

## Fourth Year Thesis Titles and Abstracts—April 2002

**Lindsay Kylee Bunting**

*The Sacred Need in Political Society: Symbolic Transformations and the French Revolution*

The overarching question I have is whether a state needs religious justification in order to obtain legitimacy. In particular, I want to examine the case of France. I want to know if France needed to use Catholic justifications to support the new secular state. I want to know whether or not the symbols of the French Revolution come from a Catholic conception of the world.

I begin with an analysis of Durkheim's functional definition of religion, which defines religious phenomena in terms of the sacred, in order to claim that society needs collective notions of the sacred. I relate this need of the sacred to the need of political regimes to justify their actions in terms of the transcendent. References to the transcendent are a constant in French politics before and after the French Revolution of 1789. However, revolutionaries often modify old symbolic frameworks, in order to justify changes in the political regime. Thus, the new 'secular' state transforms traditional religious symbols to suite its own ends, and this paradox fascinates me.

Then, I demonstrate how political festivals and popular symbols constitute what sociologists term the civil religion. This phenomenon of civil religion does not only apply to French revolutionary society, but forms of religion pervade the political scenes of the United States and the USSR as well. In my discussion of civil religion, I evaluate the seeming universality of the use of religious symbols and rituals in politics; rituals and symbols which legitimate political authorities and which often come from traditional religious forms.

After examining the notion of a civil religion, I proceed to a more in depth analysis of the French case. In the eighteenth century, the French monarchy loses its political authority for a number of different reasons. First, the works of Enlightenment *philosophes* such as Diderot and Rousseau discredit the old religion of state, the Catholic Church and its support of the monarchy. Rousseau, in *On the Social Contract*, develops the idea that collectivity of French people (which he defines as the body politic) is sovereign. Thus, he denies the sovereignty of the king and his right to represent the body politic.

Enlightenment thinkers are not the only challenges to the King's legitimacy. Political conflicts between the monarchy, the Catholic Church, and the *Parlements* precipitate the loss of monarchical authority. I examine the case of the denial of the sacraments in the 1750s and relate this crisis to the need of all Frenchmen to belong to the collectivity through religious rituals. The sacraments allow the people to commune with the mystical body of Christ. The monarch, adopting the Catholic conception of the Mystical Body of Christ, uses this metaphor to form his own authority as the head of the mystical body of France, as the body politic. These conflicts over the sacraments lead to the disillusionment of the French people with their monarch and alienate the traditional bulwarks of monarchical support, the Catholic Church and the *Parlements*.

In France, the delegitimization of the religion of monarchy, (i.e. the king's claim to rule by divine right and to be the symbolic head of the body politic of France), causes French revolutionaries to develop a new system of symbols and rituals. They take the old metaphor of the body politic and transform it into a metaphor for the French State, copying ideas of representation formulated by Rousseau. This metaphor they also use in rituals such as the Festival of the Federation and the Festival of the Death of the King. The rituals, evidences of a civil religion in Revolutionary France, justify the dismantling of old power structures and the establishment of new ones. In an effort to institute new religious symbols and rituals, revolutionaries destroy the symbol of the body of the King first through pictures that portray the monarch as a pig or a drunkard and then through regicide. Revolutionaries deligitimize old symbols of the religion of monarchy in order to sanctify a new civil religion. At any rate, in the example of the French Revolution, the need of religious justification in politics does not diminish with the establishment of a 'secular' nation-state.

### Josh Burke

*The Genesis of Black Power: The Origin and Early Articulation of the Slogan and Program in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee*

Black Power emerged in the popular consciousness during a protest march through Mississippi in the summer of 1966. The slogan quickly became one of the most contentious and misunderstood elements of the rapidly changing Civil Rights Movement. The slogan and idea of Black Power grew out of the experiences of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, one of the most important and influential civil rights organizations. Initially a loosely organized group of student protestors espousing the Movement ideals of nonviolence, integration, interracialism, and coalition politics, SNCC developed throughout the 1960s and changed in many important ways. SNCC had always represented the radical element in the Movement. Originally, SNCC's radicalism sprung from its faith in the American people and the potential of protest to expose the ills of racism and to transform the entire society into a "beloved community." External pressures and internal debates during the early sixties drove the activists in SNCC to examine and question these ideals and goals of the black freedom struggle. All of the shifts in SNCC culminated in the election of Stokely Carmichael in early 1966 and the articulation of Black Power in the summer of that year.

With Black Power, Carmichael revealed the many changes and shifts in SNCC and proposed a new orientation and set of goals for black Americans. SNCC's Black Power essentially consists of a reorientation in two important and interrelated areas. First, the slogan calls for the promotion of pride in and respect for black individuals and black culture as a major focus of black struggle. Through this goal of psychological and cultural empowerment, black people can begin to overcome the history of racism, stereotypes and oppression in America and encourage the development of healthy individuals and strong communities. Secondly, the slogan advocates the creation of separate black political and economic institutions to consolidate black influence and promote black interests. These two essential areas of the Black Power growing out of SNCC reinforce one another and create a complex proposal for a new direction in the black freedom fight.

The ideas and goals of Black Power promoted by Carmichael represent just one version of a vague and complex idea. However, SNCC articulated the first nationally recognized and broadly influential usage of the phrase. Through examining the origin and early articulation of this version of Black Power, I hope to better understand the slogan itself and the complicated attempt to find a new course of action and thought beyond the Civil Rights Movement. Where the Civil Rights Movement sought love, redemption and integration, Black Power sought pride, increased self-determination, and, most importantly, power. With consolidated political and economic power, blacks could work to change social and economic pat-

terns of domination. Though many of the ultimate goals of Black Power have never been realized, it stands as the major attempt to pursue a new direction and new goals beyond the Civil Rights Movement of the early 1960s.

### **Rob Crow**

#### *Culpability and the Ultimate Punishment: Executing Juveniles and Mentally Retarded People in America*

Juveniles and mentally retarded people share distinct disadvantages that affect every aspect of their lives. These two groups possess partially formed intellectual functioning. Most psychologists agree that the human brain has not fully developed until the age of about 18. Until this point, individuals are unable to completely function on the level of a mature adult. Mental retardation is generally defined as the condition that restrains the human brain from fully developing. The mentally retarded are often referred to through their "mental age" so that their true intellectual functioning can more easily be understood by the layperson. In general, mentally retarded people rarely develop beyond the mental age of a 12 year-old.

In 1988 the United States Supreme Court determined that less culpability should be attached to a juvenile under the age of 16 because of inexperience, less education and less intelligence. Because mentally retarded people function at the level of juveniles, the use of the death penalty also has been constrained for them. However, conflict in the Court and throughout the justice system has developed in the determination of what level of intellectual functioning a juvenile or mentally retarded person must operate at in order to be eligible for the death penalty.

The Constitution and history of America has determined the Supreme Court's responsibility to be a counter to majoritarian rule. While America is a democracy, it is necessary to have an independent arbitrator to protect the rights and freedoms of the individuals in society who possess no power in the government's framework or decision-making. Juveniles and mentally retarded people constitute such a minority. However, the Court has not fulfilled its duty in Eighth Amendment cases and instead searches for a national consensus. The Court is content in returning the power to the states and majority rule to decide the fate and level of protection that should be given to the powerless. Because public opinion can be fickle, this is a dangerous assumption.

Virtually all other nations in the world recognize that juveniles and mentally retarded individuals are less culpable than adults are and therefore should not be subject to the death penalty. In most instances, the Court looks at the international community for some guidance. For the purposes of Eighth Amendment interpretation, the Court has rejected the views of other nations, instead suggesting that because these other countries do not possess the same standard of decency as the United States they have no relevance in the debate.

Evidence in nationwide polls also suggests that American sentiment is turning against the execution of juveniles and the mentally retarded. However, the Court has not traditionally accepted these polls as evidence of an evolving consensus in the American people. The important point here, though, is that a consensus should be one of the people, not the states.

The states have also shown a dramatic trend towards the abolition of the death penalty for these individuals. When these death penalty states are placed together with the states that forbid the death penalty altogether, it becomes abundantly clear that a majority of the states oppose executing juveniles and the mentally retarded. If the Court insists on using the existence of a national consensus to determine its opinion on executing these individuals, then it must recognize that this consensus now exists.

**Jamila Crowther***The Thinking Woman's Mission*

The central question and governing theme driving the development of this research paper relies heavily upon historical analysis of the mid-to-late-19th century. Two major social movements overlapped during this decade that closed out the 19th century and formed a bridge into the 20th. It is as Hazel Carby calls it, a "period of increased intellectual productivity," marked by the formation of a small cadre of well educated, middle-class blacks who self-appoint as leaders of the race. The names Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington sound familiar even to the most untrained ear and the name Ida B. Wells would also ring a bell. These individuals among others announced their arrival in the public sphere as the black intellectual elite. Of the many voices and opinions of this era, history only remembers a few. In fact, the debates between the young W.E.B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington often stand as a metaphorical representation of this entire historical moment but a plethora of other texts tell a different story. In this paper however, I want to suggest that the period from 1890 and 1900 should be studied for the collective contributions of this intellectual group rather than focusing on the conversation between these two men. Studying the chorus of voices contributing to uplift provides the opportunity to account for those individuals that history forgets. This approach to the study of the racial uplift movement provides the opportunity to listen more closely to the contributions black women made during this period.

Black feminist perspective developed during this time period. This strain of thought encouraged black women to respond to racial and gender oppression. The feminist criticism developed by Anna Julia Cooper explains my interest in her 1892 book *A Voice From the South*, the primary text for this thesis. It best represents the theoretical position now in full bloom:

- (1) Self-definition and identity creation are first principles in black feminist social criticism
- (2) Authoritative voice carves out a niche for black women to speak themselves into existence.
- (3) The insular black community has primary importance
- (4) Education described in terms of social activism

Studying Anna Julia Cooper and her collection of essays provides the opportunity to interpret not one, but two important social movements, the racial uplift movement and the women's era. Women's era participants critique the racial uplift movement for the patriarchal logic that positioned black men superior to black women. Cooper's theory has historical and cultural importance as a text that incorporates these two discussions into one theoretical approach that redefines black womanhood as synonymous with social progress.

**Lear deBessonnet***Creation In Crisis: A Study of Crisis Thought and Postmodern Drama*

The experimental theatre movements of the past fifty years are indelibly linked to a larger sense of crisis, emergency, rupture, and revolution. I begin with the premise that postmodern theatre and Crisis thought are best understood in conjunction. While the study of theatre and the study of philosophy each bring insight into a culture, the fusion of these fields provides an explosive illuminating light. My hope is that the study of these manifestations in conjunction will unveil the inner-workings of our culture.

I define "crisis" as a "collapse of historicism and the faith in progress," the possibility that there may be no embedded rationality governing the universe. I use the problematic term "postmodern" to loosely describe theatre that is primarily nonlinear, nonrealistic, nondiscursive, nonliterary.

Though theatre artists have certainly been aware of the phenomenon of crisis, I believe philosophers (namely, Nietzsche, Sartre, and Freud) have best articulated the modern emergency. For that reason, their theories weave throughout this study, providing a dynamic dramaturgical vocabulary of terms and images for discussing the particular trends in theatre.

In Chapter 1, I offer an overview of the aesthetic trends that signal the connection between postmodern theatre and crisis thought. Chapter 1 is, in a large sense, an interpretation of where the theatre fits within the matrix of our cultural moment. I argue that theatre is both fundamentally connected to and tragically detached from this culture, and suggests ways theatre artists have responded to the changing sensibilities of a contemporary audience.

Chapter 2 is a study of the connection between crisis thought and art (specifically, theatre) in the work of Jean Paul Sartre and Friedrich Nietzsche. I examine the role of art in the writings of these two quintessential thinkers to better understand their thought, but also to understand their thought in the context of the vibrant strand of aestheticism within modern theory. Chapter 2 helps situate postmodern drama historically in conjunction with intellectual history, and it begins the discussion continued in Chapter 3 of the connection between crisis thought and postmodern dramatic theory.

Chapter 3 uses the theories of Nietzsche and Freud to analyze the dramatic theories of Antonin Artaud and Bertolt Brecht. Crisis resulted in a need for theatre to move away from realism into the uncharted realms of the human psyche. In this way, the theories of Brecht and Artaud stem out of the vision of crisis articulated by Nietzsche and Freud. Further, both Nietzsche and Freud describe civilization as a conflict between colliding primal impulses (Apollonian v. Dionysian, Eros v. Thanatos). After exploring the inconsistencies of these dichotomies, I use them as dramaturgical vocabulary to discuss the aesthetics of Brecht and Artaud. I offer an interpretation of Artaud as an exploitation of the Dionysian impulse, and Brecht as an exploitation of the Socratic (which has become Apollonian in its legacy).

Chapters 4 and 5 are case studies. In Chapter 4, I offer a case study of Peter Brook's production of *Marat Sade* to illustrate the practical applications of these theories and the legacies of Brecht and Artaud, and to synthesize disparate movements in the avant-garde. Chapter 5 applies the legacies of Brecht and Artaud to experimental director Robert Wilson, and Wilson's work provides occasion for revisiting the hypotheses made about the fate of postmodern directing in Chapter 1.

The Epilogue looks ahead to the challenges and possibilities the 21st Century will bring for the theatre.

### **Isaac Gradman**

#### *Screen Doors: The Progress of Technology, Race, and Social Change*

The vast potential of the Internet has led a number of scholars and technology experts alike to speculate on its potential to dramatically change social interaction. While some believe that cyberspace will ultimately make users more cosmopolitan by exposing them to people and information from all over the world, others foresee the Internet as merely bringing people together into narrower and more homogeneous communities. These questions take on new significance when used to evaluate the impact of the new medium on perceptions of race. In "Screen Doors," the progress of race on the Internet is examined through an investigation of the battle over hate speech online.

In order to develop a framework from which to analyze this relatively new technology, Part I of this essay first tracks the relationship between television and the Civil Rights Movement throughout the 50's and 60's. This story provides one of the best examples of an information technology playing a pivotal role in the progress of racial acceptance in America. By tracing the manner in which television news coverage aided the Movement from the school desegregation crisis in Little Rock through the riots in Selma that led to the passage of the Voting Rights Act, the author is able to distill three keys to the success of this relationship. The study finds that civil rights leaders benefited from television by: 1) using the emotional, graphic, and far-reaching nature of the medium to invoke sympathy from viewers, 2) exposing both white and black America to a new image of blackness, and 3) capturing the attention of and garnering support from government leaders and lawmakers. Ultimately, the account demonstrates that the Civil Rights Movement could not have had the same strength or effectiveness without the unifying power of television.

Having established the keys to a working relationship between a movement for social change and an information technology, Part II of the essay then sets about discovering how both tolerance organizations and hate groups have used the Internet to their benefit. First, the three characteristics of television discovered in Part I are modified to fit the Internet, and then evaluated for their potential impact on "cyberhate." Then, four additional properties of the Net are analyzed for the current and potential boost it offers to both hate and tolerance groups online: the uncontrolled nature of the Internet, the unlimited viewer choice it provides, the questionable credibility of the material found online, and the cost-effective and money-making aspects of the technology as a whole.

Following this evaluation, the author concludes that hate groups have certainly jumped out ahead thus far in the battle for online supremacy by using the particular resources of the Net to their advantage. However, tolerance groups are shown to have the potential to counteract this threat and eventually overwhelm hate online by utilizing the graphic and far-reaching nature of cyberspace to connect, organize, and motivate supporters for their cause. In the end, the characteristic of unlimited user choice possessed by the Internet limits the overall impact the medium can have, most likely preventing it from ever influencing the kind of social change brought about by the mainstream message of television.

### G. Emmett Lynskey, III

#### *A Perspective on Controlling the 1989-1993, Tuberculosis Outbreak in New York City*

Tuberculosis no longer garners the media attention it did during the epidemic in New York City. The numbers of people affected by tuberculosis have finally plateaued at rates undreamed of only 40 years ago. New York City no longer faces the funding and infrastructure problems that led to the epidemic a little over a decade ago. Why then does this thesis matter?

Patience allows consumption to kill more people today than in the entire history of the disease. Assisted by its "little brother" AIDS, tuberculosis claims 3 million victims a year. The words phthisis, consumption, and tuberculosis carry with them a reminder that this disease awoke at the dawn of civilization. While it may have rested over the course of the centuries, tuberculosis patiently awaits the proper conditions needed to foster its growth within society. Much like its course within the body, tuberculosis, unnoticed at first, slowly overtakes the victim consuming the body's resources.

We live in a shrinking world. Tuberculosis may have subsided within the United States, but not within the world. One third of the world's population would test positive for exposure to tuberculosis. Eight million new cases of the disease emerge every year. Sooner or later, the world community will be forced to address the issue of tuberculosis. When this happens, the solution to the scourge can be found in the actions taken to curtail the epidemic in New York City.

New York City controlled the epidemic quickly and efficiently providing a model of control sure to be followed around the globe. Ample funding combined with a nearly universal application of directly observed therapy backed by the threat of detention made for a recipe of success. The question answered by this thesis is not: Did the measures work? Rather I sought to answer: Should we ever use this recipe again?

The moral, ethical, and legal controversy surrounding the widespread use of compulsory measures to control the epidemic provided an excellent backdrop against which I began my analysis. I quickly found that while criticism abounded, very few philosophical and legal arguments had come forth in support of New York City. My review of the legal and ethical principles pertaining to the measures used by the City led me to conclude that the criticisms of the actions did not properly account for the public health perspective when making their determinations.

I began my analysis not with the failures of society to provide the proper environment in which tuberculosis could not thrive, but rather with the first actions taken by the public health officials thrust into an epidemic over which they had no control. The failure of the State to provide for its citizens should not come into play when assessing the end to the epidemic; rather the balance of harms to society and the individuals with tuberculosis should take precedence.

This perspective led me to conclude that the actions taken by New York City health officials constituted an ethically and legally sound response to the epidemic. There is no doubt that detention and DOT have the potential to inflict a great deal of morally indefensible harm to those against whom these measures are taken. The mere fact that they must be used to protect society comments on our failure to adequately provide for the poorest and weakest among us. Unfortunately, no other solutions to the epidemic existed. New York City demonstrated that these measures could be employed as useful tools to assist the State in a time of emergency. An emergency existed in New York City, and we face a larger one on the global scale today.

The recipe of DOT and detention created in New York City not only saved millions of dollars, but also many lives. The critical situation in the City bred extreme measures. The City then demonstrated that the use of compulsory measures and ethical decision-making are not mutually exclusive. Consequently, as we find ourselves awaiting the next resurgence of tuberculosis, we can do so comfortable in the knowledge that such an outbreak can be contained without sacrificing society's moral and ethical principles.

### **Brian E. Maxted**

#### *Drugs, Theft, and Murder: Corruption of the Democratic State in Mexico and Colombia*

This thesis analyzes the corruption of the democratic state in Mexico and Colombia. Its goal is to recognize and compare the degree in which the two states have progressed in their transition to democracy. To understand democratic transition, the writing begins with an analysis of the definition of democracy. It critiques the procedural definition of democracy that requires countries meet only two factors to be considered a democracy (access to elections and multiple party contests) as inadequate. It then identifies the main factors that obstruct a successful transition as the corruption of government, namely, the lack of accountability in the ruling elite, absence of proper checks and balances, and the prevalence of the weak-state. In Mexico, the PRI (Institutional Revolution Party) has maintained a one-party control of the political system for nearly 70 years. The PRI has setup a system of patronage whereby every political office and appointment revolves around loyalty to the system. In Colombia, the result of a decentralized government

has caused the uprising of revolutionary guerillas and paramilitary groups, placing the country in a state of violent civil war.

With the lack of accountability and existence of the weak-state, the government became inefficient, as corruption hindered political and economic progress through inadequate policies and a perverse system of patronage. The PRI cemented Mexico's one party rule through the nationalization of industry, tying all economic interactions with the leaders of the party. As the ruling elite gained wealth, it followed nationalistic policies, like ISI (Import Substitution Industrialization), to deepen the connection between the party and the economy. The economy, being controlled by monopolistic forces, became inefficient and unable to compete on a global market. The goal of Colombia's National Front in the 1950's was stability of the government and the economy, thus resulting in three decades of moderate economic growth. However, with the rise of revolutionary insurgencies and the debt crisis of 1982, political and economic stability declined.

To delay economic crisis, resist revolution, and gain power the ruling elite allied themselves with the drug trade as a source of funds to maintain their hegemony. In both countries this happened largely due to inefficient nationalistic policies, capped off by the 1982 debt crisis. As a response the Mexican government, who before 1982 had a very strong anti-drug campaign, began to fund their regime through involvement with the drug trade. In Colombia, the revolutionary insurgencies used drug trafficking as a means of funding their terrorist actions. However, when economic growth fell significantly in the early 80's, it was both the political and civic society that became intertwined with the drug trade as a viable alternative, corrupting the executive, legislative, judicial, banking, and media sectors.

The victims of this corruption are the citizens of the countries who have suffered from horrific human rights abuses. In Mexico, decades of underdevelopment and political corruption have resulted in high levels of poverty and a large number of disappearances and murders. The existence of the weak-state, along with a massive drug trade in Colombia, has bred a culture of fear with the number of political disappearances and murders bordering genocide.

In Mexico, since the election of Vicente Fox, the government has met at least the conditions to satisfy the procedural definition of democracy, and has arguably entered into a true democratic transition. The administration currently is taking steps towards more accountability, along with fighting corruption. By building the legitimacy and strength of a stable democratic government, Mexico would be able to better combat and prosecute drug trafficking, end the system of patronage thus stimulating economic growth, and improve human development throughout the nation.

The Colombian government is anocratizing and moving away from democracy. Violent internal conflict penetrates every aspect of society causing economic turmoil, large scale drug trafficking, and grave human rights atrocities. For the government to regain control, it must focus on state building, namely a strong central government with checks and balances, and internal governmental institutions such as military, police, and judicial services. Colombia must also find economic alternatives to the drug trade. Rich in natural oil reserves, Colombia sits on a potential gold mine. However, Colombia must first confront the revolutionary groups that consistently terrorize possible oil production and remain the source of many human rights violations in the region.

**Bryan Geoffrey Maxwell***Access to Life: The Conflict Between Public Health and Intellectual Property Protection on HIV/AIDS Drugs in Developing Countries*

When it became available in 1996, highly active antiretroviral therapy (HAART, or “triple therapy”) changed the life prospects for those living with HIV/AIDS. This combination drug regimen reduces HIV viral load to undetectable levels, which renders the disease virtually asymptomatic and helps reduce the risk of further transmission. Any suitable combination of these drugs costs between \$10,000 and \$15,000 per patient per year to purchase. These prices present a particularly significant obstacle for the bulk of the 40 million individuals currently living with HIV/AIDS in the developing world (95 percent live in developing countries, according to the United Nations). Poverty and poor health care systems leave HAART almost entirely out of reach for most HIV-positive persons living outside the U.S., Canada, Western Europe, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand.

Lack of access to these drugs results from a combination of many factors. This paper argues that international patent law is at least one factor that constrains access; I focus on the ways that international patent reform could make HAART drugs more accessible to the individuals who need them. The TRIPS agreement of the World Trade Organization requires all 144 Member countries to provide 20-year exclusive patent protection on medicines. At present, TRIPS includes provisions for countries to break patents under extreme circumstances by issuing a compulsory license that authorizes domestic generic production of a patented medicine. However, external factors have prevented most developing countries from making effective use of this mechanism.

Pharmaceutical companies vigorously defend strong patents and resist nearly all attempts to loosen patent protection in any instance, primarily by arguing that any loosening of patent protection would suffocate research and development. I examine the arguments that the pharmaceutical industry has advanced in defense of a status quo that makes it one of the most lucrative industries in the world. This examination allows me to argue that profits, not a concern for the public interest in research and drug development, motivates this strong defense. I challenge the theoretical underpinnings of the argument for maintaining strong intellectual property protections in the face of a public health crisis and then examine possible reforms. Conservative legal approaches do not offer as promising solutions to the problem as do structural reforms in the TRIPS agreement. I recommend two main changes: first, a revision of the non-discrimination clause of TRIPS, Article 27(1), which would legitimize the mechanism by which developing countries might grant special status for patented drugs in a health crisis like the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Second, I argue that the agreement must provide a parallel importation mechanism to allow all developing countries to make use of compulsory licensing powers, for only a handful of developing countries have the infrastructure and scientific capabilities to produce and manufacture generic drugs.

These changes would not endanger the patent system as a whole. Rather, they would provide a more effective and legitimate mechanism for developing countries to protect public health when patents severely impede access to essential medicines. The power to prioritize public health over intellectual property protection possesses both instrumental importance, in facilitating access to life-saving drugs, and symbolic value, in validating the view that human life should take precedence over corporate profits.

**Lawson J. McNeil***Responding to Grace: John M. Perkins' Theology of Community Development*

John M. Perkins' success story of rags to almost riches could provide evidence to support the conservative belief that all Americans can pull themselves up from their bootstraps, if they just work hard enough. Yet, Perkins committed his life to service of the poor in order to teach Americans a very different lesson. I offer his story as a parable of a living faith that responds to grace with ceaseless effort to work for the betterment of the world. This theological history illustrates the power of Christian conviction to shape social movements. Perkins founded and leads the Christian community development movement, which seeks to fulfill the unfinished business of the Civil Rights Movement by moving the country beyond legal equality towards real justice and beyond physical integration towards spiritual reconciliation. Perkins' theology provides an inspiring model of balancing the spiritual and physical needs of humans by caring for the whole person, both body and soul. He does this by acting out his theology of evangelical community development, a theology of salvation by grace that then motivates works.

Born in 1930 and raised in the grips of extreme poverty in rural Mississippi, Perkins escaped to California in 1947 and worked his way up the economic ladder of success. Over the next decade, Perkins began to realize that only seeking after material success and power did not create inner peace. In 1957, after a long religious search, Perkins committed his life to following Jesus Christ. His conversion inverted most of his approaches to life, causing him to replace workaholic tendencies with evangelism, and eventually causing him to sacrifice relative freedom and comfort for extreme racism and poverty. In 1960 he returned to Mississippi in order to share the transforming power of the Gospel with his people. Over the next few decades, Perkins' ministry grew and he formulated his model of community development based on the three R's: relocation, reconciliation, and redistribution. This theology of the reconciliation of individuals as well as communities motivates Perkins to work towards the realization of the kingdom of God, a vision of the complete restoration of the fallen world to communion with God. Perkins grew to believe that Christians should participate in creating this promised kingdom on earth by caring about social justice. This theological assertion establishes Perkins as the heir to the early civil rights theology of the search for the beloved community (as articulated by Martin Luther King, Jr.), a racially reconciled community of peace and justice.

John Perkins' theology of community development, exemplified in his ministries in Mississippi and California, has been implemented in cities all across the nation and now serves as the official model of the Christian Community Development Association, founded by Perkins in 1989. Perkins' story demonstrates how the power of theological vision and commitment to local change created a national movement towards faith-based approaches to solving some of the most difficult social problems of poverty and racism. I will show how John Perkins joins and leads the spiritual movement towards the kingdom of God. He leads by putting his faith into action, recovering the whole gospel by challenging the traditional evangelicals that only focused on the salvation of the soul, and reclaiming King's vision of the kingdom of God by focusing on Christ.

**David Metcalf***Holy Communion: A Novel*

The recent allegations of sexual impropriety among the clergy of the Catholic Church in America bring to the forefront of public discourse the single most important conflict in my thesis, which is a novel called "Holy Communion." In a frightfully widespread trend, members of the Catholic priesthood, torn to pieces by the forced division of their public lives from their personal lives, found themselves sexually tempted beyond their ability to cope. In my story Will Taylor is not a Catholic priest, but an Episcopalian one; nevertheless, his position as a representative of the Christian Church requires him to hide behind a faultless façade to mask his sinful interior. This conflict, compounded by uncertainties about his identity, his faith, and the church's stances on myriad issues, brings the protagonist's faith to a crisis less than two years after his graduation from seminary. Because the church is both a political animal and a social fixture, he must make his decisions differently than a layman would. However, beneath the personal conflicts in the book lie larger questions about the church and its membership: what should the church look like today? What are its functions in a community? How should it treat non-Christians?

"Holy Communion" is a story about the church and about Christians. I believe the two are different and should be considered separately. One of my readers suggested that I change a sentence near the end. He wanted "Christians defied reason and their faith clashed with her way of life" to read "Christianity defied reason; faith clashed with life." By overlooking the distinction between Christians and Christianity, he missed something central to understanding "Holy Communion." For as long as people judge Christianity on the merits of its followers, Christianity will always come up short. However, when a person evaluates Christianity-faith in Christ-in spite of the distortions perpetrated by its followers, he has an opportunity to discover Christ's redemption.

I have tried to mimic Flannery O'Connor inasmuch as the redemption is hidden, and grace is forceful, painful, and easily misunderstood. Will tries-and fails-to live a good Christian life. He works hard, does what seems to be the right thing, and finds himself empty and alone. It is this readiness to work towards self-perfection and his attempt to be a Christian without much of Christ that make him fail. Christianity is a faith lived through grace alone. Only when the believer seeks Christ's strength in everything can he be successful in anything. Will's sinful desires fester not because he does not try hard enough to extinguish them, but, more fundamentally, because he thinks they are his to extinguish. Romans 8:13-15 (NIV) says:

For if you live according to the sinful nature, you will die; but if by the Spirit you put to death the misdeeds of the body, you will live, because those who are led by the Spirit of God are sons of God. For you did not receive a spirit that makes you a slave again to fear, but you received the Spirit of sonship. And by him we cry, "Abba, Father."

Will cannot find grace as long as he tries to manufacture it. Instead, when he abandons the effort, the first glimmer of hope shines to show that he might be ready to receive it.

**Jim Meyerle***Justice and Judging in Hannah Arendt and John Rawls*

I intend to show in this thesis that Hannah Arendt is engaged in what I call an anti-structural political project; while John Rawls seeks to put forward a structural political account. I argue that anti-structural theories are concerned with instigating a certain process, and they are not at all interested in achieving an end in accordance with an overarching principle. In addition, Arendt considers any social institutions as antagonistic to the sort of political process she wants to instigate. Structural theories, on the other hand, are concerned with establishing principles by which to justify political institutions. I argue that Arendt is interested primarily in a self-justifying process; while Rawls seeks to determine principles by which to justify the political process. Arendt is concerned with the relationships that allow for people to judge, Rawls intends to discover principles by which to evaluate social institutions. Arendt is interested in judging, Rawls is concerned with justice. However, I contend that Rawls is not entirely unconcerned with judging. To the contrary, his account of justice is predicated on an understanding of the judging agent in the original position.

After examining the accounts of justice and judging developed by Arendt and Rawls, I want to consider two related questions. Rawls develops substantive principles of justice, and these principles must then be applied to the basic structure of society. The idea is that the basic structure of society is made-up of various social institutions. Social institutions are for Rawls best understood as representing a system of rules. Justice is thus realized in a particular institution to the extent that the rules which constitute that institution are in accord with principles of justice: "it seems best to say that it is the institution as realized and effectively and impartially administered [by a system of rules] which is just or unjust." The question is this: how is it to be determined that institutional rules are themselves in accord with abstract principles of justice? Stated differently, how do we decide how the general rule is to be applied to particular cases?

This leads to my second question in that I want to consider whether the anti-structural account put forward by Arendt might help us to understand if judging fits into the notion of justice Rawls develops. In his formulation, justice lends stability to human affairs. It helps us to understand what our priorities are and how we should organize social institutions. Justice assists us in determining how to structure the world in which we live. But justice is decidedly political. Having a specific scope, justice concerns only certain basic institutions. Rawls is quite insistent that justice is not a social ideal, an all-pervasive principle of right, whose jurisdiction extends to all social relationships. Does this mean that judging cannot play into Rawls' political account, since judging might in fact extend beyond the institutional boundaries he sets for justice? I intend to argue that judging must take place within an anti-structural framework, which means that it must necessarily extend beyond institutional boundaries. A more complete description of justice than the one Rawls develops would recognize that without judging there can be no justice.

**Cara Morlan***A Question of Timing: A case study of how social upheaval and moral convictions combined to produce the Civil Rights Act of 1964*

One of the primary goals of the United States government is to ensure stability and peace. This overarching goal of often results in U.S. presidents refraining from endorsing or enacting controversial legislation, out of fear of civil disobedience, defiance, and social upheaval. Yet, at certain times in history, a president will conclude that disruption of the status quo is a prerequisite for the preservation of domestic tranquility. Alternatively, social movements aspire to alter the very political, social and economic practices the government seeks to maintain. Theorists have established several models of social movements including the Clas-

sical, Resource Mobilization, the Political Processes Models, and New Social Movement theory, with each model offering a different insight as to the origins, purpose, and organization of mass social movements. Regardless of which theory an individual ascribes to, the key element throughout all the models is the assumption that social movements develop to alter the established political and social power structures in society.

Therefore, at particular moments in history the apparently contradictory goals of social movements and of the government produce an identical result; significant legislation that changes the fate of the nation. Additionally, when the pressures of a mass social movement intersect with the moral commitment of the president, the change the president advocates will embody a radical alteration in the established power relations beyond the basic action necessary to re-establish peace and tranquility. In 1964, the President's goal of maintaining the peace coincided with the Civil Rights Movement's goal of changing the established order in society, thereby producing the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

From the early 1950s on, the Civil Rights Movement gradually gained momentum. The movement's focus shifted from legal channels such as *Brown v Board of Education*, to direct action through bus boycotts, non-violent protests, marches, and sit-ins. When Kennedy was elected president, the U.S. had yet to experience the massive social movement and catastrophic events that would catapult Civil Rights from simply a persistent problem for the administration to the forefront of the government's agenda. During the majority of his term in the Oval Office, Kennedy believed that sending emissaries from his administration to the particular southern communities or increasing the power of federal agencies to prosecute violations of current law could remedy the confrontations over the continued unequal treatment of African Americans. The absence of Civil Rights in his initial priorities, and the manner in which he spoke about them, indicate that Kennedy considered the moral dilemma of segregation and inequality less important than most other problems facing the nation, including that threat of communist aggression and possible nuclear war. Protests in Birmingham and other demonstrations in 1963, however, marked a turning point at which Civil Rights would no longer be ignored. President Kennedy therefore proposed the Civil Rights Act of 1963 in hopes of restoring domestic tranquility.

The assassination of President on November 20, 1963 Kennedy thrust Vice President Lyndon Johnson into the seat of the presidency. Whereas JohnF. Kennedy failed to reveal a personal commitment to the cause of Civil Rights, President Johnson demonstrated an unprecedented moral dedication to the issue. His commitment originated during his childhood and time in Texas, and was exemplified by the different manner in which Johnson spoke about Civil Rights compared to Kennedy, and by his actions while President. Like Kennedy, Johnson believed one of the primary roles of the government was to ensure stability and peace throughout the nation. During Kennedy's term merely proposing legislation appeared to be enough to restore peace to a fragmented nation and calm the rising storm. By 1964, though, it was evident that the increasing occurrence and intensity of civil rights demonstrations, coupled with the refusal to enact any meaningful changes by Southern whites, demanded more action from the Oval Office. If the U.S. desired to experience peace and tranquility in the nation again, the federal government needed to actively promote and enact meaningful civil rights legislation that would guarantee at least some of the rights currently denied to African Americans. Johnson envisioned the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as offering precisely that opportunity.

**Neil Nagraj**

*Charitable Choice: A Cobblestone on the Road to Hell*

In the mid 1970s a new player on the political scene emerged. As a reaction to perceived threats to the American way of life evangelical Christians organized themselves into a viable political force. Highly visible during the 1980s, evangelical Christian activists enjoyed their greatest political gains during the 1990s under the leadership of the Christian Coalition due to a large emphasis on grassroots politics.

While religion's influence on American politics has been evident for centuries, the Christian Coalition's agenda sought a different type of impact on American policy making. Previous religiously led movements used religion to further causes one could subscribe to regardless of religious affiliation. In contrast, the Christian Coalition advanced a legislative agenda based on Christian values and teachings. Much of this agenda was ignored by most federal lawmakers because of its viewpoint specific nature. One aspect of the Coalition's agenda that appealed to a broad spectrum of the American public was their call for privatization of welfare. Citing the numerous successes private charities have achieved in creating self-sufficient citizens, the Christian Coalition lobbied for legislation that would allow faith-based organizations to receive government money to expand their charitable work.

Congress adopted this proposal in 1996 with the passage of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA). Included in the bill was Section 104, or the Charitable Choice provision. The Charitable Choice provision allowed states to distribute federal grants to religiously affiliated charities. As an incentive to faith-based organizations the Charitable Choice provision allows sectarian social service providers to retain their religious nature and message. Five years later President Bush created the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives (WHOFBCI) by executive order. The office's goal was to expand Charitable Choice beyond the programs it applied to via the PRWORA and remove further federal barriers to faith-based organizations receipt of federal funds.

The direct flow of tax dollars into America's houses of worship has raised numerous concerns about the implications this has for the First Amendment's guarantees to free exercise of religion and freedom from establishment of religion. Study of Supreme Court cases concerning federal funding of religiously affiliated organizations shows a dramatic shift in the Court's approach towards the Establishment Clause. The Court has abandoned the notion of strict separation of church and state, adopting instead an accommodationist policy of government neutrality towards and among religions. In spite of valid constitutional concerns, the Supreme Court's jurisprudence concerning the Establishment Clause would most likely uphold both the PRWORA and the WHOFBCI.

**Sarah Ann Rude**

*The 'Bad Self': Blackness, Black English and the Rhetoric of Violence in Black Arts Movement Poetics*

Writers of the Black Arts Movement (1965-1975), linked black selfhood to a political aesthetic of separation. Forming and defining a "black aesthetic" distinct from the Western aesthetic tradition, Black Arts Movement writers created literary art drawn fundamentally from African-American life. The goal of this literature was to remove the trappings of oppression from the minds of African-American individuals, to resolve their "double consciousness" into a singular, strong "black consciousness" that would lead them to support the political possibilities of cultural nationalism.

Though movement writers oriented their work towards the essentially constructive goal of black self-creation, they relied on strictly proscribed notions of blackness and of the kind of art appropriate to depict it. These proscriptions created fundamental tensions in Black Arts Movement writing by defining blackness

in opposition to white cultural ideology. This focus on the oppositional led writers to emphasize a rhetoric of violence and separation in their works that overshadowed their constructive goals.

Movement writers defined black selfhood positively, however, through the use of the black vernacular ("Black English") in their works. In using Black English oral forms, movement writers valorized a black cultural form that existed independent of white culture and white aesthetic values—connected instead to an ethos of collective ritual and self- and community-affirmation.

The connection of Black English to a positive definition of blackness exists in tension with the rhetoric of violence in Black Arts Movement works. To examine this tension, we will look at the Black Arts Movement's aesthetic theory, three of the movement's programmatic poems to discuss the rhetoric of violence, and three movement poems that thematically integrate the Black English art form of the "toast."

### **Katherine Schiller**

#### *Cuba: Continuity and Crisis--The Uses of Revolutionary History*

Cuba has experienced a series of crises and struggles for independence that have created a strong nationalist ideology. In times of crisis, Castro frames situations and choices in terms of this Cuban nationalism. The crises examined here are the revolutionary movement itself in the 1950s, Castro's first few years in power and the declaration of socialism, and the "Special Period" crisis of the early 1990s after the fall of the European socialist bloc. Revolutionary history is used in these crises to create continuity and legitimacy in the government's ideology and policy.

The elements of nationalism include Cuba's struggle to achieve independence throughout its history, the heroes and martyrs of these struggles, the destiny of a sovereign and moral nation, and confrontation with the United States. These elements are especially used to incorporate socialism into the revolution's ideology. When socialism was proclaimed in 1961, Cuba had already implicitly chosen sides in the Cold War with the revolution's separation from and rejection of American political and economic influence. But declaring the revolution socialist was an ideological shift from the mainly nationalist movement that Castro had led through the 1950s and required legitimation. Castro mainly framed the revolution's adoption of socialism as a logical next step in defending the revolution against American imperialist aggression; the official declaration came weeks after the Bay of Pigs invasion. But he also gave socialism firm roots in Cuban soil, in its history of seeking political and economic sovereignty and development, and aligning the national hero Marti with socialist ideals.

At the end of the 1980s, Cuba entered a period of crisis as the Soviet Union pursued reforms, and then as the socialist bloc collapsed the Cuban economy went into a severe crisis. Again Cuban nationalist ideology surfaced in Castro's rhetoric and was directed full force at preserving socialism. The survival of the socialist system was conflated with the survival of the nation and upholding all the struggles for independence in Cuban history. Capitalism or reform was equated with betrayal of Cuba's martyrs and the nation. Nevertheless, Cuba was forced to accept some reforms, such as the opening to tourism and reorganization of the domestic economy, in order to survive. But these changes were legitimized, despite Castro's rhetoric of "Socialism or Death," through the alignment of socialism with Cuban national goals expressed the revolution. The close ties between the revolution, Castro's government, and socialism all created a basic legitimacy and public support for reforms that made them successful and made the government's survival possible.

**Anjali Catherine Verma***The National Human Rights Commission of India: Making Space*

I argue that the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC/the Commission) has in fact improved human rights conditions in India since its creation in 1993. I define "human rights" first and foremost as legal claim-rights that entitle all individuals to common minimum standards of treatment from the State. One finds the substance of these human rights as such in the Constitution of India, the international treaties and conventions to which India is party, and the definitions provided within the Protection of Human Rights Act of 1993, which created the Commission. A comprehensive, liberal conception of human rights emerges with the central principles of equality, liberty, and secularism.

Because human rights are most essentially legal claim-rights, my research demonstrates the extent to which the NHRC has enlarged the space for individuals to make these claims. By complementing the Indian court system, the NHRC offers another viable institution in which legal remedy may be sought for violations of human rights by the State. The role of the NHRC as an alternative to seeking justice within the court system proves especially important in light of the courts' notorious backlogging of cases and delay in trials and sentencing.

The history and factors contributing to the formation of the Commission frame it as a product of both indigenous traditions of human rights within India as well as of international law and external pressures. The United Nations' enactment of the Paris Principles influenced the structure, mandate, and functioning of the NHRC as a part of the UN's attempt to nationalize implementations of universal human rights. The main criteria for the formation of national human rights institutions set forth in Paris Principles include: independence guaranteed by statute or constitution, autonomy from the government, pluralism in membership, and the maintenance of sufficient resources.

After outlining the structure, mandate, and procedures of the NHRC, I provide the two case examples of Pinya Hare Kale, who died in police custody, and of the Bijbehara firing case, where the Indian army allegedly fired upon a group of innocent civilians, to clarify the implications of certain provisions of the Protection of Human Rights Act.

My assessment of the NHRC's success in advancing human rights as legal rights find spaces for improvement mostly in the areas of its interactions with the armed forces and its modes of inducing compliance from State authorities. Most notably, however, my evaluation of the Commission reveals that its inadequate resources, financial and otherwise, in certain cases render it overly dependent on the Government and unable to enforce its recommendations. I contend that these compromises of autonomy and enforceability are amenable to reform, however, and do not overshadow the NHRC's positive impacts for India. In addition to autonomy and enforceability, I also assess the Commission's level of transparency, its provision of both short-term and long-term remedies, and its enactment of domestic laws in harmony with international laws.

My research shows that since its formation in 1993, the ability of individuals to seek redress of grievances of human rights violations in India has significantly improved as a direct result of the existence of the NHRC. Because the ability of individuals to lay legal claim to their rights remains essential to their enjoyment, I argue that the NHRC directly and substantially promotes human rights and proves successful enough to warrant continued financial and public support from both within India and abroad.