Scene then includes disposable units rather than living, breathing beings. This spirals out in that as people agree that other people are evil, that leads people to believe they have been created to serve the will of the one (i.e., Agent), and that leads people to become parts of the overall machine. I have grouped the Agencies of mechanization and restoration of humanity into three main areas which I have named mental, verbal, and behavioral identification (discussed in chapter 4). Coffin directly links these areas to the historical, political, economic, religious, and future Scene. Coffin discusses mental identification and its influence over the Scene. He says, for example, "the unthinkable has become thinkable" (1978 Speech), in that Americans have been willing to kill innocent civilians and children in Dresden, Tokyo, Hiroshima, and Nagasaki. This willingness to kill has affected the historical Scene where these places are located. This willingness affects the political Scene as well. For instance, policies, treaties, and negotiations in Congress,

the Senate, the Pentagon, etc., are directly affected by the "unthinkable becoming thinkable" (1980 Speech). This also has the potential to affect the future Scene. Coffin says, "Today, we are prepared, according to our policy of deterrence, to kill 200,000,000 Soviet citizens, none of whom will have anything to say about the decision to attack us, if they do attack us" (1978 Speech).

The mental identification of love and truth, affects the religious Scene (i.e., Garden of Eden), but ultimately, the entire world.

Coffin also discusses the Agency of verbal identification and its impact on the Scene. Coffin proposes some "American glasnost" (1988B Speech). As stated earlier in chapter 5, The word glasnost literally means "voiceness." Coffin maintains that this voiceness in behalf of nuclear disarmament and cooperation has already affected the historical and political Scene. Coffin says:

Now, after Nuclear Freeze referenda and resolutions, initiatives and ballots, test ban campaigns, and victories for peace-oriented candidates in the 1986 elections, Mr. Reagan is ready to make peace. And he wants to claim credit for it. Well, I'm a believer in redemption and I'm ready to welcome Mr. Reagan as a peacemaker and to support the INF Treaty which he has negotiated. But, I am not ready to call it Mr. Reagan's treaty, nor am I going to allow Secretary of

State George Shultz or anyone else to rewrite the history of how and why these measures for peace came to be in a democratic society. These lessons about the role of American citizens and the organized peace movement are crucial, I believe, as we look to the future. (1988A Speech)

These political and historical Scene activities were made possible because of American voiceness. Coffin also supports the premise that voiceness has worked in the past and will lead to success in the future Scene. American voiceness led to the reality of the INF treaty, which then became a first step "toward a disarmed world, a world truly safe for our children and for all future generations" (1988A Speech). Coffin also asserts that voiceness or talk can and will affect the economic Scene as well as the historical, political, and future Scene. Many Americans make their living by building nuclear arms and if these were eliminated, then their income would be cut off. He says:

It would be wonderful if in Denver, Fort Collins, various places in Colorado, representatives of business, representatives of labor, and representatives of the community, the Mayor, City Council, people could call for public discussion of "What are we gonna do when the blessed day comes when we're not producing nuclear weapons." (1988B Speech)

Coffin also discusses the Agency of behavioral identification with regards to the Scene, in particular the future Scene. He says:

Let us not only wish for peace; let's will it and let's be willing to work for it, and if necessary to suffer for it, certainly to pay for it, because, I think that time is coming when instead of the Stone Age returning on the gleaming wings of science, we may see that long awaited age coming to us on the gleaming wings of the dove. (1988B Speech)

The Agencies of mechanization and restoration of humanity, in particular, the areas within these two categories (i.e., mental, verbal, and behavioral identification) affect, and constrain, and control the historical, political, economic, religious, and future Scene.

Agency-Act

The sixth ratio to be examined is the Agency-Act. The Agency of mechanization (i.e., hating enemy), leads to the Act of continuing the arms race, not caring for the earth, and social injustice (i.e., destroy God's creation). On the other hand, the Agency of humanization (i.e., loving fellow human beings) leads to the Act of eliminating the arms race, promoting ecology, and pursuing other forms of social justice (i.e., preserving God creation). This supports Burke's idea that when one names a thing enemy or friend,

that name suggests certain courses of action toward that thing. The specific area of mental identification, for example, can lead to negative or positive Acts. Coffin says, "And of course, fueling this arms race was fear" (1980 Speech). In this case, the mental identification of fear can and does lead to escalation of the arms race. Other mental identifications that can lead to the negative Act of building up arms are arrogance (1980 Speech) and enmity (1984, 1988B Speeches). Coffin discusses the impact of arrogance on the arms race:

We used to think the Lord was going to end this planet, but now our arrogance has become so great, our weaponry and technology is pounced on with such viciousness, that we are the ones who will decide whether there's going to be life much longer on this planet. (1984 Speech)

He also points out the influence of enmity in regards to the build-up of arms when he states: "Do not think that your enemy can do you more damage than your enmity" (1984 Speech). He believes that the mental identification of enmity is more dangerous than the threat of the enemy because it can lead directly to the build-up of arms, not caring for the earth, and supporting social injustice, which will directly lead to death and destruction.

On the other hand, a positive mental identification can lead to a positive Act. Coffin says, "There is an ancient

rabbinic sayings that for the world to survive, it must hold fast to three things: to truth, to justice, and to peace" (1986 speech). These three mental identifications are necessary for the Act of preserving creation to take place through disarmament, ecology, and social justice.

Act-Agency

The Agency can constrain the Act, but the Act can also constrain the Agency. The Act of escalation of arms race and social injustice; or the act of nuclear disarmament, can lead the Agent to mechanize or restore humanity through mental, verbal, and behavioral identification. Coffin maintains:

We let, I'll let others work that out but let me simply suggest that there is an escalation in this world that goes smart, smarter, smartest, stupid. And that there's a corollary escalation that goes powerful, more powerful, most powerful, powerless. And I think that the Soviet Union, and the United States has reached that point of stupidity and powerlessness because in the face of a nuclear, confronted with a nuclear holocaust, both are reduced to helplessness. (1984 Speech)

Coffin is identifying the Act of nuclear build-up as leading to the Agency of mental identification in which stupidity, powerlessness, and helplessness are manifested because the Act has the potential to destroy all, and the Agent is

powerless and helpless in the face of this potential holocaust. Thus, the Agencies of "smartest," "most powerful," lead the Agent to the Act of nuclear build-up, which in turn leads to the Agencies of stupidity, powerlessness, and helplessness.

Another impact the Act has on the Agencies is examined when Coffin says:

Consider this: having bitten the nuclear apple, there is no returning to the innocence. And even with God's grace we succeeded in reversing the arms race, stopping the production of these nuclear weapons, abolishing stock piles, and so forth, even if we do succeed in abolishing all nuclear weapons from the face of the earth, the know-how will forever and ever be part of the storehouse of human knowledge. (1984 Speech)

This indicates that once the Act has been achieved, it will influence the mental identification of the Agent forever. The knowledge of it will forever be part of the thinking, thus always making the "unthinkable" "thinkable." It is then a never-ending destructive cycle.

Act-Agent

Act-Agent is the sixth ratio in Coffin's drama. The Act of preserving or destroying creation leads or constrains the Agent to think, speak, and Act in certain ways. For example, Coffin states, "If he [Adam] had tended the garden decently, he would have been in better shape, and if we

tended the garden in a more decent fashion today, we too would be in better shape" (1978 Speech). Preserving creation leads to the Agent's preservation, since the Agent is part of creation. The most fundamentally important issue of life or death to the Agent is dependent on the Act of preserving or destroying creation. Coffin says:

In World War II, six million Jews were herded into boxcars, stripped, shot or gassed, and incinerated in ovens all over Eastern Europe. But on the trains, the great majority never guessed their destiny. We're on such a train, to an even greater incineration, and haven't the eyes to perceive it. (1986 Speech)

The willingness of the Agent to continue to destroy creation through the buildup of arms, for example, leads the Agent to be a potential murderer and destroyer. When retaliation occurs, the one who potentially murders then becomes the one who is potentially murdered. The Agents have the potential to destroy themselves as well as others through their Acts. Coffin says, "There is a nonrabbinic saying: 'What you don't know won't hurt you.' That's nonsense. What we Americans don't know will kill us, as it already has lots of other people" (1986 Speech).

Coffin not only points out how the Act leads to life or death of the Agent's body on this planet, but also the Act can lead to salvation or destruction of the Agent's soul in the life after death. He says, "And lastly, I think it's

true that great is our reward" (1988B Speech). He says that reward comes on earth as well as in heaven.

Act-Scene

The Act of nuclear buildup or nuclear disarmament directly affects the Scene by destroying or preserving the Scene. It does this in many ways. For example, the money presently being used to build and feed the arms race could be utilized to feed the hungry, build hospitals and libraries, pay teachers, etc. In the political Scene, nuclear disarmament would possibly lead to negotiation and international peace among nations. The Act has the power to destroy or preserve the Scene.

Scene-Act

The Scene also controls and constrains the Act. For example, the financial and economic aspects of the Scene as well as the national political climate affect the Act of nuclear buildup or nuclear disarmament. Coffin discusses how the passing of the INF treaty by Congress will lead to further disarmament moves. He says, "These interim measures, however, clearly point in the direction of nuclear disarmament and, ultimately, international cooperation" (1988A speech). This is a clear example of Act constraining Scene. Yet he also maintains that the Act of passing the INF treaty would not have been possible if the climate in the nation had not supported such a step. Future Act steps

would be dependent on the climate of the Scene as well. Therefore the Scene can lead to future Acts which are positive or negative in nature.

Agent-Scene

The dominant ratio is the Agent-Scene. There is a direct link in Coffin's speeches between Adam in the Garden of Eden and Americans in the world. Humans Act on the world. The world would not be the same without the Agent. Humans are the instigators, and the world is neutral until humans Act on it. Humans affect the world by what they say and do. As humankind creates and builds weapons, for example, humans are then doomed to live in that Scene. Coffin says, "There is a Zen saying that you have to meditate and tend the garden (i.e., the world), and that really sums up all religious life in a way" (1978 Speech). Coffin says that humans' responsibility, power, and ability to affect the world is "fundamental" (1980 Speech). He also states, "So, as Christians, we must awake, rise from the dead, and Christ will shine upon us, so that we can assert the primacy of the spiritual over the material in an increasingly secular world" (1986 Speech). In this quote, Coffin points out that Americans, more specifically, Christians, must "assert" control of the spiritual over material matter. The Agent must dominate the Scene or be dominated by the Scene. Therefore, the ratio can be reversed to be Scene-Agent. At first, the Scene is neutral, then the Agent

acts on the Scene and then the Scene acts on the Agent. For example, to use Coffin's analogy between humankind and Adam; Satan tempts Adam with kingdoms of the world. Adam chooses to "eat the apple," and finds himself no longer in the Garden of Eden (i.e., Paradise). He is cast out of this perfect, neutral place (because of his action of eating the apple) and is put in a place of his own creation, where he must farm among thorns and wasteland for his sustenance. Adam chooses through his action to leave the neutral, perfect place where every need is met, and live in a Scene of his own creation where he must provide his own needs. Satan tempts Americans with possession of kingdoms of the world, as he tempted Adam and Eve with the apple. Americans have a history of attempts at possession of the world. This Scene of breeding power causes Americans, Soviets, and other humans to continue to fight for possession. Therefore, the Agent affects and controls the Scene, but this cycle from past historical experience also implies that the Scene affects and controls the Agent by continually tempting the Agent with possession of it. Once humankind has bitten "the nuclear apple" (1984 Speech), they can never return to the innocence. The Scene can never again be neutral. As long as the world is a place full of weapons and injustice, the Agents have to maintain a war-like posture, language, and action to continue to control the Scene and maintain possession of it. Coffin says,

Even if we do succeed in abolishing all nuclear weapons from the face of the earth, the know-how will forever and ever and ever be part of the storehouse of human knowledge. That, I think, is one of the most sobering facts about civilization from now on. And if two nations begin to engage in conventional warfare, it is incredibly naive to think one of them will go down rather than use a nuclear weapon. It is incredibly naive to think that if two big nations go at it with conventional weapons that they won't immediately start cranking up these H-bombs again. (1984 Speech)

The earth can never be neutral again. The Agent must continually control and subdue it or be controlled and subdued by it. Coffin goes on to state: "And so it may not be all that naive to suggest that we need to restructure the world, we're way behind on this; need to restructure the world in such a fashion as to make war itself, obsolete" (1984 Speech). Coffin points in the direction of the Agent shaping the current world Scene into a new and better one. He maintains: "When the spiritual life is strong, it creates world history. When the spirituality is weak, it suffers world history" (1984 Speech). The Agent must control, redirect, and recreate the Scene or be controlled directed, and destroyed by the Scene. The Agent is the featured element in the dominant ratio. The Agent must dominate or be dominated.

Motive

Once the important ratios have been analyzed, and the dominant ratio has been determined, the Motive is revealed. In this case, the dominant ratio is Agent-Scene, with the Agent as the featured element. Burke has a philosophical system (discussed in chapter 3), where a particular philosophy corresponds with a particular featured element. In this case, the philosophy which corresponds with this featured element, Agent; is idealism. The system of idealism must control and constrain the Scene and its philosophical system which is materialism. Therein lies the struggle that the one system must control or be controlled by the other system. Burke says that the opposite system of idealism is materialism (A Grammar, 1969, pg. 175).

The philosophical system of idealism has as its foundation the human being and the human being's ability to reason. Idealistic philosophies focus on the "self," "super-ego," "ego," "spirit," "will," and "super-persons" such as church, nation, race, etc. (Burke, 1969A, pg. 171). Burke says, "For to approach the universe by asking ourselves how knowledge is possible is to ground our speculations psychologically, in the nature of the knower." (p. 172). Burke goes on to point out that:

Words of this sort [dealing with the concept of Idealism], are particularly serviceable when, unity having given way to disunity, there is a call for unification.

Hence the idealistic ingredient in Plato's Republic, which aims at a unified State, founded upon a vision of absolute Good, as a reaction to the individualistic teachings of the Sophists. (p. 173)

Thus, in Coffin's drama, the Scene has become a place of disunity, where there is a need for unification, which can come in the form of idealism.

The philosophical system of materialism, on the other hand, focuses on the material, physical world or Scene. Burke says, "The business of the scientist is to explain everything by the physical causes which are comparatively well understood and to exclude the interference of spiritual causes" (pg. 131). According to Burke, this clearly indicates that the Scene reduces action to motion. This is the antithesis of idealism, because as Burke states:

Now, when one talks of the will, one is necessarily in the field of the moral; and the field of the moral is, by definition, the field of action. A billiard ball is neither moral nor immoral, for it cannot act, it can only move, or be moved. (p. 136)

Idealism emphasizes action through reason, and materialism emphasizes motion through law and order. Materialism operates from the premise that things occur as a logical result of something being set into motion rather than choosing to act out of will, reason, and morality.

In Coffin's drama, the Agents struggle with the desire to involve themselves in ego-driven behaviors and egocentric maneuvers. Thus in the Garden of Eden and also in the world today there was and is the desire to be as gods and feed the ego by possessing that which is outside of the soul. Coffin quotes Eugene O'Neil, the playwright:

"Ours is the endless game of trying to possess your soul by possession of something outside of it." He said we were a showcase for that spiritual question, "What shall it profit a man if he should gain the whole world and lose his soul?" (1988B Speech)

This logically will lead to destruction of that which the Agent desires to possess and preserve, the soul and the world. The Agent will choose to Act out of will, and the Scene will respond (as a billiard ball being moved), to the Agent, and set into motion a chain of events.

Coffin's motive is to point out that through idealism, the Agents can have hope. In this drama, the Scene is the goal, the prize. It must be maintained because it is all the Agents have. Those interested in the arms race have denied the need for reason because they are saying that they can live in a world without a world, which is a contradiction. Coffin calls for a reunification of the individual with the material so that there is in the mind of the individual a direct connection that should not be severed. In this drama reason leads to a certain chain of events;

motion comes out of action. This also corresponds with Burke's idea of idealism which holds the idea that the individual can bring about unity out of disunity, thereby creating and maintaining a link between the individual and the material. The Agent affects, changes, and preserves the Scene and then the Scene responds, and moves to affect the materialistic. As the materialistic changes, it affects the Agent. For example, humans begin to see that they should not be the center of focus. They see that the material needs focus, so humans do away with arms because by doing so, they are making a statement that the material needs the attention and protection formerly given to themselves and their egos. This then allows that there is an agreed value to the material. The Scene changes. The world is no longer on the brink of destruction, and humankind is able to live more in harmony with each other. The focus has then shifted from the ego, super-ego, or collective ego to the material. The desire is no longer to be gods. The key then in the terministic drama involves the motivation of idealism in its worst state which is egocentric, ego-driven inter-focus that abuses and obsesses possessions. The key in the dramatic drama involves the motivation of idealism in its best state which is protecting and preserving life and the Scene through outward focus. The Agent must think, speak, Act the selected Scene into existence, or have the Scene as well as the Agent cease to exist altogether.

Summary

This chapter has identified the relevant ratios (two terms of the pentad) and revealed the casual relationship between them. Once these eleven ratios were identified, the dominant ratio (Agent-Scene) was examined to determine motive(s). The corresponding philosophy to Agent is idealism and its opposite system is materialism which corresponds to Scene. The Agent and its corresponding system of idealism must control and constrain the Scene and its philosophical system which is materialism. This is the struggle that the one system must control or be controlled. Through idealism the Agents can have hope. The Scene must be maintained because it is all the Agents have.

CHAPTER VII

LANGUAGE OF PEACE

Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations

The concluding chapter summarizes the problem of the study, the methods, and findings of the rhetorical analysis. The chapter also discloses implications and recommendations for further study and research.

Summary

The development of a systematic study of peace and peace education as a specific discipline is evident in the growing number of institutions established for that purpose and in the increase in scholarly research devoted to the subject. However, one of the criticisms of peace studies is that researchers have not recognized the complexity and paradoxical nature of peace. Much of peace research has been empirical in nature, using stringent scientific and quantitative methods to study war and advocate peace. A second criticism is that the research is so inclusive and unfocused that the literature has become unmanageable.

Rhetorical analysis, particularly the perspective and methodology offered by Kenneth Burke, has the potential to address the problem of the elements and conditions of

contemporary peace. Burke's approach is suited for the analysis of peace rhetoric because of his emphasis on the motives of language, i.e., the use of symbols to identify with one another to overcome loneliness and to achieve cooperation with other humans. Peace can be achieved through knowledge and understanding of humans' use of symbols. Burke uses the pentad to examine the motives of language and has applied this method to the analysis of all kinds of literature, including speeches.

In order to analyze the language of contemporary peace, it would be difficult to find a speaker more appropriate than Coffin. Coffin is the president and spokesperson of SANE/FREEZE, a peace disarmament and development organization, which is now the largest peace organization in the United States. Cora Weiss, the International Representative for SANE/FREEZE claims, "Since Bill has been at SANE/FREEZE, he has become the leading spokesperson on peace and justice in the nation" (C. Weiss, personal communication, November 11, 1990). An application of Kenneth Burke's perspective and methodology to analyze the peace rhetoric of Coffin has been implemented.

The purpose of this research was to identify Coffin's motives and use of language in his peace rhetoric. The theoretical elements of his peace speeches between the years 1978-1988 were analyzed, using Kenneth Burke's dramatisitic pentad as a method of analysis.

Burke's pentad was externally and internally applied to Coffin's speeches. The pentad develops a drama in which there are five parts which are: (1) Scene - where the act occurred, (2) Agent - who did the act, (3) Act - what was said and done, (4) Purpose - why the act was done, and (5) Agency - how the purpose was achieved.

The external pentadic analysis focused on how the rhetorical artifact worked as part of a situation that implied certain ways of seeing and reacting to the situation. In this case, the Act was the rhetorical Act of speaking itself. The external pentadic analysis focused more on the accumulation of information outside the speech rather than focusing on the speech itself for analysis. The internal pentadic analysis focused on the point of view of the speaker, Coffin, and how he perceives and interacts with the world.

Once each pentadic analysis was applied (external and internal), the second step of the process was to discover the interrelationship between the different parts of the pentad, which are called the ratios. Ratios are the uniting of two of the elements of the pentad with the intention of finding the relationship between them and the effect they have on each other. Some ratios were then determined to be important and others were not. All the ratios examined were not discussed in the criticism essay. Only the ratios that

involved valuable insights were included in the written pentadic criticism.

The third part of the pentadic analysis involved naming the motive. Once dominant ratios were identified, the key to the motives of the speaker were realized. An analysis of all the ratios suggested one key element that determined the nature of most or all of the other elements in the pentad. Once the dominant term was known, the adjoining philosophical system to which the term belonged produced insight into what the rhetorical motive was.

Conclusions

An external and internal pentad analysis was applied to Coffin, and his speeches between the years 1978-1988. The following conclusions were reached with regard to Coffin and his rhetoric.

When the external pentadic analysis was conducted, the following parts of the pentad were identified: (1) Agent - Coffin, with Co-Agents being the audiences, (2) Scene - the world, more specifically the United States (there is an immediate and future scene as well), (3) Act - Coffin's speeches, (4) Purpose - promote nuclear disarmament, ecology and social justice, and (5) Agency(ies) - unification, empowerment, and prophecy.

Once the pentad was identified, a dominant ratio became evident, which was Agent-Scene. The Agent-Scene ratio demonstrated that the Agent (Coffin) affected, determined,

and constrained the Scene (world). Through his message, he was able to "convert," unify, and empower Co-Agents to go out into the world Scene and carry the message to other agents until one day the Purpose could be achieved.

The discovery of the dominant ratio then led to the identification of the philosophical system which goes with the dominant term, which in this case was idealism. The system of idealism controls, constrains, and affects the system adjoining the Scene which is materialism. The human spirit or will of Coffin must affect the Scene by persuading Co-Agents to act and speak in a way that brings about the Purpose of world survival and peaceful coexistence. Through his and the Co-Agents words and actions, the world Scene will logically proceed toward a particular outcome, which will be determined by the Acts and language of the Agents. Coffin as Agent must affect, determine, and constrain the Scene and also lead others to follow his example.

This philosophical system can help determine the rhetorical motives of the Agent. The rhetorical motive was seen through Coffin's perception of himself as prophet which had personal and public ramifications. Personally, he defined and legitimized himself through his role as prophet because he was given the opportunity to do right in the current and future Scenes and thus insure his own personal salvation. Publically, he insures the salvation of others (physical and spiritual) by leading them through his

rhetoric to support nuclear disarmament, ecology and social justice.

When the internal pentadic analysis was applied to Coffin's speeches, two perspectives of the drama emerged. These two dramas were: (1) terministic drama - Agents hurtle helplessly, passively toward destruction, and (2) dramatistic drama - Agents take responsibility for their thinking, rhetoric, and actions.

The terministic drama where the Agents hurtle helplessly, passively toward destruction, included the following five parts: (1) Scene - world, more specifically the United States, (2) Agent - Americans (us), and Counter-Agents - Soviets (them), (3) Act - build-up of Arms, destruction of world environment, and pursuit of social injustice, (4) Agency - mechanization of humanity, and (5) Purpose - to be world leader. Coffin used religious language to describe the terministic pentad: (1) Scene - God's creation, more specifically the Garden of Eden, (2) Agent - sinful human-kind (enemies), religious people are mentioned specifically, and all are analogized to Adam (first sinful man on earth in biblical account), Satan - Co-Agent and Christ - Counter-Agent, (3) Act - destroying god's creation, more specifically eating nuclear apple, (4) Agency - hate enemies, and (5) Purpose - to serve Satan and be as gods.

The dramatistic drama, in which the agents take responsibility for their thinking, rhetoric, and actions, have the

following pentad parts: (1) Scene - world, more specifically the United States, (2) Agent - Americans and Co-Agents - Soviets, "us," and "fellow human beings," common enemies are weapons and war, (3) Act - elimination of arms, promotion of ecology, and advancement of social justice, (4) Agency - restoration of humanity, and (5) Purpose - create world cooperative. Coffin used the following religious language to describe the pentad: (1) Scene - God's creation, more specifically the Garden of Eden, (2) Agent - fellow sinners who are more specifically religious people analogized to Christ (perfect man in biblical account), Christ - Co-Agent and Satan - Counter-Agent and common enemy, (4) Agency - love fellow sinner and confess sins, and (5) Purpose - serve God and preserve spiritual and physical life.

Another methodology in addition to the dramatistic pentad that Burke incorporates is the Demonic Trinity. Language enables humans to symbolically kill guilt through mortification (put self through painful, cleansing process), and scapegoating (putting the blame on someone else). Once guilt is symbolically purged, the human is reborn or saved. This is sometimes called the Rhetoric of Rebirth. This methodology effectively explains the technique of spiritual language Coffin uses. Coffin's rhetoric of rebirth or demonic trinity, involved the following elements. He explained that humans are guilty of the sin of nuclear build-up, destruction of the environment, and social

injustice. They must be purged of this guilt by confessing their sin verbally and identifying with fellow sinners. Once they have been purged through confession and identification, they will be reborn into a new life where physical and spiritual life are preserved and humans live in peaceful cooperation.

Coffin in the role of prophet, uses this religious language of "guilt," "confession," "salvation," and "new life," to convert and direct other Agents into social action. Religious language then, is his unifying device. He encourages the Agents who like Adam in the Garden of Eden, have sinned, to choose unity with Christ (perfect man) and disunity with human's common enemy Satan. Coffin also uses religious language to direct the American Agents to have consubstantiation (ultimate identification) with the Soviet Agents. He tells them if they are not "one with the Soviets in love, at least we are one with them in sin" (1984 speech). For example, both Americans and Soviets are guilty of the sin of possession of nuclear weapons. Coffin's use of religious language charges that Americans and Soviets are "fellow sinners" (1984 Speech). Therefore, religious language is Coffin's unifying device in several powerful ways.

Once the pentadic analysis had been conducted, the important ratios were identified. The ratios are the interrelationships between the parts of the pentad. What

term is named first, controls the second term. The ratios which were specifically identified as important to note were: (1) Purpose-Agent, (2) Purpose-Act, (3) Purpose-Agency, (4) Agency-Purpose, (5) Agency-Agent, (6) Agency-Scene, (7) Agency-Act, (8) Act-Agency, (9) Act-Agent, (10) Act-Scene, and (11) Scene-Act. The dominant ratio Agent-Scene was then examined to determine motive(s).

The dominant ratio is the Agent-Scene. Humans act on the world. The world would not be the same without the Agent. Humans are the instigators and the world is neutral until humans act on it. Humans affect the world by what they say and do. As humankind creates and builds weapons, for example, humans are then doomed to live in that Scene. Once humankind has bitten the nuclear apple, they can never return to their innocence. The Scene can never again be neutral. As long as the world is a place of weapons and injustice, the Agents have to maintain a war-like posture, language, and action to continue to control the Scene and maintain possession of it. The Agent must control and subdue the world or be controlled and subdued by it. It is a cyclical situation. The Agent must dominate or be dominated.

Once the important ratios were analyzed and the dominant ratio was determined, the motive was revealed. Once again as in the case of the external pentadic analysis, the dominant ratio is Agent-Scene. The featured element, Agent,

and its matching philosophical system is idealism which must control and constrain the Scene and its matching philosophical system which is materialism. Idealism focuses on the "self," "super-ego," "ego," "spirit," "will," and "super-persons" such as a church, nation, race, etc. (Burke, 1969A, p. 171). Materialism focuses on the material, physical world or Scene. The Scene reduces action to motion. According to Burke, this is the "opponent" of idealism (Burke, 1969A, p. 175). Idealism emphasizes action through reason, and materialism emphasizes motion through law and order. Rather than the Agent leading the world into destruction, the Agent must choose to act out of will, and the Scene will respond (as a billiard ball being moved) to the Agent and set into motion a chain of positive events.

Coffin's motive is to point out that through idealism, the Agents can have hope. In this drama, the Scene is the goal, the prize. It must be maintained because it is all the Agents have. Those interested in the arms race have denied the need for reason because they are saying they can live in a world without a world, which is a contradiction. Coffin calls for a reunification of the individual with the material so that there is in the minds of the individual a direct connection that should not be severed.

In this drama reasons leads to a certain chain of events; motion comes out of action. This also corresponds with Burke's idea of idealism which holds the idea that the

individual can bring about unity out of disunity, thereby creating and maintaining a link between the individual and the material. The Agent affects, changes, and preserves the Scene and then the Scene responds, and moves to affect the materialistic. As the materialistic changes, it affects the Agent. The Agent is no longer ego-driven or self-focused. The focus is outward with the Scene as central. Then the Scene changes. The world is no longer on the brink of destruction and humankind is able to live more in harmony with each other. The Agent thinks, speaks, and Acts the dramatic Scene into existence.

Kenneth Burke's perspective and methodology were well suited to the analysis of Coffin's speeches. Burke's methodology helped identify Coffin's motives and use of language in his peace rhetoric. Burke's pentad clearly identified both external and internal dramas in which Coffin and his rhetoric were a part. Burke's methodology of rhetoric of rebirth was also clearly employed in Coffin's religious language. Once these were identified using Burke's methodology, the important and dominant ratios and their corresponding philosophical systems were then examined. This examination revealed Coffin's motives and his language of peace which had as its foundation a religious perspective.

Recommendations for Future Research

The results of this research open wide the door of possibilities for future study. A language of peace could be revealed by studying the rhetoric of various individuals such as Mohandes Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Jr., President Mikhail Gorbach, former President Jimmy Carter, Reverend Jesse Jackson, and Pope John Paul II. Cora Weiss, the International Representative for Peace with SANE/FREEZE who was director of the Disarmament Program for ten years at Riverside Church while Coffin was pastor, would also make an interesting rhetorical study. She was actively involved in the Vietnam era and has consistently pursued peace from that time period to the present day. Furthermore, a rhetorical study of the peace language of women during the Vietnam era could be very beneficial. There are also peace movements which could be analyzed from a language of peace perspective. The Green Party in Germany and The Green Peace Movement in the United States, for example, both actively pursue anti-nuclear stances and are pro-environment. This study is only the beginning of the potential for study of a language of peace.

Perhaps if the future world Scene incorporates the study of a language of peace, there will be hope for a better world, a world where human beings live together peacefully. When asked if Coffin believes there is a chance for world peace, he maintains:

Yeah, Eliza Doolittle might say, "Not bloody likely."
We have no option but to strive for it because it may be we do have a chance, and even if we don't have a chance, it's the only right thing to strive for. I think it's going to depend, you know. The world will never be without conflict but the hope is it will be without violent conflict. That is, that national conflicts will take place in the gladiatorial ring of the world court rather than the battle field. Yeah, there is always an outside chance by the grace of God we can pull it off. (W.S. Coffin, personal communication, April 20, 1989)

Perhaps rather than resolving conflicts on the battlefield, future conflicts can be resolved in the gladiatorial ring of the world courts. This is the hope of a language of peace.

APPENDIX A

TABLE: PENTAD

TABLE
Pentad

P E N T A D	RELIGIOUS DRAMA		SECULAR DRAMA					
	Terministic	Dramatistic	Terministic		Dramatistic			
S C E N E	God's Creation (Garden of Eden)	God's Creation (Garden of Eden)	United States-World		United States-World			
A G E N T (S)	Religious People (Adam) (Enemies)	Religious People (Christ) "Fellow Sinners"	Americans and Russians (Us and Them) "Enemy"		Americans and Russians (Us) "Fellow Human Beings"			
A C T	Destroy God's Creation (Eat Nuclear Apple)	Preserve God's Creation	Arm's Build-Up, Social Injustice, Destroying Earth		Arms Elimination, Social Justice, Ecology			
A G E N C I E S	Hate Enemy	Love Fellow Sinner (Confession)	Mechanization of Humanity			Restoration of Humanity		
			Mental Identification	Verbal Identification	Behavioral Identification	Mental Identification	Verbal Identification	Behavioral Identification
				A. Negotiation B. Public Rhetoric	A. Nuclear and Military Build-Up B. Nuclear and Military Economics C. Nuclear and Military Research		A. Negotiation B. Public Rhetoric	A. Nuclear and Military Arms Build-Up B. Nuclear and Military Economics C. Nuclear and Military Research
P U R P O S E	Serve Satan and Be gods	Serve God and Preserve Spiritual and Physical Life	World Leader (Power and Greed)		World Cooperative (Physical Life and Peace)			

APPENDIX B
1978 SPEECH

1978 SPEECH

There is a Zen saying that you have to meditate and tend the garden, and that really sums up all religious life in a way. It does not say how large or how small the garden is. These days, we must think both small and fairly large. The world is now too small and too dangerous for anything but truth, but also too small for anything but love.

It is fairly obvious that Adam's real sin was not that he may have taken the apple, but that he wasn't tending the garden. If he had tended the garden decently, he would have been in better shape, and if we tended the garden in a more decent fashion today, we too would be in better shape. It is natural to want to save creation, which is what we are literally talking about given the option of the arms race. Anybody, religious or non-religious, has a responsibility for doing so. Certainly Christians, if they believe that this is God's creation, have a particular obligation of stewardship to save the garden.

However, there are other things in the faith which can help us approach this complicated problem. For instance, I saw something in the Bible recently that I had never seen before, which is not surprising since one of the great things about the Bible is that you can read passages again and again, and something new comes out every time.

During the first Sunday in Lent, when most preachers take as their text the three temptations of Christ, the second one suddenly came through to me in a new way. In the second temptation, the Devil takes Christ up to a high place, shows him all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time, and then goes on to make the startling statement, in effect, "They all belong to me!" This is probably the clearest statement in the scripture that, at least according to the Devil, imperialism and dictatorship are his work. They all belong to him. Then he says to Jesus, "Look, I will give them to you if you will serve me." Christ answers, "It is written, 'the Lord thy God, Him only shall you serve.'"

I began playing around with these ideas, as I think we all have to do when we read the Bible. I mean playing in the Eriksonian sense of walking around it, turning it around, trying to see new things in it, and letting it work on us. I started thinking, what is the "Causa Confessiones?" What is the one thing you cannot give up if you are serious about serving the Lord? That was fairly obvious. You can't say "I'm going to serve God and hate my fellow human beings." That just won't work. If you are going to love God, you have to be serious about love, loving God, your neighbor, and even loving yourself. Love is simply the only thing you cannot give up if you want to serve the Lord.

Now, moving to the Devil, what is the one thing you cannot give up if you are serious about serving him? It occurred to me, given the temptation, maybe it's power. That's what the Devil was offering Christ. Suddenly, a lot of things became clearer to me.

Dick Barnet points out in his book, Roots of War, that since World War II, the United States has intervened in the internal affairs of small countries in a major military way or a major CIA effort on an average of once every 18 months. That's quite a record. Maybe it's because the one thing we cannot give up is power.

At the start of World War II, we were horrified when civilians were killed in the bombing of Rotterdam after it had been declared an open city. But by the end of the war, the unthinkable had become thinkable. We were killing civilians and children, in Dresden and Tokyo, not to mention Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Why? Because we had to have that power.

Today, we are prepared, according to our policy of deterrence, to kill 200,000,000 Soviet citizens, none of whom will have anything to say about the decision to attack us, if they do attack us. Nor will any of us have anything to say about the decision to retaliate, or to attack if we attack them first. We are now prepared to slaughter 200,000,000 men, women, and children, and it must be a credible threat, not just a bluff, or it won't work.

The Devil is now taking us up to a high place, showing us all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time, and tempting us with the notion, "Let's destroy them all! Maybe we don't even have to have a war, maybe we can do it all accidentally!" And we are seriously listening, or at least we aren't doing anything about it because we Americans just love power; We are number one. We are the Hertz of the World, and the Soviets are like Avis, they are trying harder.

As Dick Barnet points out in his new book, The Giants, there are two cardinal principles for negotiating any kind of arms agreement: (1) You never negotiate if you are in first place, don't give the other fellow a chance to catch up, (2) You never negotiate when you are behind, don't get locked into second place. That is why it is an obligation of the Christian Church, or any religious community, to tear out root and branch this irrational love of loveless power.

It would seem obvious, then, that somewhere in this country there should be a major effort to make peace the business of the establishment. Up until now, peace has generally been the business of the anti-establishment. I know, because that's where I've spent most of my time. Now, Riverside is a kind of swing outfit. It can swing anti-establishment, although actually, we should transcend such labels. If you asked Jesus whether he was establishment or anti-establishment, he wouldn't have recognized the

question, because he never recognized the authority of the establishment in the first place. That is obviously the way it should be.

But if our primary contribution to the field of disarmament is to try to make peace the business of the establishment, we need to get the ear of that establishment. For that, we are thinking of three convocations.

I think this project has lots of promise. Other organizations could have done this. Yale should have been doing this for years, Columbia, too, but they haven't. It is very right that the Church do it, so then why not Riverside? We have a certain legacy and a facility to make us the natural people to try this, and if it fizzles, so it fizzles. We are not in the business of success, we are in the business of proving that failure is never morally justified.

If we continue in this effort, I feel quite confident that we will be able to look back ten years from now and see that we were in the vanguard, like those in the anti-war movement in the spring of '64. We are a very small group now, but the ground swell is beginning, and it can only continue. Our hope is that we can do something before a crisis comes along.

APPENDIX C

1980 SPEECH

1980 SPEECH

Albert Einstein made one of the most cogent statements of our nuclear age when he said, "The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything except our way of thinking. Thus we are drifting towards a catastrophe beyond conception." Einstein was not, however, the only person to say such wise things. In fact, every U.S. President since World War II has said cogent things on the subject. For instance, Eisenhower, in his address to the United Nations in 1953, called on the "Super Powers" to "begin to diminish the potential destructive power of the world's atomic stockpiles."

John F. Kennedy, in the fall of 1961, warned that "mankind (we'd say "humankind" now) must put an end to war, or war will put an end to mankind. The risks in disarmament pale in comparison to the risks inherent in an unlimited arms race."

Johnson, when he signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1968, pledged that Moscow and Washington would "pursue negotiations in good faith for the cessation of the nuclear arms race."

Nixon, in 1970, said that "the nuclear era places upon the two preponderant powers a unique responsibility to explore means of limiting military competition."

And President Carter, in his inaugural address, expressed the hope that "nuclear weapons would be rid from the face of the Earth."

We've been hearing equally good things from the other side, yet thirty-three years after Hiroshima and Nagasaki, after 6,000 negotiating sessions under the auspices of the United Nations, not counting the Special Disarmament Session in May, 1978, not one single nuclear weapon has been destroyed, and the arms race continues unabated. If time permitted, I would try to demonstrate what has become clear to observers of the arms race, namely, that today's technology determines not only tomorrow's tactics and strategies, but also tomorrow's politics.

By 1985, there will be about forty nations in the "Nuclear Club". No longer "two scorpions in one bottle," as Oppenheimer described it many years ago, now forty scorpions in one bottle! And if that isn't alarming enough, let me remind you that from 1945 to 1969, there were ninety-seven wars in the world, international and civil, with losses greater than those sustained in World War II. Now just imagine those wars being fought with nuclear weapons in the future. We'll have to expect that the Red Brigade in Italy will no longer waste time kidnapping former prime ministers

when they can take all of Rome hostage with a suitcase bomb, a possibility which everyone who knows anything about the subject says is only a few years down the road. And if that doesn't sound alarming to us in this country, listen to this statistic from the FBI: In the first eleven months of 1976 there were 1,439 bombings in this country, which killed forty-two people and injured 193.

But five or six years from now, no one is going to be fooling around with these piddling little bombs, because as the Princeton undergraduate and a fourteen-year-old kid in Florida showed, they know how to put big bombs together, and it's only a matter of time before a great many people will have this knowledge.

The question is why has there been such a gap between official rhetoric, which has been pretty good, and public reality? I must say that I was fascinated to read some history because I found heroes turning out to be villains, and many villains emerging as heroes. For instance, U.S. Secretary of War Henry Stimson, who felt no compunction about dropping the bombs in Japan, only a month-and-a-half later, at his last Cabinet meeting in September 1945, sent this memorandum to President Truman:

Unless the Soviets are voluntarily invited into the partnership, upon a basis of cooperation and trust, we will almost certainly stimulate feverish activity on the part of the Soviet Union towards the development of

this bomb in what will, in effect, be a secret armaments race of a rather desperate character.

Stimson went on to suggest that we stop work on the bomb, and concluded:

The chief lesson I have learned in a long life (he was then eighty-four) is that the only way you can make a man trustworthy is to trust him, and the surest way to make him untrustworthy is to distrust him and show him your distrust.

Unfortunately, the Cabinet did not debate those ideas at a very high level. When the votes were taken, Secretary of Commerce Henry Wallace (former Vice President), Secretary of labor Lewis Schwellenback, and the Postmaster General Robert Hannegan supported Stimson, but the rest of the Cabinet lined up with Harry Truman. The prevailing view in Washington, then as now, was that military might was the fulcrum of national security, and that any reduction would lead to a catastrophe. Everything is changed except our way of thinking. Einstein knew that the nuclear age was the antithesis of the pre-nuclear age. Harry Truman and the majority of his Cabinet thought it was merely an extension. Harry Truman thought that the bomb could serve the national interests of the state, but Einstein was prescient enough to know that the bomb, in effect, had made the nation-state obsolete. Everything is changed except our way of thinking.

Now if you stop to think about it, even when we alone had the bomb, we still could not translate it into diplomatic and political advantage. We couldn't stop the Chinese from going Communist, and of course we didn't stop the Soviets from getting the bomb. You'd have thought, at that moment we would have said:

A mistake has been made; let us negotiate with the Soviets (this was 1949) to stop this arms race, and let us figure out by the lesson of China, that Communism feeds on disease in the body politic, so the smart way to prevent the expansion of Communism is obviously to fight poverty, illiteracy, and disease.

But instead, when the Soviets came up with their bomb, to the great surprise of Admiral Leslie Groves, head of our Atomic Energy Commission, who had said in 1945, "They'll never get the bomb, they don't even know how to make a jeep!", we went for an even bigger military miracle, the H-Bomb.

This time, the opposition didn't come from the secretary of defense, and unfortunately, it didn't come from the churches in any significant form. This time, Truman met his greatest opposition from the scientists, a fact which really moved me because I'd forgotten that all nine top scientists on the General Advisory Committee of the Atomic Energy Commission, including Glenn Seaborg (discoverer of plutonium), J. Robert Oppenheimer, Enrico Fermi, and

I. I. Rabi refused to make the H-bomb. In fact, Fermi and Rabi wrote like preachers:

Necessarily, such a weapon goes far beyond any military objective and enter the range of very great natural catastrophes. By its very nature, it cannot be confined to a military objective, and becomes a weapon which in practical effect is almost one of genocide. It is clear that the use of such a weapon cannot be justified on any ethical ground which gives a human being a certain individuality and dignity, even if he happens to be a resident of an enemy country.

But instead of listening to the moral arguments advanced by his scientists, President Truman once again went with the majority of the cabinet, and as he wrote in his Memoirs, "Anything that would assure us the lead in the field of atomic energy development for defense had to be tried out." By this time, though, the word "defense" had gotten tricky, because there was no way we could defend ourselves once the Soviets had the bomb. From this point on, the offense was always two jumps ahead of the defense. We were more and more able to wage war, but less and less able to defend ourselves, and every dollar spent came to mean less national security. The War Department changed its name to "Defense" at precisely the wrong time, because, as Confucius said, in politics everything should be called by

its proper name, and the Department of Defense should very properly be called the War Department.

Just consider these examples of how moral restraint has yielded to the technological imperative which I mentioned earlier. Even before the United States got into World War II, President Roosevelt said to a Red Cross group, "The bombing of helpless and unprotected civilians is a tragedy which has aroused the horror of all mankind. I recall with pride that the United States has consistently taken the lead in urging that this inhuman practice be prohibited." And it was back in 1898 that the Czar went to the Hague, desperately afraid that people would start dropping objects from balloons. He wanted that practice outlawed, and it was.

Now we come to World War I. Czar Nicholas was forgotten, but of the 9.8 million killed, only five percent were civilians. By World War II, forty-eight percent of the 52 million killed were civilians, and in Korea and Vietnam way over fifty percent of those killed were civilians. Which brings us to our current policy of "deterrence," which is prepared to knock out 200 million innocent women and children who will have nothing to say about any decision of the Soviets to attack us. And when you stop to think that back in the twelfth century, the Church threatened to excommunicate users of the crossbow! War now is pressing us to the

ultimate logic, which will simply have to be greater and greater destruction of everybody.

Looking back, the most promising time for disarmament was in 1954-55. Stalin had died in 1953, to be replaced by a seemingly reasonable Malenkov; the Korean War was over, and there was a chance now to bring the United States together with the Soviet Union. The British and the French put forward a plan in Geneva which called for the Russians and the Americans reducing their armed forces to between one and 1.5 million, and the French and British agreed to cut back to 650,000. Halfway through the reduction process all nuclear production would stop.

They turned to the Russians, and the Russians said, "Terrific, only let's make sure we have inspection. Let's make sure we have permanent inspectors who would have unimpeded access at all times to all objects of control, as well as unimpeded access to records relating to the budgetary appropriations for military needs." That was with love from the USSR. But to everybody's surprise, the United States turned down the proposal. They say Nelson Rockefeller had persuaded Eisenhower to go along with an "open skies" scheme, which Eisenhower proposed to the Russians at Geneva. "Open skies" was supposed to prevent surprise attack, but as far as the Soviets were concerned, this was inspection without disarmament, straight espionage.

They figured that our bombers simply wanted to make maps of all the countries where we might drop bombs in the future.

The U.S. has always been long on inspection and short on disarmament, while the Soviet Union has always been long on disarmament and a little bit short on inspection. Why did the United States turn down what seemed like such a golden opportunity? Apparently, the Pentagon felt it needed more troops to man the 400 or so bases we had dispersed around the world. Then too, we wanted to arm the West Germans, which would have been impossible if we accepted the plan, and we have to remember that by the time the Department of Defense had an enormous constituency. The DoD itself is the richest institution in the world. Today, it owns 228 billion dollars worth of property alone, and it puts into the U.S. economy 60 billion dollars worth of contracts every year!

Then you have to add the corporate Goliaths who, in the 1940s, were in pursuit of profits, as usual, and the academics who were looking for research grants. Between one-third and one-half of the scientists and engineers in this country were working on the arms race. And there were the unions looking for jobs, because jobs meant members, and members meant dues, and dues meant bigger unions. Finally, of course, there were members of Congress most of whom had defense contracts in their own districts, thanks to careful planning by the Pentagon. Clearly, the bomb and the arms

race were coagulants, and all the groups were the hucksters for more.

From 1949 to 1968, not one penny was cut from a single defense appropriation. As Sidney Lens has said, "The perniciousness of a permanent war economy, with so many constituencies working on its behalf, is that it is self-reinforcing. It is almost totally free of public control, and substantially free of control by government leaders." And, of course, fueling this arms race was fear. Remember the bomber gap? It was totally untrue. But even when Kennedy found that out he went ahead with plans to build the Poseidon and Polaris missiles because he had made campaign promises to do so.

So much for the ill-fated disarmament talks. I want to mention very briefly the kind of arms we're talking about. It's very important for us clergy to avoid Talmudic hairsplitting. We're not experts. We're supposed to say, "Let justice roll down like mighty waters," but we're no experts on the irrigation system. We may know if the shoe fits, but it's not up to us to make a new shoe. There are supposed to be cobblers around for that. I've always thought that our frustration comes from the fact that we know the shoe doesn't fit, but when we go down to Washington and say that the shoe doesn't fit, LBJ or somebody tells us, "The shoe fits fine, boy. Go get yourself a new foot!" But at least we have to have the issues outlined in our minds.

I noted earlier that some of my villains had turned out to be heroes, Robert McNamara, for one. McNamara was the first secretary of defense who really tried to systematize some kind of planning, and put a rational basis to our defense policies. He asked for the first time, and also, for the last time, "How much is enough?" He figured that there had to be some cut-off point. There had to be some point at which we would say, "We have enough." McNamara and his staff figured out that "enough" would be when a second strike could assure the destruction of thirty percent of the Soviet population and seventy percent of Soviet industry. That may sound like mega-murder, in the words of Canada's General Burns, but at least it was a cut-off point, and McNamara figured that 401 megaton bombs or their equivalents, 401 megaton warheads, would provide that second strike capacity. That would be 401 missiles, since it was one missile, one warhead in those days. He proposed a Triadic Defense, a defense with three legs so that if one leg were knocked out we still had two, if two legs were knocked out we still had one, and there was always one leg able to deliver "unacceptable damage."

The first leg was the army, the 1,054 Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) and their reinforced concrete silos out in Colorado. The second leg was for the Navy, the forty-one submarines, with their capacity to launch ballistic missiles, and the third leg was for the Air Force with

its 160 bombers, some air-borne at all times, stationed at our bases around the world. Those were the three legs, and after that, McNamara said, "That's it." He did not say that we had to be superior, and that is particularly significant. He refused even to deal with parity. He said the only thing we have to deal with is sufficiency, and that's something we have to latch onto, not superiority, not parity, but sufficiency. When is enough?

As McNamara said in his final report, once we are assured that, in retaliation, we can destroy the Soviet Union and other potential attackers, we cannot increase our security and power against them by threatening to destroy more. What would we do, kill people over again? That sounds absurd, but we have gone on and on and on, until we now have the power to kill the present population of the world twelve times, and we're going for thirteen! The thing just goes on and on every day. It's like trying to stop GM!

Now, to show how fast McNamara's concept was abandoned, a few years later, Assistant Secretary of Defense David Packard was asked the meaning of the word "sufficiency," and he answered, "It's a damn good word to use in a speech, but beyond that, it doesn't mean a goddamn thing." And of course we've gone from 400 warheads to 9,000, where five submarines alone would take care of everything McNamara was talking about. Everybody seems to agree that the weapons systems about to come into being signal a terrific change. These

new weapons not only carry as much or more lethal power, but they're more accurate, and they travel faster. (The hemispheric ballistic missile now goes door-to-door in less than ten minutes.)

When you think back to the Cuban missile crisis, you can't be grateful enough that the Soviets were moving in boats, and that David Ormsby-Gore, the British ambassador, said to Kennedy, "Why don't you move your boats back from 800 to 500 miles out? That will give Khrushchev a few more hours to think it over." There were letters going back and forth, and the immediate militant defensive posture of almost everybody in the Cabinet, "Nuke 'em! Wipe 'em out!", gradually settled down to a more rational point of view, but it took several days. Now it's ten minutes, and pretty soon it will be five, and then that little man you see walking behind the President, with his little black case, is going to be too late, and we will turn over to the impersonal province of the computer the decision to launch our missiles.

What you can now project, in a few years' time, if we continue this way, is that a U.S. computer will misread a U.S. radar screen and think that the missiles are coming, because this is complicated technology and things can go wrong. Our missiles will be launched, whereupon the Soviet computer, accurately reading the Soviet radar screen, will launch the Soviet missiles, and somewhere up there in the

Stygian darkness of outer space, U.S. missiles descending, hurtle past Soviet missiles ascending. That will be the end of both countries, and no human being will have made a decision.

That's what we are about to face, and the costs are unbelievable. The Pentagon now wants to spend \$39 billion to get those 1,054 missiles in 4,000 reinforced concrete silos out there in Colorado, so they can move them around on complicated tracks and the Soviets won't know where they are. That'll fool 'em!

They'll have to have 4,000 missiles coming in to knock them out. \$39 billion! And when you stop to think about it, why do we need them? With the fire power from our Multiple Independent Reentry Vehicles (MIRVs) and Maneuvering Reentry Vehicles (MARVs), why don't we move to a dyadic defense? We preachers don't have to give answers, but we can see that it makes far more sense to eliminate the ICBMs. We've got all those submarines, (how could they ever track them down?), and all those bombers flying around, and when you put that to the military, they tell you, "You're right, it's enough fire power, but we can't allow those Soviets to push our missiles off our own continent." That's the kind of thinking we have to deal with.

Which brings us to the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties (SALT), the treaties that are more sound than substance. SALT I failed because it didn't cap qualitative

improvements. There were no weapons cutbacks. There was no curb on the MIRVs with one missile on which you can put fourteen warheads. In fact, the arms control portion of SALT really sanctioned escalation. We increased our weaponry three times after the conclusion of SALT I, and SALT II doesn't sound very much better.

The point is not only that arms limitation hasn't worked but that it has validated the arms that remain. Clearly, the only proper framework that makes any sense is to reverse the arms race. We could unilaterally decide what is sufficient and say, "That's it." We don't need anybody else to make that decision. We don't have to risk a single life in the U.S. to say, "This is sufficient and we're going to stop." Then the Soviets might say, "Well, this looks more serious," because if it's not good for us or our economy, you can be sure it's worse for theirs. We might, either with the Soviets alone, or multilaterally, start negotiating as we did in 1955, step-by-step-by-step-by-step, until we had the remarkably few weapons that are necessary for national security today.

That's the position we've reached at Riverside Church. Reversing the arms race is the only possible framework that makes sense. We need to recover the understanding of sufficiency, and beyond that, the best possible form of national security for this country will be to start reversing the arms race. But what can one church do all by

itself? Not much. Nothing, except that we've got brothers and sisters. At first, we thought we'd invite all the mayors in this country to come, and we'd have a faculty of experts to tell them how their own cities are being held hostage, how there can't possibly be any money even to repave the streets of New York. Every year the streets and the houses are getting worse and worse, and our old folks are having to choose between "heat or eat."

The issues were obvious, but we weren't sure what we'd have to offer the mayors, so we decided to look to our sisters and brothers, the committed Christians and Jews outside of our walls all through the country. I'm sure many of them feel the same way we do. Many would like to say something, but they're not quite sure what to say because they haven't had the time to do their homework. We decided that Harry Emerson Fosdick's Centennial, because he was a devout pacifist at the end of his life, and because his centennial birthday fell during the week when the U.N. Special Session on Disarmament started, gave us a terrific opportunity. We brought in Cora Weiss, a woman who organized 10,000 tons of wheat to be shipped to Vietnam by Church World Service, because the United States still does not allow a single drop of medicine or a single grain of corn to go to Vietnam, a situation I hope will end soon, because negotiations are under way here in New York. In fact, we offered to let them negotiate in Riverside Church, but as

Vietnam's Deputy Foreign Minister said, "I think the Americans would prefer a room that was bugged."

Through the program we've developed, we hope that the religious community of this country can begin to take the lead, not only from a moral and theological perspective, but also with hard facts. We want to show that the arms race fuels inflation; that it is capital-intensive, providing more and more jobs for machines, and fewer and fewer jobs for people; that the cities are, in effect, being held hostage. If we present pragmatic, biblical, and theological arguments, then perhaps we will be doing something, as the French would say, tres serieux. Quite frankly, I don't think we're going to succeed, but I've long been persuaded that when a religious community deals with enterprises of this sort, we have no God-given right to act as if failure were morally justified. In other words, we're called on ultimately to do what's right and penultimately to do what's effective.

We are perilously close to midnight. When this many nations get the bomb, or this many terrorists, imagine the police-state this country is going to become in order to prevent private citizens from engaging in nuclear terrorism! We're probably too late, but I hope I'm wrong. I hope we'll be successful, because it's going to be a long haul. It isn't a one- or two-year proposition. This is going to put us on the stony, long, and lonely road that leads to peace,

but I don't see that we have any alternative. If we're not privately charged with preserving God's creation, then what are we charged with? This is such a fundamental religious obligation, trying to keep this planet in one piece. We used to think the Lord was going to end this planet, but now our arrogance has become too great, our weaponry and technology is pounced on with such viciousness, that we are the ones who will decide whether there's going to be life much longer on this planet.

As A. J. Muste used to say, "We need a foreign policy fit for children." I keep thinking of my children and their children, and feeling that if we can't keep this planet going for them, we've simply copped out of one of our most fundamental religious responsibilities. The picture that haunts me most is Michelangelo's "The Last Judgment" in the Sistine Chapel, which shows a Roman centurion being dragged down to hell by demons, his hand over one eye, and in the other eye a look of dire understanding. He understood, but it was too late.

God grant that we will see and understand before it's too late. Hope is the opposite of despair. Hope is the opposite of cynicism. Hope is the only means to a new and better life, but it doesn't guarantee that a new and better life will come along. We don't have to be optimistic, but we do have to be hopeful. We have to go forward with lots of hope in our hearts, and of course a great deal of warmth

and support for one another, so that we can pull this thing off in the most efficient and loving way possible.

APPENDIX D

1984 SPEECH

1984 Speech

Memories of reading Will James and those wonderful pictures in those cowboy books were coming back to me as we came cross the border, the land is exactly the same. I was in one of these deep reveries when all of the sudden I see Missile Drive and I couldn't believe it. The Señore said, "Wait till you see Pershing Blvd." I thought he was pulling my leg and four minutes later there was Pershing Blvd. I have to report to you it's not funny to run into signs like that, it really is quite shocking. It's almost like the poor Catholic bishops in Texas, being so appalled at the Polar submarine being called Corpus Christie. And that these things can be just put up there kinda lightly, you know, with no kind of emotional feel for what's involved seems a little Orwellian, shall we say. I think Orwell would have been quite pleased to find that as far as his book goes.

Let me ask you now, just to straighten my mind, how many here are pastors, how many are colleagues here? Okay, and how many husbands of pastors or wives of pastors? All right, and how many just laity. Okay. How many sisters? There she is, the famous sister, you're known all over.

Sister Francis is known all over, all over the East. One would come all the way out here just to see her. There will be some day a Sister Francis Blvd. You know, they'll take down Pershing Blvd. and Sister Francis Blvd. will go up.

All right, let me simply say that I am very happy to be here and so see as many people as this, and see colleagues. I can't call a bishop a colleague; I always look up to the bishops, but to have here for an afternoon.

Without further adieu let's go at it. There's a poignant moment in the book of Amos when Amaziah the priest says to Amos, who's been trying to speak unacceptable truths, speaking truth to power, and speaking unacceptable truths to the people of Israel, Amaziah says, "The land cannot bear his word." And there's nothing in my experience of human nature which would lead me to question Amaziah's assessment. Now what he did with the information of that assessment is something else again. But it is very hard for the land to bear unpleasant words. It is very hard for Americans to feel that maybe we only have liberty and justice for some, very hard to accept the fact that we're the only country in the world that was born in the genocide of thousands of Indians and the sweat of the tens of millions of slaves. These are things that don't come lightly to the American mind. And what is difficult then is to accept the possibility that what we are now doing is evil and is also counter-productive. When you think of 50

thousand missiles, 50 thousand warheads, that's the combined Soviet-American nuclear arsenals. When you think of 50 thousand nuclear warheads and then think for a moment what past generations of Americans and other people in the world would have said about having that kind of weaponry, you have to conclude that they would think we had represented a return to the dark ages. Fifty thousand nuclear warheads is hard to picture. But if you picture a Hiroshima size bomb going off every few minutes, sixty an hour, 24 hours a day, before you reached the equivalent of 50 thousand nuclear warheads, you'd have to keep that bombing up in uninterrupted fashion for two years. Now for anybody to say "Well, we don't have enough", you see, well we have enough to take the whole world out several times over, is absolutely ridiculous. And of course with every escalation in the arms race we become, not more secure, but more and more vulnerable. If for instance the MX goes through, it's clearly a first strike weapon, it will force the Soviets probably into a launch upon warning strategy which is to say, we give over the decision making power into the impersonal province of those computers that make all those mistakes, ours makes mistakes. Theirs are worse, their computers are worse than ours, and we won't sell them our computers for reasons of national security. So the MX is jeopardizing American security as much as any weapon I can think of. And if it puts them into a launch upon warning strategy, we may have

to respond by getting into a launch upon warning strategy ourselves. When I think of the Soviet Union and the United States in the arms race, I just think we're two, like two nations of alcoholics who know that liquor is killing them, but somehow they always find a reason for one more drink.

Now if we look at this from a Christian point of view, I'd think we'd have to say that only God has the authority to end life on this planet, and all we have is the power. But as our power is so clearly not authorized by God, I think you have to say, and the Catholic bishop didn't quite go this far, but my own personal view as a Christian is, I think we have to say that is a sin not only to use, everybody agrees to that, not only to threaten to use, a lot of people think that, but merely to possess nuclear weapons, merely to possess nuclear weapons is a sin. I think we are living in sin. Living in sin sexually is as nothing as compared to living in sin militarily. We're living in sin, the Soviets are living in sin, everybody who possesses nuclear weapons, I think, is living in sin. I think in the sight of the Almighty the mere possession of nuclear weapons must be comparable to the mere possession of slaves 200 years ago. And as the debate 200 years ago was between those who said we must humanize the institution of slavery and those who said no we must abolish it; so the debate now is between those who say we must clean up and limit these nuclear weapons, and those who say, "No, we must rid the

face of the world of all these weapons altogether." So, I think when it comes to the weapons, it is clear that we, what we need is what we have in its infancy stage, a new abolitionists movement. And I'm delighted that the church seems to be in the forefront. I wish the others would catch up knowing how strong the church is, we could certainly use other people up there. But it is right that the church should be in the forefront, because we really are threatening God's creation.

I think that it is simply blasphemous that it could go on in this fashion. Now it is also counter-productive. We let, I'll let others work that out, but let me simply suggest that there is an escalation in this world that goes smart, smarter, smartest, stupid. And that there's a corollary escalation that goes powerful, more powerful, most powerful, powerless. And I think that the Soviet Union and the United States has reached that point of stupidity and powerlessness because in the face of a nuclear confronted with nuclear holocaust both are reduced to helplessness. And to argue as to which one is ahead, you know, one or another, is reminiscent only of those endless discussion that take place every year before the Superbowl. "Well, their Quarterback is better." "Yeah, but on the other hand, against their aerial attack there is that terrific defense over here." "Yeah but then you got your riggins who goes up the middle." "Yeah but they got the guy who goes around the

scat back who goes around." These discussion go on endlessly because one is a little stronger here, another is a little bit stronger there, but it ends up as a kind of inconclusive argument till of course you get the game, and I could of told you that. The Raiders would take them to the cleaners. Well it was clear years ago, Mr. Nixon claimed that he loved the Redskins, that was the kiss of death right there. The Lord was not going to put up with that very much longer, you know.

All right, so enemy number one, I would think from a religious point of view are the weapons themselves. That's enemy number one. Now what's enemy number two? As soon as I say that, there's gonna be someone in this room who'd say "Uh-oh, I always knew he was flaky and this proves it." Enemy number two is war itself, and if it sounds flaky, if it sounds idealistic, if it sounds impractical to say, "Well, we, we're not gonna have wars." I agree with you. I agree with you. I'm shocked to hear myself say it. But it may simply be because we have so slipped behind the schedule of what was called for if we were gonna save this world. Consider this, having bitten the nuclear apple, there is no returning to the innocence. And even with God's grace we succeeded in reversing the arm's race, stopping the production of these nuclear weapons, abolishing stock piles, and so forth, even if we do succeed in abolishing all nuclear weapons from the face of the earth, the know-how will

forever and ever and ever be part of the storehouse of human knowledge. That I think is one of the most sobering facts about civilization from now on in. And if two nations begin to engage in conventional warfare, it is incredibly naive to think one of them will go down rather than use a nuclear weapon. It is incredibly naive to think that if two big nations go at it with conventional weapons, that they won't immediately start cranking up those H-bombs again. And so it may not be all that naive to suggest that we need to restructure the world. We're way behind on this, need to restructure the world in such fashion as to make war itself, obsolete. Now that's a big one. I just wish we'd give it more touch.

Now the third one I want to take a little more time on is the enemy that we are always concentrating on, and that is the Russians. Someone was explaining to me on the way up here that it is so odd in Wyoming where there's this sage brush opposition to the government, you know, they take on the government on all kinds of issues, you know. "Nobody down there in Washington is gonna tell us what to think", you know, and all this. And yet when it comes to the MX, whoa, anything they want we give it to them. Why? Because of the Russians, see. Russians are the enemy, and so we have to do this because the Russians are the enemy. Now let's look at how much of the enemy they are. First of all, there are some very practical things simply to consider, I

think. Russians are economically in terrible straights. Nobody wants to buy anything the Russians make. They don't, except caviar, except vodka. I've been twice now in Nicaragua. I've seen Soviet tractors, you'd think Soviet tractors would be terrific given all their self-clauses and co-clauses. And they used to print out those Russian movies. Some of us who are older will remember where you fell in love with your tractor, those earlier Soviet movies, you know. When I go down there to Nicaragua, and I see the old John Deere tractor over here, the old green John Deere tractor, you know, gathering rust over in the corner. I see a French one, maybe a Swedish tractor, which are good. The Swedes have been helpful down there and then there's a spanking red Russian tractor. I said, "Well, which one works better, you know?" They say [Spanish words] you know without a doubt, "it's the John Deere." "Well", I say, "how come you're not using it?" He said, "cause you Americans won't send us any spare parts." You know we are trying to bring Nicaragua to her knees economically. It's absolutely horrendous what we're doin' down there, but we can't get distracted. But see, they don't even want Soviet tractors. They are forced to buy Soviet tractors because we won't send them spare parts for the John Deere. They're, economically they are in terrible shape. Andropov has made speeches about this ever since he came to power. Politically, they are in bad shape. If you removed all the troops from Europe

on both sides, East and West, within two years all the western governments would still be in place, and there probably wouldn't be a single government with exception perhaps of the Hungarian government. There wouldn't be a single government still in place in Eastern Europe without troops. And terrible shape politically as well as economically. My picture of the Soviet Union, which I think is a very commonsensical one, is it's the only country in the world presently surrounded by hostile Communist countries. So, if they cannot compete economically, and if they cannot compete politically, they can only compete militarily. Now that says to me, that you better not expect too much from them because they can't compete any other way. So I'm impressed when they make certain concessions. But you see, what I'm getting at is that we are basically dealing with a bankrupt super-power. And to think that you can humiliate a bankrupt super-power, you're going to bring a bankrupt super-power to it's knees is crazy. We're not frightening the Russians; we're panicking them. They're very insecure; they're full of paranoia. I haven't even mentioned the religious point of view. I'm just trying to be commonsensical about it now. We are experts, those of us who are not in the Pentagon, we are experts on human nature. At least some of us have given a little bit of thought to human nature. People in the Pentagon give very little thought to human nature, and that's the expertise that is needed. And

to think that it, it is smart, a good understanding of human nature to go around humiliating bankrupt super-powers who have only their power, is not, I think to reflect the great wisdom about how human nature works.

Now for the Christian point of view. The first thing we have to say is it is wrong to see red in both senses of the word. The way the average American, if you talk Russian, they see red like that in both senses of the word, communist and anger. Now if a Christian point of view, obviously the first thing you have to say about Russians is what? They're brothers, they're sisters, right? And we have to feel it that way. It's hard to feel it that way 'cause the journey from the head to the heart is such a long one.' But if we believe in God, we have to believe they are our brothers and sisters. And it also has a lot of practical implications because wars begin in the mind. You have to think someone to death first. You can kill a commie for Christ, some people can. But you have a much harder time killing a brother or a sister for Christ. It's much easier to kill a leftist gorilla, than it is a brother or a sister. It's a lot easier to kill a terrorist, than a brother or a sister, and work it the other way. It's a lot easier to kill a shark of Wall Street, (a kulla wall steeta [Russian pronunciation]) as the Soviets used to call us, than it is a brother or a sister. So it is not simply an air-fairy idea to say that they are our brothers and sisters. It is a very

important Christian understanding of who people are in this world. And also, it has very practical implications. Now it is quite proper in many ways to consider them an enemy. But what does Christ say about enemies? It says "love your enemies." Well I don't think that's easy to understand. There's some people'd think loving your enemies is very straight forward, very easy. Oh be it as hard to do as for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle. I have to think loving your enemies is a very complicated idea. Because Christ who enjoins us to love our enemies also opposes cruelty and injustice which we have to see in enormous quantities in the Soviet Union. Anybody who doesn't see injustice and cruelty in the Soviet Union hasn't opened up his or her eyes.

So how do we love Russians as brothers and sisters while at the same time we oppose the cruelty and injustice which is blatantly there in the Soviet Union. I think St. Augustine has a very good line to offer us at this point. With a Catholic sister walking around, I'll quote Catholic sources. Only we claimed Augustine as much as you have. So you won't miss anything. St. Augustine once said, "Do not fight evil as if it were something that arose outside of yourself." Reflecting St. Paul's understanding, "all have sinned and fall short," not some, all have sinned and fallen short. Now I think that has again very practical, important implications for the conduct of foreign policy. It is

perfectly true. That what the Soviet Union is doing in Poland is heart breaking, but it is as nothing compared to the torture and death that President Reagan is seeking to promote with four hundred million dollars in El Salvador. If the suppression of civil liberties in the Soviet Union is an evil thing, as indeed it is, let us not overlook our own complicity in the suppression of these same civil liberties if not at home, abroad. You can't tell me that Marcos' government in the Philippines would still be there without American aid. Think of all the Zias in Pakistan, think of all the horrible dictatorships we have supported simply because they're anti-communists. So if we are not one with the Soviets in love, at least we are one with them in sin which is a very important bond that because it precludes the possibility of separation through judgment. That's the meaning of "Judge not that ye be not judged". And who gets judged? President Reagan gets judged for saying, "If you want to know what evil is, it's that empire over there. And you want to know what virtue is, right here, right here look at us." That kind of self-righteousness is absolutely impossible from a Christian point of view. And what enormous ramifications that has for the conduct of foreign policy. I lie in bed at night and fantasize a summit meeting. My summit meeting would go like this. Andropov would start off "Dear Mr. Reagan, you have said terrible things about us, you know, that we got an evil empire

destined for the slag heap of history. But you don't know the half of it, and I'm gonna tell you how much worse we are." And Mr. Reagan interrupts him and says, "Just a minute Mr. Andropov, I have a few confessions of my own that I wish to make to you. Wait till I tell you about the number of shelterless in New York or homeless at least in New York. You know our people are without food and without work. In fact they are so out of work in Wyoming that they're desperate to build these horrendous weapons which I have sold to them and call them Minute-men so they sound very innocent, you know, and peace makers and all that sort of stuff." Now what a terrific thing it would be if summit meetings could start with confession. Confession is good for the national soul. It is a terrible thing in this country that nobody, particularly Hubert Humphrey (I think he would have been the one to do it), ever got up on the boob tube after the war in Vietnam and said, "My fellow Americans, we have made a grievous error." What relief that would have brought the citizenry of this great land. But oh no, we have to be self-righteous, you see. Well, you cannot deal with other people if you're self-righteous. Your pride swollen faces close up your eyes so you can't see with whom you are dealing. And so the thing we have to say as Christians, and we have a lot to contribute to the conversation at this point, is that the Soviet, you wanna talk about the Russians, then you talk about my brother and sister. You

talk about the enemy whom I'm gonna love by avoiding self-righteousness. You're gonna talk about my fellow sinner.

I would submit that shame is not only a deeply religious emotion, it's a profoundly patriotic emotion. I think the world is ruined by people who, is kept going by people who are ashamed of what their governments are doing. And I assume there are all together as many Russians who are ashamed of what their government is doing as there are Americans who are ashamed of what our government is doing. When I make the speeches to Russians, there is never a one who has ever objected to it. They all look vastly relieved that somebody has come along, speaks their language, and understands their souls. Now obviously their voices are muted but they'll come up and say, "that's a great speech". And they come up and they squeeze your arm and say "[Russian word]" thank you, you know. So if you understood, you said it, and you said it in such a way that wasn't moralistic and self-righteous and all that sort of stuff. So that's the kind of thing we have to think about when we're talkin' about the Russians.

Now if I can take a few more minutes to talk about ourselves. I want to quote Augustine again, sister. Augustine in his wonderful way said, "Imagine the vanity of thinking that you're enemy can do you more damage than your enmity". What a wonderful way of putting things. Imagine the vanity of thinking that your enemy can do you more

damage than your enmity. Now what damage has our enmity towards the Soviet Union done us as Americans? I've already suggested that it has increased our self-righteousness in a breath-taking fashion. I suppose what hit me almost as hard as anything else recently was the invasion of Grenada, more normally you'd call it, you know, a bully beating up a tot. That's usually called a bully beating up on a tot. If anybody else had done it, you know, like the Cubans, because they had every reason to object to the government that overthrew Maurice Bishop with whom they were working very closely. The United States didn't even recognize Maurice Bishop, wouldn't give him any aid, tried to make sure he didn't get any aid. Anybody else who'd done it, we would have been appalled. And when we did it, the world was appalled, even Maggie Thatcher was appalled. The vote in the U.N. was a hundred and nine to seventeen. And when we started off this nation, we said we will maintain a decent respect for the opinion of mankind. What happened to that decent respect to the opinion of mankind? We've given it the back of the hand. We are so pleased with ourselves "nobody's gonna pour water on my parade". That's what our enmity has done to us. It's kind of self-righteousness so we can't even hear other voices in the world. The sister sitting here just keeps bringing me right back to that Roman Catholic church again. The Roman Catholic Church has a wonderful insight in making the first cardinal virtue

Prudencia which can be translated "darn good thinking". And it is perfectly true if your heart's full of love you can begin to think straight, but if your heart is full of anger, your heart's full of hatred, you can't think straight. Oh, maybe you could examine the stomach of a spider, but you can't examine the hearts of human beings and make much sense. Love has a limbering effect on the mind. And love makes us see what we don't see now, not only the Russians are our brothers and sisters, but we have brothers and sisters the world over, who are victims of the arms race, victims by denial because of the incredible sums that we are now spending on the arms race. Believe me, this is a lovely part of the world, but you live, you think you are realistic out here; this is the exact opposite. Where I live, where we have to feed over 150 people for two hours of free food a day, we have a shelter for the homeless. We have a can of worms in our hands in New York. And that's because all of our money is hemorrhaging out of the city down to Washington to come, to turn here in Wyoming. And don't any of you ever fall for the line that this is your particular problem. We all live on the target. This is New York's problem, and this is Paris' problem as well as Moscow's problem and Cheyenne, Wyoming's problem. Do not be provincial about whose problem the MX is, and do not be provincial about where you're getting' the money from. It's hemorrhaging out of New York. There is no low income housing being built in

New York. There is no low income housing being built in New York. We're providing shelters for the homeless, homes for the homeless. And the same thing is true in Los Angeles and all the major cities. New York is not a moveable famine.

Mr. Reagan says he understands this, that's what his enmity has done to him. He can't see what the poor are going through. He can't see how he has reversed the magnificate, and now we are filling the rich with good things and sending the poor empty away. Mr. Baker, on Sunday, is suggesting that we send even more of the poor more empty away. That, again is the price we are paying for our enmity. Do not think that your enemy can do you more damage than your enmity. Well these are the things that I think we have to think about as Christians. And I'm a little startled to find that my anger is so high, but I don't apologize for it. "Be angry, but do not sin," says St. Paul, and if you're not angry, it means that the degree you lower your quotient of anger that's angry, you've lowered your quotient of affection for the persecuted and the poor in the world. So anger is what keeps your sanity these days. That's why it's so important that every time you look at Missile Blvd. you get furious, or Missile Drive and Pershing Blvd. That should set you off just like that every single time you see it. It's very important that we maintain our anger and not lose the ethical initiative because we don't care enough.

Well, I think that it's probably time that the preacher demonstrated a few terminal facilities for which we're not famous and give a chance to the respondents to respond. The more detailed technical stuff I've left to the experts over here to my right to deal with the MX and things like that. I thought my job would sort of set a general Christian view. Thank you very, very much.

APPENDIX E

1986 SPEECH

1986 Speech

There is an ancient rabbinic saying that for the world to survive, it must hold fast to three things: to truth, to justice, and to peace. Not one of these has the world ever held in anything resembling a white-knuckled grip. So while nature, to our delight, continues to display her gorgeous spring fashions and moves in her graceful and inevitable way toward summer, the world careens towards a nuclear war. We can only hope that the tragedy of last week in Chernobyl will be the disaster that validates the nuclear crisis, the crisis of both nuclear energy and of nuclear weaponry.

Why does a crisis never seem to be a crisis until it is validated by disaster?

For the world to survive, it must hold fast to three things: to truth, to justice, and to peace. These three—truth, justice and peace, are, of course, related. Lies need violence for protection, just as violence, to continue, needs the rationalization of lies. And peace is not just the absence of tension but the presence of justice.

Still, we can distinguish if not separate the three, so let's see, on this Peace Sabbath, if we can find something significant to say on the subject of each.

What did the rabbis have in mind when they said, "The world must hold fast to truth?"

Some seven or eight years ago, I was invited to address several hundred clergy gathering in Enid, Oklahoma. I like talking to clergy. None of us knows anymore what makes for a successful minister, or priest or rabbi. The death of certainty is the birth of need. We clergy are needy, i.e., vulnerable, more sensitive by far than we were thirty years ago. And that's good.

For a couple of days I inveighed, in my usual fashion, against the madness of the arms race. I compared sexism to homophobia to racism, and attacked as assortment of other personal and social ills. During the question-and-answer period after the last session, just before I was scheduled to return to Riverside, one brother arose to make a very astute observation. "Coffin," he said, "You're the true prophet. You blow in, blow off, and blow out." But I did have to come back to Riverside, what else was I to do?

Then another brother asked, "How do you get away with the things you say? They'd run you out of town in Tulsa."

I replied, "First of all, I never said Tulsa was leading the nation." But the answer to the question lies less in the differences between New York and Tulsa, or the differences between a liberal versus a conservative church.

I asked my colleagues, "How many of you have read two books on homosexuality in the church?" About four hands went up.

Then I said, "How many of you have read two books on the arms race?" Well, this time there were about twenty. But that's all, out of several hundred.

So I said, "You now have the answer, don't you? Most of you would bite your tongue purple rather than speak out on a controversial issue. You wouldn't know what to say. And to make matters worse, to the degree that your ignorance stems from your complacency, it's an ethical and not an intellectual default."

It was a mean but fair statement. And it got at the truth the ancient rabbis had in mind, the truth we would all rather deny but must confront for our personal salvation and for the survival of the world. There is always a certain unacceptability about unpleasant truth. Said Amasaiah the priest about Amos the prophet, "The land cannot bear his words." But the land must bear his words, dark and awesome though they may be, for if there's a way to the better, it lies in taking a full look at the worst.

No pain, no gain. No judgment, no hope. Without repentance, there's no salvation, there's no other way.

In his book 1984, Orwell, you remember, warned of a regime that would control through pain and hate. In 1986 I worry less about the American people being controlled

through pain and hate; I fear for our becoming passive through our appetite for distractions. Instead of freedom-loving, people-loving, truth-seeking, i.e., God-fearing people, I fear that we shall become a nation of entertained slaves. I fear our becoming hired applauders for smooth-talking religious and political leaders, an ignorant people, because complacent.

Terrorism is on everybody's minds these days, and well it should be. You will remember two years ago, when they hijacked the TWA plane, the terrorists, before landing in Beirut, released some of the hostages, I think it was in Tripoli. In any case, the press crowded around these newly released hostages and questioned them about their captors. And one woman said, "For some reason, they seemed to hate New Jersey."

Now what could young Lebanese terrorists possibly hold against the Garden State? What the hostage had forgotten, if she ever knew, was that the New Jersey was the battleship that all too recently had lobbed one-half-ton shells into the Lebanese mountains, killing hundreds of innocent civilians.

There is a nonrabbinic saying: "What you don't know won't hurt you." That's nonsense. What we Americans don't know will kill us, as it already has lots of other people.

St. Paul wrote the Colossians, "You must live your whole life according to the Christ you have received." Your

whole life, not just your family life, not just your vocational life, but your life also as a citizen. Anyone who has received Christ has experienced the death of certainty and the birth of need. Such a person is vulnerable, sensitive, with lots of love in their heart, and a stirred-up mind. It is inconceivable that a caring Christian should be ignorant through complacency.

The ancient rabbis were right. For the world to survive, hard as it may be, it must hold fast to truth. Also to justice.

We all know of Rip Van Winkle, and how he slept for twenty years. What few people realize is what twenty years did he sleep through? When Rip Van Winkle went up the mountain to sleep, the picture on the sign below was of King George III. Twenty years later, when he came down, the picture on the sign was of George Washington. Rip Van Winkle slept through a revolution.

Two hundred years later, his compatriots are doing much the same. Most Americans are peacefully sleeping through, or are having positive nightmares about what Adlai Stevenson, back in the '50s, called "the revolution of rising expectations." It is a revolution of human rights, defined less in terms of civil liberties, more in terms of social justice. It is sweeping Third World nations, supported by a theology of liberation, which sees justice as central, and not ancillary to, salvation, revelation, sacramentalism and

spirituality. It is a revolution not made by Communists, not even by revolutionaries. Like all revolutions, it is made by unjust, repressive regimes, for the simple reason that you cannot have a revolt without revolting conditions. The fire won't spread unless the wood is dry. Only when the economic oligarchs are few do the freedom fighters become many. And armed guerrillas they do become, because governments that make peaceful evolution impossible make violent revolution inevitable. As ancient Amos the prophet warned, "You think to defer the day of misfortune, but you hasten the reign of violence."

And think not that this reign of violence is not coming to cities whose ghettos have become breeding grounds for terrorists. Injustices stunt growth in developing countries, they also endanger prosperity in developing ones. In New York City, we live amid great bridges that span the rivers and buildings that kiss the sky. But the economic outlook is bleak and growing bleaker for the hundreds of thousands of poorly educated, low-income residents in our area. The world does not belong alone in the great and powerful. When will they remember the rest? When will they hear the prophetic prediction, "They drink wine by the bowlful, but about the ruin of Joseph they do not care at all. That is why they will be the first to be exiled. The sprawlers' revelry is over."

I think it fair to say, the longer we Americans persist in making the rich richer, the poor poorer, and the military more powerful, the shorter the fuse on the time-bomb. We must find alternative forms of abundance if justice is going to roll down like mighty waters.

I said justice was central to, not ancillary to, spirituality. When the spiritual life is strong, it creates world history. When the spirituality is weak, it suffers world history. So, as Christians, we must awake, rise from the dead, and Christ will shine upon us, so that we can assert the primacy of the spiritual over the material in an increasingly secular world.

For the world to survive, it must hold fast to truth and justice. And finally, to peace, which is hardly a present-day habit of humanity.

Many of us cherish words of President Eisenhower, spoken shortly before leaving office: "I like to think that people want peace more than governments. In fact, they want it so badly the governments better get out of their way and let them have it."

And here's some other words of his: "Down the long lane of history yet to be written, America knows that this world of ours, ever growing smaller, must avoid becoming a community of dreadful fear and hate, and be instead a proud confederation of mutual trust and respect." That man came out with some pretty fine, insightful lines.

Let Christians then seek to break down the dividing walls of hostility. These days, let's not allow the long and chilling silence of the Soviet government about their nuclear calamity to whip up anti-Soviet hysteria in our hearts. As I recall, accurate information was not exactly forthcoming from Three Mile Island.

And let us never self-righteously say that the greatest danger in this world is atheistic Communism. Atheistic Communism declares there is no God, self-righteousness says we do not need God. What's the difference?

Moreover, I share the view that whenever and wherever the day of reform dawns on the Soviet system, religion will be a part of it.

In the meantime, it's not them and us, it's just us. As I said at the outset, all of us are careening toward nuclear war. In World War II, six million Jews were herded into boxcars, stripped, shot or gassed, and incinerated in ovens all over Eastern Europe. But on the trains, the great majority never guessed their destiny. We're on such a train, to an even greater incineration, and haven't the eyes to perceive it.

Peace does not come rolling in on the wheels of inevitability. We can't just wish for peace, we have to will it, fight for it, suffer for it, demand it from our governments, as if peace were God's most cherished hope for humanity, as indeed it is.

Well, we heard earlier words from St. Paul. Why not end with them, "To crown all, there must be love, to bind all together and complete the whole. Let Christ's peace be arbiter in your hearts. To this peace you were called."

Our calling, in the ancient vision of those rabbis, is to save the world by holding fast to truth, to justice, and to peace. Let us pray:

O God, deepen our lives, they're just too shallow.
Make them more interesting, they're just too dull. Help us to see that we cannot retreat into the pygmy world of private piety before the giant social issues of the day. Take our minds and think through them. And take our hearts and set them on fire.

In Jesus's name we pray, Amen.

APPENDIX F

1988A SPEECH

1988A Speech

Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you for the opportunity to testify this morning before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on behalf of the approximately 175,000 members of SANE/FREEZE and its over 1,000 local affiliated groups. Those members and local groups also represent, in turn, the millions of citizens who constitute "the American peace movement."

It is rare that a spokesperson for the peace movement has such an opportunity, though I trust in the coming years we will have many more treaties and many more opportunities to testify, to give voice to the millions of Americans who, I think it is important to recall, made the INF Treaty possible. It is currently fashionable to speak of glasnost, a term roughly translated as "openness." But glasnost comes from the old Russian root "glas" or "voice" and literally means "voiceness" or giving voice. And so I propose some American glasnost.

I would like to report briefly on why our organization agreed at its National Congress in November to make ratification of the INF Treaty our first priority in 1988. Then I would also like to underscore the role of American citizens in helping to bring this Treaty about, discuss what lessons

we should draw from that experience, and finally, look at where we in the peace movement believe this nation should head after the INF Treaty is ratified.

Whose Treaty Is It Anyway? In recent months we have read, first before the Summit in December, that Howard Baker considered the INF Treaty "the President's Treaty." Then on January 25, Secretary of State George Shultz testified before this committee and said, "The INF experience offers important lessons on how to proceed as we confront other challenges to our security." As part of his lesson, the Secretary also said, "We succeeded because we stayed the course. This took considerable political courage. In Europe, the so-called peace movement took to the streets to try to block U.S. deployments. In the United States, the 'freeze movement,' in effect, wanted to reward the Soviets for deploying first, by letting them keep their advantage and removing any incentive to negotiate reductions."

As someone who spent a number of years in the CIA opposing Josef Stalin during the height of the Cold War, I think we should be wary of any Soviet-style rewriting of history. And one of the worst possible outcomes of the INF Treaty process, I believe, would be to encourage any impression for future historians or the public that the world's first reduction in nuclear weapons was simply handed to us by Ronald Reagan as if it were an act of God. Or perhaps I should say, since it is unclear in the current electoral

season whether being connected to God or to secular humanism is the greater sin, that we must remember that in a democratic society, it is the will of the people that ultimately steers the ship of state. That is why these hearings in the Senate, like those deliberations on nominations to the Supreme Court, are so important and so welcome. The constitutional role of the Senate to advise and consent should remind us all that ultimately it is the American people who have the final say.

How then did it come to be that this august body is today considering a Treaty to eliminate an entire class of nuclear weapons through the INF agreement with the Soviet Union that is mutual, verifiable, and a first step in reversing the arms race?

If these phrases seem familiar, it is, of course, because to a large degree they echo the important elements of the initial Nuclear Freeze proposal that ignited a prairie fire of concern over nuclear weapons in this decade. It was the heat from that prairie fire, it is clear, that melted Mr. Reagan's Cold War rhetoric, warmed his anti-Soviet heart, and finally, attracted him to cozy fireside chats with Marxist-Leninist Mikhail Gorbachev in Iceland's Hofdi House and in the White House.

By 1978, when I formed a national disarmament program at the Riverside Church in New York, it was already clear, as it was to my colleagues in SANE and other peace groups,

that new nuclear weapons technologies, advances in inertial guidance systems, warhead miniaturization, and the like, were making a counter-force or first-strike strategy an option for both U.S. and Soviet planners. It was also clear that nuclear deterrence and mutual assured destruction or MAD, symbolized by ICBM's in invulnerable silos and second-strike SLBM's in untrackable submarines, were rapidly being undercut. Plans for the highly accurate MX and Trident D-5 missiles, for cruise missiles of all kinds, as well as discussions of weapons for use in so-called "limited nuclear wars" such as the neutron bomb and improved theater nuclear weapons in Europe revealed what was formalized in President Carter's PD 59: that the U.S. was preparing to fight a nuclear war.

With massive protests against the neutron bomb in Europe, followed by the First UN Special Session on Disarmament in 1978 in New York and a demonstration there of 20,000 Americans calling for nuclear disarmament, the modern nuclear disarmament movement was born again. Or perhaps I should say, found new purpose and direction. At the same time, considerable opposition to the SALT process and then to the SALT II Treaty, which in our view merely ratified a qualitative rather than a quantitative nuclear arms race, gave rise to attempts on the part of the peace movement to find a new strategy. We set out to actively stop and reverse the arms race, not merely control it.

These efforts culminated in a paper by Randall Forsberg called "A Call to Halt the Nuclear Arms Race," which, by 1981, became the basis for the Nuclear Freeze Campaign. The aim of the Nuclear Freeze, we should now recall, was to reach the broadest possible spectrum of Americans with a pragmatic and simple program. That simple, but profound idea was to halt the testing, production and deployment of new nuclear weapons on a mutual and verifiable basis.

The very same Administration that now touts its careful verification procedures for intermediate-sized missiles, both deployed and undeployed, that explains how portals at nuclear weapons facilities in both the United States and the Soviet Union will be monitored, in 1981 ridiculed the Nuclear Freeze and called it a KGB plot. Either Mr. Reagan has now become, as Howard Phillips put it so colorfully, a "useful idiot for the Kremlin," or the Nuclear Freeze movement, which provided expert testimony showing that verification was possible, from William Colby and the late Pete Scoville of the CIA among others, was prophetic indeed.

Again, if Mr. Reagan is to be reborn as a disarmer during the current INF Treaty debate, he must first recall and reject his earlier pro-nuclear stances. It was the Reagan Administration, after all, that opposed arms control of any sort.

It was Ronald Reagan who roughly quadrupled spending on bizarre civil defense plans and allowed T.K. Jones to

pronounce citizens safe from nuclear war with "a shovel" and some dirt. Only citizen outrage and ridicule, and then Congressional action, curtailed this madness.

It was Ronald Reagan who persisted with a campaign to get MX missiles with first-strike warheads. He argued that U.S. ICBM's were in a "window of vulnerability" and placed the MX in fixed silos. Again, only a massive grassroots campaign to stop the MX Missile and, finally, Congressional action, put a cap on the MX at 50 missiles. Again, it was Mr. Reagan who doubled spending for strategic nuclear weapons, bringing back the B-1 Bomber that had been killed during the Carter years, and adding about 5,000 new nuclear warheads to the U.S. arsenal. It was Mr. Reagan who resisted the finding of a nuclear winter discovered by Carl Sagan and others. Again, only after massive public outcry and mounting scientific evidence did the Administration permit the Defense Department to proceed with its own studies of nuclear winter.

Mr. Reagan is also the first U.S. president not to seek a Comprehensive Test Ban, despite an 18-month Soviet moratorium on nuclear testing and clear American public opinion in favor of such a move. Mr. Reagan wanted increased plutonium production in the U.S., ignoring hazards at nuclear weapons production sites, again until public outcry was irresistible. Again, it was Mr. Reagan who pushed for a nuclear pumped X-ray laser as part of his Star Wars plan, even while

claiming the program was non-nuclear. Again, he ignored massive public and scientific protests that the X-ray laser idea was, frankly, crazy.

While the Reagan Administration was doing all this, it was the peace movement that actually first suggested the double zero option in Europe. Reverend Bruce Kent of CND (Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament) in Great Britain, urged the removal of Soviet SS-20's as well as the elimination of plans for NATO's GLCM's and Pershing II missiles. Like the original Freeze proposal itself, which called for reductions in both Soviet and American weapons, the European and U.S. protests of the early 1980's urged the removal of both cruise and Pershing in the West and SS-20's in the East. Our program then and now was the same, the elimination of all nuclear weapons in Europe, both East and West. In fact, the double zero and the idea of a nuclear free Europe were central to the massive protests in Europe in 1981-1983, at regular intervals, 250,000 to 400,000 people would demonstrate in London, Amsterdam, Bonn, Madrid, and elsewhere. The Reagan Administration and too many of its followers in the media regularly characterized the European movement as tools of the Soviet Union attempting to undermine NATO unity. In fact, the movement carefully maintained dialogue with the Soviet Union and often criticized it while calling for mutual restraint in the arms race.

We should remember, too, that the Administration consistently argued that the Soviet Union was impervious to world opinion, that public demonstrations only put pressure on the West and that nothing could ever change inside the Soviet Union. These bromides used to forestall disarmament opinion were just plain wrong.

The Reagan Administration also argued that only a full-scale military build-up would be sufficient to scare the Soviet Union into bargaining. But thanks to American public opinion, to organizing on the part of the peace movement, and finally, to action on the part of the Congress, the MX Missile was capped at 50. The SALT II and ABM treaties were reaffirmed, ASAT's restricted, calls for a Comprehensive Test Ban heard, funds for Star Wars substantially cut, and military spending curtailed.

In short, it is precisely when the United States has shown signs of relenting from an ever-escalating arms race, when a Democratic-controlled Congress has begun to constrain the Executive, and when public opinion has shifted decisively in favor of peace, that the Soviet Union has come forth with dramatic concessions.

You should recall, too, that Mr. Reagan entered START talks only after the massive public demonstrations that I've described, including one of nearly a million people in New York City, one which he refused to recognize, and that his Star Wars program was designed after the nuclear freeze won

referenda in 44 states and local elections in 1982. SDI was in fact designed to a large degree with political objectives in mind. The goal? To seize the moral high ground from the peace movement, as Greg Fossedal, then of the Heritage Foundation, put it in a memo. His view was echoed by Lieutenant General Daniel Graham, who wrote to Secretary Weinberger on March 31, 1982, "In light of the current country-wide press for 'nuclear freeze", I want to bring to your attention the value of the High Frontier concept as an effective counter." After the 1984 elections in which Mr. Mondale was buried, but in which arms control representatives made gains in the House, the Administration then liked to pretend that the peace movement had simply disappeared. But it just isn't true.

In November 1985 SANE and the Nuclear Freeze Campaign, along with other groups, collected nearly 1.2 million signatures on petitions for a Nuclear Test Ban and delivered them to Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev at the Summit in Geneva. Mr. Reagan refused to see us. By October 1986, SANE/FREEZE again went to the Summit in Reykjavik, Iceland, and delivered 200 state, county, and municipal resolutions in favor of a Test Ban to Central Committee Secretary Anatoly Dobrynin. Again the Reagan Administration refused to see us. Yet, these resolutions were the result of a grassroots effort similar to the Freeze, all across the country. In fact, when the late

Mayor Harold Washington was reelected in 1986 in the city of Chicago, 76% of Chicago's voters also came out and supported a Nuclear Test Ban. These measures were then followed by several hundred thousand additional petitions delivered to the White House at Christmas of 1986. Finally, at the recent Summit here in Washington, hundreds of thousands of letters from children in the United States and around the world were presented at the Soviet Embassy in Washington. The White House, sadly and predictably, refused to allow even a group of children armed with long-stem roses to come in and talk.

Now, after Nuclear Freeze referenda and resolutions, initiatives and ballots, test ban campaigns, and victories for peace-oriented candidates in the 1986 elections, Mr. Reagan is ready to make peace. And he wants to claim credit for it. Well, I'm a believer in redemption and I'm ready to welcome Mr. Reagan as a peacemaker and to support the INF Treaty which he has negotiated. But, I am not ready to call it Mr. Reagan's Treaty, nor am I going to allow Secretary of State George Shultz or anyone else to rewrite the history of how and why these measures for peace came to be in a democratic society.

These lessons about the role of American citizens and the organized peace movement are crucial, I believe, as we look to the future. I must ask the distinguished members of this panel to consider whether ideas and proposals being put

forth by the peace movement today may not be the INF Treaties of tomorrow? Surely the current treaty would have come much sooner and more simply had all of us challenged this Administration sooner and more strongly on its whimsical ideas of fighting and winning a nuclear war, its refusal to seriously negotiate with the Soviet Union on strategic reduction, and its attempts to discredit, disparage, and vilify American citizens organized for peace. The INF Treaty, I believe, is not the result of our massive military build-up, now being slowed and reversed by fiscal realities and citizen pressure. Nor is it the result of steely resolve or a willingness to hang tough. It is instead the result of the work and the dedication of millions of American citizens over these past seven years who have made peace an acceptable idea, even to Ronald Reagan.

Why then does SANE/FREEZE support the INF Treaty negotiated by President Reagan and what do we propose come after it? First to turn to the Treaty itself. We welcome the INF agreement but we recognize that it does nothing to halt testing, to stop Star Wars, or to restrain those corporations and contractors who profit from the deluge of weapons that pour from America's arsenals.

Nevertheless, I believe that ratification of the INF Treaty is important for two main reasons: First, to scuttle even so small a step for peace with restricting amendments or outright rejection would plunge the majority of peace-

loving Americans into despair or cynicism, of which we have plenty in this day of the 30-second TV spot. Rejection would further jeopardize the reforms and constructive proposals coming from General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union. That would leave us not only with a spiraling arms race, but with a more determined enemy and with little hope that the arms race could ever be ended. If Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev cannot safely remove less than 4% of the world's nuclear weapons, who then can? Second: I believe the INF Treaty deserves ratification simply on its merits. The Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces Treaty signed by President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev on December 8, 1987, is a significant step toward reversing the nuclear arms race. For the first time, the United States and the Soviet Union have agreed to eliminate a whole category of nuclear delivery system, ground-based missiles with ranges between 300 and 3,400 miles.

Under the Treaty, the two countries will destroy 2,695 missiles and remove 2,096 nuclear warheads. The Soviets will remove four warheads for every one removed by the United States.

While these numbers are small, the weapons to be destroyed are those that were among the primary concerns of the disarmament movement. They also meet the original Freeze idea of mutuality. The West has fully achieved its primary objective in the INF negotiations, the complete

elimination of the triple warhead Soviet SS-20 missile aimed at Europe. The Soviets, on the other hand, have obtained the withdrawal of the U.S. Pershing II missiles, which were capable of decapitating first strikes on Soviet command and control facilities within only a few minutes.

At SANE/FREEZE we are especially pleased with the incorporation of another Freeze idea, the verification arrangements established by the INF Treaty. Both countries have agreed to open up missile production plants, bases, and support facilities to a wide range of on-site inspections to verify compliance with the Treaty. This represents a reversal of the long-standing Soviet opposition to inspections, and sets an important precedent for verification of more far-reaching future nuclear reductions.

Our colleagues at the Union of Concerned Scientists in their excellent report The INF Treaty and the Future of Western Security also assure us that the unprecedented verification provisions of the INF Treaty will allow for the monitoring of mutual compliance with very high confidence. To supplement highly accurate verification by satellite imagery and other "national technical means," the Treaty establishes totally new procedures for on-site inspections of missile production plants, operating bases, and support facilities. Some 84 locations are designated for inspection on the Soviet side, including seven in Eastern Europe; for

the U.S., there are 34 locations, including 12 in Western Europe.

Each side will carry out several different types of inspections, including, among others, continuous perimeter monitoring over a 13-year period of one production plant in each country, to be carried out by teams in residence near the site. The U.S. plant is the Hercules Aerospace Company's facility in Magna, Utah, which manufactured motors for the Pershing II. The Soviet plant is the Votkinsk Machine Building Plant, an SS-20 production facility.

We heartily approve of these measures, not only on technical grounds, but on moral and psychological ones as well. The dehumanizing rhetoric of "evil empire" will clearly have to give way to seeing Soviets working at American nuclear sites as symbolic of what Robert Jay Lifton has called "our shared fate" in the nuclear age. Similarly, who could have imagined the cooperation symbolized by an additional verification measure that requires the Soviets to facilitate surveillance of the long-range SS-25 mobile missile, not covered by the Treaty. For up to three years, the USSR will be required, at U.S. request, to open the roofs covering SS-25 missile launchers and to keep them open for a 12-hour period. This will allow U.S. satellites to confirm that no banned SS-20's are being concealed at SS-25 sites.

Thus, the Treaty's provisions for mutual inspection and verification, so reminiscent of the call for a Nuclear Freeze, clearly establish the groundwork for further reductions in nuclear weapons while maintaining the security of both superpowers. Both sides can claim significant achievements from the INF Treaty, the United States and NATO in achieving its original goal of removing Soviet SS-20's from Europe, and the Soviet Union in turn by removing a potentially first strike missile, the Pershing II.

Thus, SANE/FREEZE supports the INF Treaty and applauds the American people and President Reagan who have made it possible. I urge the distinguished members of the Senate, then, to ratify the INF Treaty unanimously and call upon Senator Jesse Helms in particular to join in this historic peace effort. If the Reverend William Sloane Coffin can unabashedly support Ronald Reagan on this issue so vital to our nation's security, surely Senator Helms can bring himself to stand with the President. To do otherwise flies in the face of American public opinion, in the face of common sense, and flouts America's security interest. It seems to me that after all the testimony you have heard in favor of the Treaty from the Administration itself, from the Joint Chiefs of Staff, from distinguished military experts, and from so many others on how the INF Treaty will advance America's interests, it is, dare I say, for a patriot like

Senator Helms, practically un-American to reject this historic effort.

If then the INF Treaty by itself is a small but vital step for the U.S. and for the Soviet Union, we must make sure that it is indeed a first step and not a side step. If the INF Treaty is not quickly followed by deep cuts in strategic nuclear weapons, by reduction and reconfiguration of conventional forces in Europe, and ultimately by nuclear disarmament based upon the principle of common security for all nations, we will have missed perhaps our last best hope to create a world in which our grandchildren may actually wish to live.

So we must go further and talk finally of nuclear disarmament. The INF Treaty will not end the continued erosion of nuclear deterrence by highly accurate, ever more destructive and first-strike oriented nuclear weapons. Without an end to that deadly first-strike competition that currently goes under the guise of modernization and enhanced deterrence, the INF Treaty will not reduce the potential hazard of a nuclear winter, that planetary devastation following even limited nuclear exchanges calculated by Doctor Carl Sagan and others, calculations so long resisted by the Reagan Administration. Nor will the INF Treaty eliminate the threat of accidental or inadvertent nuclear war, significantly affect the nearly one trillion dollars worldwide spent annually on weapons (mainly by the U.S. and

Soviet Union) that could be better spent on building our own societies and for the development of the rest of the world where, according to Ruth Leger Sivard, over half the children do not even have water that is safe to drink.

I mentioned that a Nuclear Freeze, when first proposed, was considered naive, unrealistic, utopian, even dangerous. Similarly, adequate verification was considered difficult, even impossible, or it was assumed that the Russians would resist it. That was until American citizens, through the Natural Resources Defense Council, negotiated on their own to place seismic monitoring equipment at Soviet nuclear test sites. And calls for 50% cuts in nuclear weapons by George Kennan, for which he won the Einstein Peace Award, were ignored or ridiculed until world opinion helped Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev go George Kennan one better in Reykjavik.

Now as some cuts seem likely, we hear constant entreaties and calls from experts like Henry Kissinger, who seem to favor only those peace initiatives which he has personally sponsored, that we must resist "arms control fever." We must avoid the denuclearization of Europe, we must build up our conventional forces, and we must maintain deterrence by modernizing our nuclear forces while proceeding with Star Wars. Although it may seem presumptuous of me to challenge someone who has won the Nobel Peace Prize, I do want to emphasize that on this issue, Dr. Kissinger and others, like

Richard Perle and Kenneth Adelman, who seem to wish to perpetuate the dark side of the Reagan soul before its conversion to peace, are simply wrong. Their thinking has steadfastly ignored Albert Einstein's prophetic plea for change.

Put simply and clearly, I think the outmoded World War II style thinking that Albert Einstein had in mind, with its offensive capabilities, first and second strikes, and talk of prevailing is, in the nuclear age, absurd. It reminds me of that famous gentleman who every day, ritually, at high noon, tore up hundreds and hundreds of tiny scraps of paper and then scattered them to the winds in front of his house to keep it from being trampled to the ground by rampaging elephants. When asked by a neighbor how he knew if his paper-tearing ritual was effective, he glanced about himself excitedly, almost feverishly, and replied, "Well, you don't see any elephants around here, do you?"

What may make calls for nuclear disarmament seem utopian and the war planners occasionally seem sane is, I think, the tremendous distance we have yet to go to get from the world we live in to the world that we want to live in. But if we lose the vision of a world without nuclear weapons, a world where diplomacy is preferred over destruction, we shall surely perish. But how do we get there?

Nuclear disarmament is a reasonable and prudent course, it seems to me, as it seems to millions of American and

Soviet citizens and to most nations in the world who have called a third U.N. Special Session on Disarmament and Development for this June.

If we accept disarmament as a goal, the steps to getting there are relatively obvious, and they follow from an historical and realistic analysis of our world, not worst-case game theory. For example, is the Soviet Union really likely to attack Western Europe with or without nuclear weapons? The current balance of conventional forces in central Europe alone, taken alongside any sensible analysis of Soviet economic and political interests, would quickly reveal the absurdity of a Soviet-launched World War III ground war. According to an analysis of figures from the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, Military Balance 1987-1988, by our friends at the Union of Concerned Scientists, there are 33 Warsaw Pact divisions and 30 one-third NATO divisions readily available for combat (within four to five days of mobilization) along the central European front. Counting Soviet forces east of the Ural mountains, or their reserves, or divisions that are not combat ready, serves no purpose. Even if Mikhail Gorbachev were prepared to launch a surprise blitzkrieg attack on Paris with D-Day the evening before a May Summit, the two sides would be evenly matched in ground forces. Further, the U.S. and NATO have the advantage in air power, nuclear weapons, and surely in unity, cohesion, and morale over

Warsaw Pact forces. On the much heralded matter of tanks, the Warsaw Pact, the presumed attacker, has an advantage of only 18,000 to 12,700 NATO tanks.

For those of us who served in WW II or who are familiar with classic military strategy, attacking a well-armed, politically coherent foe with only equal forces would indeed be suicidal. In fact, the Secretary of Defense, the Joint Chiefs, and practically every serious military thinker I know of considers a conventional Soviet attack the remotest possibilities. But how can we be sure if the Soviets maintain an offensively structured, blitzkrieg-oriented military posture that they label defensive? That we feel threatened by Soviet forces no matter what Mr. Gorbachev proclaims his intentions to be does indeed get to the root of the problem.

Both our nuclear and our conventional war strategies maintain an offensive posture and then label it "defensive." Our nuclear first-strike capability, for example, assumes a potential bolt from the blue Soviet nuclear attack or a long drawn-out series of constantly escalating nuclear exchanges in which one side emerges a winner. Those are the rather preposterous foundations for our constant struggle to improve our nuclear weapons. If there is any lesson to be drawn from the past seven years and from the public concern that led us to an INF Treaty, it is that this is the stuff of madness. We must stop seeing every Soviet move as

offensive and threatening while seeing our own steps as purely defensive. Further, we must begin to see the Soviet Union and its citizens for what they are: our fellow human beings.

At SANE/FREEZE, we aim to cut through the Gordian knot of offensive posturing, of enhancing deterrence, and of constantly looking only at the mote in the Soviet eye. At our November 1987 founding SANE/FREEZE National Congress in Cleveland, Ohio, over 1,000 citizens representing congressional districts from all across this nation voted not only to ratify INF, but also to stop nuclear testing, the engine of the arms race. In fact, on March 12, thousands of citizens, myself among them, will once again protest at the Nevada Nuclear Test Site, a tradition started in the 1950's by gentle Quakers, because we believe there is no such thing as a good nuclear weapon or a good nuclear test.

Our National Congress also decided to oppose the Trident D-5 missile because of its first-strike capabilities. We also oppose the Trident II D-5 program for additional reasons. It costs \$3.5 billion in 1988 alone, and is projected to cost \$25 billion between now and the year 2000, making it the single most expensive weapon system in the entire military budget. Each D-5 missile also carries the destructive force of 1.4 million tons of TNT, 100 times the explosive force of the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. And each Trident submarine will carry 24 of these missiles. That's

enough fire power to destroy every major city in the Northern hemisphere. These are the kinds of calculations that American citizens are tired of.

And it is the potential first-strike usage of the Trident, along with its power, that puts it in a different category than previous submarine weapons systems. If it is never to be used, why then is the guidance system on the Trident II missile so sophisticated that it can make its warheads strike within 400 feet of a projected target? Such accuracy for so powerful a nuclear weapon is only necessary if its purpose is to destroy targets hardened to withstand nuclear blasts, missile silos. And targeting missile silos, not soft military targets or population centers, indicates that we plan, under certain circumstances, to hit Soviet silos while their missiles are still there. In short, a first strike.

Our National Congress went further and continues to oppose the Strategic Defense Initiative, or Star Wars, because any defensive system ultimately deployed alongside existing weapons like the MX or ones like the Trident D-5 can only add to an offensive scenario. And finally, our good citizens of the SANE/FREEZE Congress voted to continue to improve our relations with the Soviet Union and to explore new policies and initiatives such as the alternative defense policies outlined by Randall Forsberg of the

Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, the mother of the Nuclear Freeze.

We must work toward a realignment of U.S. and Soviet forces in Europe and elsewhere that emphasizes actual military defense rather than offense, especially during that period in the coming years when we work to reduce both nuclear and conventional forces. In brief, it means that we must move away in NATO from things like FOFA, or follow-on forces attack, an offensive strategy based on advanced aircraft attacks, even as we expect the Soviets to move away from tank-led blitzkrieg. As an overall strategy, alternative defense has four main goals: Non-provocative conventional defense, Non-intervention, Denuclearization, and Non-military approaches to security.

Such a framework of alternative defense policy, we at SANE/FREEZE believe, can help to bridge the gap between the current security needs of nations like the United States and the Soviet Union while working toward an arrangement of forces that reduces tensions, reduces the risk of war, and hence of nuclear holocaust. These interim measures, however, clearly point in the direction of nuclear disarmament and, ultimately, international cooperation.

Before the INF Treaty, such calls may have seemed hopelessly naive or utopian, but Mr. Chairman, I conclude as I began. When the Nuclear Freeze was first proposed seriously in 1981, it was derided as a Soviet plot, as naive, as

utopian, as unworkable. Now we sit here, in large part thanks to millions of Americans concerned with peace, about to ratify an historic treaty that embodies much of the original Nuclear Freeze concept. The INF Treaty points the way, realistically, I believe, toward a disarmed world, a world truly safe for our children and for all future generations.

APPENDIX G
1988B SPEECH

1988B Speech

Well, I must say, it was a great pleasure to be introduced by someone who just graduated today from high school. St. Benedict once said, "God often shows what is better to the younger." That's what they're saying in the Soviet Union these days. Mr. Gorbachev being relatively speaking one of the younger ones. It used to be that they once got in that Central Commissioned Committee, they served for life and sometimes beyond. And also, it's good, because 20 years ago when Dr. Strangelove came up, you remember the subtitle was, how we started to stop worrying about and started loving the bomb and I have often thought 20 years later that that subtitle was preached particularly when it came to youth. I don't want to get into oldies like myself, who remember the pre-nuclear time. And it's not that youth is in love with nuclear weapons, just used to living in their shadow so that college campuses you'll quite agree there will be much more concern with Central America, Divestment, and South Africa than there is with nuclear disarmament. So to have you introduce me, and me being able to discuss nuclear disarmament, is a particular pleasure. And, just to get everybody involved let me say, I will offer a free membership in SANE/FREEZE or if you're already through some

great depth of wisdom, a member of SANE/FREEZE, a free annual renewal to anybody in the congregation gathered here who can tell us where this quote comes from. "And so to the end of history murder shall breed murder always in the name of right, and honor, and peace until at last the gods tire of blood and create a race that can understand," any takers? [George Bernard Shaw's Cleopatra] Who said that? That's Jim Johnston, I recognize that Republican Proposal.

Well, I assume seeing it was Jim Johnston, who's such a wise intelligent man he must already be a member of SANE/FREEZE, and I will review. And it is, I must say, my horrible quote. Cleopatra sounds like Maggie Thatcher. She's very hawkish and ole Caesar has now seen the light and so he's the one who sounds quite dubious and not in the end of the third act of the play. Terrific, Jim! I'm very impressed. Very few people ever seem to get it. I'll try you later on.

Well let's talk a little bit about first of all, I want to talk about nuclear disarmament, a word about the conventional weapons and then say a word about intervention and suggest that those who are only interested in disarmament but not in submission to social justice may be part of a disarmament movement but not part of a peace movement. Because peace is not the absence of conflict, but the presence of justice.

Well, let's start with nuclear disarmament. It surely is a wonderful thing that President Reagan signed an INF Treaty which then was ratified by a Democratic Senate because now for the first time in decades we have at least the beginnings of a bi-partisan foreign policy fit for kids. But we have to be very careful to recognize that the INF Treaty in no way slows down the arms race.

The qualitative arms race that as opposed to the quantitative, goes on pace. The military are determined that the weapons in Europe which are now quote "conventional," will become capable of being armed with nuclear warheads as well as conventional weapons. We have now removed the cruise missiles from Great Britain and Germany and what does the United States now want to do? It is now testing missile flights with the cruise missiles on ships off the coast of Maine. So, the INF Treaty in and of itself has not slowed down one whit the arms race, the nuclear arms race whose sole discernible purpose in the 1980's is to achieve a first strike capability. And to deny the other side the possibility of one. What would be far more significant than the INF Treaty would be a halt to all nuclear testing. Because research and development does not like to go on unless it can test for obvious reasons. The Russians unilaterally observed for nineteen months a moratorium on testing. And we'd be much further along now had we reciprocated two or three years ago and said, "You

stop testing, we'll stop testing." But, alas, we did not do it because the President wants to test SDI, and so, we still have a moratorium on nuclear testing even though the House of Representatives has called for it four times. The Senate has turned it down twice and the President has said he doesn't wanna stop it. So that still would be to me the most important next step, to stop all nuclear testing. That's the only way to really slow down the nuclear arms race which as I say continues at pace. Clear across we need that 50% reduction in those obscene weapons which surround us here in Colorado and in Wyoming. Obscene weapons which can kill people 209 times over; while no reason exists to kill them once. The Russians apparently are ready for that, but as Secretary Haig, ex-Secretary Haig said on television, that we, the United States, do not sign that 50% reduction because "the Pentagon and the State Department haven't got their act together." It would be wonderful, if that, to me it would be wonderful, if Reagan could conclude that treaty before he left office. Because then a disarmament precedent would be firmly in place. And then, it wouldn't matter so much, so far as disarmament goes, if a Republican or a Democrat gets elected. Up till now the Russians have always felt they do much better with Republicans because they did better with Nixon and now they've done better with Reagan. If you go to China they think Mr. Nixon's the finest president we've ever had in this century. The fact of the matter

is it took a Mr. Nixon to recognize Mainland China, as he was the only one around who didn't have himself to contend with. Likewise, it takes another right-wing president, like Ronald Reagan, to conclude the first arms agreement which will lower the number of weapons.

As we all know, Democrats seem to suffer from a need for a massive transplant of vertebrae. That they are always compromising to the right and discontented conservatives, and therefore one has to wonder whether a Mondale could've distanced himself from Marcos, removed the Marines from Lebanon. So, there is a fine, right place for right-wing presidents in our country and President Reagan firmly established this. The path of disarmament that I think whoever's elected will be able to continue down that path without too much opposition from the Jessie Helms' and people of that outlook. Any case, I feel very good about what the possibilities now are. I really feel the cold war is coming to an end. I've always disliked the cold war. It's very bad for warm hearts. St. Augustine said, I can use this quote Jim, you're probably gonna recognize it well. St. Augustine once said, "Imagine the vanity of thinking your enemy can do you more damage than your enmity!" And, I'm as critical as anyone in this country of the Soviet Union but, to make hate a patriotic virtue, it's been one of the worst things that has happened in our country, I think, in the last three decades so, I'm very glad this cold war is

winding down. And I do hope that we can move very rapidly to reduce the number of weapons in our nuclear arsenals. Now, even today on the radio, somebody was saying, asking what if in Moscow that young, energetic Gorbachev took advantage of our poor old actor president. But that has nothing to do with it because treaties raise two questions that must be asked and answered and never by the other side. The first question is, "Is this treaty advantageous to us?" You don't look to the Russians to answer that question.

The second question is "Is this treaty adequately verifiable?" And again, you don't look to the Russians to answer that question. You look to the CIA, the Pentagon, the scientific community, and those two questions are the only ones that have to be answered.

So it's not a question of whether you can trust the Russians when it comes to disarmament. The question is whether these disarmament treaties are adequately verifiable.

Now, it grieves me that there are still a lot of people in this country that say, "Well, we have to pull up our non-nuclear socks." In other words, we have to strengthen our conventional forces particularly in Europe, if we are gonna follow the route of nuclear disarmament; I say it grieves me because Gorbachev himself has said, "Let us negotiate a reduction in conventional forces and weapons in Europe," by which he means that the Russians would pull back

and out their tanks which are so threatening to Europeans. And, we in return would have to reduce the number of long range bombers which is so threatening to the Russians. So why should we talk about pulling up our non-nuclear socks when we could move ahead on reduction of our conventional weapons at the same time, remembering that conventional weapons are conventional only in the sense of being non-nuclear, not in the sense of being non-lethal.

We have yet to conclude, we have yet to eliminate chemical warfare. We have yet to conclude a firm treaty on the development of bacteriological warfare. And, of course, conventional weapons are far more expensive than our nuclear weapons. And, therefore, if we're going to revitalize our economy as Mr. Gorbachev wants to revitalize the Soviet economy, we are going to have to go in for arms reduction too, that is arms reduction, conventional weapons. Now that brings us to the all important question of conversion.

Here we are. Not far, I was there as many of you were earlier today in Rocky Flats which I think now employs something like 5,800 people. The first thing we always have to remember is that the military is not an economic welfare agency. The military is not an economic welfare agency. The military policy in any country should be decided on its own merits and not according to entangling alliances with global economic dependencies like Rocky Flats.

The second thing we have to say is it would be intolerable to continue an insane arms race that makes us all insecure not secure. Because we haven't the imagination to come up with alternative forms of employment. That is intolerable, but it is also intolerable to say we're going to reduce arms via unemployment. So what it seems to me the peace community has to say to the labor community is "Look folks, the handwriting is on the wall!" The military budget is not going up; it is only going down. The only questions are how far and how fast the art of life is to cooperate gracefully with the inevitable, and therefore let's not sit around resisting the inevitable but cooperate with it. Start talking about what we are gonna produce here or what are the alternative forms of employment are gonna be available for 5,800 people if that blessed day comes around, the sooner the better, when we can shut down Rocky Flats but without causing unemployment. I said to machinists at their convention in Atlanta last month, "I'm tired of hearing you people say to me, 'C'mon Reverend, I got a wife and two children' or 'C'mon Reverend, I may not like this work but I got three other mouths to feed as well as my own.' I said as far as I'm concerned I'll do everything I can to help you parents keep your jobs and you do everything in your power to help save the world for your kids. Now that's the deal. The Peace Movement is not an enemy. We're your allies because we're trying to save your jobs and that's the kind

of conversation that needs to take place. It would be wonderful if in Denver, Fort Collins, various places in Colorado, representatives of business, representatives of labor, and representatives of the community, the Mayor, City Council, people could call for public discussion of "what are we gonna do when the blessed day comes when we're not producing nuclear weapons."

It's funny isn't it? How football and other sports, but mostly football, did more for integration in this country than all of sermons preached by us who are pastors. And it is going to be the case that economics does more to reduce arms in this world than all moral and political consideration that we've been advancing for a long time.

The message is now universal in this country. It is inclusive. It's easy to talk to rotaries, it is easy to talk to business groups, all I have to say to them, "Look, I'm just a poor pauper, but to me, it's clear that the emerging reality in our time is that geoeconomics has replaced geopolitics. We have only to look across the shining Pacific at 120 million Japanese who since World War II, have never tested a bomb or ever bared a bayonet, let alone drop paratroopers on some small third world island, and yet they are today the number one creditor nation in the world. While we with arsenals brimming around us sit one of the chief debtor nations of the world. And they understand that, everybody understands that and you talk to poor folks,

they understand it because, we may be number one in bombs and warheads, but we're number five when it comes to literacy in the world. We're number eight when it comes to life expectancy, and get this, we're number eighteen when it comes to infant mortality. Eighteen! A black child born today in Washington, D.C. or in Memphis or even in Boston would have a better chance of reaching his or her first birthday, had that child been born in Costa Rica, Trinidad, or Jamaica. Now, the prevailing concerns in this country are now economic. And that's going to be of great help when it comes to reducing conventional and nuclear weapons. I think the 1990's are going to be much, much better. God is not mocked, and so we can rejoice and be exceeding glad that economics are going to help us as much as political and moral consideration.

Now there is obviously a close relationship between peace and social justice, and to make that connection, I'm gonna read ya simply a paragraph which I first saw in an airplane magazine of all places when I was looking for some light reading. The authors talking about the arms race and the cost of it, he says, "Let's talk a trillion. For one trillion dollars you could build a \$75,000 house, place it on \$5,000 worth of land, furnish it with \$10,000 worth of furniture, put a \$10,000 car in the garage and give all this to each and every family in Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Colorado and Iowa. Having done this you would

still have enough left to build a ten million dollar hospital and a ten million dollar library in each of 250 cities and towns throughout the six state region. After having done all that you would still have enough money left to build 500 schools at \$10 million each for the communities in the region and after having done all that, you would still have enough left out of the original trillion to put aside 10% annual interest. A sum of money that would pay a salary of \$25,000 per year for an army of 10,000 nurses, the same salary for an army of 10,000 teachers and an annual cash allowance of \$5,000 for each and every family in the six state region, not just for one year, but for ever and that is only one-half of what President Reagan has budgeted during his time in office for the military alone. So, there is clearly a close relationship between domestic and foreign policy, justice, consideration of justice and consideration of peace.

Now let's turn to, for a moment, to considerations of justice. Now we'll have one more audience question participation. This will be a little easier. Everybody here knows that Rip Van Winkle went to sleep for 20 years. Question: Which 20 years did Rip Van Winkle sleep? Before we hear from the ex-congressman anybody else? Alright, he went to sleep. When he went up into the mountain to sleep it was in 1765 according to Fairy Time Tales and the picture on the sign below was King George III and when he came down in 1785

the picture down below was of George Washington, so Rip slept through a revolution. Now, I mention that because I think it's fair to suggest that 200 some years later, many, if not most of his compatriots are doing much the same. Most Americans are sleeping through or are having constant nightmares about a revolution termed by Adlai Stevenson of the 1950's, the Revolution of Rising Expectations. It is a revolution of human rights. Seen primarily not in terms of civil liberties but in terms of social justice. It is a revolution sweeping Central America, Latin America, parts of Africa and Asia, supported in many parts of the world by theology liberation which see justice as central to, not isolator to salvation, spirituality. It is a revolution not made, President Reagan, by communists, nor even, I would suggest by revolutionaries. It is a revolution made by repressive regimes for the simple reason that you can't have a revolt without revolting conditions. The fire won't spread unless the wood is dry. It's not till the economic oligarchies are few in number, after so-called fourteen families in El Salvador that the guerillas become many and become armed because as President Kennedy said those who make peaceful revolution impossible make violent revolution inevitable. Now there are going to be inevitably more and more revolutions in the Third World. Even as good Democracts in the Congress say, "No more Castro, No more Cuba's!"

The trouble with the United States government is that like the government of South Africa and alas, the government of Israel today, the government is more concerned with disorder than injustice and therefore, invariably produces more of both. Governments more concerned with disorder than injustice were well addressed by the Prophet Amos 2700 years ago when he said, "You think you've deferred the day of misfortune, but you've hastened the reign of violence." This is going to be something we're going to have to take very seriously because the Pentagon has come out with a document called "discriminant deterrents" which says that in the year 2010 the threat of nuclear war will probably have abated, but the need for America to defend its wide ranging interests, far flung interests abroad will have increased. So intervention is not automatically waning. I am more optimistic about nuclear disarmament than I am about stopping wars of intervention. But, I hope that more and more people will see as a matter of principal that no nation, not ours, not Soviets, no nation in the World has the right to decide who lives, who dies, and who rules, in other people's countries. That has to become a principle position. Most Democrats are still in Speaker Wright's position of let's give the Arias plan a little more breathing room. Most have thought Duarte was the answer. Now poor President Duarte is terminally ill and the Arina party which has never been exactly in the background comes forward in the foreground.

It's going to be interesting to see what the United States government's reaction is going to be but I hope that we will begin to see what everybody in El Salvador sees.

Down with the Peace Corps a person there 10 years ago what everybody in El Salvador, I talk to always said to me when I said what do you want me to tell my people when I come back to the United States. They would invariably say, "Tell them this conflict has nothing to do between East and West. This is entra opulencia, between opulence and between misery, and misery is losing out everyday."

I think that the way to stop wars of intervention, which are wars more concerned with disorder or intervention than justice, is to pay more attention to our domestic politics. I think to an extraordinary degree foreign policy is a reflection of our domestic policy. If we're serious about racism at home, we won't have construction engagement at the policy in South Africa. If we're serious about dealing with our poor folk at home, we will not engage in wars of intervention. Which is designed to keep order, which is established disorder, mainly keeping the many poor in their places while we do business with the economic oligarchy. But, let me say before moving to the last area of domestic concern and justice, that low intensity conflict as it is called in the juiceless jargon of the Pentagon, and I say juiceless jargon because low intensity conflict is hardly low intensity to its victims.

Low intensity conflict is based on the understanding that the American public will not stand American bodies coming back in American body bags. But, who cares how many Angolars are killed? Who cares how many Salvadorians died? In other words, low intensity conflict is a policy that says we can secure America by making sure that the most desperately poor people in the world continue at each other's throats and all we have to do is to support these wars. We don't even have to win 'em. We just have to make sure they go on until finally the economy is bumping along on the bottom and there's practically nobody left to kill.

This is the ultimate in "Yuppie warfare" because in order for Americans to go on driving their BMW's up to fancy restaurants for good fine meals, to buy their condominiums, without any risk to life and limb and only a few extra tax dollars to keep those little ole wars going. I think LTC is the most obscene policy our country's come up with in this century, and I think that most Americans are simply not aware of it or they wouldn't put up with it. And I hope that we will be able to increase people's awareness, so they can, they stop.

Let me just finish with this relationship now with domestic policy. For the last decade our foreign policy in Third World countries has tended to make the rich richer and the poor poorer and the military more violent and then when

you start to think of it has been an exact reflection of what's been going on here at home. The rich have gotten rich, the poor have gotten more violent. If we were to change our domestic priorities, I think that more than anything else would affect our foreign policy when it comes particularly toward wars of intervention. Now I've been living for 10 years in Manhattan and I've watched Manhattan become a playground for the rich and a jungle for just about everyone else.

I've watched flamboyant luxury, Ella and F. Scott Fitzgerald live side by side with the poverty so sordid Charles Dickens would recoil in horror. It's not that the rich were out to kill the poor in Manhattan, they're just walking away from them. And, I think it's fair to say from sea to shining sea, this has tended to be the case in our country over the last year. That one of the Arch Bishop Hundhausend in Seattle released a very moving document the other day talking about downtown Seattle which is a jewel compared to downtown Manhattan and he said, "but it's all growth and no development. Let's not call growth development. It's too much opulence. Too much opulence. Not enough dignity. Too much noise, not enough silence." It's a very moving document, an honorable thing for the Arch Bishop to be commenting on the downtown growth of downtown Seattle. I think we can change this now and I think that the success that Jesse Jackson has had around the country

witnesses the desire of a lot of Americans to seize these priorities.

But, I think as a pastor if I may say so, our concern should be as much for the rich as it is for the poor. Affluence does not buy morals and if that is the case then perhaps we should no more leave the rich at the mercy of their riches, than we should be leaving the poor at the mercy of their poverty.

And mind you, I'm not talking to the "have enoughts" in case suddenly you're feeling guilt all over again. I do not worry about the "have enoughts". My concern is with the "have too much" and the "have too little." And, as I look at our society, it seems to me that both the poor and the rich have a support structure. The poor have a welfare system somewhat dismantled to say the least, and the rich have their support structure, shrinks! And if there were a more equitable distribution of wealth in this country, I dare say we could dismantle a lot of the support structure on both sides. I can still remember reading a little later, that how in 1946, we were the undisputed number one country in the world. The world measure number one. Our then leading playwright Eugene O'Neil said in an interview with the New York Times, "I start with the premise that the United States instead of being the most successful country in the world is the greatest failure." And, he went on to explain ours is that endless game of trying to posses your

soul by possession of something outside of it. He said we were a showcase for that scripture question, "What shall it profit a man if he should gain the whole world and lose his soul?" So, I think the redistribution of wealth in this country should be high on the agenda of every church, and it should be high on the agenda of very thoughtful, sensitive American citizens and once again not only for the sake of the poor but also for the sake of the rich.

I mean when you read that 79% of incoming college freshmen, not you, state as their primary purpose this year, last year was only 76%, this year 79%, their primary purpose in going to college is to be "financially very well off." You have to really wonder what's happened to education. It used to be that education was to make us better not to make us better off. We can no longer assume that the humanity is humanized. They may simply neutralize. They are probably little more than cultural icing on an economic cake. And, if that's the case then university presidents should join Roman Catholics Bishops and Protestant, Jewish leaders asking for a more equitable redistribution of wealth in this country, not only for the sake of the wretchedly poor, but for the sake of their own students and alumni. I have to say, I was the Chaplain of Yale for eighteen years; most Yale graduates are part of the problem in this country. They're not part of the solution and that reflects an education which itself is a reflection of a country's

ideology. Every country's ideology, every country's education reflects that country's ideology, so that, the freedom of speech properly enjoyed by faculty and students here in Colorado State or Yale, that freedom is vastly exalted over any obligation to do any good to anyone. Because every country's education reflects that country's ideology.

Well there seem to me, are three fine fronts on which to wage peace; peace being not the absence of conflict, but the presence of justice. One, we have to get after those nuclear weapons and see if we can't abolish them before the year 2000. We have also greatly to reduce conventional weapons in the world. We have and I haven't mentioned this, but let me just mention this in passing, to look to the U.N. and its resolving its mechanism for resolving conflict more and more. We have to look to the world court to make decisions that will settle disputes between nations. We have also to agree that wars of intervention must stop and I think we have to make sure for the sake of our foreign policy as well, as for the well being of our own people that our concern for justice at home and abroad remain all together as high as our concern for disarmament. And lastly, I would hope, as I suggested at Rocky Flats earlier today, that we could do this in the right frame of mind and heart.

Chesterdon said, "Cheerfulness is a more difficult form of aestheticism than melancholy." I'm all for cheerful

peaceniks. There are a lot of peaceniks who if they were dogs their ears would drag along the ground. I think it is well to remember particularly in a church that we are called on in this world ultimately to be faithful rather than successful, and in being faithful, we'll be more successful. Ultimately, in this world, we have to do what's right and only penultimately what's effective. The trouble in America is our first question always is, "How am I gonna be effective?" not, "Am I right?" Now you can imagine Socrates as they handed him the hemlock saying, "Wait a minute, is Plato gonna write me up?" Ultimately in this world we're called on to do what's right; ultimately what's effective which means that when we can't be optimistic, we can be persistent. Which means that we have to keep on believing despite the evidence knowing that only in so doing has the evidence any chance of changing.

It means that if we love the good, we have to hate evil or we're hopelessly sentimental, but if we hate evil more than we love the good, we become good haters, and that we don't need in the peace and justice movement.

And lastly, I think it's true that great is our reward, not only in heaven, but right here on Earth. Because there is really nothing quite like that sense of undeserved integrity which comes with being in the right fight for peace. Let us not only wish for peace; let's will it and let's be willing to work for it, and if necessary, to suffer

for it; certainly to pay for it, because I think that time is coming when instead of the Stone Age returning on the gleaming wings of science, we may see that long awaited age coming to us on the gleaming wings of the dove.

Thank you very, very much.

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