

The Kircher Collection

MAJOR WORKS FROM THE CLASS OF 2014

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DR PAUL A HINE, PRINCIPAL

Foreword

John O'Malley SJ, one of the foremost authorities on Jesuit history, asserts that 'Ignatius and his companions from the very beginning advocated and exemplified a learned ministry'. Because of this, the Society of Jesus grew from its foundational days to embrace reason and scholarship of all forms with a reflective and constructively critical impulse to learn. Indeed, the earliest Jesuits such as Matteo Ricci, who travelled to the Far East in the mid 16th Century, were among the finest scholars of their day, schooled in cartography, astronomy, mathematics and linguistics. A brief glance at Jesuit history across the centuries will reveal that it is enamoured with those who have made great discoveries and explored contemporary fields of research, from telescopy and physics, to art, philosophy and literature.

The tradition of scholarship and the desire to learn remain deeply embedded in Jesuit education. Four hundred years after Ricci, at a major international conference that foregrounded the 21st Century, the Congregation asserted that 'In all of its endeavours, Jesuit education is distinguished by intellectual excellence and academic rigour'². And because of this, 'the schools set demanding standards for both students and faculty'³. It is this ethic that drives the education program at Saint Ignatius' College Riverview and generates the quality of work contained in this publication.

Named after Athanasius Kircher SJ, a man of colossal intellect in the 17th Century, *The Kircher Collection* is testament to aspirational scholarship that is alive and well at the College. It profiles key fields of intellectual pursuit and endeavour—Literature, Visual Arts, History and Musical Composition. More than just a compendium of student work, it is a manifestation of the desire to enquire, to experience, to comprehend, to analyse, to interpret—all corollaries of creative cognition in the quotient of learning.

As you read this publication, it is my hope that you will enjoy the sophistication of the work, remembering that these young men are still of a tender age with so much potential in their chosen fields. Who knows, they may reach some of the lofty heights of illustrious alumni such as Robert Hughes, Alex Seton and the four Rhodes scholars who have given so much to academic pursuit and artistic expression in their personal and professional lives. These are early days in disciplines still seminal to the contributors, but a discerning appreciation of their work augurs well for all that lies ahead.

Special thanks are extended to Mrs Annette Swinfield, Mr Panayiotis Diamadis, Ms Kim Elith, Ms Julie Stevens and Mr Dev Gopalasamy for their engagement in this project. The proof is in the pudding. Enjoy.

John O'Malley SJ. (1993). The First Jesuits. In Traub, George, W. (Ed). A Jesuit Education Reader. P 7

² Communal Reflection on the Jesuit Mission ... A Way of Proceeding. From the Jesuit Conference, 2002. In Traub, George, W. (Ed) opp. Cit. p 179

³ Mitchell, Robert, A. (1988). Five Traits of Jesuit Education. In Traub, George, W. (Ed) opp. cit. p 111

INTRODUCTION

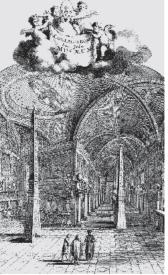
Athanasius Kircher SJ

Athanasius Kircher, born in 1601, was the complete Renaissance man, the *uomo universale*, a polymath. Deservedly known as 'the Master of One Hundred Arts', he taught in the Colleges of Würtzberg and Avignon, before being posted to Rome (where he died in 1680). Kircher was a polymath and has been compared to da Vinci. As a young man Kircher was, according to his own account, an accident-prone dimwit.

Kircher invented the lantern slide (the forerunner of projectors). He accurately estimated the speed of a swallow at 100 feet per second (without a stopwatch). He was a vulcanologist (even climbed into the volcano Vesuvius) and wrote the first book on vulcanology. He founded the first public museum. Kircher and others like him taught in the Colleges and encouraged the appropriation of the sciences into the school curriculum.

Kircher invented calculators, wrote on symbolic logic, and devised mathematical tables. He understood the evolutionary process and hinted at the germ theory of





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It was because of Kircher's work that scientists knew what to look for when interpreting the Rosetta Stone.

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Left: Athanasius Kircher; The Kircher Museum in Rome disease—he attributed the plague to tiny animals which he had observed under a microscope.

His first publication concerned magnetism. Then he wrote of sundials, next on the Egyptian language, then on calendars. He mapped the city of Atlantis.

He knew 20 ancient and modern languages. He studied hieroglyphics and it was because of Kircher's work that scientists knew what to look for when interpreting the Rosetta Stone. He has been called the real founder of Egyptology.

Kircher always wanted to be a missionary in China, but the importance of his teaching saw this dream never realised. However, that did not prevent him writing a huge treatise on China, *China Illustrata*, which included mythology, accurate cartography and Chinese characters.

While traveling through Italy writing his book on magnetism, he came to the town of Taranto, which gives its name to the poisonous tarantula spider. The region of Taranto was known for the prevalence of a disease called 'tarantism', which induced an hysterical condition in the sufferer, with one characteristic feature being the sudden desire to dance, in a wild and rapid whirling motion. In fact, the dance (which lasted three or four days) was one of the body's natural defences against the illness, with the rapid activity helping to work the illness out of the body, through perspiration. The Italian dance, the *tarantella*, originates from this.

It was commonly supposed that the illness was a result of the bite of a tarantula. Accordingly, it was believed that the cure for the bite of the tarantula was to perform the dance. In his book on magnetism, Kircher helpfully depicts the region populated by the spider, and gives drawings of the animal and of its victims being bitten. Finally, should one be unfortunate enough to get bitten, Kircher, composed a piece of music— *Antidotum Tarantulæ*—for the victim to dance to, to cure the bite!

Kircher practised a unique brand of science before the lines had been drawn between it and art and religion. He covered herbs, astrology, mining, dragons, demons, weather, eclipses, fossils, gravity, bioluminescence, the sun and moon, and other topics. For example, spanning scriptures and science, he calculated that the height required for the Tower of Babel merely to reach the moon would catapult the earth out of its orbit.

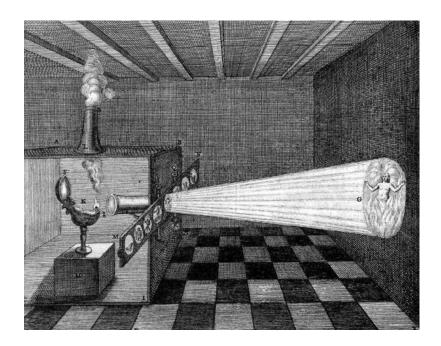
Visitors to Kircher's impressive museum heard his disembodied voice, fed to them through a hidden metal tube he spoke through from his bedroom. He engineered

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He dressed up cats in cherub wings, to the mild amusement of onlookers.

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megaphones with which one of his friends used to bray at wolves and set them to howling. He launched dragon-shaped hot-air balloons with "Flee the wrath of God" painted on their underbellies. He dressed up cats in cherub wings, to the mild amusement of onlookers, and the great annoyance of the cats. (Cats did well to avoid Kircher altogether. He is said to have designed a cat piano to harmonize differently pitched meows by having the piano hammers strike the poor creatures' tails—though there is no evidence he actually built the instrument.)

Towards the end of his life, Kircher's stocks fell as the rationalist era emerged. Descartes (himself a Jesuit alumnus) described Kircher as "more quacksalver than savant". However, in this postmodern era, many are being drawn again to his eclecticism, transcendence of academic boundaries, taste for trivia and technomania.

FR ROSS JONES SJ

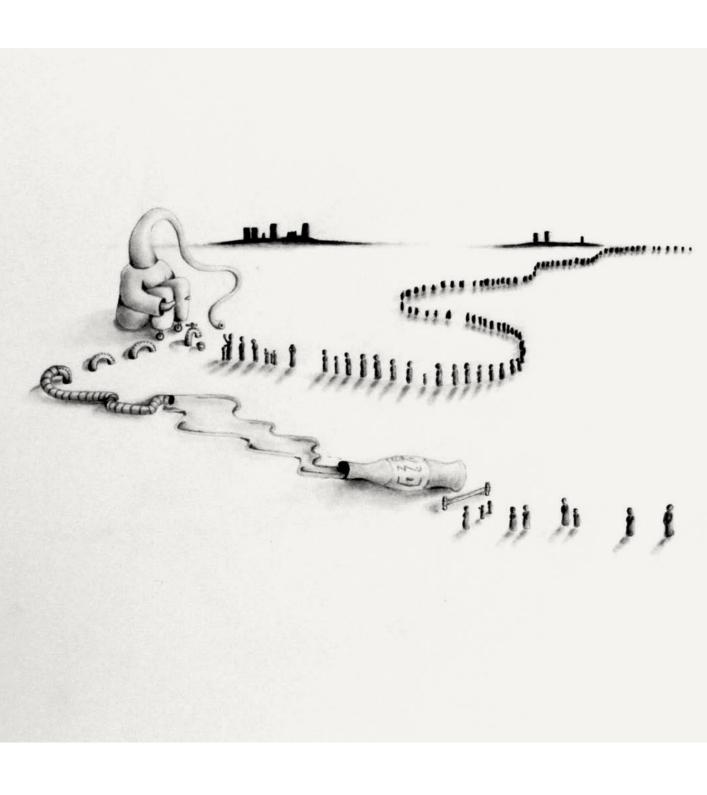
VISUAL ART

Nicholas Glascott

Nothing to be done/ An Inhabitant of Carcosa

STATEMENT OF INTENT

My work references the literary works of Samuel Beckett's *Waiting for Godot* and Ambrose Bierce's *An Inhabitant of Carcosa*, exploring the idea of human insignificance and a consequential questioning of meaning. The incomprehensible nature of existence gives rise to feelings of alienation and isolation, which I have attempted to portray in the nonsensical images, and quiet loneliness of the scenes, expressed in the subtle tonal effects created with pencil and pen. I was intrigued by surrealism and my drawings drew on the work of Shaun Tan, allowing for an exploration of the inherent passivity of a world devoid of meaning. I aimed to convey a sense of poignancy, and therefore attempted to embody a sense bleakness and emptiness that I feel reflects the remoteness of an absurdist world. French philosopher Albert Camus asserts that an aspect of the absurdity of the human condition is that people search for external values and meaning, but the world offers none and is indifferent. In this way my work fosters a notion of the realisation of the absurdist ramifications of existence and reflecting upon insignificance as a stage before enlightenment or self-fulfillment.

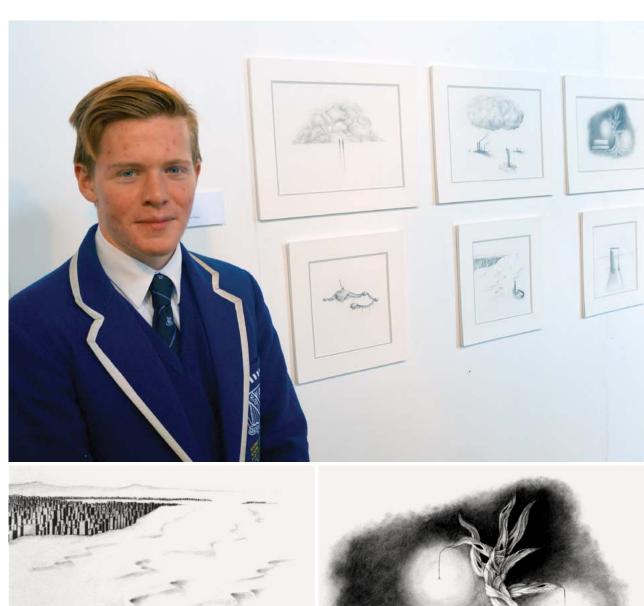






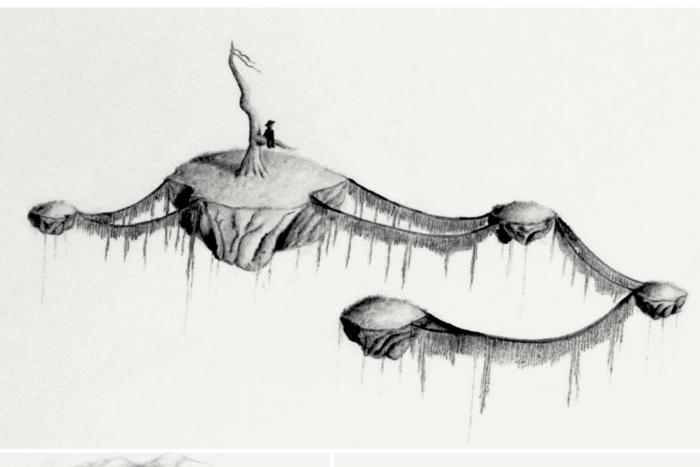
















ENGLISH

Henry Fisher

Rewiring the Dead

REFLECTION STATEMENT

A critical response examining the prevalence of the Posthuman paradigm within the Zombie genre.

The primary intent of my major work, "Rewiring the Dead", is to elucidate how the posthuman paradigm has redefined the contemporary Zombie genre and thus functions to challenge the existing discourse of humanism. In order to validate Ihab Hassan's premise that "five hundred years of humanism may be coming to an end, as humanism transforms itself into something we must helplessly call post-humanism." I have chosen to examine three diverse representations within the Zombie genre, the film Resident Evil (2002), the television series The Walking Dead (2010) and the BBC miniseries In the Flesh (2013). I believe that these texts ultimately validate my argument, not only through their diversity, but by their contemporaneous nature which illuminates the pervasiveness of the posthuman paradigm.

This concept originated from my immense fascination with the Zombie genre, elevated in recent times due to its ubiquity and growing multiplicity. In recent productions, it became increasingly evident to me, that the genre was in the process of undergoing extensive and significant change. In particular, I began to question the current purpose of the genre and its subversions of the traditional Zombie films, and moreover, I was intrigued with the inversion occurring between humanity and its "other". However, my unique conceptual lens explaining the root cause of such changes stemmed from my Extension 1 elective Science Fiction whereby a lesson introducing posthumanism inspired further research into the paradigm as a whole, thus sparking my ultimate understanding, "The transformation of the Zombie must no longer signify the end of humanity, but ultimately be a cause of recognition that a new phase of human existence has only just begun."

- 1 Hassan, Ihab (1977). Prometheus as Performer: Toward a Posthuamanist Culture?
- 2 Page 16, Major Work

My major work is intended specifically for two types of readers, the first being academics within the field of Zombie Studies or posthumanism and secondly, fans of the genre. These seemingly contradictory audiences reflect my desire to contribute academic insights to the genre whilst maintaining an engaging argument. This also echoed my own passion as an enthusiast of the genre and my purpose of prompting a reappraisal of the "human" in the 21st Century within the readership. Therefore, it is my intention that the major work be published in a journal of academic standard that maintains a precise focus on issues within popular culture such as *Cultural Inquiry* or *The Journal of Popular Culture*.

My independent investigation has formed an intrinsic relationship with the refinement of concept, originality, structure and form as well as technical language features and conventions of the essay, all of which have evolved from the process of composition and research. Research into the posthuman paradigm has been essential to my major work. In particular key works within the field such as Donna Haraway's *A Cyborg Manifesto*³ and *When Species Meet*⁴ as well as *How we became Posthuman*⁵ by Katherine Hayles have shaped my insights into the core essence of posthumanism and have been vital in underpinning my critical understanding of the changes within the Zombie genre. This is reflected in sections such as "The Posthuman paradigm recognises the dissolution of boundaries between mind and body, human and machine, subject and object, and thus calls for reappraisal of the core distinctions once held under humanism."

³ Haraway, Donna Jeanne. A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialistfeminism in the Late Twentieth Century. New York: Routledge, 1991. Print.

⁴ Haraway, Donna Jeanne. When Species Meet. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota, 2008. Print.

⁵ Hayles, Katherine. How We Became Posthuman: Virtual Bodies in Cybernetics, Literature, and Informatics. Chicago, IL: U of Chicago, 1999. Print.

⁶ Page 3, Major Work

With the desire to give background to the Zombie genre Jamie Russell's *The Complete History of Zombie Cinema*⁷ has specifically shaped the first section of my essay whereby I seek to provide an overview of the historical developments of the Zombie genre in order to establish a reference point for the posthuman paradigm shift. Furthermore, in attempting to reveal elements of posthumanism within the Zombie genre, Daniel Dinello's *Technophobial: Science Fiction Visions of Posthuman Technology*⁸ has influenced my own analysis wherein I relate elements of such anxiety represented within the Zombie genre for instance, "*This viral anxiety is representative of the potential consequence as humanity tries to achieve the fantasy of transcending their human limitations.*"

Various academics from within the field of Zombie Studies such as *Todd Platts*¹⁰ and *Dr. Kyle Bishop*¹¹ have played pivotal role in the formation of my concept. This has been achieved through email as their suggested readings, approaches to academic writing and beneficial feedback has been of vital importance to my essay's realisation. For instance, it was my original intention to write an essay about seminal texts of the Zombie genre such as *Night of the Living Dead*¹². However, after a conversation with Dr. Bishop, he quickly informed me that the seminal texts have been "done to death" and thus his knowledge of the existing body of research helped to shape a more original concept which moved to recent texts for fresh insights. Moreover, Todd Platts suggested that I should move beyond traditional scope of Zombie criticism which is generally concerned with notions of capitalism, race and gender. The assistance of *Nick Riemer*¹³ from the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at Sydney University and the online critical analysis resources of *The* Purdue *University*¹⁴ and the *University of Sussex*¹⁵ have also greatly assisted in the development of my essay's form. For instance,

- 7 Russell, Jamie. Book of the Dead: The Complete History of Zombie Cinema. Godalming, England: FAB, 2005. Print.
- 8 Dinello, Daniel. Technophobial: Science Fiction Visions of Posthuman Technology. Austin: U of Texas, 2005. Print.
- 9 Page 7, Major Work
- 10 Sociologist at the University of Missouri, key works; From Otherness to Apocalypse: The Evolution of the Modern Zombie and Locating Zombies in the Sociology of Popular Culture.
- 11 University of Utah, key works; Dead Man Still Walking: A Critical Investigation Into the Rise and Fall...and Rise of Zombie Cinema and American Zombie Gothic
- 12 Night of the Living Dead. Dir. John Russo and George A. Romero. Image Ten, 1968. Film.
- 13 Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at Sydney University. BA (Sydney), PhD. (Sydney). Senior Lecturer.
- 14 Purdue University Online Writing Lab
- 15 Study Success at Sussex: The process of critical essay writing

in the structure of my thesis statement, "This essay, therefore, will examine how the Zombie genre has become integrated with and transformed by the posthuman paradigm..." 16

In seeking to manipulate structure I was particularly drawn to Ryszard Kapuściński's *The Shah of Shahs*⁵⁷, a text which I had become exposed to through an Extension 2 exemplar. In this work the employment of structural subheadings such as "Dead Flame" are used to conceptually link sections of analysis and emphasise the evolution of the argument. In my work I employ a similar usage of subheadings, drawing upon the stages of transformation from human to Zombie (test subject, infection, coma, transformation and cure). This utilisation of structure is also innately connected to my evolving argument. For instance when I explore the "coma", the segment is positioned at the midpoint of the transformation stage from human to Zombie, thus mirroring my argument which explores the ambiguous definition of humanity. This use of structure also serves as a mechanism through which the audience, in particular the fans, can engage with elements of my evolving argument. Furthermore, footnoting in the essay is utilised not only for referencing but also to define relevant vocabulary and conventions pertinent to the genre thus providing a general accessibility for those less acquainted with the genres conventions.

My independent investigation has also markedly impacted the form of my major work. In particular, *Crafting the Personal Essay*¹⁸ by Dinty W. Moore guided me to a range of hybrid essays such as *In the Shadow of Memory*¹⁹ by Floyd Skloot and *A Collection of Essays*²⁰ by George Orwell. Consequently, I employ a combination of short narrative threads and analysis. Within my essay I position the reader as a central protagonist, who experiences a transformation from a human to a Zombie. This is constructed in order to mirror the findings of my developing argument with the ensuing inversion of the traditional Zombie narrative in which the reader is ultimately "reborn"²¹ into a posthuman state. In aligning with my purpose and audience, this decision was intended to deepen the essays engagement with the audience, especially with the fans of the genre through inter-textual references to popular Zombie films such as 28 days *Later* in "It was a virus. An infection."²²

- 16 Continues-Page 3, Major Work
- 17 Kapuściński, Ryszard. The Emperor ; And, Shah of Shahs. London: Picador, 1994. Print.
- 18 Moore, Dinty W. Crafting The Personal Essay: A Guide for Writing and Publishing Creative Non-Fiction. September 8, 2010. Paperback.
- 19 Skloot, Floyd. In the Shadow of Memory (American Lives). September 1, 2004. Print.
- 20 Orwell, George. A Collection of Essays. October 21, 1970. Print.
- 21 Page 17, Major Work
- 22 Page 7, Major Work

Finally, balancing a hybrid structure with sections of formal analysis has also specifically shaped my use of language features and conventions. In particular my register is, at times, more playful, for instance, "When confronted with a Zombie, it is not uncommon that one's first response (besides running), would be to cast aside this ill-fated creature as a trivial and irrelevant cultural fascination"²³ and at other times more academically rigorous. This serves to engage my two groups of target audiences aforementioned. Furthermore, my understanding of film conventions and deconstruction has also been employed to affirm my insights for instance, "Yet the mise en scène of the ominous vials, the hazmat suit and the sterile laboratory inject a newfound verisimilitude into the genre."²⁴

In reflecting on the realisation of initial intent of my major work, I believe that the final product has truly revealed that the posthuman paradigm has transformed the Zombie genre and that humanism must be reconsidered in the era of posthumanism. The impact of independent investigation on the development of my major work has been tremendously significant, having not only refined, but in some cases completely redefined the concept and direction of my major work. I have thoroughly enjoyed the experiences provided by this course, ranging from hours spent within the research facilities of The University of Sydney to my somewhat unusual interactions with fellow Zombies at the annual *Zombie Walk* around Hyde Park in Sydney. Ultimately, through the exploration of an area of passion in relation to the study of English I have procured a myriad of invaluable skills throughout the process of creating something I believe to be worthwhile.

²³ Page 2, Major Work

²⁴ Page 7, Major Work

CRITICAL RESPONSE

"The human form—including human desire and all its external representations—may be changing radically, and thus must be re-visioned. We need to understand that five hundred years of humanism may be coming to an end, as humanism transforms itself into something we must helplessly call post-humanism."

TEST SUBJECT

You find yourself inside a heavenly white laboratory, sitting face to face, with me. "Welcome test subject, I am Dr Kurzweil. Now I know you might be feeling concerned about this process, but please do not fear, soon you will be delivered from this inferior state. Just listen to my voice; I will be here every step of the way. Let's begin shall we?" I inject a slender needle into your upper arm; the springe drains itself of a luminous blue serum.

When confronted with a Zombie, it is not uncommon that one's first response (besides running), may be to cast aside this ill-fated creature as a trivial and irrelevant cultural fascination. Indeed, academics such as James B. Twitchwell have been explicitly dismissive of the living dead avowing that "the Zombie myth seems flawed by its lack of complexity." Historically this opinion might have held true, however, as of late the Zombie has not only become increasingly multifaceted but has experienced a profound reconfiguration worthy of academic investigation. Moreover, its universal significance is marked with "Zombie popular culture now contributing an estimated \$5 billion to the world economy." Indeed the Zombie has persistently elucidated what cultural theorist Stuart Hall would call a "cultural identity", an insight into our collective human nature which is inexorably changing.

Today's society, however, is living in a posthuman world, one in which the model of the human, as once conceived by Renaissance Humanism, is undergoing unprecedented change. Throughout history the Zombie genre has metamorphosed according to humanity's changing perceptions of "the human form—including human desire and

¹ Hassan, Ihab (1977). Prometheus as Performer: Toward a Posthumanist Culture?

² Russell, Jamie. Book of the Dead: The Complete History of Zombie Cinema. Godalming, England: FAB, 2005. Print.

³ Ogg, J. Zombies Worth \$5 Billion to Economy. 24/7 Wall Street. October 25, 2011. News article.

⁴ Hall, Stuart. Cultural Identity and Diaspora. 1993. Journal Article

all its external representations." However, as Hassan argues in his seminal essay on posthumanism, humanity "may be changing radically, and thus must be re-visioned."

This essay, therefore, will examine how the Zombie genre has become integrated with, and transformed by the posthuman paradigm through the analysis of the film *Resident Evil*⁷, the television series *The Walking Dead*⁸ and the BBC miniseries *In the Flesh*⁹. Specific emphasis shall firstly be placed on the changing representations of the trope of bodily invasion as a conceptual manifestation of posthumanism. Secondly, attention shall be given to the ontological apprehension posed by the Zombie to humanity within a posthuman world. Finally, the shifting purpose of the Zombie and the subsequent transformation of the Zombie narrative shall be analysed. Ultimately, through tracing how posthuman tenets have provoked these changes one can come to truly understand that the posthuman paradigm has redefined the Zombie genre thus calling for a reappraisal of the human subject in the 21st century. Firstly, however, attention must be given to the concept of the posthuman paradigm itself and a concise history of the Zombie genre provided in order that the recent subversions of the genre be compared and contrasted throughout this essay.

Humanism can be defined as any system of thought or action in which human interests, agency, values, and dignity predominate. The posthuman paradigm however recognises the dissolution of boundaries between the mind and body, subject and object and thus calls for reappraisal of the core assumptions once held under humanism. Posthumanism constitutes a loss of human supremacy at the apex of existence and speculates upon a posthuman being "whose basic capacities so radically exceed those of present humans as to be no longer unambiguously human by our current standards." This shift towards posthumanism is as a result of 21st Century advancements in technology which have called into dispute traditional understandings of embodiment, consciousness and the human form. This has been triggered by a range of fields such as artificial intelligence, nanotechnology and robotics, which all potentially pose remarkable possibilities and concurrent disastrous consequences.

⁵ Hassan, Ihab (1977). Prometheus as Performer: Toward a Posthumanist Culture?

⁶ Ibid

⁷ Resident Evil. Dir Paul W. S. Anderson. Written by Paul W. S. Anderson, Pathé (UK). 2010.

⁸ The Walking Dead. Exec. producer Frank Darabont, written by Robert Kirkman, (AMC). Season 1 2010.

⁹ In the Flesh. Dir Jonny Campbell, written by Dominic Mitchell, (BBC). Season 1 2013.

¹⁰ World Transhumanist Association (2002-2005). The transhumanist FAQ.

Furthermore, the growing intellectual and cultural movement of "transhumanism"¹¹ has the goal of "fundamentally transforming the human condition by developing and making widely available technologies to greatly enhance human intellectual and psychological capacities."¹² The Transhumanists speculate that humans will eventually be able to transform into beings with such "greatly expanded abilities as to merit the label *posthuman*."¹³ Leading posthumanist scholar, N. Katherine Hayles, argues that one becomes posthuman as soon as one enters into "cybernetic circuit that splices your will, desire, and perception into a distributed cognitive system in which represented bodies are joined with enacted bodies through machine interfaces."¹⁴ Accordingly, in our current technologised culture, one could be regarded by this definition as posthuman as soon as they communicate with another through platforms such as Facebook, Skype and Twitter.

The evolution of the Zombie genre has been by no means a linear progression as Margaret Twohy articulates, its evolution is due to an "ever growing and mutating mass of explanations and causes that continuously feed back into one another and infect today's expanding zombie culture." The idea of a Zombie has existed in a diverse range of cultures for centuries, however, it was in William Seabrook's travelogue *The Magic Island* which established the idea of "Zombiism" through an allegedly eyewitness account of a soulless "living" corpse. This initial phase within the Zombie genre exploited supernatural fears of religious practices evolving from the African diaspora. After Seabrook's work became a mainstream bestseller, America had truly become overrun by the Zombie after the spawning of the first Zombie film *White Zombie*¹⁸. This film set into motion a lineage of future productions such as *I Walked*

- 11 Transhumanism: is an international cultural and intellectual movement with an eventual goal of fundamentally transforming the human condition by developing and making widely available technologies to greatly enhance human intellectual, physical, and psychological capacities.
- 12 Bostrom, Nick. A history of Transhumanist thought. Journal of Evolution and Technology. 2005. Journal Article.
- 13 Bostrom, Nick. A history of Transhumanist thought. Journal of Evolution and Technology. 2005. Journal Article.
- 14 Hayles, Katherine. How We Became Posthuman: Virtual Bodies in Cybernetics, Literature, and Informatics. Chicago, IL: U of Chicago, 1999. Print.
- 15 Twohy, Margaret. From Voodoo to Viruses: The Evolution of the Zombie in Twentieth Century Popular Culture. Dublin, Ireland, 2008. Thesis.
- 16 Seabrook, William. The Magic Island. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1929. Print.
- 17 Zombiism: the belief that supernatural spirits can reanimate dead bodies, especially as part of voodooism and other similar belief systems.
- 18 Halperin , Victor and Edward. White Zombie. United Artists. 1932. Film.

with a Zombie¹⁹ and Invisible Invaders²⁰ which were transcribed from the established tropes of the Haitian Zombie.

Moving forward some three decades, the next pivotal shift in the genre was signalled by George A. Romero's *Night of the Living Dead*²¹ which brought about the dawn of the "Zombie Apocalypse"²². The film connected with the racial upheaval of Romero's milieu and instigated the allegorical theme of racial prejudice within the genre. Romero created a Zombie with a new desire to feed on flesh and established the convention of the "Zombie invasion narrative."²³ For the first time, institutions were rendered ineffective in the wake of the outbreak, as the impact of the Zombie apocalypse reached wider than ever before. Romero tells of the influence of Richard Matheson's 1954 novel *I am Legend*²⁴, which although focussing on vampirism, popularised the concept of a worldwide spawn of infectious creatures due to disease, resulting in the outnumbering of the human populace. Hence the Zombie was unshackled from its Voodoo origins and began to transform once again.

After a period of stagnation, in the wake of the 9/11 tragedy, the Zombie was transported into another new realm. In the film 28 Days Later²⁵, director Danny Boyle increases the physical speed of the Zombie which is distinctively emblematic of the "hyper—accelerated pace"²⁶ and the "perpetual paranoia"²⁷ of the post-9/11 aesthetic. The Zombie had now become a metaphor for 'rage'²⁸ which Boyle perceived to be a defining emotional characteristic of his milieu mirrored in the Zombie becoming an apocalyptic threat. Beyond the 9/11 chapter of the genre an increased integration with the posthuman paradigm has prompted a new phase of the Zombie's existence.

- 19 I walked with a Zombie. Dir. Jacques Tourneur. RKO Radio Pictures. 1943. Film.
- 20 Invisible Invaders. Dir. Edward L. Cahn. Premium Pictures. 1959. Film.
- 21 Night of the Living Dead. Dir. John Russo and George A. Romero. Image Ten, 1968. Film.
- 22 Zombie apocalypse: the breakdown of society as a result of an initial zombie outbreak which spreads.
- 23 Zombie Invasion Narrative: A narrative element of the genre popularised by Romero characterised by the invasion of a fortified position by hordes of Zombies.
- 24 Matheson, Richard. I Am Legend. Gold Medal. 1954. Novel.
- 25 28 Days Later. Dir. Danny Boyle. DNA Films. 2002. Film.
- 26 Green, Alan Edward Jr. The post-9/11 aesthetic: repositioning the zombie film in the horror genre. 2013. Dissertation.
- 27 Ihio
- 28 Rage: The Rage Virus, also known simply as (the) Infection, is a fictional disease in 28 Days Later. It is a virulent, bloodborne virus that sends its hosts into a state of extreme, uncontrollable rage.

INFECTION

It was a virus. An infection. You can feel the fluid swarming through your body, like metal wasps hatching beneath the flesh. The walls of the laboratory superimpose upon each other and you see my face spiralling into a globular mass. "Are you in pain? That's a good sign, you're moving into the next stage," comes my distorted voice. You pass out.

Bodily invasion, the notion of the human body being breached and mutilated, is one of the most fundamental pillars of the Zombie genre. However, the dawn of the posthuman paradigm has profoundly transformed the representation of this trope through the proliferation of the virus. Under this notion, technology is seen as an autonomous life form which seeks to reduce the human to a secondary status.

In Resident Evil, the posthuman conception of bodily invasion becomes apparent from the very beginning of the film. The opening title sequence introduces the antagonistic Umbrella Corporation whose "massive profits are generated by Military Technology, Genetic Experimentation and Viral Weaponry". This is advanced by the opening zoom shot which focusses on a scientist using electronically extended hands to manipulate a virus inside a biosafety chamber. This establishes the posthuman connection of flesh and machine and reveals the scientist as the new voodoo doctor. Yet the mise en scène of the ominous vials, the hazmat suit and the sterile laboratory inject a newfound verisimilitude into the genre. This viral anxiety is representative of the potential consequence as humanity tries to achieve the fantasy of transcending their human limitations. However, with the subsequent viral outbreak the "Red Queen"29 is forced to eradicate all the scientists in the facility. The director positions the audience to view the events from the "mind" of the Red Queen through surveillance cameras with dynamic computing processes superimposed over the live footage. These shots draw attention to "the violent fragmentation of cinematic process rather than the supposed integrity of any single human's subjectivity"30 and thus infection enables the audience to escape their own bodies and transgress into new disembodied realms.

The Walking Dead continues this biological plausibility through the inclusion of the Centre for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). Peter Dendle notes that "an increasingly disembodied—virtual generation, the Zombie is becoming increasingly

²⁹ Red Queen: a super computer and controller of the hive in Resident Evil

³⁰ Shaviro, Steven. The Cinematic Body. University of Minnesota Press, 1994. Print.

biological". The crippled CDC represented by the longshot re-invigorates Romero's ineffectuality of the institution. Here the incompetence of an authoritative agency such as the CDC reveals that impact of the Zombie apocalypse has become macrocosmic in scale, unlike previous representations within the genre, in which the breadth of the Zombie outbreak was held within a microcosm such as in Seabrook's The Magic Island. In the series, unlike Resident Evil, the origins of infection are not stated from the outset. This helps position the audience to align more with the views of the characters, who do not know the answers. Within the CDC, however, the posthuman formation of fears surrounding the supremacy of artificial intelligence is articulated through the intelligence operating system "Vi"31. The audience is confronted with the disastrous potentialities of the system through its detached and calculated female voice and the immense processing power reaches far beyond the aptitudes of the human. As Robert Pepperell maintains "today the possibilities suggested by synthetic intelligence, organic computers and genetic modification are deeply challenging to that sense of human predominance. These developments awaken deep-rooted anxieties about the threat to human existence from technology we cannot control or understand."32

In the Flesh takes a divergent approach to Resident Evil and the Walking Dead but the posthuman manifestation of the bodily invasion is clear. The story is set in the fictional village of Roartan, and follows the journey of Kieran, a zombie who is being reintegrated back into society after the "Rising"33. This is made possible by a medication which enables human consciousness to be restored to the Zombies, and being officially referred to as Partially Diseased Syndrome sufferers (PDS) and derogatively known as "rotters", they are integrated back into the society. A posthuman invasion of body becomes evident from the beginning through the prescription of Nortriptyline³⁴, which is administered to the Zombies as a cure for infection. The visual signs of decay as a result of their infection are established through the motif of abjection, and attention is drawn to nausea and vomiting which emphasise the contamination of the human subject. Kieran's flashbacks to the time when he was a Zombie also become indicative of the radical remoulding and disturbance which is taking place within the posthuman mind and body, as Luckhurst affirms, "the flashback is the central device of the representation of trauma,"35 However, the Doctor reveals to Kieran that these flashbacks are a positive sign as "it means cognitive circuitry is connecting again. Like

³¹ Vi is the female virtual intelligence computer that was partly in charge of operating and running the Center for Disease Control

³² Pepperell, Robert. The Post-Human Condition: Consciousness beyond the brain. 2003. Print

³³ The Rising: a fictional time when England succumbed to the Zombie Apocalypse

³⁴ Nortriptyline: a fictional drug which can return Zombies to back to their conscious state

³⁵ Luckhurst, Roger. The Trauma Question. Routledge. 2008. Print

a computer rebooting." Here the jargon assigned to Kieran's brain aligns with that of neuroscience revealing a very posthuman view of the plasticity of the mind.

Hence it is clearly noticeable in all three texts that the representation of bodily invasion, one of the core tropes of the Zombie genre, has become integrated with and transformed by posthumanism.

COMA

All is dark. You can feel a peculiar tingling in your body and your mouth demands nourishment. You open your eyes and look down at your arms, a pale white revealing blue veins. "Why hello, you're awake, I assume you're starving, it happens to every patient! Try not to think about it for now, you're halfway there."

Having moved through the phase of infection, establishing that the posthuman presence exists in an emblematic sense through means of the virus, one must consider the impact of these changes on humanity. Despite the traditional threat of being transformed into a Zombie all three texts represent the added possibility of losing the "self" whilst remaining in a human state. According to Steven Shaviro, "Zombies always come in between, they insinuate themselves with the uncanny, the interstitial space that separates inside and outside, life and death."³⁶ Thus the posthuman influence is again reinforced as human characters lose the ability to be distinguished either physically or mentally from the figure of the Zombie.

The coma serves as a unifying structural element within texts through which a posthuman loss of subjectivity provoked. The characters within each text are positioned literally between life and death which accentuates the loss of human distinctiveness and ontological apprehension. The blurring of ontological boundaries in *Resident Evil* becomes implicit through the shattering of human static continuities between the mind and the body. Alice, the main protagonist wakes in a world in which her human identity has been lost with the realisation that she is a cyborg. Furthermore, overexposed flashbacks have been employed in a similar way to *In the Flesh*, in order to mirror Alice's fractured consciousness as a result of bodily augmentation. Rather than being clearly discernible as a machine, as in the case of the modern robot, the posthuman cyborg implicates itself between the human and the Zombie, as Leanne

36 Shaviro, Steven. The Cinematic Body. University of Minnesota Press, 1994. Print.

Richardson argues "the cyborg acts as a signifier of shifting dynamics between humanism and posthumanism and the presentation of a re-defined image of the boundaries between these binaries." Throughout the film moreover, the lack of distinction between the human and the machine is explicated through the similar costuming of the employees, who unconsciously carry out the duties of the Umbrella Corporation. This draws immediate connections with the posthuman "hive mind" which refers to the collective behaviour of self-organised systems controlled by artificially intelligent beings. As Hayles argues "A coded human existence is one without the singularity of the liberal subject. Instead of a multiplicity of singular wills or a cacophony of different spirits and personalities, subjects are transcribed into codes operating via variations of ones and zeroes."

With regards to In the Flesh, Kieran's comatose state reveals his ability to relive his moments as a Zombie, and like Alice, maintains a vivid connection to his previous body. This reflects the loss of agency and subjectivity brought on by posthumanism as the hierarchy of the mind and body becomes reconfigured, allowing Kieran to occupy and transfer between states of being. This movement between realms, extendible bodies and states of mind, affirms the posthuman experiences of contemporary audiences, who can live "out-of-body" experiences through virtual realms on a day to day basis through means of social exchange or avatars. As Douglas Rushkoff argues, "digital experiences which are out-of-body channel us toward depersonalized behaviour in an environment where one's identity can be a liability."40 In this way, as Kieran vacillates between his different states and struggles with his identity, so too is the audience confronted with an exploration of posthuman societal realms which they occupy. Subsequently, Kieran's identity and its threat to the status quo produce severe discrimination and prejudice from the townspeople of Roarton. The fully human townspeople however are subject to a definitional controversy when the partially diseased try to cover their identities conveyed through the symbolic motifs of contact lenses and makeup. Unlike Romero's Night of the Living Dead, which capitalised on the racial concerns of the zeitgeist, In the Flesh explores the implications of racism in

³⁷ Richardson, Leanna. The Modern Robot and the Postmodern Cyborg: The Post-Human as an Image of Anxiety. Emergence: A Journal of Undergraduate Literary Criticism and Creative Research. 2013.

³⁸ A group mind, hive mind, mind coalescence or group ego in science fiction is a single, collective consciousness or intelligence occupying many bodies or entities.

³⁹ Hayles, Katherine. How We Became Posthuman: Virtual Bodies in Cybernetics, Literature, and Informatics. Chicago, IL: U of Chicago, 1999. Print.

⁴⁰ Rushkoff, Douglas, Program or Be Programmed. Ten Commands for a Digital Age. OR Books. 2010. Print.

a posthuman civilisation where prejudice is not predicated on race, but upon the new various forms and definitions through which humanity can exist.

Despite the lacking of an overt presence of cyborgs or PDS sufferers, The Walking Dead represents the equivalent posthuman concern of the rupturing of human identity. Traditionally within the Zombie genre, the brain has been the ultimate signifier of the ontological difference between the human and the Zombie. From the periphery within the series this is seemingly accentuated by Dr Jenner when he states that the brain contains the "experiences, memories, it's everything, the thing that makes you human" representative of his attempt to distinguish the human from the Zombie. However, as the series develops it becomes apparent that fragments of memory seemingly survive within the Zombies as their brain "restarts" rather than "shuts down". This ambivalence becomes apparent in Dr Jenner's inability to conclude whether the Zombies are truly alive. This concept is furthered through chief protagonist Rick and his experience of the statement painted in blood on the hospital door "DON'T OPEN DEAD INSIDE". This provokes the understanding that humanity is already metaphorically "dead" and suggests the prospect of a posthuman revival, albeit in an inherently new state. Ultimate confirmation of the posthuman ontological lacuna between the human and the Zombie is confirmed by Dr. Jenner who reveals "we're all infected". This classification compels a definitional incongruity in which humanity has been lost from the outset. This revelation provokes the visible dehumanisation of characters such as Shane, for instance when he shoots a human for the purpose of ensuring his escape from a Zombie hoard. Through these actions Shane reverts to Romero's original generic classification of the Zombie, a being who kills humans for its survival and acts in a savage, irrational and bloodthirsty manner.

Therefore, as one of the most fundamental components of posthumanism is a shifting definition of the human, each text's questioning of such ontological apprehension is axiomatic of posthumanism's transformative power within the Zombie genre.

TRANSFORMATION

I hold up a mirror to your face. Your pupils are now milky white and nictitating membrane falls when you blink. "Truly beautiful isn't it?" I say, "You're almost there."

Having explored the changing trope of bodily invasion and the ambiguous definition of humanity prompted by a posthuman world; one must consider how the figure of the Zombie itself and its purpose within the Zombie narrative has been reconfigured by the

posthuman paradigm. It has been argued by academics that the Zombie "represents the complete embodiment of the other." However, unlike previous depictions where the Zombie is seen as threatening to the norm, identity or self, directors of these recent depictions in the genre make deliberate decisions to invert this approach. It becomes apparent that the Zombie as protagonist or antagonist is more frequently becoming a means of embracing 'otherness' rather than as acting as a signifier to protect the identity.

In *Resident Evil* Paul W. S. Anderson portrays Zombies which subvert the archetypal models of their historical representation. In the film, a plethora of different *types* of Zombies exist and, due to mutation and their subsequent transformation, possess different physical qualities. Here the viral anxiety aforementioned has interestingly lead to Zombies taking on qualities beyond human, considerably posthuman, including increased levels of speed, agility and immortality. As the desirable qualities originally sought by human science become embodied in the Zombie it suggests the potential consequences of moving towards a posthuman state. As a result *Resident Evil* suggests a multilayered threat, a constantly evolving and mutating Zombie aligning with contemporary anxiety surrounding the consequences of transforming humanity; "As the means become available for the technology creating species to manipulate the genetic code which gave rise to it new genetic viruses can emerge through accident or hostile intention with potentially mortal consequences."

Within *In the Flesh*, director Dominic Mitchell positions Kieran as a Zombie protagonist fully subverting the traditional approach of Zombie as antagonist or threat. Despite the community's belief that assimilated Zombies are "dangerous fiends" and "vicious predators", it is Kieran who embodies a greater sense of emotion, goodness and innocence than the townspeople. There is a gradual transformation and inversion of the qualities of human and the Zombie juxtaposed through Kieran's emotional sensitivity compared to the savage bigotry of the townspeople. As Sherryl Vint confirms:

"Narratives of transformation are often used by their creators to suggest new models for human identity. Narratives where the human is transformed into the posthuman become agents of progressive social change, they reverse the status quo; they transform the disenfranchised into the superhuman, and the empowered into victims of their own former strengths."43

⁴¹ Lloyd-Goodman, Andrew. Zombies and the Century of the Self. 2011. Essay

⁴² Kurzweil, Ray. How to Create a Mind: The Secret of Human Thought Revealed. 2012. Print

⁴³ Vint, Sherryl. Theorising the Global: The Limits of Posthuman Subjectivity and Collective Agency in Joan Slonczewski's Brain Plague. University of Michigan Library. 2005. Essay.

The traditional distinctions between the Zombie and the human are transposed and inversed through the symbolic focus on Kerian's works of art and childhood toys. This focus, complemented by the poignant score of "Chanton" by Keaton Henson expresses Kieran's innocence and humanness. This is contrasted with the underexposed flashbacks to his memories as a Zombie where he emotively remembers those he killed and simultaneously feels guilt. Furthermore, in the final street scene, Mitchell inverts the traditional Zombie invasion structure when Kieran and his family defend their home from violent members of the human community. Tribute to the genre is paid using conventional weapons such as a spiked cricket bat and a chainsaw which are ironically used by his family to defend Kieran against humanity to highlight its savagery and otherness.

The Walking Dead, unlike Resident Evil and In the Flesh, maintains fully "human" protagonists, although the conceptual changes are still prevalent throughout. Evidence of this is found when Rick and Glenn dismember a zombie and cover themselves in its entrails in order to travel unnoticed by the Zombies. Here the abjection of the traditional Zombie is embraced by humanity as a necessary means for survival. Furthermore, a series of close-up shots are utilised in combination with canted framing to visually align the protagonists not only with the appearance of, but also to the physical stumble of the Zombie. Here, unlike traditional representations, the Zombie is now being represented in a way which forces characters to abandon their humanity, not assert it, and as result become indistinguishable from the other to survive.

Thus it is highly evident that the changing figure of the Zombie and through subversion the Zombie narrative are currently functioning not to differentiate humanity but to produce a posthuman otherness in the place of the self. In these new Zombie visions of posthumanism a new conception of subjectivity is presented as less than human and as an erasure of the self. In the posthuman world there is no longer a need for an "other", as humanity has already become the "other".

CURE?

"That's it, you have made it; you're one of us now". I allow you to sit up, you feel your body freed from its mortal bounds as you slowly you stagger outside the laboratory into your new existence. Somewhere within all that organic wiring, all those ripples of light, you have been reborn.

Ultimately one can appreciate how firmly the Zombie genre has become entrenched within and transformed by the posthuman paradigm. This understanding has been has been confirmed through the viral revolution of the trope of bodily invasion, the ambiguous definition of humanity provoked within a posthuman world and the changing purpose of the Zombie and its narrative which calls one to embrace otherness. These elements have all been prompted by key posthuman tenets. These "visual hieroglyphs" of posthumanism, often invisible within our daily lives, are cues and hints of a changing human experience, as the original assumptions of humanism fail to hold true in contemporary society. A myriad of upcoming developments in the genre will irrefutably continue to emphasise this essay's content with new seasons of *In the Flesh* and *The Walking Dead* and the sixth instalment of the film franchise *Resident Evil: The Final Chapter* which is scheduled for 2015. It is also telling that a brand new series, *The Strain*, also debuted to 8 million viewers in 2014, focussing on the CDC and their investigation into a mysterious viral outbreak.

As the Zombie continues to become more human one question ostensibly remains, is the Zombie therefore offering a cure; a way forward into, and a reappraisal of, the next stage of humanity? Beyond any doubt, the Zombie genre will continue to walk (or stumble) into the future until audiences accept that the Humanism's "human" is no longer an apt model of understanding humanity and its future. The transformation of the Zombie must no longer signify the end of humanity, but ultimately be a cause of recognition that a new phase of human existence has only just begun.

⁴⁴ Ozog, Cassandra Anne. Fear Rises from the Dead: A Sociological Analysis of Contemporary Zombie Films as Mirrors of Social Fears. University of Regina, 2013. Dissertation.

VISUAL ART

Bailey Elith Fractured

STATEMENT OF INTENT

My body of work seeks to subtly represent the environmental and familial devastation that came from the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Through an integration of a variety of mediums, my artwork represents the reshaping and redefinition of Japanese cultural and personal identity that came from such confrontation and destruction.

Such postmodern thought is explored through the impulsive and expressive painting style, seen in the three large portraits. The application of heavy blacks, that of which alludes to traditional Japanese calligraphy, is bold and dynamic to represent such chaos. Coated upon stark, blank paper, the piece reflects my attempt to truly expose such ideas, and to further survey the fragility of the human condition. In association with my title 'fractured', the jagged collage pieces, and the graphic colouration in the block pieces collectively explore my intentions.









HISTORY

Michael Rodgers

Assess the use of history in the competing claims to the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh

SYNOPSIS

I have chosen, after many changes, the question "Assess the use of history in the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute". This has come about after many revisions, based on what would be able to utilise the historiographical side of the debate. First, my questions generally revolved around who should own Nagorno-Karabakh, although Dr Diamadis advised against them due to the fact that they focused too much on the political and territorial side, rather than the historiographical side. I then focused the question on the 'role' of history, although I rejected this because the scope was too wide for a 2,500 word essay.

Having settled the question, I have sought to focus on how history and historical writings have been 'used' by the Armenian and Azeri perspectives, and how this ties into the modern ownership debate. The 'use' of history has been answered by including the use by both perspectives, and the role of historians within the two groups impacted by the dispute, and by foreign historians. As history has been used in on overtly political way, I have sought to include the way that history has been used in this way. I have also sought to include the use of history by the public.

Content wise, I have attempted to include various elements of the historical debate, including the archaeological, written, ethnographical and linguistic elements. I have included these elements to gain a wide field of historical sources used within the debate, so as not to limit the essay to one aspect, which would then limit the elements I would be able to write about. I have utilised Armenian, Azeri and foreign historians, writing at length about many of those whom I consider to have had a major impact in either the writing about the issue, or those who have been used widely in the historiography of the issue.

ESSAY

Historical perceptions have shaped the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh¹, (appendix A) a small, mountainous territory claimed by Azerbaijan and the Armenians of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, an unrecognised state formed after the bloody war between 1988 and 1994. History is used by both sides to 'justify' their claim over Nagorno-Karabakh, and to show that they were the first inhabitants, implying their opponents are invaders. For the Armenians, the conflict has often been seen as a fight for survival, as General Monte Melkonian stated. For the Azeris, this is seen as a battle for their territorial integrity, although Vache Kahramanian stated that territorial integrity does not exist.

Melita Kuburas² writes on the origins of the conflict, from the standpoints of the primordial and constructivist view.

The primordial view of territory states³ that ethnic groups are tied to land and that these groups are linked by common bonds of religion and culture. The primordial approach sees ethnic conflict as being caused when different groups claim ties to the same land. In Nagorno-Karabakh both Armenians and Azeris assert that their ancestors are indigenous to the area which has contributed to ongoing conflict.

The constructivist theory of territory⁴ states that countries are formed by agreements or treaties. On Nagorno-Karabakh, constructivists claim the major reason for conflict is the fact that the 1921 treaty brokered by the Soviet Communist Bureau gave Nagorno-Karabakh to the Azeris after promising it to Armenia. The Armenians claim this agreement was forced on them⁵, while the Azeris base their right to Nagorno-Karabakh on this agreement.

There has been a significant amount written from the Armenian and Azeri perspectives on the claims to Nagorno-Karabakh, due to the political implications of the historiography, as history has been used to strengthen the territorial claims to Nagorno-Karabakh. The writings of ancient and modern historians are used, forming a major part of the historiography of the issue, indicating the wide variety of historical viewpoints. The historical record concerning Nagorno-Karabakh constitutes an emotive issue for both the Armenians and Azeris, with the governments in Yerevan, Baku and Stepanakert placing importance on their national histories. This point is illustrated by the websites of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, the Armenian and Azeri Foreign Ministries. All have sections on Nagorno-Karabakh's history as well as material on the current ownership debate. The Armenian and Azeri diaspora play a key role in developing and utilising popular history to support their points of view.

Armenian writers, such as those utilised by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Yerevan, cite ancient authors such as Strabo and Pliny the Elder to demonstrate Armenian occupation in antiquity.⁶ Strabo's description of Caucasian geography is detailed, suggesting that the modern territory of Nagorno-Karabakh was part of the ancient Armenian Kingdom in the first century BC. Writing a century later, Pliny the Elder stated "The whole of Armenia ... is from Dascusa to the edge of the Caspian Sea." Nagorno-Karabakh is in the middle of the region described by Pliny. This suggests that these ancient historians considered the region which would later become Nagorno-Karabakh part of ancient Armenia, which supports the modern Armenian claim to ownership. There is little mention of the Caucasian Albanians, from whom the Azeris claim descent. There is no mention of the Turkic people, who were unknown to the Romans and Greeks, weakening the Azeri claim. Foreign historians claim the Azeris are descended from Turks.

One of the most prolific and controversial Azeri historians is Ziya Bunyadov, a Revisionist writing from 1954 until his death in 1997. He wrote primarily on the origins of the Azeri people, claiming descent from the Caucasian Albanians, an Eastern Caucasian group who lived in Nagorno-Karabakh alongside Armenians. His work forms the basis of much of the modern Azeri historiography. Despite the fact that his writings about Armenians have blatantly racist undertones, his work is highly regarded in Azerbaijan, evidenced by his burial in the Baku Alley of Honour, alongside former President Heydar Aliyev.

Despite Bunyadov's popularity in Azerbaijan, he has been accused by English journalist Thomas de Waal of plagiarism, omitting facts regarding Armenian ownership of territory and altering maps to suit his arguments. One of his articles on the Caucasian Albanians written in the 1960's, presented in Azerbaijan as original work, is alleged to be a translation of Western works. De Waal stated in 2003:

"Buniatov's (*sic*) scholarly credentials were dubious. It later transpired that the two articles he published in 1960 and 1965 on Caucasian Albania were direct plagiarism. Under his own name, he had simply published, unattributed, translations of two articles, originally written in English by Western scholars C.F.J. Dowsett and Robert Hewsen.⁸

Bunyadov's writings are rejected in Armenia, due to their negative treatment of Armenians and because they conflict with the Armenian view of history. In his 1988 article 'Why Sumgait?'9, he claimed that Armenian nationalists planned and carried out the massacre of Armenians in the 1988 Sumgait Massacre, to force the annexation of Nagorno Karabakh to Armenia. Bunyadov's work has been criticised by Armenian

historians such as George Bournoutian, who in 2009 called Bunyadov 'Azerbaijan's foremost Armenophobe'¹⁰.

Bunyadov's writing is infused with personal opinion and racist statements about Armenians and their state. He regularly made general unsubstantiated statements. In 'Why Sumgait', he wrote, falsely, that the Armenian state was "obliterated"¹¹ in 387AD, 1601 years before he wrote his article and had never been revived. He interrupts his own article, saying "It is a good jubilee, is not it?"¹²

Despite Bunyadov's claims, the historical record demonstrates that many Armenian states have existed since 387. In the Medieval period, the Armenia Kingdom existed as a significant regional power¹³. The Kingdom of Artsakh, which controlled Nagorno-Karabakh, lasted until 1261. Armenian lords, *meliks*, continued to rule there with significant autonomy until the Russian conquest in 1822. Armenia existed as a state between 1918 and 1920. Hovannisian stated in 1971 "In 1918, the Armenian people emerged from centuries of foreign dominance to establish a small republic.¹⁴" An empiricist, Hovannisian uses governmental sources to demonstrate the existence of the First Armenian Republic.

This demonstrates that the Armenian state was not 'obliterated' in 387. Bunyadov has misrepresented Armenian history to discredit the Armenian nationalist movement which called for an Armenian state, and more importantly for him, for independence for Nagorno-Karabakh. If Bunyadov established the idea that an Armenian state is an ancient "dream" the nationalist movement would appear less credible. In the words of Dr Geukjian, "Azeri historians like Bunyadov have tried to minimise and denigrate the Armenian factor in Azerbaijan and Karabakh" 16.

Another prominent historiographer of Nagorno-Karabakh is Takayuki Yoshimura¹⁷, a Japanese historian writing in 2012.¹⁸ Lecturer of Foreign Studies, Tokyo University, Yoshimura takes an empiricist approach to writing about this territorial question. He primarily uses Armenian historian Asatur Mnatsakanyan and Azeri historian Igrar Aliev.

Enormous societal and governmental pressure to conform to the prevailing national view is placed on the writers of both ethnicities, especially Azeris, as Azerbaijan is an authoritarian state, whose historians must write to a 'party line'. Historical fiction novelist Akram Aylisli published *Stone Dreams* in 2013 about the massacre of Armenians in the 1988 Sumgait pogrom, and was condemned almost universally in Azerbaijan for it. The head of the pro-governmental *Modern Equality* party offered US\$13,000 to anyone who cut off Aylisli's ear in February 2013 and his governmental award, the prestigious 'People's Writer' title, was stripped by Presidential Decree.

Other examples of popular history include comments YouTube videos concerning Armenian or Azerbaijani history. In many of these videos arguments emerge between Armenians and Azeris, which generally delve into personal attacks and remarks on the status of the two countries. For example, on a video entitled 'the Armenification of Nagorno Karabakh', Hasan Sultanov posted in 2010 "stop Armenian Fascism" in 10 different languages. An Armenian responded "Be happy we left you what you have now". In this way, history is used by individuals who are not 'historians' per se.

A key issue of contention in the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute is whether the Azeris are ethnically descended from the Caucasian Albanians, as Bunyadov claimed in 1965¹⁹, or if they are ethnically Turkic, as others such as Peter Golden claimed in 1992²⁰. For the Azeris, demonstrating Albanian ethnicity bolsters their claim to be indigenous to Nagorno-Karabakh, strengthening ownership claims. Bunyadov's supporters, such as his student Farida Mammadova, claim that their ancestors were converted to Islam by invading Arabs in the 8th century AD and culturally and linguistically 'Turkified' after the Seljuk Turk conquest two centuries later.

Despite this claim, Azeris are most likely descended from Turks who settled the region in the 10th century, explaining their close cultural and linguistic affinity to the Anatolian Turks. The Christian Udi people of Azerbaijan are generally considered the true descendants of the Caucasian Albanians. This puts the Azeri claim of being indigenous to Nagorno-Karabakh in serious doubt.

Until 1918, Azerbaijanis were generally known as *Caucasian Tartars*. This implies Turkic heritage, as the Tartar people are Turks who spread across southern Russia, the Caucasus and Central Asia. It is of interest that the notion that modern Azeris are descendants of Caucasian Albanians did not exist until the 1960's.

Mammadova uses the Albanians' Christian heritage to attempt to demonstrate that all Armenian Christian monuments in Nagorno-Karabakh are Albanian, demonstrating Azeri inhabitation²¹. This is despite the fact that many of these monuments have the Armenian script written on them²². Azeri vandals chipped inscriptions in the Armenian script off the walls to make the Armenian Church of the Holy Mother of God appear Albanian. Norwegian archaeologists working at the time lodged an official complaint to UNESCO²³.

Pro-Azeri writers such as Kh. Khalilov are the sole claimants that Armenians are not native to the southern Caucasus. He claimed in 1990 that Armenians were settled in Nagorno-Karabakh during the Russian occupation from 1822-1917, to make it "a fortress against Iran"²⁴. This could only occur with the resettling of large numbers of Armenian

Christians in the 1880's. Yoshimura wrote in 2012 that empiricist Azeri historian Igrar Aliev uses Russian documents, namely a Russian census report titled *A record on the Karabagh territory*. This labels Nagorno-Karabakh 'a very Muslim territory' in reference to the population. Azeris use such evidence to attempt to demonstrate that Armenians are not indigenous to Nagorno-Karabakh.

While the official name for the unrecognised state is 'The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic', the names used reflect the conflict. Commonly known as Nagorno-Karabakh, this is a mixture of the Russian *nagorny* (нагорье—'highland') and the Azeri karabakh (Qarabağ 'black garden'). Armenians generally refer to the area by its ancient Armenian name, Artsakh (Црдш\u). The nomenclature employed by writers often indicates their opinion on who is in the right regarding control the region.

Antique maps are used in the historiography of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Like most other elements in the debate, maps have been falsified. Leading Azeri historian Ziya Bunyadov has been accused by Russian historian V Shnirelman of altering maps, seeking to reduce the size of Armenian holdings across time and to remove evidence of Armenian habitation of Nagorno-Karabakh. Shnirelman stated in 2011 this was to "clear the territories of modern Azerbaijan from the presence of Armenian history³⁵".

Colin McEvedy's 1961 book *Penguin Atlas of Medieval History*, is a collection of maps of Europe and the Middle East, covering the 4th to the 15th centuries. McEvedy shows the extent of control of the differing states over time, using the same shading for the states of the same ethnic group. The treatment of Nagorno-Karabakh is identical: Armenians are shown to have a presence from the earliest maps, (Appendix B) while a Caucasian Albanian state is not mentioned, and the first state with *Turkic* shadings appears in the map of 1071AD. McEvedy states that the maps are not original work, but a compilation.

There are problems with using these maps. As they are of the wider Europe and Middle East region, Nagorno-Karabakh is difficult to determine due to its small size. Similarly, many of the smaller states such as the Armenian *melikdoms* of Karabakh or the smaller Turkic emirates are not shown. States are shaded based on the ethnicity of the ruling group, and does not take into account examples where the majority of the inhabitants were ethnically different to the rulers. This makes certain states appear homogenous (Appendix C) where they were not, as most states in the Caucasus were multi-ethnic. This does not take into account the various groups, such as the Armenians, Albanians, Georgians, and the Turks inhabiting different states.

The archaeological evidence in Nagorno-Karabakh has been used by both sides to as proof of their inhabitation. In the archaeological historiography, there have been several issues of contention, primarily the destruction of monuments which demonstrate Armenian heritage and occupation in Azerbaijani owned territories, namely the Julfa cemetery. A large Armenian necropolis with over 10,000 monuments was destroyed by Azeri soldiers (Appendix D) between 1998 and 2005 in the enclave of Nakhchivan. This is an example of the Azeri attempt to purge Armenian history from Azerbaijani territory. After the destruction of the cemetery some, such as senior Azeri cleric *Allahshukur Pashazade*, claimed in 2003 that the cemetery never existed, and that Armenians never inhabited the area²⁶. He stated in his letter to the *Catholicos* of the Armenian Apostolic Church "We have received the letter in which You express Your concern over some information published in mass media and relating to the destruction of an allegedly Armenian cemetery"²⁷ This is an example of Azeris falsifying history, which is rampant in the historiography of the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute.

Armenians have also been accused of falsifying history²⁸. Azeri newspaper 'Zerkalo' reported on the 3rd of December, 2013²⁹ that a Neolithic city near Horadiz, on the Azeri side of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic boarder was 'barbarously destroyed' in 2013 by Armenians. Because, Zerkalo claimed, the settlement "serves as proof"³⁰ that the Azeris are "heirs to an advanced civilisation"³¹. There is no evidence to suggest that the Azeris' ancestors built the settlement, showing the assumption that all archaeological sites in Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh must have been built by the Azeris' ancestors forms a core of their political ideology.

As with the issue of Armenian Christian remains, which are claimed to be Albanian, this assumption casts doubt on the credibility of the evidence given by Azeri historians. In 2013 President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev wrote on the website of the Azeri embassy to Great Britain a piece which speaks of a Palaeolithic settlement³², in a section on Azerbaijan's historical background. This is cited as evidence of Azeri habitation in Nagorno-Karabakh during prehistoric times. However, this does not prove Azeri habitation; merely early human habitation. This is another example of how the Azeris assume their ancestors built all monuments in the area. Being located on the embassy's website shows the importance historical 'evidence' has for the Azeri state, as this can be used to assert historical ownership, and therefore, the right to current ownership.

Falsified history is part of the historiography of the Nagorno-Karabakh debate, as it reflects the need for Azeri historians to present the accepted view of history.

History has been used and misused by both sides of the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute. Both have attempted to show that history is 'on their side', and that their ownership of Nagorno-Karabakh has been justified by history, as shown through many mediums. History has been manipulated and falsified to suit the aims of various historians, who have used history in close regard to the modern ownership debate, making it is difficult for the dispute to be viewed objectively.

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- 25 Victor Shnirelman The Albanian Myth (Moscow: Academkniga, 2003)
- 26 Allahshukur Pashazadeh, Sheik-Ul-Islam, to Supreme Patriarch-Catholicos Of All Armenians on February 27, 2003, found on http://www.djulfa.com/denial

- 27 Ibid
- 28 Ibid Allahshukur Pashazade accused Armenians of destroying Azeri mosques in Nagorno-Karabakh. However this occurred during the Nagorno-Karabakh War, and the mosques were destroyed through fighting and fell into disrepair due to a lack of use, rather than a deliberate destruction.
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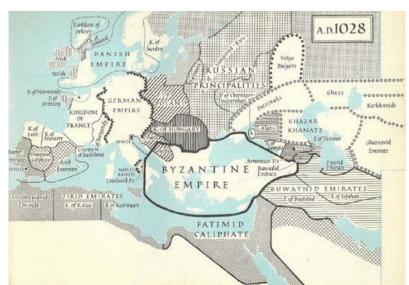
APPENDICES

Right: A map of Nagorno Karabakh with the Caucasus



Right: McEvedy's map demonstrating the existence of the state of Armenia since the Classical period





Left: McEvedy's map showing how states in the Caucasus appear ethnically homogenous



Left: Azeri soldiers destroying khachkars, Armenian grave monuments, in the Julfa Cemetery, December 2005. The photo was taken from across the Araxes River border in Iran by Arthur Gevorgian

VISUAL ART

Patrick Nelson

Life was lost, legacy lived on

STATEMENT OF INTENT

My body of work depicts the perils of a personal friend's battle with cancer. I focused on the subject's journey—before the disease, during the fight and finally the legacy that he left. My body of work serves as a tribute and memento to my friend's life. The first artwork exudes the happiness and ecstasy of his youth and unspoiled health—I purposely painted an expressive background comprised of deep greens, vibrant reds and hints of purple and blue to extrapolate on the subject's perfect condition and impeccable stature. Moreover, the lush colours of the subject's face and fiery red hair are features that are intended to polarize the confronting following pieces. The next two paintings depict the adverse effects of cancer on the subject; I used a mop brush to blend shades of grey and black in the background and smoothed my brush strokes in the face to indicate a deprived, rundown feel. The last piece is symbolic of the legacy that my friend left—I painted with generous strokes, used relatively small blending as well as rich colours and tonal variations to enhance the subject's strong and powerful character. In line with this the background is unrealistic and expressive, however draws attention to the gentle gaze of the subject.













ENGLISH

Henri King

Watchtower

REFLECTION STATEMENT

Watchtower, a suite of short stories, aims to explore how humanity is unable to transcend its Darwinian evolutionary origins, such that we psychosomatically operate purely upon bestial instincts. This concept is drawn from the conclusion that whilst humanity has, for millennia, erected psychological and philosophical distinctions between humankind and other evolved organisms, pointing to his superior intellect as justification, this is a mere facade. In essence, humanity is and always will be a creature of its evolutionary legacy.

My Major Work's conceptual origins lie in the preliminary Extension 1 course, wherein I examined those inherent qualities of man that place him in a state of existential crisis. My HSC Extension 1 studies developed upon this, as I explored the dynamics of human brutality in a post-modern landscape as part of the 'After the Bomb' unit of study.

At the very core of this concept lies my investigation into Charles Darwin's theory 'On the Origins of Species', in which he outlines a perpetual "struggle for existence" between all living organisms as a direct result of the innate will to survive and propagate. As this process of natural selection implicitly applies to humanity, we, too, possess this inherent instinct for competition and survival. Mark Twain's landmark essay 'What is Man?' assisted in defining the parameters of this innate drive, such that "man and the other animals are all alike" in their possession of an instinctual "machine" over which they have "no command". Furthermore, when combined with my investigation into Jean-Jacques Rousseau's 'Theory of Natural Human' as part of his Discourse on Inequality's, it became apparent that upon one's entrance into a society, this instinct

- 1 Darwin, Charles, and David Quammen. 'On the Origin of Species'. New York: Sterling, 2008. Print.
- 2 Twain, Mark, What Is Man? New York: Oxford UP, 1996, Print.
- 3 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, and Maurice Cranston. A Discourse on Inequality. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin, 1984. Print.

persists and continues to manifest itself through selfish desires, such that "from the moment it appeared advantageous to any one man to have enough provisions for two, equality disappeared". Thus, my Major Work's three short stories are demonstrative of the irrepressible Darwinian instincts within society.

Given this exploration of human psychology, a short story anthology, which allows for deeper exploration of multiple protagonists through both speech and thought dialogue, is the most appropriate medium. This is applicable to a target audience of contemporary, educated thinkers who frequently read literary journals that showcase works of literary and intellectual merit (such as the *Overland Literary Journal*, *Meanjin* or the *Atlantic Monthly*).

To enable this, I have framed each story in terms of one of the Three Viennese Schools of Psychotherapy, with the intent of thereby showing how Darwinian instincts comprise the similar core of these psychotherapeutic motivations. This required research into Viktor Frankl's 'Man's Search for Meaning'⁴, Friedrich Nietzsche's 'The Will to Power'⁵ and Sigmund Freud's 'Two Principles of Mental Functioning'⁶.

In composing the first story of my suite, 'Windows', the opening prologue is a reflection of the epigraph to T. S. Eliot's 'The Waste Land', a motif that is continued throughout all three stories. The fact that the Sybil wants to "die for something" draws the conceptual premise away from Eliot's original nihilistic desire of "I want to die" in her foreseeing of human suffering, and immediately establishes Frankl's psychotherapeutic paradigm,

⁴ Frankl, Viktor E. Man's Search for Meaning. Boston: Beacon, 2006. Print.

⁵ Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm, Walter Arnold Kaufmann, and R. J. Hollingdale. The Will to Power. New York: Random House, 1967. Print.

⁶ Freud, Sigmund, and Peter Gay. The Freud Reader. New York: W.W. Norton, 1989. Print.

⁷ Eliot, T. S., and Christopher Ricks. The Waste Land. San Diego: Harcourt Brace, 1997. Print.

as "man is responsible and must actualize the potential meaning of his life" due to the reasoning that "if there is meaning in life at all, then there must be meaning in suffering."

The piece's epilogue acts as the counterpoint to this, when upon returning to the metaphysical confrontation with the Sybil, there is a suspended, unanswered question of "for what did they die". This structural framing highlights the transition that has occurred within the story's progression, as events, dialogue and characterisation culminate to reveal the actuality of Darwinian instincts for survival and competition as the only true motivators. In terms of characterisation, I have alluded to Albert Camus' 'The Myth of Sisyphus'8, by establishing both characters as existential anti-heroes in their suffering at the hands of an indifferent universe. This is seen in that one character has a prosthetic leg, while the other commences the day with "three pills", as well as lasting psychological effects of war represented in dreams of "the village in flames" causing him to be "convulsing and moaning in his sleep". In utilising the character labels of "White" and "Black", I have drawn inspiration from Cormac McCarthy's 'The Sunset *Limited*'s, whereby the polarity of these labels enables comparative debate between the characters through dialogue to didactically express the central concept. Thus, 'Black' represents a perspective of life as meaningless and Darwinian in the animalistic imagery of "everything's a nothing and we are prey on the hunting grounds of time". a viewpoint that ultimately surmounts the view of 'White' who finds it necessary to "defend what freedom and civilisation and meaning still yet clings to this outcrop".

Further structural devices utilised include the protagonists' literal descent in 'Windows' being metaphorically aligned with a descent through the levels of hell in Dante's 'Inferno'10, such that their state of sin is amplified as they culminate towards a realization of inherent meaninglessness and Darwinism. The establishment of the "Tower" motif also alludes to Bob Dylan's 'All Along The Watchtower'11 in which the construct of an omnipresent, indifferent and unfathomable universe is embodied within the image of a "watchtower".

When attempting to express the concept of Darwinism in the composition of my second story, 'Eagle', I used a quote from William Shakespeare's 'Macbeth'¹⁷ as an epigraph to establish Nietzsche's psychotherapeutic framework of humanity being

⁸ Camus, Albert. The Myth of Sisyphus, and Other Essays. New York: Vintage, 1955. Print.

⁹ McCarthy, Cormac. The Sunset Limited: A Novel in Dramatic Form. New York: Vintage, 2006. Print.

¹⁰ Alighieri, Dante, and John Ciardi. The Inferno. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1954. Print.

¹¹ Dylan, Bob. All Along The Watchtower. Bob Dylan. Bob Johnston, 1967. Vinyl recording.

solely motivated towards power in life. By the story's conclusion, this is broken down as the protagonist realises that there is "victory only in survival", indicative of man's struggle for power sourced from an innate Darwinian instinct to compete. The use of interjecting paragraphs of introspective monologues shows this development, as derived from Cormac McCarthy's 'No Country For Old Men'¹⁷, to effectively explore the psychological turmoil undergone by the protagonist as she comes to this conceptual realization. This has the added effect of creating an empathetic connection between the audience and character, such that they are able to connect with my purpose of questioning their own motivations in life.

The anthology's third and final story, 'Questions', aims to draw together overarching leitmotifs through the exploration of Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytical school on the 'pleasure principle', which in 'Two Principles of Mental Functioning' he himself describes as "the watchman over life". Thus, I epitomise this in the setting of a torture interrogation scenario whereby the victim must learn that "we are born into this world we are in chains, the chains of pleasure and pain, twin masters".

Stylistically, I have based much of my writing off short stories such as Anton Chekhov's 'The Lady With the Dog'¹² and Raymond Carver's 'Cathedral'¹³ to assist in the development of my intended 'profoundly simple' writing style. This is evident in lines such as "He got out of bed and put on his jacket and tracksuit against the waiting cold. He noticed as he did so that his hands were still shaking." Thereby aiming to most effectively engage the audience on a basic empathetic level. My omission of syntax and punctuation from dialogue and description throughout all three stories also parallels Cormac McCarthy's 'The Road'¹⁴ as in "Counting out the seconds minutes hours days without end" to represent this stripping down to the bare instinctual bones.

My investigation into subject for this entire Major Work has been widespread, encompassing YouTube videos of drone pilots in training and window cleaners on sky scrapers, as well as articles, military transcript documents, interviews and reviews on related works and issues. In particular, many of the scenes from 'Eagle' were drawn from the testimony of Brandon Bryant that appeared in a GQ magazine entitled 'Confessions of a Drone Warrior' 15. The culmination of this research allowed me to create

¹² Chekhov, Anton Pavlovich. The Lady with the Dog: And Other Stories. New York: Macmillan, 1917. Print.

¹³ Carver, Raymond. Cathedral: Stories. New York: Knopf, 1983. Print.

¹⁴ McCarthy, Cormac. The Road. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006. Print.

¹⁵ Power, Matthew. "Confessions of a Drone Warrior." GQ Magazine 23 Oct. 2013: n. Print.

authenticity within the stories, as in the pilot lingo of 'Eagle', "Launch checklist, MTS Auto-track"

In attempting to universalize my concept across the suite as a whole, I have emulated the structure of Tim Winton's short story anthology 'The Turning'¹⁶ in creating subtle connections between otherwise separate stories. It is suggested in 'Eagle' that the protagonist is in fact the daughter of 'White' from 'Windows', as well as the victim from 'Questions' admitting that "You should know that you killed my son", alluding to a cycle of Darwinian brutality and its perpetual re-manifestation.

My contemporary audience is engaged through originality, as in the approach of Cormac McCarthy as in '*The Sunset Limited*'¹⁴ whereby subtle insinuation, ambiguity and a focus on the characters' psychological reactions to the events is used rather than a clichéd approach to the issue of terrorism. A key example of this occurs in '*Eagle*', when textual formatting is utilised to emulate and allude to the Twin Towers.

Conclusively, through a facilitating process of independent investigation, *Watchtower* has actualised my intention of depicting Darwinian instincts within contemporary society, by way of humanity's inability to transcend its evolutionary origins resulting in a struggle of economic and military proportions.

SHORT STORY

"Two riders were approaching" – Bob Dylan

WINDOWS

Out of the jungle and at the mountain's summit I reached her cave. And there inside with my own eyes I saw the Sybil of Cumae hanging in a glass Tower, and when I said to her:

Sybil, what do you want

She answered: I want to die for something

Black: Over the jungle, time moves only with the beat of rotors. Counting down the seconds minutes hours days without end. They butcher a maelstrom steed out of ethereal skies, riding. The canopy yielding for a moment as the chopper passes overhead before melding once more to reach eternal horizons; time has no hold upon those armoured trunks. The wind and rain, night and day, moon and sun, nations raised, razed and once more undone, all pass over them. They are silent watchtowers, sending leaves to dance triumphant in the wake of man's passing. Leaves and ashes.

And from within the cockpit's windows he watched the Tower of smoke in the sky. And when he flew out over the clearing he could see that it was the village in flames. He watched as chemical smoke formed shapes in the wind. Shapes and shadows. Suspended for a moment before fading away to never be repeated.

Then he woke in the dark and the cold of the morning night with sweat on his skin. It was 5:35; the alarm clock releasing him from his nightmare and delivering him to the next. He shut it off, allowing the city's pre-dawn soundtrack to enter through the windows of his empty studio apartment. The ebb and flow of traffic, passenger jets in the cold distance. A city encased in the grip of an immense darkness. Kept at bay only by flickering streetlights and the hope of dawn. Each new sunrise a revelation, a wait fulfilled, a second coming.

He got out of bed and put on his jacket and tracksuit against the waiting cold. He noticed as he did so that his hands were still shaking. He reached under the mattress and pulled out a bottle of whiskey and found a glass and sat on the side of his bed. He took his meds, three pills, followed by a deep drink. He tucked the box firmly into the inside pocket of his jacket, arming himself for the day ahead. Like a gunslinger before

the duel. And then he headed out into the heart of the night for what could always be the last time. Making for the Tower.

White: When he woke that morning he thought himself dead. His daughter, hearing him cry out in the night, found him convulsing and moaning in his sleep. She switched on the light, and he jolted upright, eyes wide and lost. The white globe above his head a gateway to the afterlife that moments ago had been promised to him in a flash of chemical flame.

He felt her hand on his arm and his body eased as his eyes took in the light. He lay back down.

Are you okay dad

Yeah, I'm sorry for waking you

Was it a dream

Yes

Okay

He turned on his side and checked the clock. There was no alarm; it was only 5:15.

He looked at the child. I've got to get up for work now anyway

Are you okay to work today

I'm fine

Okay

As she left he sat up on the side of his bed and strapped on his leg. He pulled on his tracksuits over the unyielding plastic, bracing for the cold at the Tower's summit. Then he walked to the bathroom and washed his face, looking at himself in the mirror for a moment. Looking into his reflection. On his way to the door he looked in on his daughter as she lay back in bed. There was a sandwich waiting for him on the stove that she'd made the night before. Thanks. He put it in his bag and left from the apartment into the night. Making for the Tower.

Black: The subway carried him deeper into the heart of darkness. His own lassitude reflected in the passengers around him, the baggage under their eyes dark windows into a life of struggle, of striving. All of them dead still, eyes down, brains in a comatose and operating purely on instinct. He wondered why they did it, why he did it. He wasn't sure why he was here, why he was going to work when he could have found solace in the darkness of his empty apartment, in heaven's amnesias. No one would have found him there. Not for a while at least. But it was the Tower that was calling him, watching him.

White: The subway tried to coax his eyes shut as it swayed, gently. He hadn't slept through the night for the past few days weeks months years. Not since he got back. Unable to balance a longing for rest and a fear of what memories it might bring. Threatening to float back to the surface, like crude oil in an ocean of time.

The thud of a man's dropped suitcase made him jump as for an instant his mind raced, eyes in the trees. Then the train stopped and the doors hissed serpentine and he stepped back out onto cold streets.

Black: On autopilot he entered the Tower and swiped his card and made it into the maintenance storage room and collected his gear and stepped into the elevator and began his ascent.

White: Following the stream of suits and briefcases, he entered the Tower, peeling out of the current and into the maintenance room. Collecting his gear, he noticed that one of the harnesses had been taken already. That was unusual. He'd never known his partner to be early to work. That's something you'd notice after working the same building together for that many years, after having worked dust-offs over there together for that many years.

He got in the elevator and began his ascent. Such great heights, and yet an even greater fall.

The lift growled to a stop, ninety stories up. He climbed a set of bare industrial stairs and pulled open the iron maintenance door, reaching the Tower's summit.

First light broke the horizon. The night retreating for another day. From up here he could see the haze that shrouded the city as if it were contained within a glass, distorting the light such that the city's vaulting glass spires appeared a mirage. Each window caught the shimmering rays. Each Tower encased in walls of tantalising, impenetrable gold. Clawing their way free into ethereal skies. Far below, the streets stirred reptilian in the warmth, shifting traffic echoing up on the wind; a helicopter in the cold distance.

And then he saw him, standing at the very edge of the precipice. Silhouetted in the new light, gazing out over the vast concrete wasteland that spread away from the sheer drop beneath him.

THEY DESCENDED FROM LEVEL 90: LIMBO

White: So there you are

Black: Together again at last. I thought you'd never come

White: Come back from the edge, we've got work to do

Black: Why don't you come over to the edge

White: Why would I do that

Black: It'll make you feel alive

White: And you don't already

Black: Not this morning

White: Why's that

Black: Every day we wash the same Tower, and habit is the great deadener

White: Could you please come back from the edge, please

Black: Sometimes I wonder why we made it back

White: Don't say that

Black: Isn't it better to die for something than live for nothing

As he stood staring into the abyss, he could feel again the beat of rotors above his head, the indifferent metropolis below once more becoming an ocean of trees.

White: Your flying days are over, come back from the edge. We can talk about this. And we've still got work to do

The image faded. He turned away from the edge and together they strapped on their harnesses and walked over to a waiting scaffold and locked themselves in. And yet, as the suspended platform came to life and swung them back out into space, it was as though they became ethereal, free. Such great heights, and yet an even greater fall.

THEY DESCENDED TO LEVEL 80: LUST

Soap, sponge, wipe, next. Soap, sponge, wipe, next.

Black: I dreamt again last night

White: So did I

Black: I dream every night

White: I know

Black: If I could only forget I'd be happy

White: We'd both be happy. But we can never forget

Black: We can, but only in the end

The wind against the scaffold made a noise like wings leaves sand leaves. The haze still clinging overhead, clouds on the horizon.

White: You think you'd find comfort in death

Black: Yes, maybe there is sleep in nothingness

White: No, there is no comfort in nothingness. There is only nothing

Black: But I do not fear *nothing*. Fear of what's to come is the only instinct for life in a world where all our answers and reasons and truths are shapes and shadows on the wall. If you could banish the fear of death from men's hearts we wouldn't live a day. Conscience makes cowards of us allⁱⁱ, and we endure this nightmare only for fear of the next

White: But something is more than nothing. Why would you wake this morning but in hope of what could be, what's to come. In hope there is the chance for escape

Black: No. That would be too much to hope for. All I can hope for now is the promise of eternal nothingness, and I hope it with all my heart

White: Have you taken your meds today

Black: What

White: Your pills

Black: Yes

He freed his hands from sponging away at the windows for a moment, and took out the small plastic tube of pills.

Black: The doc upped my dosage. Not that I can tell the difference

White: I think you've got the wrong kind of prescription

Black: No

White: I still pray for you

He patted the small book in his breast pocket.

Black: Please don't

White: You need it. We all need it

Black: No. I don't

White: Then what else could you ever need

Black: What else could I need? I need everything, I want everything. I need a good night's sleep to start and then I need a reason to wake up. I need money to survive and then I need a job worth being paid for. I need to know why we fought and why we killed. I need to know why they died and we didn't. I need something to live for and then I need something to die for. Otherwise everything's a nothing and we are prey on the hunting grounds of time. Borrowed time and borrowed world and borrowed eyes with which to sorrow itiii

From the skies a gust of wind raised a banshee cry against the scaffold's cables, rocking the entire platform back and forth. The two men clung to the railing, their small craft clinging to the side of the Tower like a bug on a car windscreen.

As it abated, they released their white-knuckle grips and turned back to the windows; clouds on the horizon.

White: There could be a storm coming. We should head back up top

Black: What would the prophets do

White: What

Black: Nothing

He pushed down on the scaffold's lever.

THEY DESCENDED TO LEVEL 70: GLUTTONY

Cleaning away the layer of congealed grit and smoke from each window, they could see their reflection crystallising in the glass. And beyond the windows, cocooned within, they could see row upon row of cellular office booths, their occupants locked into screens as they chipped away at Sisyphean piles of paperwork.

White: I wonder what the view looks like from in there

Black: I don't think they could see the view from in those office booths. Nothing changes at their desks, nothing ever changes

White: I guess they don't get paid to look at the view

Black: People get paid to work

White: People get paid to serve somebody. It may be their family or the nation, it may be the devil or the lord, but you're gonna have to serve somebody^{iv}. That's the dream

Black: Well, you can believe in devils and you may believe in Lords, but you're gonna have to serve yourself, because ain't nobody gonna do it for you'. We're paid in money, not dreams. Dreams buy you lies, money buys the world. Every person in this Tower will work their lives for money and even then they won't be satisfied

THEY DESCENDED TO LEVEL 60: GREED

Black: You serve the nation by serving yourself, that's the American dream

White: Or the American greed

Black: You could see it that way

White: What do you mean

Black: Nothing is ever black or white

A hard rain began to fall as the clouds closed overhead, reaching to eternal horizons. Encasing the city in a grey glaucoma like a mother shielding the carcass of her offspring. But he didn't even notice until his metal knee slipped in the pooling water on the metal scaffold.

Black: Storm's here

White: It's gonna dirty all the levels we've already cleaned

Black: Ah, well, nothing to be done, let's keep going

Soap, sponge, wipe, next. Soap, sponge, wipe, next.

THEY DESCENDED TO LEVEL 50: WRATH

White: Do you think we fought for greed then

Black: I don't know what we fought for

White: We fought to defend a dream

Black: Well your dream still won't last, nothing ever does. So how much can it be worth

White: It's worth everything

Black: More than a human life

White: Sure, more than life itself

Black: More than an American life

White: I don't know about that

Black: How can you not know

White: Nothing is ever black or white

THEY DESCENDED TO LEVEL 40: HERESY

Black: But that's the problem, isn't it. People live and die for a dream that means nothing, for shades of grey, for shapes and shadows. How many deaths will it take till we know that too many people have died

The streets below had risen up to meet them, so that now they could make out the stream of bodies that ebbed and flowed on the sidewalk; individuals moving as a herd, oblivious to the watchmen above.

THEY DESCENDED TO LEVEL 30: VIOLENCE

White: God knows, and we never can. But it is not for us to know. All we can do is act; act to defend what freedom and civilisation and meaning still yet clings to this outcrop adrift in darkest vacant interstellar spaces. Act to defend liberty and justice against those who would drag the world from the walls of the universe and send it crashing and burning through whatever night it might yet be capable of engendering until it was not even ash. Don't you see? Can you see? We are watchmen on the Tower of Man, and we have been posted on duty our entire lives

He rushed forward and grabbed his tracksuits. Panting, cursing, shouting. Somewhere in the cold distance, an engine growled. Two riders were approaching, and the wind began to howl.^{vi}

THEY DESCENDED TO LEVEL 20: FRAUD

Black: You, Son of Man, you cannot say, or guess, for you know only a heap of broken images^{viii}. Can't you see that all your truth, all your lies, all murder and creation, all the trials of a life, they amount to ripples in the tide in the ocean of time, till human voices wake us, and we drown. One day we are born, one day we shall die, the same day, the same second. *Is that not enough for you?* i Look into these windows, and I will show you fear in a handful of ash

THEY DESCENDED TO LEVEL 10: TREACHERY

Next, wipe, sponge, soap. Next, wipe, sponge, soap.

Grey: Well, if you're not with us, then you're against us

THEY DESCENDED TO GROUND ZERO.

And as the smoke rose above the city it cast all below into darkness. Making shapes in the sky. Shapes and shadows. Suspended for a moment before fading away to never be repeated. The Tower claimed them, taking with it the workers in their offices and the watchmen on the windows. All into ash. And amidst the wasteland of melted metal and wailing sirens, I asked the Sybil:

For what did they die

EAGLE

Is this a dagger which I see before me, The handle toward my hand? Come, let me clutch thee.viii

In the mountains, time moves only with the lengthening shadows. Entire villages cities civilisations are drowned as darkness floods the plains, but the mountains escape, clawing their way free into ethereal skies. Barren buttresses remain untouched; time has no hold upon those cleaved flanks. The wind and rain, night and day, moon and sun, nations raised, razed and once more undone, all pass over them. Celestial spectres frozen in an epoch of their own. They are silent Towers, watching all beneath their shadow.

And watching over the mountains she flew on sightless wings. An eagle flying higher than any eagle should ever fly, thousands of feet above so that she became lost in heaven's amnesias, watching without eyes of her own. The landscape lay open before her, an ancient manuscript to be read from behind a pixelated screen. Three men scaling the mountain passes, walking in a straight line one after the other, had been the subjects of her surveillance for over three hours now. She could see the tracks they left in the midwinter snow, the bulk of their layered shawls; their glowing red bodies against the dark blue earth on her infrared monitor.

From her cockpit on another continent she felt like she could hear their steps in the silence. Feel their hot breath rising up at her, out of the screen and into the stale air-conditioning of the operations chamber. Then the pilot sitting across from her took off his headset and looked over and spoke.

Goddamn this is boring

Tell me about it

I'll never get used to all this watching. I once watched a target for a week straight. Just kept circling his house, watched him drink tea, play with his kids, go to a soccer match, go at it with his wife on the rooftop. Have you ever had to do that

No, I haven't logged many hours

How many

Eighty

Have you taken a shot yet

No

Okay, that's normal, nothing that exciting happens much

Yeah, what do you reckon we're waiting on with these guys

I don't know, they might want to see where they're going, or maybe we just need ground confirmation that those things on their backs are actually rifles

What else would they be

I don't know

They look like rifles

They could be shovels or shepherds' poles or something

If they are shepherds' poles where are the sheep

I don't know, I just think we're waiting for ground confirmation

Okay

Okay

They put their headsets back on.

Those were rifles, she could tell. The way the men were hunched over like pilgrims in prayer suggested that they carried a weight upon their back.

As the men marched forward into the frozen head wind, they hunched themselves over against the biting cold.

The clearly identifiable bulk of their garb also suggested that they carried an array of armaments, most probably small explosives or IED components.

Without the protection of their bulky winter garb the men knew that they would surely perish, and so they gave thanks, Alhamdulillah.

And then for a moment she thought she felt the space between her screen and the world yawn open, a chasm spanning mountains impassable, oceans unfathomable. So that she could never know why they fought or why they died. And that the answer was a ship caught between two raging storms of human time. Torn apart by wind and rain and waves so that it was fated to one day sink into the chambers of eternal oceans, were it not for her watch upon the mast. As had her father before her and his father before him and all the fathers of all nations whose pulse still yet remained. And so she watched.

Then her headset crackled to life like the ring of bells, summoning to heaven or to hellviii

Enter compiled Chat Log for Predator Team EAGLE98

All times in GMT/Zulu

PT: Pilot

SO: Sensor Operator

MIC: Mission Intelligence Coordinator

JAG26: Joint Terminal Attack Controller

00:23 (JAG26): Eagle98, Eagle98, JAG26

00:23 (Pilot): JAG26 go for Eagle98

00:23 (JAG26): Received confirmation from ground force command that targets are

carrying weapons, standby to engage.

00:23 (Pilot): Pilot copy.

00:23 (Sensor): Sensor copy.

00:26 (JAG26): Eagle98 you are clear to engage target at your discretion.

00:26 (Pilot): Pilot clear to engage target. Launch checklist, MTS Auto-track.

00:26 (Sensor): Established.

00:26 (Pilot): Arm your laser.

00:26 (Sensor): Lasers armed.

00:26 (Pilot): Master arm is hot, fire the laser.

00:26 (Sensor): Lasing.

00:26 (Pilot): Target is within range. 3 2 1 Rifle.

00:26 (Sensor): Missile off the rail.

00:26 (Pilot): 5 4 3 2 1 Impact.

White flame blossomed on the screen. The gates of hell momentarily parted to reveal a glimpse of what awaits. They watched as smoke towered into the sky, forming shapes in the wind. Shapes and shadows. Suspended for a moment before fading away to never be repeated.

What remained of the men lay scattered around the crater, glowing. One of them was still alive, rolling around in the burnt snow with what appeared a missing limb. She could see the blood begin to form a pool of hot red colour, flecked over the deep blue snow. Stars in the night sky. Waning into dark. A slow death.

That was your first shot wasn't it

Yeah

Congratulations

Thanks

What happens now

We keep watching

And so she watched until both men had long since faded to the same dark blue as the earth on which they lay. Faded into vacant interstellar spaces. Then at last they called the eagle off and landed her back at base and took their headsets off and turned their screens off. Then she got up and stretched her legs and left the control chamber and checked out of her shift and farewelled her co-pilot and got in her car and drove to her home fifteen minutes away.

That night, sleeping alone in her apartment, she dreamt in infrared. It woke her up. Convulsing and moaning, the white flash imprinted before her eyes like a photonegative.

sweat

skin

She went into the kitchen and got a glass of water, and then picked up a photo of her Father. It helped, but she was still crying.

And over the mountains, the sun was fleeing from the sky. Bleeding the horizon placenta red as darkness was born into the world. A decaying babe emerging from the shadows of the crater depths. But the men could not see the fading light, for them the night had already fallen. Sightless eyes watching over all that is and all that was and all that will be. Gone to march with the fallen of a thousand wars afore their time, and a thousand more to come.

"Hours days weeks months. Years centuries lifetimes. All have faded from my sight. Behind the screens I am the Eagle. Watching, watching, watching. The empty plains mountain passes barren rooftops desert roads silent cities all melted into one unending filmstrip.

And every target not busy being born is busy dying. Each kill has become little more than a name crossed from a list, a number on a scorecard, a statistic. Converted into an orderly after action report compiled and filed and shelved within my brain. But, from

each of death's	How did you	manila folders,	You are lucky	there
	sleep last night		then	
leaks a toxic		residue. Visions		born of
	I slept okay		How	
flame contaminate		the corners of my		mind,
	Okay		I didn't sleep for	
infecting all waking		memory. And I	weeks after my	have no
	I dreamt though		first shot, still	
cure other than		to retreat from	don't, really	conscious
	How bad			
thought into a		numbed account of	Is there anything	human
	It was okay		that helps	
life. My flight		suit becomes my		armour
			Alcohol	
of indifference.		Brain in a comatose		and
			Okay	
operating purely		upon instinct. Even		so, I
still dream in		infrared. And so I		watch."
Sim wiewiii III		mjimica. Ama so i		waich.

Enter compiled Chat Log for Predator Team EAGLE98

All times in GMT/Zulu

PT: Pilot

SO: Sensor Operator

MIC: Mission Intelligence Coordinator

BAM35: Joint Terminal Attack Controller

09:47 (BAM35): Eagle98, Eagle98, BAM35

09:47 (Pilot): BAM35 go for Eagle98

09:47 (BAM35): Eagle 98 we have a target vehicle in Sector 9. Requesting eyes on target immediately. Location coordinates are being transmitted.

09:47 (Pilot): Pilot copy.

09:47 (Sensor): Sensor copy.

As the coordinates came through she tapped them into one of her screens, and soon had the camera fixed upon a small sedan winding its way through traffic on the city's outskirts.

09:48 (Sensor): BAM35 we have eyes on target.

09:48 (BAM35): Copy that Eagle 98; standby for further orders.

09:48 (Pilot): Pilot copy.

09:48 (Sensor): Sensor copy.

If this was a car bomb it was already too late. The deepening traffic made a clear shot impossible as it drove further into the city. Cars kids vendors bikes men vans mothers stalls trucks livestock. On one of her screens she zoomed out and began scanning the city within a kilometre of the direction in which the target was heading.

09:55 (Sensor): I think it's moving towards the market square in sector 8.

Sitting in the sedan the heat was almost unbearable. Pounding down upon the roof, amplified by the idling engines around him, he had

sweat

skin.

But he knew exactly where he was going. He knew exactly what he must do. And he knew that soon, all would end.

As she'd predicted, the sedan drove straight into the market square and stopped. Terminal Control's line was still static. She glanced over at her co-pilot. A man got out of the driver's side door.

09:59 (Pilot): BAM35 are you seeing this?

0959 (BAM35): Copy Eagle98.

The man walked around the side of the car and opened the boot. Then he hauled out two bodies and threw them on the ground. No, they were alive, they were two bound

girls. Bound and gagged. He took out a rifle and shot them each through the head. Then he got back in the sedan and drove off. In the square, nobody moved.

She walked beneath towering shelves. Row upon row stacked with Oreos Super Noodles Cremosa Walkers Sensations Cadbury Fingers Findus Crispy Pancakes Cheez Whiz Frosted Mini-Wheats Cool Whip Handi-Snacks Jell-O Kraft Caramels Shake 'n Bake Ritz Crackers Dinky Donuts Berry Crunchies Rainbow Brite Sugar Sprinkled Twinkles; reaching to eternal horizons. All the colour spectrum of infrared. She put a box of something into her trolley and wheeled her way to the checkout.

"If my Father's war was pointless, then this war is Godless. Those we fight would drag the world from the walls of the universe and send it crashing and burning through whatever night it might yet be capable of engendering until it was not even ash. And I don't know what is going to happen when the next one comes. I surely don't."

They circled the compound. A low mud brick building, flat roof. Lifeless. No one coming, no one going. Nothing changing. Nothing but the slowly rotating viewpoint of the drone circling overhead. Watching. They waited another hour, and then a voice came down the line.

Enter compiled Chat Log for Predator Team EAGLE98

All times in GMT/Zulu

PT: Pilot

SO: Sensor Operator

MIC: Mission Intelligence Coordinator

DON66: Joint Terminal Attack Controller

14:16 (DON66): Eagle98, Eagle98, DON66

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14:16 (Pilot): DON66 go for Eagle98
14:17 (DON66): Eagle98 we have ground confirmation that target is inside. You are
clear to engage.
14:17 (Pilot): Pilot copy.
14:17 (Sensor): Sensor copy.
14:17 (Pilot): Pilot clear to engage target. Launch checklist, MTS Auto-track.
14:17 (Sensor): Established.
14:17 (Pilot): Arm your laser.
14:17 (Sensor): Lasers armed.
14:17 (Pilot): Master arm is hot, fire the laser.
14:17 (Sensor): Lasing.
14:17 (Pilot): Target is within range. 3 2 1 Rifle.
14:17 (Sensor): Missile off the rail.
14:17 (Pilot): 7 6 5 4 -
-Something moved in the corner of the compound -
-14:17 (Pilot): 3 -
-running out into the open a small glowing figure -
-14:17 (Pilot): 2 -
-14:17 (Sensor): What is th-
A flash consumed the screen, white flame blossoming into the sky. The two pilots stared.
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14:18 (Sensor): Did that look like a kid to you?

14:18 (Pilot): I don't know it was so fast. DON66 requesting verification, was that a child who ran into the shot path?

14:22 (DON66): Eagle 98, per the review, it was livestock.

The pilots replayed the recording. She paused the shifting pixels three seconds before impact. A glowing spectre, framed in the crosshairs.

That's a child

I know

But nothing would be mentioned in the after action report. The child, if there had been one, was not even a statistic. An infrared ghost, faded into vacant interstellar spaces.

"To sleep, to sleep. In the darkness of that unending night I could not hope to cross into the realm of death suspended. Not perhaps to dream, for in that sleep of death who knows what dreams may come when we have shuffled off this mortal coilvii. And so as dawn advanced, I fled my bed, restless. Driving fated roads, into the mountains. The sun reborn upon the world as I pulled into a roadside lookout. Snow-crowned peaks, burnished gold in the new light, presiding over valleys low. And, right then, I could not see an end to the silence. That day I'd leave the forces. In a week I'll be driving from this town. I'll drive my car off the road. The crash will leave me broken, but alive. In a year I'll have left the ward, and someone from my squadron will have succeeded where I failed. I'll go to their funeral. I will cry during the funeral. Because I will be thinking only of my dad and how there never was a body found to bury. Then one day the war will end, and I'll turn on the news to hear the world say never again. And I'll know now what my father knew. That there had never really been a war to end. That the war was only ever fought within. And that it raged every second minute hour day year lifetime now and forever. Victory only in survival. But right now, all of it unseeable. Because in these mountains, time moves only with the lengthening shadows. Whole worlds are swallowed in the valleys, but the mountains escape, clawing their way free towards vaulted skies. Barren buttresses remain untouched; time has no hold upon those cleaved flanks. The wind and rain, night and day, moon and sun, nations raised and once more undone, all pass over them. Celestial spectres frozen in an epoch of their own. They are silent Towers, watching."

QUESTIONS

The rest is silence.

In the darkness, time does not move. The void reaches from eternity to an instant. Silent, forsaken, godless. Outside, the world may have yet descended into oblivion as the tide descends into the chambers of the sea. Exposing barren shorelines to the sun: indifferent. Sand baking white as the bones of civilisation. And yet this place of darkness is untouched, as vacant interstellar spaces are untouched by light. As if time itself could or would not drag it from the walls of the universe and send it crashing and burning through whatever night it might yet be capable of engendering until it was not even ash. The wind and rain, night and day, moon and sun, nations raised, razed and once more undone, all pass on into nothing, outside. But in the darkness, nothing can be seen, nothing can be watched.

And in the darkness he awoke. Pain leapt upon his wakened consciousness like a hunter upon snared prey. Each inferno breath blistering his lungs. Each unholy heartbeat drawing the ropes deeper into his wrists. The mechanisms of life now become the most improbable perpetrators of his torment. So, for a moment, he questioned why sleep had not let him simply fade into the promise of eternal nothingness. Questioned why he had ever left her cave alive. Because in the dream from which he'd wakened he had reached her cave. And there inside with his own eyes he had seen her hanging in a glass Tower. But he had awoken before his question could be asked. And so, into the darkness, he breathed a final prayer. I do not want to die.

This, this is the front line. We may not be getting shot; we may not be taking hits. But it is we who ask the questions that stop the war from reaching home

So we're kind of like the watchmen
Yeah, you could say that
Okay
Are you ready to go back in
Yeah
Okay

He dropped his cigarette butt and crushed it into ash with his heel and stood for a moment looking out past the wire fences and the sandbagged watchtowers, upon which men with automatic weapons stood over Martian plains.

Come on

They each pulled on balaclavas and walked over to a shipping container that stood in the courtyard of the base. The metal box oppressed by the sun. They pulled open the bolted latches and let the container door grind apart.

The heat was intense, billowing out of the abyss. He flicked on a single naked globe that hung from the roof, darkness banished. Something groaned. It was a noise such as a man might make, involuntarily, feeling the nail go into the wood.

He walked up to the slumped figure, whose arms were suspended by two ropes hanging from each wall. The other interrogator hung back.

I don't like being lied to

The figure looked up, his face was pulp: I haven't said anything

Yes, you haven't. You haven't said anything because you're trying to show that you're strong. That's a lie. Everybody breaks; it's biology.

"They were not the first to come here, and they will not be the last. Guns and spears glint in the desert sun, fading across the lone and level sands until they are claimed by the mountain's shadow. The remnants of armies from a thousand wars before this time, and a thousand more to come."

When next they came they brought a hound, and it barked and barked and barked until it seemed as though the echoes would bring the walls caving down upon them all, like Samson in the temple. Then they left him in the dark.

When next they came they brought a plate of food, and left it on the floor afar so that the air was filled with all the scents he could not hope to taste. As they came to collect it, they asked if he was thirsty.

When next they came they brought a jug of water, and poured it down upon his face and into his eyes and ears and mouth. Like the storming ocean had at last breached the Tower walls.

Just answer the questions

They left him in a pool of water stained blood. And he could not remember any questions that had been asked.

"It is only, and always ever was only, a matter of life and death. And death is what I do not fear, cannot fear. But pain, pain is real."

When will we start the questioning

Soon

Okay

Answers! Answers! I want answers

He spat out blood. I don't know

For how long are you not going to know

I don't know

He sighed. I do feel for you. You really don't seem to be getting how this whole thing works, do you

He turned to leave

Wait

He stopped and turned

Yes, you should know this now I should know what exactly You should know that you killed my son Again, he sighed, and then left him in the dark "And as I hovered in that realm of death suspended, I dreamt of what may come when we have shuffled off this mortal coilii. A column of hooded hordes swarming over endless plains, stumbling in cracked earth that could not weep for rain. Tattered gods slouching in their rags across the waste. So many, I had not thought death had undone so manyvii. A pilgrimage to the end of time for all who believed and all who could not have known. At its head I marched into the mountain's mouth of carious teeth. The cliffs rising resurrected either side, where the bones of oracles had carved shapes upon the rock. Shapes and shadows. Guiding our approach unto the Golden Gate. And as the citadel walls arose before us, I could see that slabs of stone millenniums thick had sealed the entrance. Until the thunder spoke. A sound without cognate and so without description. So that the ageless stones were split and the Towers on the walls began to fall. Jerusalem returning to the dust. Through this decayed hole among the mountains I passed into her cave. And there inside with my own eyes I saw the Sybil of Cumae hanging in a glass, and to me she spoke: He who was living is now dead We who are living are now dying The readiness is all" When do you think he will break He already has But we haven't even started asking questions

Is there something I should know now

The questions are not important. First, he must learn what he is. Once I have peeled apart his skin and cut open his skull and taken from behind his eyes the curtains of culture and language and nation that barricade his sight, only then will he learn what he is. An animal. And he must learn that it is not we who have taken his freedom, who have bound and imprisoned him. He must learn that when we are born into this world we are in chains, the chains of pleasure and pain, twin masters. And that as the hand of man can cultivate the tree of life on Eden's plains to bear the fruits of knowledge, so too can the hand of man wield the axe that fells it. Pleasure and pain, its roots exposed. They are the watchmen over all that lives, over all that dies, and he is nothing in their sight. This he must learn. You could call it education.

Okay

Shall we go back in

Yes, let's go

And the wind began to howl

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MUSIC

Hugo Chan Oxymora

REFLECTION STATEMENT

My piece *Oxymora* was influenced by works from the late Romantic and the 20th Century. The two main sections of the piece are strikingly contrasted in an effort to reflect these two time periods. The piece is in ABA form with the A section commencing in the sombre key of D minor. The opening section has a strong emotive melody, an attempt to reflect expression as was convention in the Romantic Period. As the piece transitions from Section A to Section B the tonality becomes less clear as the key of D minor is replaced with an ambiguous section consisting of extensive use of the Whole Tone Scale. The Whole Tone Scale is widely used by Debussy in his Impressionist style. I wanted the piece to incorporate aspects of atonality to stray away from the beginning consonant section, but at the same time striving not to move so far into dissonance that I lose my audience.

Oxymora

25564235

















HISTORY

Blair Baggott

History as a weapon: the use of historiography as a tool to justify political positions in regards to the recognition of the Assyrian Genocide

SYNOPSIS

Political recognition of the Assyrian Genocide has been at the center of ongoing political tension since the end of the First World War, as the current Turkish Republic, in its denial, utilizes the use of historiography as well as governments recognizing that the genocide did take place such as the NSW Parliament. My essay focuses on the selective use of history used by both parties with the purpose of justifying their political stance on the issue.

In order to correctly investigate this question, I based my research around three of the questions of historiography; who are the historians? What are the aims and purposes of history? How has history been constructed over time?

The five historians I have come across during my research are Bulent Ozdemir, Justin McCarthy, Racho Donef, Hannibal Travis and Panayiotis Diamadis. They are all individual and unique individuals with their own contexts and bias, which influences which side of the debate they write for. This also includes what sources they choose to include in their writings, which then immediately reveal what their aim is along with who it is going to be used by as a political weapon.

In my essay I examine how pro-Turkish historians Ozdemir and McCarthy write their history from a classic empiricist style and are very selective of their sources in order to support Turkey's ongoing denial. I then compare how the works Diamadis, Donef and Travis who come from annalist, post-modernist and empiricist schools of history use their research to push for political recognition of the Assyrian Genocide.

As in this essay I reference work from every historian mentioned as well has how they constructed their history in a way of assessing the level of historical accuracy that is being sacrificed through bias and aim of the historians.

ESSAY

The genocide of the Assyrian people by the Young Turk regime beginning in World War One was the systematic extermination of Christian men, women and children residing in Anatolia. This genocide co-incised with the genocides of the Armenian and Greeks. The Turkish government began a movement of Pan-Turkism through the ethnic cleansing across the Ottoman Empire with the aim of having a 'Turkey for the Turks', removing all Christians in the land, leaving only Muslims in a 'purified' Turkey.

This study addresses how different scholars have approached the use of history as a political weapon. Strict academic history researched and written in empiricist style by the likes Justin McCarthy and Bulent Ozdemir is used for the purposes of supporting the Turkish Government's denial.

Regardless of the political connotations associated with the genocide, it must be recognized that over this period, an estimated 275,000 Assyrians died from an original population of 600,000. With nearly half the population perishing, with the majority of survivors being displaced from their original homeland. As all this occurred in less then a single decade is raises questions to the manner in which these people died.

A notable difference that sets apart the two parties is their approach to history and how they construct it. Those who support the Turkish Republics political stance of denial are academic historians who are nearly completely empiricist in their approach (Ozdemir and McCarthy) as they rely almost solely on the officially archived documents and missionary reports. As a result they intentionally exclude other sources that are available to be examined and weighted into their arguments. Whilst those who recognize the genocide (Donef, Diamadis and Travis) are more open to use all the archival and missionary sources the deniers use and as well as examine the sources that are intentionally excluded. These other sources include oral testimonies of Assyrian survivors, Eyewitness-Anzac soldier's personal records, diaries/memoirs written by foreign missionaries and diplomats, contemporary newspaper articles, etc.

The 1948 United Nations Genocide Convention dictates that genocide means to "destroy with intent, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group in any one of the following ways:

- (a) Killing members of the group
- (b) Causing serious bodily and mental harm to members of the group
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group."1

Adopting a legal stance arrived at through post-modernist, empiricist and annalist approaches. Donef, Travis and Diamadis have argued that the Young Turk Regime committed all five of these crimes against the Assyrians during World War One. This debate is not merely an academic one; it has a 'real world' dimension. Historiography is used by both advocates and opponents to persuade foreign governments and legislatures to speak out against, or in favor of, recognition of the events as genocide. These include the South Australian and New South Wales Parliaments. On 1st² and 8th³ of May 2013, the NSW Parliament passed motions officially recognizing the Assyrian genocide as being committed by the Turkish government during World War One. Leading parliamentarians formed the opinion that the Turkish government did not act in a defensive manner against a revolting Christian population, but rather preempted a radical form of ethnic cleansing.

After completing his doctoral thesis in Anthropology, focusing on Greeks, Assyrians, Armenians and Kurds, Istanbul-born Racho Donef concentrated his attention onto the study of the Assyrian Genocide. He has participated in research projects, produced a number of research papers and given several lectures on the topics.

Donef is aligned with the interpretation that the Assyrian people were victims of genocide. Adopting a partly-empiricist and partly-post modernist style, Donef has examined government documentations as well as interviewing Assyrian survivors and their descendants about their experiences whilst forming his historical opinion.

Taking the United Nations' Convention as his starting point, Donef writes that:

The key is intent to annihilate and we certainly know of statements by senior İttihad (the party of the Young Turks) to that effect. Furthermore, the massacres were widespread.⁴

His inclusion of government documents recording statements of Young Turk leaders motives exemplifies the "deliberate intent" to inflict harm on Assyrians, in relatively clear correlation with the United Nations' Genocide Convention definition. Contemporary media reports and eyewitness accounts of 'pregnant women were killed. We also know that many children were forcibly removed and were adopted by Muslim families.' As these non-academic sources are utilized by Donef in postmodernist fashion to demonstrate fulfillment support the claims of the United Nations Convention's clauses (d) and (e).

'The Ottoman state wanted to rid itself of various ethnic groups and went to great length to achieve this aim'. Donef makes extensive mention to Young Turk regimes intent to eradicate Christian minorities, for instance the *Teşkilat-1 Mahsusa* was formed to attack minorities. Detachments were also used to attack Christians.

Bulent Ozdemir⁸ associates with the Official Turkish argument that the Assyrians declared war on the Ottoman Empire, the main argument that denialists focus on.

In Assyrian Identity and The Great War: Nestorian, Chaldean And Syrian Christians In the 20th Century (2012), Ozdemir in original empirical style bases the majority of his writing on the use of archival sources. In particular:

The British, French, Russian, US and Iranian archives have important documents on this topic because they were the chief actors in the war in the region inhabited by the Eastern Christians.⁹

The Turkish writer adopts this tact with the intention of disproving bias that he may be accused of had he based his opinion purely on Ottoman accounts. Though upon further inspection of listed individual archived documents that were used, 26 of the total 80 were actually from Turkish archives.¹⁰ Though it should be noted that this 1/3 of archival sources coming from Turkish archives is deliberately not mentioned in Ozdemirs notes on his use of sources.¹¹ It can be strongly suggested that this is political maneuver in an attempt to hide his own bias in favor of his own Turkish kin.

Though another apparent lapse in Ozdemirs writing was his use of sources is his inaccurate use of *The adventures of Dunsterforce*. As Ozdemir uses this source as

a response to Diamadis who had personally pioneered analytic research into the campaign of Dunsterforce and their interactions with fleeing Assyrians. It seems that Ozdemir tries to discredit Diamadis' own research against him by writing how Captain Gracey of Dunsterforce promised the Assyrians independence in return for a fully mounted assault against the Ottomans. Though upon another examination of Ozdemirs references and my own copy of the book, it concluded that the pages cited by the Turkish author are completely unrelated to Captain Gracey and a promise of independence.¹² As this in turn appears to another attempt by Ozdemir use of history to promote the political stance of the Turkish Republic by attacking that of the recognition.

While Ozdemir rejects the allegation that the Ottoman empires promulgation of a *fatwa*¹³ of *jihad*¹⁴ at the beginning of the war was aimed at the Ottoman Christians who held *dhimmi1*5 status, which directly contradict Islamic law¹⁶. Even though Ozdemir this is the given concept in Islamic law, Ozdemir does not back this dismissal with any type source. While Travis insists claims of this *jihad* are well founded, based on both archival and contemporary eyewitness accounts.¹⁷ Through this empirical approach Travis concludes how this official jihad had "incited wrath toward Christian minorities in the Ottoman lands"¹⁸.

This is another example of how both genocide recognizers and denialsist' use the history they have produced with the purpose of being used in the political arena. To justify their own standing whilst undermining their opponents.

Ozdemir's empirical manner leads him calls into question the works by modern Assyrian researchers and writers who recognize the genocide. Accusing second and third generation surviving Assyrians of having a political agenda to elucidate the different denominational groups historically and culturally, in the process the experiences of the First World War were taken up in a 'mythic form'. Ozdemir asserts that as part of a process of identity creation, the allegation that genocide had been committed against these communities was treated as a historical fact. In this case, oral accounts, mostly in the form of second-hand accounts and hearsay, must be used to examine the past. For this reason these sources are problematic, although they are not rejected altogether by 'oral history', a newly emerging trend in historical studies. As denialist historians such as Ozdemir and McCarthy are hesitant on using such material, as it must work at a distance with statements that are exceedingly biased, both politically and emotionally, in a context where much information has been eliminated. Oral history materials are primarily statements made by individuals, and there are many difficulties with the information thus obtained, such as what questions should be asked, who is giving the information, and in what context it is given. As these kind

of oral accounts by Assyrian survivors experiences are a corner stone of the work by post-modernist Donef's research. In which is used to establish Turkeys guilt, it can be understood as to why Ozdemir and McCarthy in classic empiricist fashion is quick to challenge the legitimacy of these sources while relying on his archived documentation.

Ozdemir and McCarthy do not try to prove the Turkish government's innocence by successfully disproving the claims of genocide supporting his claims with well-founded, sustainable evidence. Often, official Turkish historians such as Ozdemir write in order to confuse a Turkish audience, rather than convince scholars. That there was an armed conflict there is no doubt. He states that the Assyrians were duped by false promises of independence into joining the war. Thus they ended up betrayed by the western powers, having permanently splintering their relationship with Turkey.

In Hidden Genocides: Power, Knowledge, Memory, Hannibal Travis'20.

Article "Native Christians Massacred: The Ottoman Genocide of the Assyrians during World War I" (2006) published in the peer-reviewed journal Genocide Studies and Prevention Vol.1, and his other works were a substantial factor support for the recognition of the Assyrian and Greek genocides by the International Association of Genocide Scholars in 2007.²¹

In a classic empiricist approach like his pro-Turkish adversaries, Travis relies substantially on the use of government archives to write his history in support of legal genocide recognition. Utilizing sources these from a variety of locations, including 'U.S. archives' and 'Turkish memoirs and documents',²² Travis argues that the characteristics the Assyrian persecution parallels the definition of genocide in international law and should be openly argued for accordingly.²³

As Travis refers to the government reports to back his approach to this. 'I would suggest that evidence published in 1916-1918 by Bryce, Toynbee, and Lepsius proved the planning and organization'. ²⁴ Travis refers to the massive collections of contemporary documents that constitute Bryce's *Treatment of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire*. ²⁵ The government documentations and eyewitness accounts Bryce compiled is another way in which Travis is utilizing his empiricist approach in support of political recognitions. Even though Travis is of the strong conviction of the responsibility of the Turkish government in regards to genocide, he is not quickly dismissive of denialist historians.

There is a possibility and some room for debate. It depends to some extent on your definition of genocide. In some ways genocidal intent and mass extermination was different in the Holocaust.²⁶

Travis makes this point in regard to the works of Schabas²⁷ as they 'are interesting on this point'²⁸.

Justin McCarthy describes the pro-genocide stance as 'a meaningless concept' when the context of the situation is understood. McCarthy argues that the Assyrians were in open rebellion against the Ottoman Empire's authority under the cover of war. McCarthy approaches history with an almost entire Empiricist approach to the 'Assyrian revolt' as McCarthy refers to it³⁰. It needs to be seen in the context of long-standing conflicts between the Assyrians and Kurdish tribes. McCarthy sees 'the conflict of the World War I period was the culmination of centuries of animosity between the Assyrians and Kurdish.

McCarthy's main sources on the conflict are American missionaries records and official Ottoman reports. The latter indicate that the Turkish state was dealing with a rebellion from the Assyrians. McCarthy writes how that the American missionary accounts indicate that the missionaries were completely on the side of the Assyrians, even spending mission funds to buy guns for them. McCarthy is complaint how, not even the missionaries spoke of Government intent to kill all the Assyrians. 'They [the missionaries] disbelieved, that the Assyrians were in real danger'.³²

McCarthy is aware of the contemporary cultural and political connotations of genocide recognition present in modern society. McCarthy redirects blame for the deaths away from the Turkish government and back on the victims themselves and their families through the exaggeration generated by the Assyrians' use of orally describing their history as this is an un-reliable way to transmit Assyrian children have been taught that their ancestors were completely innocent. Those who contend that there was 'genocide of the Assyrians' do not look at the other side, nor do they consider the long history of conflict in the region.³³ Though McCarthy also makes mention that in regards of blame and conflicting opinions on the conflicts, he writes that Assyrian claims have no proper evidence as they only are based on oral history, which have been manipulated to fit the purpose Assyrians political agenda while dismissing empiricist based research as fabricated anti-Turkish propaganda.³⁴

McCarthys declares that the answer also lies in the politics itself. Many groups want 'reparations' and want to carve national homes out of Turkey. It also instructive that the Assyrian claims have been most important in Australia, one of the few places

where Assyrians have political power, 'where claims against the Turks seem to be most readily believed without evidence'. As in McCarthy's opinion the use of non-Ottoman documents used by historians such as Travis, Donef and Diamadis are not sufficiently reliable in the empiricist understanding shared by McCarthy.

Adopting a legal stance, and partly-empiricist/partly-annalist approach, Panayiotis Diamadis has the strong association with the pro-genocide interpretation. As Diamadis believes that when the actions of the Turkish government against the Assyrians are compared to the United Nations' definition, are 'unequivocally' parallel to the criteria of genocide.36 Diamadis uses a variety of different sources in his research, often in annalist style referring to the records Australian military campaign of 'Dunsterforce', which included the personal diaries of eyewitness soldiers original photographs of the Assyrian deportations.³⁷ Simultaneously, he employs empiricist historiography, utilizing the diplomats records and transcripts. Continuing the empiricist approach, Diamadis draws on evidence that appeared during the trials conducted by the Ottoman Empire itself from 1919-1920, supplemented with evidence by the Inter-Allied Mission.³⁸ As well as basing his writing on the documents produced during the Paris Peace Conference, which indicates a plan by the Ittihad government of the time to destroy 'in whole or in part', all non-Muslim populations within the empire.³⁹ Diamadis directly promotes the political recognizing of the Assyrian genocide, as his "pioneering efforts have provided the evidence"40 that was able to successfully convince New South Wales politicians Rev. Fred Niles⁴¹ and Premier Barry O'Farrell⁴² to successfully push through the motion of recognition in parliament on the 1st and 8th of May 2013.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A: RACHO DONEF, PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE, MARCH 24TH, 2014

1. Did the actions of the Turkish government in the early 20th century against the Assyrians constitute genocide in comparison to the United Nations definition?

Yes it does. The key is intent to annihilate and we certainly know of statements by senior İttihad (the party of the Young Turks) to that effect. Furthermore, the massacres were widespread and many pregnant women were killed. We also know that many children were forcibly removed and were adopted by Muslim families. We now witness the phenomenon of the grand children of those who converted to Islam finding out

about their true origins and declaring it publicly (one such example: http://books.google.com.au/s?id=sywa4aNjjeoC&printsec=frontcover&dq=fethiye+cetin&hl=en &sa=X&ei=73IvU8PwL4KVkwWVmIH4CQ&ved=oCDcQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=fethiye%2ocetin&f=false).

I also know from private emails that Assyrians who were converted during the genocide are now starting to recognise their real background. I would like to add, however, that in many cases, the Muslim families who adopted the Christian children did so because there were no parents or relatives alive.

The Ottoman state wanted to rid itself of various ethnic groups and went to great length to achieve this aim.

2. Is the Turkish government (of the time) responsible for genocide of these people? To what extent can it be determined that this was in fact an organised, planned out operation?

The Ottoman government was definitely responsible. There has been so much research carried out both by Turkish scholars and non-Turks alike, which demonstrated the extent of the organisation to carry out massacres. For instance, part of the Special Organisation's (Teşkilat-1 Mahsusa) role was to attack minorities. Detachments were also used to attack Christians (for example in Hezak).

3. Do you believe there is any possibility that those who say that the events were not genocide but instead an equally armed conflict, have any real evidence or grounds to debate the topic?

They do not have any real evidence, just conjecture. Turkish Historian, Taner Akçam, pretty much demolished all the arguments about armed conflict. Many Christians were actually soldiers in the Ottoman Army. In the Battle of Sarikamish, 1914, where Ottoman forces were defeated by the Russians, a great number of Christians were killed, fighting for the Ottoman Army. Often, the official Turkish historians write in

Donef R., "The Role of Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa (Special Organization) in the Genocide of 1915" in Tessa Hofmann, Matthias Bjørnlund and Vasileios Meichanetsidis (Eds) Studies on the State Sponsored Campaign of Extermination of the Christians of Asia Minor (1912-1922) and Its Aftermath: History, Law, Memory, Aristide D. Caratzas, New York & Athens, 2011, pp. 179-194.

² http://books.google.com.au/books?id=4mug9LrpLKcC&pg=PA450&lpg=PA450&dq=Racho+donef+hezak&source=bl&ots=ssOkVmrXp2&sig=lmJgHxFGjsEEte7RgdqnRaxScZM&hl=en&sa=X&ei=l3UvU5mjBYesiAfc14DgBg&ved=OCCcQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=Racho%2Odonef%2Ohezak&f=false

order to confuse a Turkish audience, rather than convince scholars. That there was an armed conflict there is no doubt, but then the Germans could use the same argument to defend the massacres they perpetrated against Jews, Slavs, Romani people and others

4. What do you believe is the reasons for some select few to continue to openly deny the genocide even though there has been a rise in official recognitions of the genocide? e.g. I.A.G.S.

Well, this is a very complex question, about which you can produce a thesis. Nevertheless, I can offer a number of explanations:

Many members of the establishment, members of ultra-right groups do not really care that massacres took place. They just do not want to be defeated by what they perceive to be Assyrian, Greek, Armenian lobby.

Parts of the Turkish state and the establishment in general are concerned that if the Genocide is recognised they will then have to be some sort of reparation. There are many questions if the Genocide is recognised and reparations needs to be paid: Would the courts decide? Which Courts? European Courts? The amount to be spent could be huge and detrimental to the Turkish economy.

The Turkish government denied that genocide occurred for many years and accused Christians as traitors, foreigners, liars etc. How do you now tell your population that these people were not lying but in fact it was the Turkish state was nurturing an elaborate lie (a "lullaby" as a Turkish historian calls it)? What government would take such responsibility? Note that the Turkish PM Erdoğan recognised the Dersim Genocide, which occurred in the 1930s against the Alevi Kurds. However, he did that to blame and embarrass the Republicans (CHP), and court the Kurdish vote.

Many Turks genuinely do not believe that the forefathers could act in such a barbaric way. Let's not forget that many Muslims helped Christians during the genocide.³ Also, the Turkish culture is a written culture. The Turks "had forgotten" the genocide because they get their information from heavily manufactured schoolbooks and sanitised newspaper articles. The Kurdish culture is an oral culture and they have not

3 http://www.atour.com/library/authors/pdf/DrRachoDonef-Ri ghteousMuslimsDuringTheGenocideOf1915.pdf forgotten the genocide, in which their ancestors took part. Often we have statements from Kurd declaring that their family killed Christians during the Genocide.

5. Why does the current Turkish government still refuse to recognise the actions of the previous government in the early 20th century?

See b) and c) in question 4.

APPENDIX B: JUSTIN MCCARTHY, PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE, MARCH 1ST, 2014

Dear Mr. Baggott,

I have just returned from one trip and am about to go to Turkey on another. Along with my duties in Louisville, I am very busy, so I can only answer you briefly. I assume that you have seen *The Armenian Rebellion at Van*, which deals somewhat with the Assyrians.

Who do you believe was the aggressor and instigator of the conflict between the Assyrians and the Turkish government in the early 20th century?

The Assyrian revolt has to be seen in the context of long-standing conflicts between the Assyrians and Kurdish tribes. World War I gave both the Assyrians and the Kurds opportunity to continue their battles. For the Assyrians, this meant attempting to increase their independence/autonomy. For the Kurds, this meant trying to stop this and settling old scores. Both sides would have been pleased to eradicate the other. Genocide in this context is a meaningless concept, but, if it to be applied, it fits both sides.

The question of who was the instigator/aggressor is probably the wrong question. The history indicates that neither side, the Assyrians or the Kurds, was innocent. The conflict of the World War I period was the culmionation of centuries of animosity.

In specific, what do you regard as the most definitive source/evidence you have come across that suppourts your stance on the conflict?

There are only two real sources on the Assyrian Question—American missionaries and Ottoman records. The missionary accounts (Shedd, et. al.) indicate that the missionaries were completely on the side of the Assyrians, even spending mission funds to buy guns for them. To my knowledge, not even the missionaries spoke of a Government intent to kill all the Assyrians. They did believe, that the Assyrians

were in real danger. As you probably know, I think such missionary accounts are very questionable.

The Ottoman reports indicate that they were dealing with a rebellion. Surely the Assyrians were on the side of the Russians. Even post-war Assyrian accounts demonstrate this.

I should add that there are few documents on what happened in Southern Van province and in Iran. I would have a very hard time attempting to write an accurate Assyrian history for the World War I period.

Why do varying peoples and groups criticise your findings and the publishing of your works when you are able to back them up with evidence?

The answer is probably obvious. Assyrian children, like Armenian children, have been taught that their ancestors were completely innocent. Those who contend that there was a "genocide of the Assyrians" do not look at the other side, nor do they consider the long history of conflict in the region.

The answer also lies in politics. Many groups want "reparations" and want to carve national homes out of Turkey. It is instructive that the Assyrian claims have attached themselves to the Armenian claims. It is difficult to believe that the Ayysrian claims would have much effect if they were not part of the Armenian campaign. It also instructive that the Assyrian claims have been most important in Australia, one of the few places where Assyrians have political power, and where claims against the Turks seem to be most readily believed without evidence.

The matter of evidence is most important. How much evidence is ever produced by those who profess the genocide thesis. How willing are they to debate and discuss? The answer is, once again, obvious.

I wish I could spend more time on this. You are courageous in picking the topic. Good luck

Best wishes

-Justin McCarthy

APPENDIX C: HANNIBAL TRAVIS, PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE 8TH MAY

Mr. Baggott,

Nice to meet you. Your research essay on a historical debate and changing and varying historical interpretations sounds interesting.

1. Did the actions of the Turkish government in the early 20th century against the Assyrians constitute genocide in comparison to the United Nations definition?

Yes, that is what I've argued in my publications in Genocide Studies and Prevention. Do you have access to Project Muse through your library? You can find my publications there by entering my name in the search box. Also if you enter my name in books. google.com you can find my chapters in the books Forgotten Genocides and Hidden Genocides, which expand on the argument in my 2006 GSP piece.

2. Is the Turkish government (of the time) responsible for genocide of these people? To what extent can it be determined that this was in fact an organised, planned out operation?

The United States and other governments have held successor governments responsible for atrocities by prior governments—e.g. Germany, the US and Japanese internment, Iraq and Kuwait. I would suggest that evidence published in 1916-1918 by Bryce, Toynbee, and Lepsius proved the planning and organization. The US Archives have more evidence. Amb. Morgenthau's publications are also useful. More recently, planning is visible from Turkish memoirs and archival documents studied by Dadrian, Akcam, Ungor, and others.

3. Do you believe there is any possibility that those who say that the events were not genocide but instead an equally armed conflict, have any real evidence or grounds to debate the topic?

There is a possibility and some room for debate. It depends to some extent on your definition of genocide. In some ways genocidal intent and mass extermination was different in the Holocaust. The works of Schabas are interesting on this point.

4. What do you believe is the reasons for some select few to continue to openly deny the genocide even though there has been a rise in official recongnitions of the genocide? e.g. I.A.G.S

There is an ongoing argument about retroactivity although the crime of genocide was applied retroactively to Germans and their allies.

There is opposition to making restitution of Christian property. There is a lot of racism, religious hatred, and propaganda in textbooks and government histories. There are those in the US and UK who don't really care enough about what happened to tell the truth about it. Those who press the issue either don't receive a lot of criticism (Eisenhower and Carter administrations), have many Armenian constituents, or are themselves Armenian or Greek. Assyrians are too small to matter.

5. Why does the current Turkish government still refuse to recognise the actions of the previous government in the early 20th century?

See above. Also check out the works of Akcam esp. when he mentions the Treaty of Sevres.

Best.

Hannibal

APPENDIX D: PANAYIOTIS DIAMADIS, PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE MAY 14TH, 2014

Thanks for the email. Feel free to use or ignore my responses.

The initiative you have shown in putting this together and sending it out is excellent.

Even if you do not use my responses in the final essay, print this email off and paste it into your Project Log.

 Did the actions of the Turkish government in the early 20th century against the Assyrians constitute genocide in comparison to the United Nations definition?

Unequivocally. The Assyrian people (regardless of denomination) were considered by the Ottoman Turkish state part of the *ermeni millyet*, the 'Armenian people', as were all eastern Christians who were not 'Rum' (Roman = Greek Orthodox). As determined by the 1919-1920 Ottoman Trials, as well as parliaments and historians since, there was a plan by the Ittihad government of the time to destroy 'in whole or in part' all non-Muslim populations within the empire. Conversion to Islam was the sole route to escape persecution and remain at home.

2. Is the Turkish government (of the time) responsible for genocide of these people? To what extent can it be determined that this was in fact an organised, planned out operation?

Diplomatic correspondence from the United States and various European powers, especially the Ottoman Empire's allies Germany and Austria-Hungary, provide ample evidence of a government plan to commit genocide.

Joint Allied Declaration 24 May 1915 '[i]n view of these new crimes of Turkey against humanity and civilization, the Allied governments announce publicly ... that they will hold personally responsible ... all members of the Ottoman government and those of their agents who are implicated in such massacres.' See Matthew Lippman 'The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide: Fifty Years Later' 15 *Arizona Journal of International and Comparative Literature* 415, 416 (1998)

The 1919 Report of the Commission on Responsibility of the Authors of the War and on Enforcement of Penalties concluded that the Ottoman Empire's treatment of Armenians in its territory contravened 'the established laws and customs of war and

the elementary laws of humanity', and declared that Ottoman officials accused of such acts were liable for prosecution. Source: Commission on the Responsibility of the Authors of the War and on the Enforcement of Penalties, Report Presented to the Preliminary Peace Conference, 29 March 1919, reprinted in 14American Journal of International Law 95, 112-117 (1920)

The best evidence however comes from the trials conducted by the Ottoman Empire itself. By May 1919, there were over 3,300 individuals in prison in Constantinople on evidence supplied by the Inter-allied Mission. 'The charges against them range from treason to murder and the instigation of massacres.' ('Among The Nations: Turkey' *Current History* June 1919, 435) The former Governor of Yozgad, Kiamil Mahmud Pasha, was reported to have been executed on 12 April in Constantinople's Bayazed Square. He had been charged and convicted of responsibility for the 'massacres of Armenians' in his province. On 11 July 1919 the Turkish Courts-Martial sentenced Enver Pasha (Minister of War), Talaat Bey (Grand Vizier and Minister of the Interior; left), and Djemal Pasha (Commander of the Damascus-based IV Ottoman Army) to death.

3. Do you believe there is any possibility that those who say that the events were not genocide but instead an equally armed conflict, have any real evidence or grounds to debate the topic?

No, for two key reasons. Firstly, the persecution that escalated into the three genocides commenced long before the war broke out in August 1914. From 1911, there had been an economic war waged on the Empire's Christians, including the Assyrians. Deportations began from the western of the Empire from the winter of 1913-14. When these measures were proving ineffective in reducing the Christian population, wholescale massacres began in April 1915. Secondly, the Ottoman Assyrians, like their Armenian and Hellene compatriots were largely unarmed. Under Ottoman law, non-Muslims were not permitted to bear arms. This was not a civil war—this was a systematic campaign by the imperial government against groups of its own citizens. There was such a power imbalance that any attempt at equating victim and perpetrator is offensive.

4. What do you believe is the reasons for some select few to continue to openly deny the genocide even though there has been a rise in official recongnitions of the genocide? e.g. I.A.G.S

Almost all denialists are Turks or married to Turks, including Stanford Shaw. They feel a sense of defending national honour and national pride, an obligation to uphold the mythology of Mustafa Kemal, his commanders and his followers.

Shaw's acolyte Justin McCarthy is sponsored by the Turkish state—meaning as Professor of Ottoman and Turkish Studies at an American university, his position is funded by the Turkish state. He is not going to contravene what his paymasters want to hear.

5. Why does the current Turkish government still refuse to recognise the actions of the previous government in the early 20th century?

The reasons are very practical and also very intangible.

As seen from Monday's decision in the European Court of Human Rights, Turkey has been ordered to pay €90 million (AUD\$132 million) to victims of its 1974 invasion of Cyprus. (http://www.smh.com.au/world/turkey-ordered-to-pay-cyprus-victims-20140513-zrazg.html#ixzz31auteGwY) Ankara is terrified of financial and territorial compensation. The Turkish state's ultimate fear is a partition of the country. The authorities—wrongly—believe that resisting recognition will delay or avoid paying compensation.

By recognising the genocides, the Turkish state would also be acknowledging that its founding fathers were criminals on a par with Hitler, Stalin and their henchmen. This is incredibly difficult for anyone to accept.

I hope these brief but direct responses prove useful to your project.

Good luck with it.

Pd

APPENDIX E: REV. FRED NILES, TRANSCRIPT OF NSW PARLIAMENT, ADDRESS MAY 1ST 2013

Armenian, Assyrian and Greek Genocides

Page: 19748

Reverend the Hon. FRED NILE [6.33 p.m.]: Today the New South Wales Legislative Council unanimously agreed to my motion that recognised the Armenian, Assyrian and Greek genocides. In remembering these events we do not seek to apportion blame. This is a matter of history and history must be neither erased nor forgotten. We must

remember and speak the truth. New South Wales was recently visited by worldrenowned scholar Professor Taner Akcam, whom I met. He had previously been in Turkey. Professor Akcam said:

We must create a global awareness of genocides and their prevention. Genocide denial and the struggle against it are part of global democracy and human rights ... Recognition is an issue relevant to all of humanity.

Anzacs from New South Wales were eyewitnesses to the genocides. Anzacs rescued survivors of the massacres and deportations across the Ottoman Empire between 1915 and 1918. People of our great State donated generously to save the lives of those who had reached sanctuary in Greece, French Syria, British Iraq and British Palestine. The stories of the Armenian, Assyrian and Greek genocides are a part of the Australian story and they deserve their rightful place in that narrative.

The genocide of the indigenous peoples of the Ottoman Empire that took place during World War I and its aftermath is a historical event. The victims of this criminal act were the indigenous peoples of the Ottoman Empire: Greeks, Armenians and Assyrians. Many members of this Chamber have substantial numbers of Australian Assyrian, Australian Greek and Australian Armenian people in their communities. Hundreds of thousands of them have made their homes in New South Wales over the past two centuries. All of these groups suffered at the hands of the government of the Ottoman Empire.

As early as 1910 plans were formulated and published for the elimination of the indigenous Christians of the Ottoman Empire as part of the government's efforts to homogenise its population. Those documents, and millions more like them, are available today. They demonstrate the intention of the Ottoman government of the time. There was a determination on the part of Ottoman politicians to eliminate non-Turkish identities. With the outbreak of the war their plans began to be implemented. When the Anzacs landed on the Gallipoli Peninsula there were Greek people living there tilling the soil and fishing the waters. There were also Turkish tax collectors, police and soldiers. The non-Turks are the people who were deported. These are the people who were massacred during World War I and after. International reaction was immediate to what British Secretary of the Admiralty Winston Churchill labelled an "administrative holocaust". Relief committees sprang up all over the world. A Joint Allied Declaration issued on 24 May 1915 stated:

In view of these new crimes of Turkey against humanity and civilization, the Allied governments announce publicly ... that they will hold personally responsible ... all members of the Ottoman government and those of their agents who are implicated in such massacres.

When the Anzacs left the Gallipoli Peninsula they left behind hundreds of prisoners of war—men such as Sydney-born Private Frederick Ashton of the 11th Battalion AIF and Bourke-born Petty Officer Cecil Arthur Bray of HMAS A.E.2 RAN. The Anzac prisoners of war went through a series of prisoner of war camps, typically being marched from one to another on bread and water rations in bitter cold or blistering heat. While Ashton, Bray and many of their comrades were eventually released, more than 60 other Anzac prisoners perished from a combination of exposure, disease, malnutrition and exhaustion.

A small number of Anzacs became rescuers, saving the lives of those who had survived the massacres and deportations. Most famous of these are the men of the Dunsterforce. Australian officers in this unit, including Captains R. H. Hooper, Andre Judge and Stanley Savige, who have left a legacy of written and photographic records of their rescue of some 40,000 Assyrians and Armenians in the mountains of northwest Iran and eastern Iraq in the summer of 1918. In response to the needs of destitute survivors scattered across the Near East, committees of the Armenian Relief Fund and Save the Children Fund emerged in Sydney and Melbourne between 1915 and 1919. Among the leading lights of this movement were Sydney Lord Mayor J. Joynton Smith and many other leading citizens. It was a truly national effort, with New South Wales at its heart.

I am indebted to the research of Dr Diamadis and Mr Vicken Babkenian, Directors of the Australian Institute for Holocaust and Genocide Studies. Their pioneering efforts have provided the evidence of these genocides. The truth of the genocides—the truth of what happened to the Armenian, Assyrian and Greek peoples—is in the records of our Australian servicemen. We should remember and learn from such dark chapters in human history. In the same spirit, we can secure recognition of a genocide which is still very real and very heartfelt by the Australian Assyrian community, the Australian Greek community and the Australian Armenian community today. Lest we forget.

APPENDIX F: PREMIER BARRY O'FERRELL AND MR. JOHN ROBERTSON, TRANSCRIPT OF NSW PARLIAMENT, ADDRESS MAY 8TH 2013

Armenian, Assyrian and Greek Genocides

Page: 20204

Mr BARRY O'FARRELL (Ku-ring-gai—Premier, and Minister for Western Sydney) [12.35 p.m.], by leave: I move:

That this House:

- (1) notes that on 17 April 1997 this House recognised and condemned the Genocide of the Armenians by the then Ottoman Government between 1915 and 1922, and designated 24 April of every year thereafter as a day of remembrance of the 1.5 million Armenians who fell victim to the first genocide of the twentieth century;
- (2) recognises that Assyrians and Greeks were subjected to qualitatively similar genocides by the then Ottoman Government between 1915 and 1922;
- (3) reaffirms its condemnation of the genocide of the Assyrians, Armenians and Greeks, and all other acts of genocide as the ultimate act of intolerance;
- (4) recognises the importance of remembering and learning from such dark chapters in human history to ensure that such crimes against humanity are not allowed to be repeated;
- (5) acknowledges and pays tribute to the contribution of the Anzac servicemen who aided the survivors of the genocide; and
- (6) acknowledges the significant humanitarian relief contribution made by the people of New South Wales to the victims and survivors of the genocide.

The horrors of genocide live deep within the hearts of many people within our community. When migrants choose to make a new life in Australia they often leave behind the marginalisation they experienced in their homelands. For many the decision to migrate can be a very painful one and being forced to leave one's motherland due to oppression or persecution is devastating. Genocide has been something from

which too many settlers on these shores have escaped. I have moved this motion in recognition of the genocide of the Armenians, Greeks and Assyrians that occurred after 1915. The motion reflects the community's determination to ensure that genocide is never forgotten and that it is recognised around the world.

We can take pride in the fact that New South Wales offered a safe haven for people around the world who faced genocide—those that we are remembering in this motion or those that we have remembered in subsequent times. We can take pride from the fact that individuals in communities in New South Wales have rebuilt their lives, salvaged their identities and can now be identified as Australian here and in their homelands. The Armenian, Assyrian and Greek communities continue to play a significant role in helping to shape the vibrant cosmopolitan culture that characterises New South Wales. In the small business sector individuals and families from these communities are shining examples of the benefits to this State and nation of multiculturalism.

Having left war-torn countries in the Middle East, many Armenians, Assyrians and Greeks established small businesses which continue to thrive decades later. I make special mention of the member for Smithfield, Andrew Rohan, whose parents were amongst the refugees who fled these atrocities and settled in this country. The member for Smithfield has previously recognised in this Parliament the national day of remembrance of the genocides. In moving this motion I acknowledge a similar motion moved in the Legislative Council by Reverend the Hon. Fred Nile, MLC. Just as the motion passed with the support of both sides of politics in this place 16 years ago, this motion should continue to enjoy the support of this Parliament. To address such horrific crimes of the past maintains our vigilance to prevent such acts against humanity in the future.

Mr JOHN ROBERTSON (Blacktown—Leader of the Opposition) [12.39 p.m.]: I speak in support of this motion. Labor has long recognised the tragic events and suffering endured by the Armenian, Assyrian and Greek populations living within the borders of the Ottoman Empire during the First World War and its aftermath. In 1997 former Premier Bob Carr led this place in supporting a motion recognising the Armenian genocide. At that time, all members of Parliament joined in acknowledging the genocide, placing it on record and pledging never to forget it. Since that time, Labor members also have stood in this Parliament to recognise the suffering endured by the Assyrian people during the First World War.

Therefore, it is fitting that once again we acknowledge the Assyrian genocide, place those terrible events on the record and pledge never to forget. We must acknowledge also the suffering endured by Greek people living in Pontus and Anatolia during the

First World War and its aftermath. I again join the Premier in acknowledging the genocide suffered by the Greek people. Again we place those events on the record and pledge never to forget them. In supporting this motion, and in acknowledging the Armenian, Assyrian and Greek genocides, I relay to the House the words spoken by former Premier Bob Carr following this Parliament's acknowledgement of the Armenian genocide in 1997:

Let us all resolve, first, to reject ethnic stereotyping ... Second, let us reject religious intolerance and bigotry for what it is and give all people the right to pursue their faith and, third, while exploring our patriotism, let's reject nationalism which has done so much damage and so much harm.

I am sure all members will join me in again rejecting these three evils as we recognise the terrible events of the past. As I indicated earlier, Labor supports this motion. However, I place on record our dissatisfaction with the way the Premier brought this motion before the House. I was informed only three hours ago that the Premier would move this motion today. I question why it was brought on with such haste and minimal notice to members of this Parliament and the community. It is worth noting that Reverend the Hon. Fred Nile moved an identical motion in the other place just last week. While I do not doubt the Premier's sincerity in moving this motion, the haste with which it was introduced leads me to question his motivations.

In giving my support to this motion, I acknowledge also that, as is so common in our vibrant and multicultural community, this issue attracts a diversity of views. I am concerned that the time has not been taken to speak with all those communities that have strong and, understandably, passionate views on this issue. In the limited time made available to us, I have spoken with members on our side of the House who, like many members in this place, represent electorates that are home to diverse communities. I place on record the fact that the members representing the electorates of Auburn, Liverpool and Macquarie Fields have conveyed to me the Turkish community's disappointment at not having any opportunity to have their say on this issue. I am told that they also are disappointed that the Premier has not contacted the Turkish community leaders to explain his reasons for the haste to deal with this motion today.

I acknowledge the presence in the gallery today of the Turkish Consul-General, who is listening to this debate. I do not know whether the Premier has attempted to meet with the Consul-General. I advise the House that at 4.00 p.m. today I will be meeting with the Turkish Consul-General. I do so in order to explain to her my reasons for

supporting this motion. I invite the Premier to come along and also meet with the Turkish Consul-General this afternoon at 4.00 p.m. in my office to explain the haste in moving this motion, not the reasons. I again commend the motion to the House and place on record the Labor Opposition's acknowledgement of the Armenian, Assyrian and Greek genocides, and pledge never to forget those terrible events.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Raphael Lemkin, "Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide", 1997 http://www.hrweb.org/legal/genocide.html
- 2 Fred Nile, "Armenian, Assyrian and Greek Genocides", May 1st, 2013, http://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/prod/parlment/hansart.nsf/V3Key/LC20130501057
- 3 Barry O'Ferrell "Armenian, Assyrian and Greek Genocides", May 8th, 2013 http://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/prod/parlment/hansart.nsf/V3Key/LA20130508007
- 4 Racho Donef, Personal Correspondence, March 24th, 2014 (See appendix A)
- 5 Racho Donef, Personal Correspondence, March 24th, 2014 (See appendix A)
- 6 Racho Donef, Personal Correspondence, March 24th, 2014 (See appendix A)
- 7 Ottoman imperial government special forces unit under the War Department and was allegedly used to suppress Arab separatism and Western imperialism under Ottoman Empire
- 8 Head of 'Assyriac Studies' at the Turkish Historical Society, lecturing Professor in Ottoman Studies at Balikesir University in Turkey, and Head of the Modern History Department at the same university.
- 9 Bulent Ozdemir. Assyrian Identity And The Great War: Nestorian, Chaldean And Syrian Christians in the 20th Century, Whittles Publishing Ltd, Caithness, Scotland, 2012, p. xiii
- 10 Bulent Ozdemir. Assyrian Identity And The Great War: Nestorian, Chaldean And Syrian Christians in the 20th Century, Whittles Publishing Ltd, Caithness, Scotland, 2012, p. 156
- 11 Bulent Ozdemir. Assyrian Identity And The Great War: Nestorian, Chaldean And Syrian Christians in the 20th Century, Whittles Publishing Ltd, Caithness, Scotland, 2012, p. xiii
- 12 Lionel Dunsterville, The adventures of Dunsterforce, E. Arnold Publishing, London, 1920, p. 175 https://archive.org/details/adventuresofduns00dunsrich
- 13 In Islamic law, an opinion made by a judicial/religious scholar (a mufti) on a legal, civil or religious matter
- 14 The struggle to establish the law of God on Earth, often interpreted to mean holy war.
- 15 Non-Muslim subjects of a state governed in accordance with sharia law. The term connotes an obligation of the state to protect the individual, including the individual's life, property, and freedom of religion and worship, and required loyalty to the empire.
- 16 Bulent Ozdemir, Assyrian Identity And The Great War: Nestorian, Chaldean And Syrian Christians in the 20th Century, Whittles Publishing Ltd, Caithness, Scotland, 2012, p. 83
- 17 Hannibal Travis "'Native Christians Massacred': The Ottoman Genocide of the Assyrians During World War One" in Genocide Studies and Prevention, Vol. 1, No. 3, 2006 p. 327
- 18 Hannibal Travis "'Native Christians Massacred': The Ottoman Genocide of the Assyrians During World War One" in Genocide Studies and Prevention, Vol. 1, No. 3, 2006 p. 331
- 19 Bulent Ozdemir, Assyrian Identity And The Great War: Nestorian, Chaldean And Syrian Christians in the 20th Century, Whittles Publishing Ltd, Caithness, Scotland, 2012, p. 81
- 20 Hannibal Travis is an associate professor of law at Florida International University. He graduated magna cum laude from Harvard Law School and summa cum laude in philosophy from Washington University. He serves as a member of the editorial advisory board of Genocide Studies and Prevention and has a recently published essay "Constructing the 'Armenian Genocide': How Scholars Unremembered the Assyrian and Greek Genocides in the Ottoman Empire"

- 21 Adam Jones/International Association of Genocide Scholars, 2007, Resolution: International Association of Genocide Scholars International Association of Genocide Scholars International Association of Genocide Scholars http://www.genocidescholars.org/sites/default/files/document%09%5Bcurrent-page%3A1%5D/documents/IAGS-Resolution-Assyrian%2Oand%2OGreek%2OGenocide.pdf
- 22 Hannibal Travis, personal correspondence 8th of May, 2014 (see appendix C)
- 23 Hannibal Travis, personal correspondence 8th of May, 2014 (see appendix C)
- 24 Hannibal Travis, personal correspondence 8th of May, 2014 (see appendix C)
- 25 A book which was the compiled statements from eyewitnesses from other countries including Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Switzerland, who similarly attested to Armenians in the Ottoman Empire during 1915-1916. Later to be submitted as evidence against Ottoman Empire during the Paris Peace Conference
- 26 Hannibal Travis, personal correspondence 8th of May, 2014 (see appendix C)
- 27 William Schabas is the president of the International Association of Genocide Scholars. He argues in his works that the legal term "genocide" is a loaded one that should not be used to describe every atrocity involving mass killings. In the strict legal sense, the only true "genocides" in recent history, he argues, were the Armenian Genocide, the Jewish and Gypsy Holocaust, and the Rwandan Genocide.
- 28 Hannibal Travis, personal correspondence 8th of May, 2014 (see appendix C)
- 29 Justin McCarthy, personal correspondence 1st of March, 2014 (see appendix B)
- 30 Justin McCarthy, personal correspondence 1st of March, 2014 (see appendix B)
- 31 Justin McCarthy, personal correspondence 1st of March, 2014 (see appendix B)
- 32 Justin McCarthy, personal correspondence 1st of March, 2014 (see appendix B)
- 33 Justin McCarthy, Armenian Question By Prof Justin McCarthy. (Online video, lecture) 10 February 2011 Part 1 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sS65RvEGEh8
- 34 Justin McCarthy, personal correspondence 1st of March, 2014 (see appendix B)
- 35 Justin McCarthy, personal correspondence 1st of March, 2014 (see appendix B)
- 36 Panayiotis Diamadis personal correspondence 14th of May, 2014 (see appendix D)
- 37 Panayiotis Diamadis Australian Responses to Hellenic Genocide in 1910-19302 with additional references to Responses to the Assyrian Genocide and the Shoah, Genocide Prevention Now, 2012, p. 2
- 38 Panayiotis Diamadis personal correspondence 14th of May, 2014 (see appendix D)
- 39 Panayiotis Diamadis, , The Assyrians in the Christian Asia Minor Holocaust (online transcript of lecture), 2000, p. 5, http://www.atour.com/education/20000825a.html
- 40 Fred Nile, "Armenian, Assyrian and Greek Genocides", May 1st, 2013, http://www.parliament. nsw.gov.au/prod/parlment/hansart.nsf/V3Key/LC20130501057 (see appendix E)
- 41 Fred Nile, "Armenian, Assyrian and Greek Genocides", May 1st, 2013, http://www.parliament. nsw.gov.au/prod/parlment/hansart.nsf/V3Key/LC20130501057 (see appendix E)
- 42 Barry O'Farrell "Armenian, Assyrian and Greek Genocides", May 8th, 2013 http://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/prod/parlment/hansart.nsf/V3Key/LA20130508007 (See appendix F)

VISUAL ART

Sean Conlon

Absence, the Void of Presence

STATEMENT OF INTENT

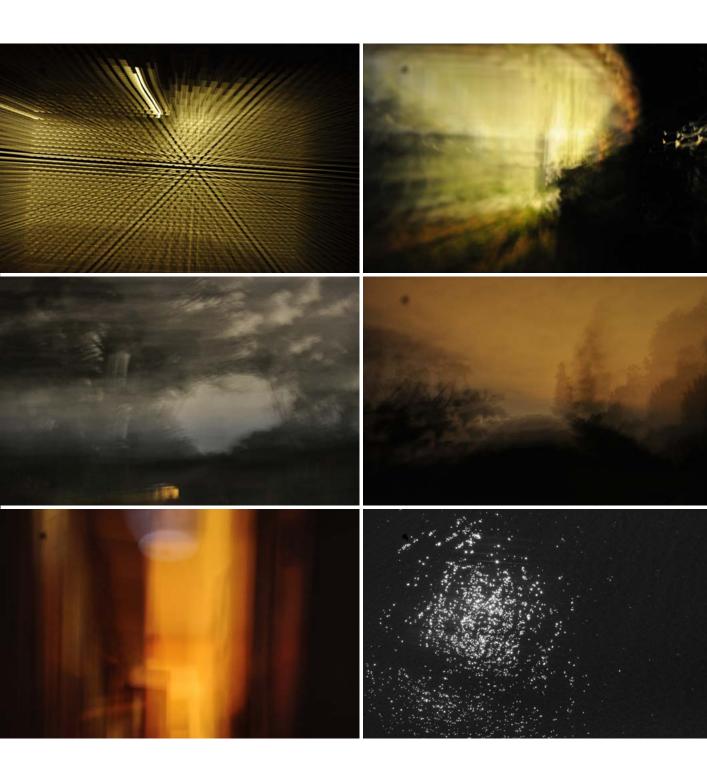
Essentially, the meaning of my work to me is ambiguous. It is not necessarily a conceptually driven work looking to make a statement on a tangible concept, but I feel it is more driven by the mood and a sense of irresolute and somewhat alien imagery. Ultimately, when I tried to make it more conceptually based, I feel like it became contrived. I came into the project unsure of a concept or subject matter, which worked to my advantage as it allowed me to just experiment and take photos that reflected a mood at the time. During the process of taking photos I tried to induce myself into a trancelike state through the use of music, from artists such as William Basinski, Swans and Tim Hecker, which produced many emotions of despair, fear, eeriness, aggression and gloominess, which I feel played a vital role in producing the moods I present in my artwork. One thing that stood out in the photos I had taken was a sense of intimacy and an interesting feeling of spaciousness. Through the presentation of my work, I tried to extend on this sense of intimacy, through the use of the book and also through the large image, which I use as it has an interesting aesthetic which is somewhat generic, yet gloomy, ultimately drawing the audience in. Through this intimacy, I try to impose individual perspectives and moods towards the artwork.















ENGLISH

Ben Clarke

The Wanderers in the Wood

REFLECTION STATEMENT

Is the universe concerned with our existence? Can we really comprehend the world around us? The purpose of my major work is to ask these unanswerable questions, which become more and more pertinent in an increasingly postmodern and posthumanist world. The Wanderers in the Wood is a philosophical allegory in the form of a children's short story, told in the omniscient third person. It seeks to question the world's absurd nature and the humanity's limitations in comprehending it. This is achieved through a humorous yet profound satirisation of two absolutist philosophies, Empiricism and Romanticism. The two main characters (Mr Staples and Mr Fodd) hyperbolise these paradigms as they traverse a mysterious forest. The "journey" trope frames the narrative structure, yet is subverted by its cyclical nature, in which they arrive at the very place they started, with their characters completely undeveloped, to demonstrate humanity's potential inability to find truth or meaning.

The dynamic between the two travellers, a kind of futile dialectic, is central to the narrative, along with their individual traits and philosophical notions. Mr Staples is immediately established as dominant and resolute (Choleric and Melancholic), while Mr Fodd is more passive and sentimental (Sanguine and Phlegmatic). This balance of temperaments, and the common goal of finding the straight road out of the mysterious forest (paralleling the first Canto of Dante's *Inferno*) make these characters two halves of the whole of humanity.

Intertextual references from poets such as Sir Walter Scott ("bee, bird and flower"), Edgar Alan Poe ("Deep into that darkness, peering...") and William Wordsworth ("I wandered lonely as a stump") shape Mr Fodd's representation as a Romantic and as such are employed ironically in order to reflect the folly of this absolutist paradigm. In true Romantic fashion, rather than rationalising his environment, he prefers to glorify or overemphasise its beauty or horror. His cry of "Devil! Fiend! Abhorred monster!" in reaction to the Crone mirrors the Gothic terror of Frankenstein to meeting his monster, as well as the Crone's resigned response, "I expected this. All men hate

the wretched." This nod to Shelley's novel (studied in the Year 12 Advanced course) displays my similar intent in terms of exposing man's abhorrence and "othering" of that which he cannot understand

Though he is generally more level-headed, Mr Staples' rants of misled logic, "Trees exist to be chopped down and used for timber and fuel. Why else would we have trees?" are based mainly on those of the fraudulent scientist Pangloss in Voltaire's *Candide*, as well as twisted takes on the philosophy of Descartes, viewing the whole world as being made for mankind. These allusions are satirical in nature, intended to point out obvious flaws in "enlightened" thinking, and showing that Mr Fodd's spiritual and Mr Staples' logical understanding of their world are equally as dogmatic, based on preconceived notions about the way the world should be, rather than the absurd reality of what it is. Both are also characterised by their pride and inability to admit to faults, untruthfully answering "Yes!" every time to the recurring question, "Do you know the way?"

Both characters were originally going to be anthropomorphised animals, in the style of much of Golden-Age Children's literature (*Alice's Adventures in Wonderland, The Wind in the Willows, Winnie the Pooh*, etc.). While this feature remains to endear the characters, I have chosen to make the anthropomorphic descriptions ambiguous, so that the audience is unsure where the border lies between animal and human. Is Mr Staples really running with a "tail between his legs"? Again, here Descartes and other Enlightenment thinkers are criticised for philosophies that perpetuated arrogant views of men as the centre of the universe, with all other species deemed soulless *bête machines*. At the very end, they are vividly revealed as being "furry, snouted, whiskered and tailed". Up until now, the audience has thought them to be human, so this calls into question (once again) Mr Fodd's and Mr Staples' sense of entitlement and superiority despite their lack of true insight, as they have constantly referred to themselves as "men" and therefore separate from "nature".

A variety of elements in the narrative allude to Dante's Divine Comedy, which I became familiar with through the Year 11 Extension course, "The Fall". The Divine Comedy is also a journey narrative, from which I took a lot of the Christian symbolism, such as the three women. The Mother, the Maiden and the Crone offer to help the travellers as they meet them on their way, referencing the "three blessed women" that lead Dante in his revelation, though their guidance in this story is rejected, and their characteristics subverted. Saint Mary is embodied by the Mother, whose womb is "dominated" and her "heart clutched" by the "frail shape of a child", questioning Mary's role as a mother to a son doomed to suffering and death. The Maiden (Beatrice, Dante's unrequited love) represents everything pure and perfect, but denies the assumed cosmological supremacy of humanity through her unattainability, as exhibited by the climbing of the never-ending tree. The Crone (Saint Lucy, a martyr) acknowledges the futility of suffering and the universe's indifference: "my wishes are nothing to the deafness of fate", "[the stars] wink down upon us with all the duty of absent parents" (a reference to Camus' The Outsider, studied in Year 11 Advanced). As well as Frankenstein's monster, the crone is paralleled to Bertha the mad wife from *Iane Evre* (another Gothic novel) through the symbolically torn veil on the floor. The ominous bridal reference links back to Saint Lucy, who was denounced by her betrothed. All three women in some way reveal man's desire for dominance over woman, over nature and over all else that he deems inferior, despite the universe's denial of such dominance. They are shown to have a unique insight into the world by alluding to other divine triads, such as the recurring Pagan Triple-Goddess after whom they are named. The scene in which they spin, stretch and cut a strand of thread likewise corresponds to depictions of the Moirai (Fates) of Greek Mythology. Their assumed divinity exposes a paradox, as, like the god of Epicurus' quandary, they seem to know everything yet have no power to alter the world.

The work is in many ways a formative fable as it relates to child readers, entertaining them while teaching them basic lessons about pride, egotism and resistance to change, for which the three women's somewhat sarcastic song at the end, "a blessing on the travellers", provides a coda. I envisage publication in an old-style almanac collection of children's short stories, such as the Golden Almanac (published 1947). In its more contemporary form, it could be included in an online publication such as the childrensbookalmanac.com. The work's quaint Victorian tone (influenced by writers of the Golden Age of Children's Literature such as Lewis Carroll and early high fantasy writers such as C. S. Lewis) is used in the descriptions of the protagonists and their verbal and inner dialogue. It harkens back not only to the innocence of childhood but also to that period's orthodox values—such as those that belittle women or provoke damage to the environment—which are yet to be fully shaken off by younger generations. Bombastic or sophisticated vocabulary—"dispurposified ambulation"—

reflects the secondary layer of readership, adults who would engage more readily with the philosophical questioning underpinning the work, while also enhancing the element of ridicule. Study of Voltaire's *Candide* was very useful in influencing the novella-like structure of my short story, alongside the allegorical stories of Poe and Nathaniel Hawthorn such as *The Masque of the Red Death* and *Rappacini's Daughter*, which helped me develop the narrative structure and a pseudo-archaic style.

Voltaire and Carroll's works both use satire, allegory and "journey" tropes to illustrate philosophical follies in a palatable fashion, entertaining young audiences and provoking thought in older ones through a series of bizarre events that form a philosophical allegory. The climbing of the never-ending tree, for instance, represents the futility and hubris man's ambition for empowerment and knowledge. This plot device, as well as the sweeping river and the encounters with the women, is reminiscent of those in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*; by bending reality, they demonstrate the wondrous absurdity of this world to the audience while baffling the protagonist. The laws of time and physics are played with in this work—"Last night was this afternoon..."—just as Carroll, by growing and shrinking Alice at odd moments, played with the laws of mathematics.

The Wanderers in the Wood is, in its simplest interpretation, a cautionary tale. Mr Staples and Mr Fodd are unable to comprehend their world due to their assumption that they already do; thus they are unable to develop as characters and the narrative takes a cyclical form, with the inversion of the final words, "And thus our story ends. And begins." The great questions of life ultimately cannot be answered due, very simply, to human nature, and the flaws in human understanding because our existence may, in fact, be incidental; that no ideology is correct, and that no truth is absolute. No matter what ideology we hold, can we ever really understand the universe, and if not, are we just as much fools as the wanderers in the wood?

SHORT STORY

If you had been in the woods that afternoon, when golden light glowed through the translucent leaves of slender saplings, you'd have seen two travellers tottering along. They presumed themselves fine and goodly, these travellers; well dressed, scholarly types, yet very different in their ways. You might also have seen, invisible in the sunlight, that strange film of fog that formed a near-invisible cloud about their heads. It was a fog that moulded, set and dried their minds and had them dancing to an unheard tune.

The first traveller, who went by the name of Mr Staples, strode with an air of fortitude, trusting that his pocket watch was showing him the correct time. The second, Mr Fodd by name, meandered, regarding all things as beautiful, and thinking—or pretending—that he had not a care in the world.

After a time, Mr Staples had come to a terrible realisation. It only came to him when the cobblestones had disappeared from beneath his feet. "I declare, you've gotten us lost," he snapped at Mr Fodd, "Though I don't know how you managed it. I've been looking only at the map this entire time. We're completely off course!"

"My, my! I wouldn't dream of doing so!" squeaked Mr Fodd. "Anyhow, I think we're nicely *on* course. The sun in the sky and the wind in the trees are enough to tell us that all is well and good."

"But of course we're off course!" exclaimed Mr Staples, correcting his lopsided monocle with a sour pout. "And *you* are the coarse cause of the course's offness, for it surely isn't me, guided as I am by so great a knowledge of the universe."

"Dung drops and dithers!" swore Mr Fodd, bristling, though he quickly reigned in his temper with a sip from his wineskin. "You are a sorry sort if you cannot be brought to tears, as I am, at the beauty all around us. In such a wondrous wood, I find our wandering so very delightful."

"Wandering? Pah!" Mr Staples turned up his pointed nose, striking a match to light his pipe, for the black clouds it emitted helped to clear his head. "Where, exactly, is the necessity in wandering?—or, as I prefer to call it, dispurposified ambulation."

With the annunciation of these tremendous words, Mr Staples puffed a heavy swirl of smoke into the face of the flummoxed Mr Fodd, who spluttered, "Well, what do *you* say we do?" as he dusted off his spectacles. "You, sir, with your great knowledge of the universe? What do you say, hmm?"

"Forward march!" boomed Mr Staples, squaring his shoulders and thrusting out his chest, charred tobacco leaves flying from his pipe as he used it to gesture dramatically. "It is impossible to move in a single direction and not meet *someone* sooner or later."

Mr Fodd scratched his hairy chin, glancing around at the verdant young plants surrounding them. "Yet I wonder, aren't we bound to meet a tree that'll block our path?"

Mr Staples consulted his map, and became livid. "Why, I declare, there's not a straight direction in sight that won't have us running into a tree!"

"Could we not go *around* each one, I wonder?" mused Mr Fodd, hoping Mr Staples wouldn't harm so kindly and lovely a thing as a tree.

"What a sorry day that would be, Mr Fodd," cried Mr Staples in a sudden tirade, "When a man is forced to compromise with a tree!" The very idea repulsed him so greatly that he almost choked on his smoke. "In a better world, a tree ought to be arranged at ninety degrees to its neighbour; a simple grid, with straight paths in every direction. That'd be far more effective for navigation, I declare. A tree should not grow so wild and unruly. For trees exist to be chopped down and used for timber and fuel. Why else would we have trees? The insolence of this forest, to think it can trap and confuse those men for whom it was created."

Despite Mr Staples' sour mood, Mr Fodd was not disheartened. "You must join me and take the hand of Nature," he implored. "For Nature will lead the way, I promise you. Nothing was ever so pure and kind as Nature."

And with that, Mr Fodd tripped over a jagged stone and tumbled to the ground.

Mr Staples managed to stifle his chuckle, for he was a proper gentleman. Instead he exclaimed, "Men like you allow nature to run wild! When left alone, it becomes not a tool but a beast. Nothing was ever so fearsome as the poison of a fungus." And with this he pointed, like a prosecutor in court, to the nearest toadstool, which he imagined to be staring at him in fury with its scarlet face.

"But nothing was ever so quaint and pretty to the eyes as its little white spots! Nothing ever made a man weep so much as breeze, bird and flower." Mr Fodd threw his head upward, in a frenzy of wonder, and cried, "Tree, cloud, sun! The light and the beauty! Show us the way! Show us through this forest, this perfect creation, and lead us back to the road!"

"A lot of good shouting will do," Mr Staples scoffed. "Even so, extreme cases call for extreme measures." He reached into his seemingly bottomless pockets and pulled out a sexton, into which he would peer up into the sky. "At nightfall I shall chart our course by the stars," he informed Mr Fodd. "A man can never fail if he counts on the falling of night and the guidance of the stars. And yet, I declare, it is quite impertinent of those stars to spurn us during the day, hiding behind the bright blue."

"Oh, and what a blue it is," Mr Fodd sighed dreamily. "What a blue that bright sky is."

The travellers moved as they spoke, treading deeper into unfamiliar wood. As the afternoon wore on, the trees grew darker, yet the sky was somehow brighter. And it was not the nice kind of brightness; it was hot and blazing, as if the sun were on fire. The air was humid and the travellers felt themselves coming down in a sweat as they laboured over the uneven ground. No stars emerged for Mr Fodd to praise. No stars emerged to guide Mr Staples on his unswerving way.

Mr Fodd took some pleasure in the wander and in his wonder, picking posies along the way, stumbling into slender branches after each swig of his wineskin. The pipe-puffing Mr Staples, deciding that movement was more productive a task than standing still, marched with purpose, trying to ignore his fellow traveller zigzagging all around him.

Presently, the two travellers met a remarkable figure amidst the trees: a Mother, clad in green, with streams of chestnut hair falling almost to the floor. Her complexion was olive and her laugh lines spoke of happy years, yet there was worry in her owlish eyes. Her belly was swollen with child, and a hand rested upon it, lingering, refusing to let go. For a second, Mr Staples could have sworn she were his own mother. For a second, Mr Fodd may even have thought her a goddess. She seemed to be both of those things and more. She was queen of sorts, who could see and know the whole world at once; a vision of all that had been and was to come. So strange, yet so familiar.

After politely greeting the travellers, the Mother asked, "Do you know the way?"

"Of course!" declared Mr Staples, swept up in a confident folly. "And who might you be, Madam? A woman in your condition ought never to be exposed to so wild and wilful a place."

"And yet, Mr Staples," challenged Mr Fodd, "She might find solace in these woods, that her babe may grow with the gentle temperament of the trees in the beauteous evening. Calm and free. How now, kind lady? Where might you be headed?"

"I am headed only to the future," said the Mother. "The future of my child. For I never shall sleep whilst my womb is dominated and my heart clutched by the frail shape of a child." She paused, examining the traveller's faces carefully with her owlish eyes. It was as if she had their whole past, present and future mapped out before her. "I see that you are troubled." Her voice held the comforting tenderness of all good mothers. "You both are so strong-willed that your spirit may outlast the forest itself. However, your path is blocked. Lost. Forgotten. The path is never far, yet your minds are never close."

Mr Fodd started panicking. "What is this great danger that we must face?"

The Mother smiled a piteous smile, as one smiles upon a weeping child to console him with an adoring countenance. "It is not so much a danger as a sadness."

While Mr Fodd drooped his head, Mr Staples stepped forward, declaring, "It is no use to dwell on sadness! Where do we find such a monster?"

The Mother glanced up at the fog that she could see and that they couldn't; a fog that stuck like locusts to the fibres of her beloved saplings and made them seem somehow beautiful and somehow ugly, when in fact they were neither.

"In time you will find a stream," she told them.

"Of course, we will," Mr Staples cut in. "Streams are made to be found, as all things are."

The Mother furrowed her brow, but continued, "In this stream, the miserable impeder of your paths—that force which has made you stray—may be revealed. Find it and you will slay it. Let it slip away, and it will forever remain a scourge on the earth."

Mr Staples was about to say something very biting and smug again, but Mr Fodd interjected, "The stream, then! The stream! We must go to the stream! For this goodly mistress has prophesied it!"

Seeing Mr Staples reaching for his map again, the Mother put out her hand and said gently, "It is but a short way. Just over the ridge."

Mr Staples chuckled uncertainly. "I know that, silly woman! A seasoned and learned man such as I? Of course I do."

Rather annoyed at Mr Staples' arrogance, Mr Fodd went to stand before the Mother, who was quite tall in comparison, and told her, "We shall find this pool, then, and pacify this ferocious beast. I propose we do so not with prose, but with song." And he cleared his throat before throwing out his arms and bellowing a clumsy tune:

"I wandered lonely as a stump That floats on high o'er windowsills, When all at once I saw a clump A host, of golden doily frills ..."

"Cease at once, Mr Fodd!" roared Mr Staples. "You've scared away the lady, and I have a mind to leave you here as well!"

Mr Fodd wheeled around. His voice faltered and his face turned deathly pale. He scanned the young trees, which seemed to him to whither in the Mother's absence.

"I wonder how she could have gotten away so quickly," was all he could think to say, wondering at the encumbering weight of her unborn child.

"I found her conversation very unstimulating," Mr Staples yawned, scratching his furry chin with the point of his pipe.

Mr Fodd looked around again, still thinking of that handsome lady, whose smiles and graces had been so gentle and so tender that he had wanted to sink into her arms, dissolving into the soft sands of sweet dreams. "Yet I wonder..." he murmured to himself. "How I wonder ..." But, deciding that he ought not to wonder *too* much, as there are some thoughts best left un-wondered about, he took another gulp of wine and put the matter out of his little mind.

Great oaks cropped up as they found once more the bright light of a high sun. Mr Staples was about to reprimand Mr Fodd's slowness in admiring the high-reaching boughs, when the two travellers came within earshot of the whispers of water. Lo and behold, a stream lay nearby, as the Mother had said, trickling along a depression between the huge roots that wound about their feet.

"Shall we rest here?" asked Mr Fodd. "The water looks so fresh and clear and lovely."

"Oh, very well," muttered Mr Staples, glad he didn't have to admit that he himself was tired.

So the two of them sat down to catch their breath. Mr Fodd leant over and was close to putting his hand in the water, so golden and delicious, when Mr Staples gasped and vanked him back.

"Have you taken leave of your senses, Mr Fodd?" he raged. "A gentleman of society does not drink from every torrent he sees! I've read enough medical journals to know that you could definitely contract haemophilia. Or polio. A friend of mine drank water from a spring he thought very innocent and clean indeed. But the very next day, upon awaking, he was forced back into his bed, having come down with a serious case of albinism."

"Oh, my word!" cried Mr Fodd, recoiling at once from the water. "Well, I ought to stick to my wine, then." After another gulp, he looked back at the water and called down into it. "Show us the foul beast that lurks here!"

Mr Staples was again irritated at his companion's insistence on making as much noise as possible. Fixing his askew monocle, he muttered, "I shall take no heed of stories of beasts as long as I cannot perceive it with my own eyes and ears. All I see and hear is running water."

Mr Fodd leant over to examine the stream again. The beast was in the stream. The beast was in the stream. And yet, all he could see through his tempered spectacles was his own fuzzy reflection, and that of Mr Staples.

"Perhaps if I were to look further," said Mr Fodd, snatching the spyglass from his companion's belt—for the organised Mr Staples never travelled without such a tool. Mr Staples objected to its being taken, but Mr Fodd ignored him, leaning in closer and closer to the water, skewing his eye into the spyglass he pointed at it, as if he wished to peer into its very essence. But all he could perceive was a fuzzy whirl of brown; one that fell away abruptly as Mr Staples tried to reach past Mr Fodd's upturned backside to reobtain the spyglass, accidentally bumping him and causing them both to topple headfirst into the water.

Before Mr Fodd could cry out in indignation, his mouth was full of foaming water. He felt it thrash and throw him to and fro, no longer a tiny stream but a vast river, flowing at breakneck speed through the alleys of the forest, spurned on by a roaring wind and flecks of intemperate rain. More intent on holding on to their eyeglasses and various

other belongings than some kind of branch or rock, Mr Fodd and Mr Staples continued to fly through the water, at the mercy of Nature's sudden burst of fury.

The travellers acquired numerous bruises in these rapids, and had begun to question whether they'd survive such an episode. Nevertheless, they were relieved to find that the river's flow was slowing and quelling as abruptly as it had burst forth. The rocks disappeared, replaced by an expanse of water that was smooth as glass, a lake of some sort, with tree-covered hills surrounding all sides.

"What did I tell you about touching the water?" spluttered Mr Staples as his head emerged not far from Mr Fodd's, after the water had levelled out and calmed somewhat.

"No doubt Nature saw fit to punish how rude you've been today," sighed Mr Fodd, straightening his spectacles as he tried to cling to a nearby piece of driftwood. He then coughed up some river water in the most elegant manner he could muster.

The travellers made for the shore, very slowly and laboriously, for they were not the greatest swimmers, eventually crawling onto dry land and into another expanse of trees.

"Does this forest have no end?" said Mr Fodd with a tragic sigh.

Mr Staples would hear no word of this despair, reminding his companion that "All things have an end."

Presently, the two travellers saw a remarkable figure as they trudged through the rubicund leaves up a gentle incline. A Maiden, clad in white, young and lively, with merry plaits of hair that shone golden in the sun. She sat very serenely on one of the lower branches of the most enormous of the oaks, simpering down at the travellers below. There was such a careless and free air about her that both Mr Fodd and Mr Staples at once desired to take her hand and fly away with her; such a wondrous picture of naïve beauty. So strange, yet so familiar.

After waving exuberantly, the Maiden called out a greeting, and then a question, "Do you know the way?"

"Of course," stammered Mr Staples, hurriedly slicking the river water out of his hair.

Presenting himself to the blushing Maiden with a chivalrous bow, Mr Fodd bowled over his companion with a thoughtless swoop of his hand. Marvelling at her terrifying beauty, Mr Fodd greeted the Maiden with a song.

"Vision, vision, of the day,
Steal my breath so far away.
Come to lift away my dread,
And turn to gold this heart of lead ..."

The Maiden smiled, hopping daintily down from the tree and gliding over to them as they approached, light as a cloud of solid gold. "Where might you be headed?"

"The road!" replied Mr Fodd unreservedly. "But I must say, it has been rather a difficult day. Why, just then, we almost drowned."

"Oh my!" said the Maiden. "How dreadful!"

Mr Fodd hardly heard her words, gazing fixatedly at her glossy eyes. "Oh, princess of virtue! Have we met before, perhaps in a dream? A dream long forgotten until now, that now awakes in me the most ..."

"I must declare, we must be off!" hollered Mr Staples, gracelessly snatching his companion's arm and drawing him away from the Maiden, who continued to blink blankly at the two of them, as if she had herself just woken from a dream she was trying to remember.

"But, Mr Staples!" said Mr Fodd. "This pretty flower, this destroyer of vices, this vision of wondrous purity ... Surely she was sent to us by some greater force? Surely we were destined to meet with her, beneath this very grand tree, on this very fine day, in this very ..."

"No, no, no, we are leaving," muttered Mr Staples. "I've had enough nonsense from strangers for one day!"

"But, Mr Staples!" Mr Fodd said again, this time drawing his friend aside. "I would like to pursue my destiny."

"And I would like to pursue some pork chops in the next village!" exclaimed Mr Staples. "Nightfall shall soon be upon us, and I will make handy use of my sexton to chart our way by the stars."

"But, Mr Staples!"

"What?"

"It is morning-time. The sun is in the East."

At Mr Fodd's utterance of these words, Mr Staples looked up and around, and took out his spyglass, and surveyed the sky. Unlike his confused mind, it was a clear and brilliant blue, and the air was filled with the calls of larks.

Mr Fodd stared upwards in awe. "It is as if time has proceeded backwards! Last night was this afternoon, and before that was the evening, and I could have sworn that midday passed quite a few hours before that ..."

"Drivel and hokum!" spat Mr Staples, snapping his spyglass shut. "Time does not work that way, fool! I declare ... there must be some strange phenomenon about, to make day seem like night and night seem like day."

The Maiden approached them again, this time a bit more tentatively. "Do you know the way?"

The travellers' heads jerked around sharply as they remembered her presence, having forgotten it in their befuddlement.

Mr Staples, who was not quite as adept at talking to beautiful girls as Mr Fodd was, curtly replied, "Yes, we do! I declare that we do! I *declare* it, I say! And I hope to see this wretched wood no more, and so we are off."

Mr Fodd was incredulous at his companion's rude outburst, decrying, "He is in need of some soothing wine, fair Maiden! Be patient with him."

"Well, I'm not really going anywhere," said the Maiden with a joyful twirl, running her slender fingers through the pale waves of her silken skirt. "Nor have I been anywhere. I'm just ... here." And it was true indeed. The Maiden had no past and no future. She simply existed, between dream and reality, without a care in the world—An unattainable entity of the purest simplicity.

"I would very much like to climb this tree of mine!" said the Maiden to the travellers, who by now were quite dry, though Mr Staples was still emptying water from his smoking pipe. "But it gets lonely up in the branches, and I would be glad of some company."

And with that she hopped, skipped and jumped back up to her branch, before lunging, as gracefully as a bird, up to the next. And then the next.

Compelled to follow her, the travellers immediately clutched at the oak's dense bark, scrambling against each other to follow her.

"I declare, that tree is far too brittle to support us both!" cried Mr Staples, all too ready to mistrust a tree.

"But we must follow her!" said Mr Fodd, pleading with his friend with his large, everhopeful eyes. "I couldn't bear to break that smile of hers, so brimming with bliss, by denying her. I want to be with her forevermore! I want to sing songs to her! I want to ..."

Mr Staples twirled his whiskers, chewing on his black smoke, finally deciding, "Well, I'll be damned if I'm to be out-climbed by a woman."

"Upwards and onwards, into the sky!" cried Mr Fodd, ignoring Mr Staples's stout protests as he hoisted him up onto the first branch. "Upwards and onwards, Mr Staples! I'll be right behind you."

This tree was so abominably furbished, Mr Staples thought irksomely, jamming his pipe between his teeth as he desperately tried to claw at the oak's notches. His compass and pocket watch jangled haphazardly around with the spyglass and spare monocle in his waistcoat pocket. Was it too much to ask, to install a simple staircase up this infernal plant?

Mr Fodd, preferring to hide his discontent at the tree's excruciating height, squinted up into the endless whirl of leaves, fluttering high above their heads, with chinks and sparks of light peering through. Here he saw the radiant face of the Maiden, framed by her golden curls, giggling at their bumbling and blustering with the voice of a dozen tiny bells.

Mr Staples and Mr Fodd continued to climb for what seemed like hours, but the gap between each heavy branch seemed to widen, the trunk seemed to thicken and the roof of the great wood seemed to grow farther and farther away. Every now and then, they'd catch glimpses of the beauty they could never hope to have, but each time she

faded and faded away until she was no more than the white dot of a brilliant star, lost in the endless light.

Eventually, the travellers landed in a sweaty heap on a branch from which they could see neither the tops of the trees, nor the lake miles below them. This oak they had thought grand to begin with was, in fact, a monstrosity they had never imagined. A topless tower that none were fated to conquer.

"You lost her," grumbled Mr Staples.

Deciding he was finally at the very end of his tether, Mr Fodd adjusted his glasses to scrutinise Mr Staples with a hideous glare that only the most foolish would spurn.

"I spurn your hideous glare!" Mr Staples declared. "It's all your fault that we lost the road, and it's all your fault that we lost that ... that ..."

"Vision of holy wonder?" put in Mr Fodd.

"That silly, dithering, air-headed brat of a girl, no good for anything and anyone!" thundered Mr Staples. He then took off one of his gloves (for he was wearing gloves this whole time, you see, both to protect himself from disease and to hide his ugly hands) and used it to slap his companion square on the exposed left cheek; a flick and a blow of lethal accuracy. The shock of the slap had Mr Fodd stumbling and flailing his arms, his dainty shoes tearing away at the bark beneath them as they slipped out from under him, his eyes crammed shut in focussed desperation to stay on that branch.

With a sigh of relief, Mr Fodd regained his footing, panting, "I'm alright. I'm alright." and panting once more, "I'm alright ..."

Sticking up his nose again, Mr Staples put his glove back on and resumed smoking. "Good. Now, remember that next time you –"

But they were not safe! With an almighty creak, an almighty snap and a less almighty squeal from Mr Fodd and Mr Staples, the branch gave way to the weight of the bulky travellers, who hurtled back down to earth. The whistling wind swirled leaves all around them, throwing a curtain over the light they had thought themselves so close to reaching. Gnarled branches clawed angrily at their tender hides, while startled bats and birds blasted in droves from the hollow trees that leered at them, that mocked them with their dark, empty eyes. Though the travellers' fall was cushioned, the cushions were made of the most cold and unforgiving of thorns. Mr Fodd's wails of

supreme terror and woe permeated the entire forest, with Mr Staples' similar clamours not far behind.

It was dim, misty and relatively silent in the barren hollow where the travellers landed, trembling and wincing. They gained their bearings quickly and frantically, but still there was no road to be seen. Only the dim wood. Both travellers lamented that they had asked for the help of neither of the beautiful women they had seen on their way. And now they were alone. All alone, but for the shadow-veiled ravens that threw down cackling caws at their demise, their shapes protruding from a bough like the teeth of a monster against a sky as bright as fire, filled with clouds as dark as blood.

Mr Staples was the first of them to get up from the dusty ground, his eyes letting loose great gushes of tears like broken dams. He fumbled around in his waistcoat pocket as he cried "Where's my...?" Where's my...?" before being knocked back down to earth by the pocket watch falling from the russet sky. It sprang open on the ground before him, an explosion of fractured cogs and struts, causing him to bawl even louder. "Horrible! Terrible!" he cried. "I declare! Oh, how I declare! Nothing makes sense! Nothing is right! This forest is a demon come to devour me! Such chaos! Such chaos! Demonic chaos, I declare! I declare!" He was almost screaming now, his voice so hoarse that one could swear it did not belong to the traveller who had once been so poised, so refined. "Where is the road,"

Mr Fodd would have been strong. He would have stood up, brushed himself off and taken his suffering friend under his arm to lead him to safety. Yet his coat had been torn, his loafers had been lost, and his wineskin had spilled out onto the ground before him, the drink seeping out like his very life force. It was the last straw for poor little Mr Fodd. He, too, succumbed to whimpering, snuffling and blubbering, a wounded and wretched creature, curling up into a ball and shivering in the encroaching gloom.

Mr Staples' onset of madness was not soothed when he started consulting his sexton, having spotted a star in the cloudy sky. "Which is that? Venus? No, it is not that early in the evening. Or is it still morning? Mr Fodd! Why are there stars in the morning?"

Mr Fodd gave a loud blow of his handkerchief before mumbling, "Red sky in the morning is a sailor's warning."

"Is it morning," said Mr Staples frantically, "Or is it night?"

"Red sky at night is a sailor's delight," came the downhearted reply.

"There are better times for your little rhymes!" scoffed Mr Staples. Why did I he even bring along such a blithering burden of a colleague? The miserable Mr Fodd, with his naïve and weak little mind, was bound from the start to have thrown them off course.

The two continued on, trudging arduously through the wood, gradually spending every ounce of their energy as sweat dripped from their furrowed brows and their eyes drooped in the sombre light. It was like walking through a cloud of smoke, hardly able to breathe and see. That is, until ...

"Oho, Mr Fodd!" came a cry from Mr Staples. He looked very smug about something all of a sudden.

Mr Fodd stopped. He staggered about, trying to suck the last drops of from the wineskin. He turned to his companion very dismally, asking what was the matter.

"Look, there!" Mr Staples pointed through the trees and Mr Fodd turned to follow his gaze. There, framed quite perfectly by walls of entwined nettles, was a tall cylinder of stone, silhouetted in the dusk light. Or was it dawn light?

"A castle!" said Mr Fodd, perking up at once. "Why ... My good fellow ... Could it be...?"

"Yes!" Mr Staples rejoiced, and Mr Fodd was glad to see a smile once again between his twitchy whiskers. "Civilisation, at last! Oh, the feel of cobbled roads underfoot! The stench of chimneys and chamber pots..." He reigned himself in, clearing his throat to recomposed himself. "Let us approach this settlement, and make ourselves known to the inhabitants."

Mr Fodd was about to interject something, when Mr Staples waved a finger over his face and said, "*I* shall do the talking. You shall do the following. Once we enter this less wild and unruly environment, we shall assess our location and its proximity to our destination."

"And bid the locals our salutations!" added Mr Fodd exuberantly, earning another stern look from his friend.

The travellers' sudden brightness gradually decreased as they walked on and on towards the castle, venturing down into the ghostly valley.

After battling through the brambles that creeped onto their path, Mr Staples and Mr Fodd came to a yawning gatehouse. The trees grew right up to it, and ivy ran all along the side of the immense walls of rough stone. The portcullis stood open, its sharp metal teeth jammed by the encroaching plants. Not a sound came from the courtyard beyond, where mist seemed to wander like ghouls against the black façade of the keep. For a moment, Mr Fodd heard a soft wind. It seemed to whisper the names of people he had known who had died. Deep into that darkness, peering ... Long he stood there wondering, fearing...

"I'll have to make a complaint to the proprietor of this castle at once," sighed Mr Staples, strutting through the gate and attempting to seem at ease. "This will not do. No doubt some of the maintenance staff will deserve a fair beating."

Mr Fodd shuddered, unable to hide the searing terror within him. "It seems perfectly empty, Mr Staples. Oh, I do think we should turn back. Yes. We should. Let's be off, then ..."

"Stop right there, Mr Fodd!" barked Mr Staples, his voice ringing through the deathly chilled air. "You've led us too far astray as it is! I'll have no more of your dispurposified ambulation! As for the silence of this place ... it's a Sunday! Everyone must be in."

"It's a Saturday, I believe."

"No, I tell you it's a Sunday. In any case, it's night."

"I do believe it is morning."

"It is night!"

"Yet I wonder ..."

"I declare it is night!"

His heart quailing at the shadowy fortress before him, Mr Fodd yielded to Mr Staples' demands and stepped back in line. Together they crossed the castle's threshold and found themselves in the courtyard, where trees everywhere had sprung up through the dry earth, desperately groping the castle's tall walls and seeping into the lattice of its cracked windows. The stars shone down upon them, but Mr Staples found himself unable to read them. They seemed flatter and duller than normal stars. Cold and indifferent, these stars watched on as the two travellers ran about like headless hens.

"Mr Staples," whimpered Mr Fodd, brimming with agonising terror as he flinched at every shape and shadow he saw, "I wonder if, in this dreadful place, we will find this miserable monster that we were warned about by that gracious Mother."

"Useless, dwelling on monsters," Mr Staples avowed. "I am not moved by such petty ... *Ugh*!" He yelped abruptly as he turned to come face to face with the disembodied head of a stone gargoyle, fallen onto a pile of rubble from the battlements above.

Sure enough, the castle seemed very much empty.

They proceeded into a great hall of sorts at the other end of the courtyard. Here, too, a rotting door stood ajar, and when they entered they looked up to see the melancholy sky still hanging above them. Mr Staples bent down to pick up the powdery substance on the ground, which was smeared all over the walls to blacken them.

It was ash.

Mr Staples pouted. Well, how stupid! The owner of the castle had gone and burnt it all down.

Proceeding further into the castle, against the will of the already petrified Mr Fodd, the travellers forged their way into a wing of the castle that had been left relatively intact. It seemed to be a solar of sorts, a courtyard in which words of poetry and love once would have been sung. Now, weeds that stretched upwards, as if to consume the very air, had swallowed the flowers.

Mr Fodd quivered, lamenting the ruin of so grand a castle. Whoever had lived here must have wronged Nature very much for such thorns of wrath to envelop them.

When Mr Fodd voiced this thought, Mr Staples—not for the first time—was inclined to disagree, declaring that the men of this castle simply had not build strong enough walls to resist an outburst of these noxious weeds.

The next place the companions entered, via a short flight of stiflingly windy stairs, seemed to be some kind of bedchamber. The furniture was still in place, but old and splintered to the point where it could sooner be recognised as a host of spiny beasts. The air was cold, yet heavy and dry. At a single step forward, the floorboards would let out a wailing creak and throw up a cloud of dust. On the floor, in this dust, there lay a white strip of cloth, like a marriage veil, which had been torn in two.

Indulging further in his terror, Mr Fodd cried, "There is someone here with us! I can feel their presence! Like a spirit from the ether ..."

"Even if there were, you couldn't possibly know that," Mr Staples muttered under his breath. Though he continued to deny it, he, too, was prone to terror as he looked at the great master bed, bordered by four posts and a long grey curtain, behind which there was a shadow. The outline of a hunched, sinister figure, rising from where it lay, suspended in the rickety old frame.

Two bony arms, and then a sallow face, presently emerged from the bed. The figure then stood upright. A Crone. Clad in black, with foul grey skin, brittle strands of silver hair and large black chasms either side of her hooked vulture's nose, where the eyes should have been. Such an abhorrent vision turned Mr Staples and Mr Fodd to stone, rooting them to the ground. The terrible horror of her presence could be likened to the white-hot sting of scalding water or the cold caress of a blade at the throat. She was the monster in the dark corners of the mind; the stranger in the night and the shadow on the wall. So strange, yet so familiar.

As she crossed the room, with an urgency about her, Mr Staples and Mr Fodd were driven back, bumping into the cobwebbed divan behind them. The Crone at first paid them little heed, reaching out to the dusty dresser with her long, spindly talons. She opened the drawer and drew from it something so horrible that the companions at once averted their gaze; a sweating, putrid ball of creamy white, which they at first took to be some sort of skinned fruit. But when the Crone held it up and turned it in her hand, revealing the great dark pupil on one side, they realised how there came to be mere voids beneath her brow.

"Now," she said, very coldly and raspily, "where did I put the other?"

"I declare!" said Mr Staples. His voice was cracked and his face contorted with horror, but he went on one of his rambles all the same: "What foul creature is this that occupies this once-beautiful marriage bed? What are you, monster? Are you woman or animal? I wish to speak to the proprietor of this castle! I wish to make my presence known to him ... I wish ... I wish ..."

"I, too, wish many things," croaked the Crone, making Mr Staples freeze once more, like liquid to ice in a second. "I wish for joy in my sorrows. I wish for bliss in my pain. I wish for light in my darkness. But my wishes are nothing to the deafness of fate." She then turned her hideous face to Mr Fodd, asking, "Lost and lonely traveller, do you know the way?"

With a surge of boldness, Mr Fodd cried, "Devil! Fiend! Abhorred monster! Be gone from this castle you so miserably haunt! Return, foul imp, to the depths of murk and shadow from whence you came!" And he extended his arms, as if he meant to expel her by the mere force of his mighty rage.

The Crone, turning her eye over in her hand, lent on the dresser and let loose a low sigh, as brittle and as cracked as the castle's walls. "I expected this. All men hate the wretched and all that which they do not understand. They try to right every wrong they see; to correct every crook, every unsightly blemish of the world; to refine it until everything is the pure, white, sparse diamond of their dreams. I ask you again: Do you know the way?"

"Of course!" Mr Staples' lie came like clockwork. "Of course, we're off course, but we'll be on course in no time. Time is of the essence. We must be off. Come, now, Mr Fodd."

"Do you know the way?" said the Crone. Again the words rang in the travellers' ears.

"Yes!" they cried in unison, followed up by Mr Fodd: "We know the way. We are certain of the way, and must now bid you good day."

"Or good night!" added Mr Staples. "Whichever it is."

While they fretted and panicked, the Crone calmly slumped down to reach a cold hand under the bed, retrieving her second eyeball from where it rolled on the splintered floorboards.

"Thoughtless creatures," she uttered with a burning leer, displaying her eyes before the travellers, one in each gnarled talon suspended from her pale, thin wrists. "You grow less and less wise, the more you claim to be so."

Those eyes—those burning eyes, almost red in the dim light—surveyed who they had been, who they were and who they would become, sifting through the endless sands of their minds, perusing every page of their souls.

Mr Fodd and Mr Staples expected the Crone to then do something; to lunge at them, to shriek at them, to claw out their eyes so that they would join her in a scorched, blind and endless existence.

No such blow befell them.

"Be off with you, then," said the Crone, slumping back into the rickety bed, nursing the eyeballs in her hands as they swivelled pointlessly. "It is no use. Even I have more sight than you, to see the truth of the stars, as they wink down upon us with all the duty of absent parents."

For all her futile speech about truth and stars, all the travellers heard was her request that they leave. As dogs from a cruel master, they fled from the room, down and out into the night-like day.

"I told you we should never have entered that castle!" growled Mr Staples, trying to keep his dignity with a tail between his legs.

Once they had thundered through the keep and the courtyard, leapt through the portcullis as though it would swallow them whole, and ran back up to the knoll on which they had stood before, the travellers suddenly found themselves in the frenzied brightness of mid-afternoon. The sun was in their eyes, birdsong was in their ears, and they were surrounded by succulent green ferns and could find shelter beneath the branches of the kindly oaks.

Mr Fodd looked back in fear, but his ears perked up, as he saw no castle in sight, as though they had traversed a hundred miles within a second. How strange a forest this was.

And just within his gaze ...

"What a blessing this is!" cried Mr Fodd. "By Jove, I have found the road!"

He pranced to where the terrain flattened out, and where room had been cleared among the insolent trees for the sparse cobblestones of the blessed road; a long, thin whisper of the civilised paradise from whence they came, calling them out of this forsaken forest.

"Mr Fodd," Mr Staples stood in awe. "I have found the road."

Mr Fodd huffed, "No, *I* found the road." and brought his wineskin once more to his mouth for a much-needed drink.

"My, my, Mr Fodd," chuckled Mr Staples, striking a match to light his pipe again. "You have much to learn about the science of finding things, for there is a difference between chance and skill. Roads are made to be found by those who ought to find them." He pulled out his spyglass to peer ahead, again declaring the great lie: "I have found the road!"

And so, without any care for the tribulations they had just escaped, the travellers rejoined their beloved road, their feet fitting quite neatly into the footprints before them. And yet, where these footprints not just like theirs? So strange, yet so familiar.

And still that fog hung over their heads.

On their way they passed a stream, which rippled and waned but all the time showed back their vivid reflections: furry, snouted, whiskered and tailed, with floppy ears and pink noses, dressed in smart waistcoats that did poorly to disguise the fools that the women all saw.

If you had been in the woods that afternoon, when the buzzing bees danced across the many-coloured flowers that dotted the forest floor, you'd have seen, across the stream, these three women. Together they sat on a large and mossy log; the Mother, the Maiden, and lastly the Crone, turning their heads to follow the travellers as they sauntered off, out of sight, along their journey, which might have no end. For the days were still nights and the nights were still days, and the travellers were ever so set in their ways.

The women sat in a serene trance, looking back down again to finish their work. The Mother, very resolutely, kept her arms rested on her bulging belly, spinning a strand of fine cloth in her work-roughened hands. The strand she expertly span on her spindle then threaded through the tender hands of the golden Maiden, who smiled as she drew it out, lengthening it so that it twinkled before her divine face in the dappled light. And lastly, the Crone, with her piercing eyes in one hand and a pair of scissors in the other, reached out to cut this thread.

As they went about their work, the three women sang a song that lilted and lulled its way among the trees of the wood. It burrowed into the ground and sprang into the ethereal sky with its eerie strains:

"A blessing on the travellers to find their way alone.

A blessing heard by deafened ears of stars we've never known.

A blessing slight and shallow, having flawed men at its core. A blessing they don't ponder as they wander evermore."

The thread was severed with the smallest snip, yet it rang out through that great wood. A sound so strange, yet so familiar.

And thus the three women forgot all about Mr Fodd and Mr Staples.

And thus our story ends.

And begins.

Nicholas Benecke

Assess the impact of 'Radio Televisione Libre des Millines Collines' (RTLM) as a propaganda tool leading up to, and during, the Rwandan Genocide

SYNOPSIS

My desire to examine the Rwandan Genocide stemmed from an inherent interest in human rights, the media and anthropology. Initial and thorough investigation of facets of the event that are steeped in historiographical debate led to a focus on the role of propaganda in the genocide. Through an examination of the nature, method and impact of propaganda combined with historiography on the topic, I was able to develop my precise question; "Assess the impact of 'Radio Televisione Libre des Milles Collines' (RTLM) as a propaganda tool leading up to, and during, the Rwandan Genocide."

This essay provides insight into varying interpretations of the role of Rwanda's most influential means of propaganda in inciting and furthering the genocide. It addresses the question and considers rich historical debate on the specific impact of *RTLM* in the time period before, and during, the genocide. This is achieved through a critical examination of four diverse and contemporary historians as well as references to others and popular media sources. Through an investigation of the contexts, purposes and conclusions of each of these historians and sources, this essay reveals the real impact of *RTLM* as a propaganda tool leading up to, and during, the Rwandan Genocide.

This essay utilises the works of divergent and distinct historians in order to provide a greater understanding of the shaping of historical analysis on the impact of *RTLM* as a propaganda tool. In this way, a researcher, professor in journalism, anthropologist and professor in public policy are at the centre of this critical assessment. A focus on these historians and their different approaches to historical writing ensures a thorough response to the essay question.

ESSAY

Assess the impact of '*Radio Televisione Libre des Millines Collines*' (*RTLM*) as a propaganda tool leading up to, and during, the Rwandan Genocide

A comprehensive examination of historians' divergent analysis on the extent to which the radio station, *Radio Televisione Libre des Milles Collines¹* (*RTLM*), incited hatred and violence prior to and during the Rwandan Genocide reveals the extent to which historical narratives are subjective and shaped by context. The influence of *RTLM* has been subject to diverse historical analysis since the genocide in 1994. Consequently, critical examination in two areas of historical debate, the role of *RTLM* prior to the genocide, and the role of the *RTLM* during the genocide, seek to evaluate the impact of this radio station in Rwanda.

The massacre of 800,000² Tutsis and moderate Hutus by the Hutu *Interahamwe*³ militia between April and July 1994 typifies the horror of genocide. The Rwandan genocide incorporated mass violence by a substantial proportion of the population and involved public killings of citizens. The radio station, '*RTLM*' was labelled 'hate radio,⁴' and it had an impact as a source of prejudice and coordinator of violence amongst perpetrators.

An examination of three papers, respectively authored by Christine Kellow and H.Leslie Steeves, Darryl Li and David Yanagizawa-Drott allows for a comparative historiographical study that provides insight into the debate on the impact of *RTLM* as a propaganda tool.

Kellow, a graduate studies student researcher and Steeves, an associate professor in journalism and communications⁵, together critically analyse the messages disseminated by *RTLM* in their work, '*The Role of Radio in the Rwandan Genocide*' (1998). The focus of their work typifies the approach adopted by many historians during the first decade following the genocide. Kellow and Steeves' enquiry relies primarily on empirical research and 'analyses excerpts from *RTLM* radio broadcasts and observational accounts.⁶' Their work has two key purposes: (a) to counter the initial popular media's fixation of primordialism⁷ as a primary cause of genocide, and (b) to provide an explanation of the Rwandan Genocide through *RTLM* in order to contribute to the prevention of similar crises in the future.

Anthropologist Darryl Li⁸ analyses the reception of *RTLM* messages by the participators of genocide in his work, "*Echoes of Violence: Considerations on Radio and Genocide in Rwanda* (2004). His paper is constructed in a similar way to other historical pieces on the Rwandan Genocide at the turn of the century and is demonstrative of

both empirical and annales schools of history. Li's enquiry 'is based in part on three months of fieldwork conducted in Rwanda and seeks to integrate the perspectives and experiences of radio listeners with broader considerations about the genocide. It also includes translated *RTLM* radio broadcast transcripts. The two significant purposes of his work are: (a) to analyse the impact of *RTLM* on listeners, and (b) to provide new historical evidence on the nature of *RTLM* through his investigation. Li challenges the assumptions of earlier scholars, whom he believes verge on being reductivistive by considering Rwandan people as automatons that acted precisely on the messages announced by *RTLM*. Further, Li adds complexity to his analysis of the radio station's impact by adopting an instrumentalist interpretation of events; that is, one that portrays ethnic identification and conflict as a result of rational decision-making, which can be influenced, to some extent by external factors such as the message disseminated by *RTLM*.

Public policy academic David Yanagizawa-Drott¹¹ aims to uncover the impact of RTLM radio broadcasts in the Rwandan Genocide through quantitative analysis in his work, "Propaganda and Conflict: Theory and Evidence from the Rwanda Genocide (2012). His approach, which is representative of quantitative history, analyses a unique nationwide village-level data set, RTLM transmitters and government statistics. In contrast to Kellow, Steeves and Li, Yanagizawa-Drott adopts an agnostic attitude towards the social and political relationships between broadcasters and listeners, focussing instead on the narrower question of whether historians can credibly claim that RTLM's broadcasts motivated violence. Yanagizawa-Drott's investigation reflects two key purposes: (a) to develop an enhanced appreciation of human psychology, and how the world works by examining the reasons for the fact that everyday citizens performed a majority of the killings, and (b) to gain knowledge that can benefit the shaping of public policy in the future and make policy makers more aware of the potential costs of allowing such a broadcast. Thus, Yanagizawa-Drott focuses on the provision of new quantitative findings and conclusions regarding the impact of RTLM as a propaganda tool in the genocide.

The first historical debate on the role of *RTLM* in the origins of the genocide and prior to April 1994 reveals the radio station's history, development, context and content. *RTLM* was established in 1993 and although a range of historical sources suggest that *RTLM* played a role in inciting the genocide, the extent of its impact is subject to historical debate. Belgian journalist Colette Braeckman demonstrates this as she establishes that the ability of *RTLM* to be successful and portray an ethnocentric viewpoint allowed it to create, "an infernal pulpit from which the message to kill could be disseminated throughout Rwanda'.¹² In contrast, other historians such as Richard Carver³3 challenge the significance of *RTLM* and assert that many historians posit,

"Since *RTLM* broadcast propaganda for genocide and genocide did indeed occur, there must be a causal relationship between the two." These varying historiographical opinions on the impact of *RTLM* prior to the genocide demonstrate the ongoing nature of the debate.

The key historians, Kellow, Steeves, Li and Yanagizawa-Drott provide further analysis regarding historical debate on the impact of *RTLM* prior to the genocide. Kellow and Steeves examine the history of radio in developing African states and establish that it was a significant catalyst for violence. This is attributed to radio's development in colonial and post-colonial Africa, which challenged the dominant method of oral communication at the time; 'radio broadcasts bought major change and new competition for the village sage.' Kellow and Steeves determine that African political leaders began to recognise the power of radio as a means of communication as 'broadcasting's role shifted from an aid to development to a 'kind of political microphone'. Further, the significance of *RTLM* is established through the ability for public mindedness to become intertwined with the political objectives of those in power. Kellow and Steeves assert that radio had the ability to be an agenda setting and framing tool, thus contributing to its capacity to be impactful and act as a tool of propaganda.

In contrast, Li establishes that the impact of *RTLM* is based on its appropriation and transformation of three fundamental discourses in society at the time: history, democracy and development. He suggests that *RTLM* was able to build upon these discourses as a result of the radio station's distinct ability to 'respond to the particular contingencies of the post-1990 political situation in a way that neither *Radio Rwanda* nor *Radio Muhabura* appeared to match'. This demonstrates Li's interpretation of the nature of *RTLM* compared to that of other contemporary media outlets and leads to his conclusion that as a radio station, *RTLM* had an indirect yet important impact in the causation of the genocide.

Further, Yanagizawa-Drott determines that the impact of *RTLM* in the lead up to the genocide is revealed through the relationship between the radio station and top government officials. His analysis highlights the importance of Ferdinand Nahimana, ¹⁸ who ensured 'a connection between the station and top government officials even before April 6 1994, ³¹⁹ the day the genocide officially began. Yanagizawa-Drott establishes that this was a significant factor in instigating the genocide as it allowed for government control and appropriation of the genocide. The divergent natures of these conclusions reveal the apparent historical debate that exists on the impact of *RTLM* as a propaganda tool, not only during the genocide, but also prior to its outbreak.

The second historical debate is the impact of *RTLM* as a propaganda tool during the genocide. The extent to which *RTLM* was influential during the massacre is subject to varied historical analysis as the conclusions of particular scholars can be attributed to their varied purposes, historical contexts and writings of history. Particular historians such as former United Nations' peacekeeping force commander in Rwanda, General Romeo Dallaire, allude to the significance of radio in the genocide, "in Rwanda the radio was akin to the voice of God, and if the radio called for violence, many Rwandans would respond. This directly contrasts the acuities of other historians such as Alan Kuperman, '1' moderate Rwandans were not convinced by broadcasts, '22 and Rwandan genocide analysts Higiro and Mironko who argue that 'the media did have some effect however can not be held accountable for citizen mobilization during the genocide'. These diverse interpretations represent the varied nature of historical analysis on the impact of *RTLM* as a propaganda tool during the genocide.

Further, the distinct conclusions of historians, Kellow, Steeves, Li and Yanagizawa-Drott as well as the film, 'Hotel Rwanda,' (2004) demonstrate the enduring historical debate on the influence of *RTLM* in the genocide. Kellow and Steeves establish that *RTLM*, as a result of the historical and political context of the time, did have an impact in the outcome of the genocide, however, in conjunction with other factors such as the political situation in Rwanda and a history of ethnic hate. Their analysis utilises two frameworks: (a) collective reaction effects, which emphasise social psychological explanations for short-term effects, and (b) the dependency theory, which emphasises the influence of social context for both short and long term effects, in order to establish this conclusion. These frameworks allow Kellow and Steeves to determine that 'in a situation where extreme media dependency or influence sets the stage for campaigns to increase ethnic hatred and fear, genocide can occur.²⁴ Moreover, they establish that in this setting, *RTLM* serves as a catalyst for fear and collective reaction effects. Kellow and Steeves distinct perspective is that the influence of *RTLM* was reliant on historical and political context, however, it did have an impact as a propaganda tool during the genocide.

Darryl Li concludes that the impact of *RTLM* as a propaganda tool in the Rwandan Genocide can be attributed to its systematic nature and its ability to develop discourses at the time to impact listeners. Contrary to the frameworks used by Kellow and Steeves, Li utilises three unique spheres to analyse the influence of the *RTLM*. These are: (a) the role of the radio station on the discourse in Rwandan public life in order to encourage participation, (b) the role in creating a dynamic relationship with and among listeners and (c) the role in helping the Rwandan state appropriate acts of genocide. Through these, Li establishes that the radio informed listeners but did not determine their choices and was thus implicative rather than manipulative as evident in his work,

"RTLM's animatuers also implicated ordinary listeners in the activities of the genocide; farmers at roadblocks or on the street were frequently interviewed." 25

Moreover, Li reveals that *RTLM* served as a medium through which Rwandans experienced and enacted the genocide as the radio station, 'employed techniques that acted upon relations among listeners,'26 and reverberated in the thoughts of perpetrators and witnesses alike. Li's qualitative analysis establishes that the impact of *RTLM* cannot solely be attributed to words or sentences but instead, 'its intangible power was produced in the process of articulation and rearticulation by animatuers and listeners.'27 His conclusion that *RTLM* played a significant role, in relation to other factors, in shaping the psychology of Rwandans and influencing the genocide is distinctive.

Yanagizawa-Drott uses quantitative analysis to conclude that approximately ten percent of overall participation²⁸ in the Rwandan Genocide can be attributed to *RTLM* radio broadcasts. He establishes that almost one-third of the violence conducted by militias, communal police, gendarmerie²⁹ and other organisations was caused by the same radio station.³⁰ Yanagizawa-Drott determines the importance of ethnic population as he concludes that;

"propaganda encouraging violence against an ethnic minority appears to be more capable of inducing participation in violence when the minority is relatively small and defenceless."31

Furthermore, he asserts that, 'mass media aimed at stimulating violence may be more effective when the target audience lacks basic education,'32 and a significant proportion of the population is exposed to it. The significant impact that Yanagizawa-Drott establishes is indicated in an interview regarding his work in which he asserts, 'Villages that had good access to these broadcasts had higher levels of violence'.33 As such, Yanagizawa-Drott uses quantitative analysis to establish the significant impact of *RTLM* as a propaganda tool and thus contributes to the historical debate regarding the impact of this radio station in the Rwandan Genocide.

An examination of *Hotel Rwanda* $(2004)^{34}$ provides analysis on the impact of *RTLM* from the perspective of popular history. The inclusion of particular inaccurate scenes for dramatic purposes may detract from the film's credibility, however, it is widely regarded as historically accurate and effective in portraying the Rwandan Genocide. The film is based on real life events during the genocide and the influence of *RTLM* is apparent from the voiceover at the outset of the film, as it re-creates broadcasts based

on actual transcripts: 'why do we hate the Tutsis? They are cockroaches. Rwanda is Hutu land. We are the majority. Tutsi's are the minority.'35 Further, *RTLM* extracts, such as 'Do not shake the hand that will stab you'36 demonstrate the impact of this radio station in fuelling hatred amongst the Hutu population. *Hotel Rwanda* depicts *RTLM* as a mode of propaganda and communication for the *Interahamwe*, as evident in the scene in which Hutu aggressors attack United Nations' convoys in response to disseminated *RTLM* messages. This represents the power of the radio station in influencing perpetrators of violence and developing discourses that historians such as Li allude to. Thus, in an analysis of the impact of *RTLM*, popular history sources such as *Hotel Rwanda* reveal the nature of the propaganda dispersed by the radio station, the reactions of listeners and the consequential influence this has on the activities of listeners.

Thus, the range of distinct perspectives, purposes, contexts and conclusions of historians demonstrate the complexity of the historical debate surrounding the influence of RTLM as a propaganda tool in both inciting and impacting the genocide. This study reveals that Darryl Li's broad approach, which incorporates numerous methods and multiple perspectives most effectively illustrates the intricate connection between RTLM and its impact on the Rwandan Genocide. He establishes that while RTLM contributed to violence in Rwanda, its success was derived from its ability to access deep sources of ethnic hatred, societal prejudices and political discourse. In contrast, the works of other key historians have a more specific focus as evident through Kellow and Steeves' disregard for the reception of the radio messages, Yanagizawa-Drott's sole focus on quantitative analysis that discounts the nature of the messages disseminated by RTLM and the impact on listeners, and 'Hotel Rwanda's,' general popular history perspective. However, the divergent nature of each of these historical sources does provide particular insight into this topic and contributes to the enduring historical debate on the impact of RTLM as a propaganda tool in the Rwandan Genocide.

ENDNOTES

- 1 A Rwandan radio station that broadcasted from July 8, 1993 to July 31, 1994.
- 2 United Human Rights Council, 2014.
- 3 A Hutu paramilitary organisation.
- 4 The common name given to RTLM during and after the Rwandan Genocide.
- 5 At the University of Oregon.
- 6 Kellow and Steeves, 1998, pp 107.
- 7 A theory, which contends that ethnic identities are fundamental and immutable.
- 8 At Columbia University
- 9 Li, 2004, pp 1.
- 10 An individual who follows the methods of reductivism, which refers to extreme simplification.
- 11 Professor at Harvard University
- 12 Crimes of War, 2011.
- 13 Senior lecturer at Oxford Brookes University.
- 14 Carver, 2007, pp 125.
- 15 Kellow and Steeves, 1998, pp 115.
- 16 Bourgault, 1995, pp 80.
- 17 Li, 2004, pp 13.
- 18 The Director of the state Rwanda Bureau of Information and Broadcasting and the founder of *RTLM*.
- 19 Yanagizawa-Drott, 2012, pp 8.
- 20 Dallaire, 2003, pp 272.
- 21 Associate Professor of Public Affairs at Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs.
- 22 Kuperman, 2001, pp 91
- 23 Higiro and Mironko, 2007, pp 86.
- 24 Kellow and Steeves, 1998, pp 110.
- 25 Li, 2004, pp 18.
- 26 Li, 2004, pp 18.
- 27 Li, 2004, pp 24.
- 28 Yanagizawa-Drott, 2012, pp 1.
- 29 A military force charged with police duties among civil populations.
- 30 Yanagizawa-Drott, 2012, pp 30.
- 31 Yanagizawa-Drott, 2012, pp 30.
- 32 Yanagizawa-Drott, 2012, pp 30.
- 33 Yanagizawa-Drott, 2012, Interview.
- 34 An American historical drama film produced by Terry George.
- 35 'Hotel Rwanda' film, 2004.
- 36 'Hotel Rwanda' film. 2004.

VISUAL ART

Samuel Stockwell

Landscapes induce a tranquil soul

STATEMENT OF INTENT

My artwork tries to encapsulate deep, spiritual and subconscious connection to largely untouched landscapes. Bright, lush colours, emotional skies, landscapes and water all work to draw in and create a sense of tranquility. I tried to illustrate the feeling of calm and satisfaction I found in photography; capturing a moment in time. This, I saw through my holiday in Vietnam, where I utilised film photography to attempt to frame this feeling when faced with a deeply moving and calm scene.

In finding a medium that adequately allowed me to capture a feeling of a landscape, I found oil paints to give the best impression of deep and turbulent waters and skies, as well as vibrant and layered landscapes. The diversity of colours, forms and styles across my eight frames is an attempt to capture all matter of natural beauty, paralleled by water, earth and sky. The steady gradients of each sky intended to capture a mood or tranquility evident in the scene, across varying colour sets and settings. In this way, the motive of my piece is revealed; to satisfy and calm the inner subconscious through the visual representation of emotion through landscapes.















Bailey Elith

Echoes, Ripples and Buzz'd Whispers

REFLECTION STATEMENT

In reflecting the transcendentalist philosophy of 'self-reliance', my Major Work seeks to validate and recontextualise the personal declaration of independence that was established in Henry David Thoreau's novel, *Walden*.² The video medium effectively allows for a manipulation of sound in which I am able to explore this tension between the metaphoric 'song of the self' against the 'voice' of society and its institutions.

My Major Work, *Echoes, Ripples and Buzz'd Whispers*, reimagines the process of escaping external constraints through an immersion in nature, leading to an ideal internal state achieved through personal intuition. Akin to Thoreau's process of "liv[ing] deliberately and confront[ing] only the essential facts of life"³ within the woods, so too does my protagonist, a contemporary 'Henry', seek to draw on the woods, the pond and the ocean as the source of inspiration that leads to personal liberation. Set in an urbanised dystopian future that seeks to restrict individuals' contact with the natural world I have created 'Music Over Mind' (M.O.M) as the governing force which domineers the psyche of humankind through music and command. However, as an act of resistance my protagonist endeavours to build a raft throughout the video in order to escape this repressive society. In so doing he becomes "deaf to [his] mechanical M.O.THER and alert to [his] natural one."⁴ This literal and metaphoric 'deafness' elucidates the inevitable sacrifice one must make in order to truly 'hear'.

The seminal work by David Henry Thoreau was fundamental in shaping the plot structure for my video and the intent of my protagonist Henry: to defy orthodoxy

¹ Emerson, R. W. (1841). "Self Reliance". The Norton Anthology of English Literature. Gen. ed. Stephen Greenblatt. 6th ed. Vol. B. New York: Norton, 2003, p.1160-1177.

Thoreau, H. D. (1846). "Walden or Life in the Woods". The Norton Anthology of English Literature. Gen. ed. Stephen Greenblatt. 6th ed. Vol. B. New York: Norton, 2003.

³ Ibid, p. 1807-1982. as cited in Major Work Script, p. 3.

⁴ Major Work Script, (5:68) p. 6.

and to obtain truth in nature through personal introspection. I have chosen to rely on soundtrack and narration (voice-over) that comprises direct, "I did not wish to live what was not life. Living is so dear" and adapted references "I wished to build my freedom" to Thoreau's Walden to bring the sentiment of Thoreau's work into a new, personalised context.

A focus on key transcendental works can also be seen to bolster Henry's approach to existence. An extract from Ralph Waldo Emerson's essay "Self-Reliance" and Thoreau's "Resistance to Civil Government" in the opening narration "Be yourself. No imitator of another but your best self "7" "Government is best which governs least" provides an understanding of the film's premise. Allusions to the transcendentalist movement are also evoked in my title, 'Echoes, Ripples and Buzz'd Whispers', which is a direct reference to Walt Whitman's 'Song of Myself'9 yet extends to link to the notion of the sound of music "echoes", the power of nature "ripples" against the force of M.O.M "buzz'd whispers".

The influence of transcendental philosophy has also shaped my choices in relation to form. The process of building the raft acts as a narrative trope to reflect the emergence

⁵ Thoreau, H. D. (1846). "Walden or Life in the Woods". The Norton Anthology of English Literature. Gen. ed. Stephen Greenblatt. 6th ed. Vol. B. New York: Norton, 2003. pp. 1807-1982. Ibid, p. 1955 as cited in Major Work Script, p. 3.

⁶ Major Work Script, (2:32), p. 3.

⁷ Emerson, R. W. (1841). "Self Reliance". The Norton Anthology of English Literature. Gen. ed. Stephen Greenblatt. 6th ed. Vol. B. New York: Norton, 2003. p. 1160. as cited in Major Work Script, p.1.

⁸ Thoreau, H. D. (1849). "Resistance to Civil Government". The Norton Anthology of English Literature. Gen. ed. Stephen Greenblatt. 6th ed. Vol. B. New York: Norton, 2003. p. 1792 as in Major Work Script, p.1.

⁹ Whitman, W. (1881). "Song of Myself". The Norton Anthology of English Literature. Gen. ed. Stephen Greenblatt. 6th ed. Vol. B. New York: Norton, 2003. p. 2232-2275.

of self-concept. Close up shots of the boy's 'trumpet angel trinket' connects the past and present as well serving as a symbol of the pure 'song of the self' that is beyond the material world. A cyclical narrative arc inspired by Quentin Tarantino's *Reservoir Dogs* reveals the final revolt against society as Henry vandalises the 'Home of the Deaf' sign to become 'Home of the FREE'. Furthermore, the central dream sequence serves as a structural motif that, like *Walden's* pond, both alludes to transcendental unfettered existence and links to the past and future of the protagonist. Using an adapted stanza from Walt Whitman's Song of Myself, "waves pushing against the air/ The sound of my voice loos'd to the eddies of the wind" together with a heightened colour saturation, slow, steady camera movements and the pure 'song of the self' instrumental soundtrack it suggests the power of nature on the individual. Furthermore, the penultimate scene whereby Henry paddles out to escape the sound of 'M.O.M' ends with the same visual and diagetic elements to signify that his dreams are now reality.

Initially, my video served to represent the 'intrinsic' and 'extrinsic' forces that act against and within the individual and to critique the hierarchy of sound and visual within film, thus validating the notion that music highly influences an individual's psyche. Research into Croatian musicologists Dunja Degmecic, Ivan Pozgain and Pavo Filakovic and a clinical trial conducted by Dutch psychologists Jacob Jolij & Maaike Meurs ¹² demonstrated that music affects visual and psychosomatic awareness.

Yet, the 12 Area of Study HSC Advanced course, through a study of Emily Dickinson led me to the central precepts of transcendentalism. In particular, how seclusion from orthodoxy within society enabled Dickinson to gain an understanding of elemental truths about herself and her world led me to discover her contemporary Thoreau and his experiment in the woods in *Walden*.

Consequently, sound has remained, yet as the key symbolic vehicle within the video to explore the dichotomy between self-determining and externally motivated behaviour. This dichotomy is revealed in the re-mastered version of Bon Iver's song 'Wash', in

¹⁰ Tarantino, Q. (1992). Reservoir Dogs. Miramax Films (USA).

Whitman, W. (1881). "Song of Myself". The Norton Anthology of English Literature. Gen. ed. Stephen Greenblatt. 6th ed. Vol. B. New York: Norton, 2003. p. 2233 as in Major Work Script, (4:34), p.5.

¹² Jolij J, Meurs M (2011) Music Alters Visual Perception. PLoS ONE, Vol. 6, No. 4. pp.1-5.
Observed the psychological behaviours of 43 uni students—students were instructed to bring
15 minutes of songs that made them feel happy and 15 minutes of sad songs. In simple terms,
students were then shown blurred squares that subtly resembled either happy or sad faces.
Students were instructed to record what they saw when they listened to the different songs.
The study concluded, "Mood, as induced by music, is also reflective of visual awareness."

which I lowered the pitch and slowed the tempo to capture an atmospheric, unfettered 'song of the self' against the external triumphalist propaganda refrain, taken from North Korea¹³, and mood commands of 'M.O.M', representative of the 'voice of the institution'. The use of sound as discordance is drawn from the opening sequence of Terence Malick's *Tree of Life*¹⁴ through a similar, unnerving drone of sound.

As a short film, "Black Hearts Society" and "The Dystopianest Dystopia Ever" by Jon Murray helped me to understand the compressed narrative necessary within the eight minute time frame and how to effectively convey the dystopian elements needed to enable this video to act as a warning against the authentic self being lost. Therefore, the employment of montage and quick cuts during the city scene, shaky hand held camera techniques and wavering focus implies an ever-present sense of unease from 'M.O.M'. As with John Hillcoat's film *The Road*, an episodic narrative structure and black transitional frames suggest the passing of time.

Thoreau's manual of self-reliance, *Walden*, is as relevant today in its proclamation of pursuing an authentic existence and therefore I have sought to appeal to an audience who would be willing to engage with this through an experimental short film. Small-scale festivals such as the 'Bondi Short Film Festival' and 'My Video Award' are avenues in which to showcase my Major Work. In particular a young adult audience has been targeted through the personal revelations of a young adult protagonist. Therefore I intend to make *Echoes, Ripples and Buzz'd Whispers* available on Vimeo (a website dedicated to short films), which has a significant following among young adults.

It is my hope that like me, my audience will be inspired to find their own 'song of the self'.

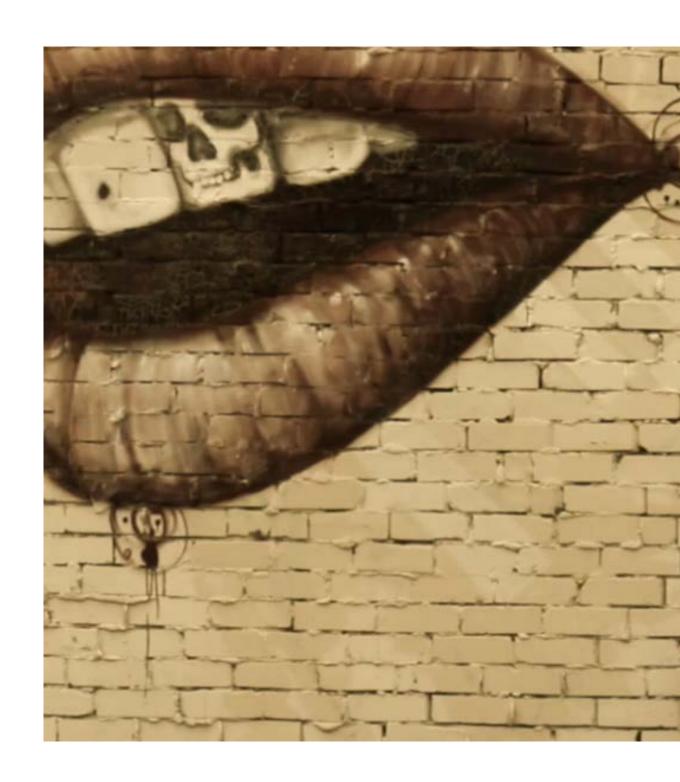
[&]quot;North Korean Propaganda" as sourced from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dwtHuPISZ3Y and 'North Korean Propaganda Posters' as sourced from http://digitalpostercollection.com/propaganda/1950-1953-korean-war/north-korea/when-we-say-we-will-we-will-we-do-not-talk-idly/. Last accessed 6/07/2014 as in Major Work Script, p.1-8.

¹⁴ Malick, T. (2011). Tree of Life. Fox Searchlight Pictures. (USA).

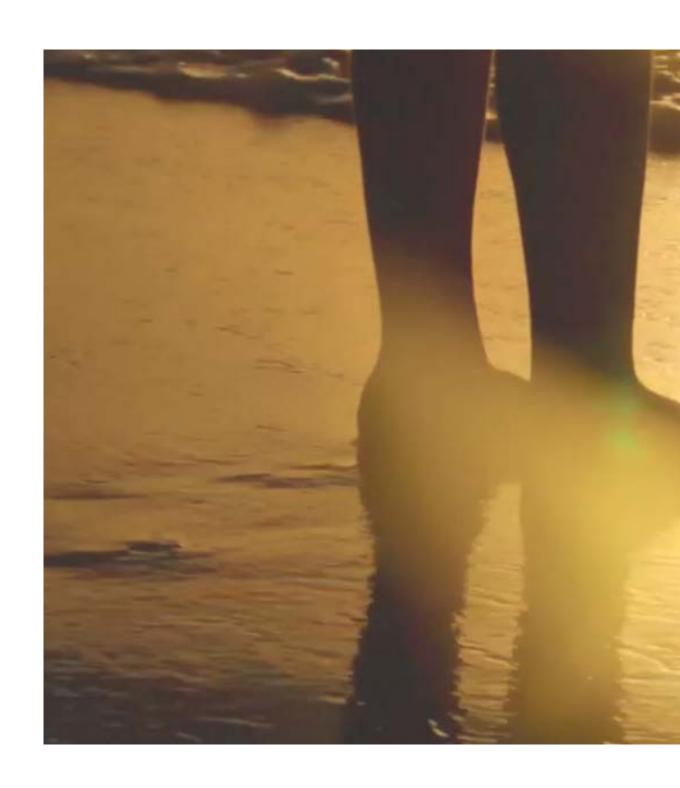
¹⁵ Hexylvania, M. (2013). 'Black Hearts Society', http://vimeo.com/68637854. Last accessed 12/04/2014.

¹⁶ Murray, J. (2013). 'Dystopianest Dystopia Ever', http://vimeo. com/62775547. Last accessed 12/04/2014.

¹⁷ Hillcoat, J. (2009). The Road. Dimension Films The Weinstein Company (USA).













MUSIC

Sam Rubino

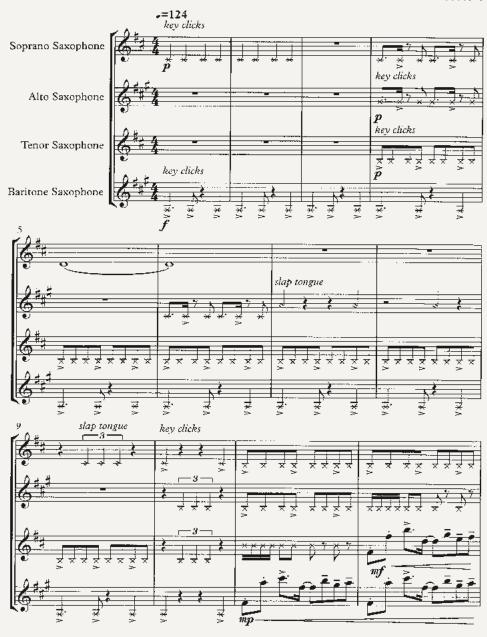
Sto Divertendo

REFLECTION STATEMENT

This piece composed for a saxophone quartet was written to further explore elements of the saxophone that are not normally utilised. The piece features percussive keyclicking in order to develop a more contemporary sound, while aiming for a more Latin style in the melody and phrasing. I tried to evoke a sense of unsettlement and mystery, as the opening bars are quiet with rhythmic motifs, which develop into a bright-Latin melody. It was difficult to come up with a contemporary Latin-style saxophone quartet composition and my main inspirations came from a *Tango Suite* by Jeremy Rose, *Frustracion* by Nathan Askey-Doran, and a number of compositions by a group called Grupo Latin Vibe. Overall, the piece has a dark feel and utilises contemporary compositional devices. It has a distinctive and unique character quite distinct from other Latin compositions. Finally, the name of the piece stands for, "having fun," which I named due to the fun we had recording it and the challenges we encountered with the percussive clicking and melody being entwined throughout the piece.

Sto Divertendo

25566076



























Matt Stejer

Assess the Historical debate surrounding the initial effectivness of *Perestroika* and *Reaganomics*, as well as their long-term impact

SYNOPSIS

The investigation is motivated by a keen interest in American history and economics. Having already completed reports on the Revolutionary and Civil Wars, I decided to research an aspect of the Cold War. Consequently, I discovered the policy of *Reaganomics* and delved further to find out about the equivalent policy in Russia, *Perestroika*. Due to my interest in economics and how it affects the wider world, I ultimately came to the conclusion that a comparison of the policies on their respective nations would best allow me to address my interests.

The focus of this investigation is to highlight the historical debates regarding the effectiveness of Perestroika and Reaganomics in bringing about progressive economic reform. This report aims to explore the debate surrounding the initial effectiveness of the reforms and their long-term impact on the United States and Russia. The opinions of historians and public opinion leaders suggest the effectiveness with which Perestroika and Reaganomics led to long-term economic prosperity in Russia and the United States of America. Thus, long-term economic prosperity becomes the key measure that justifies conclusions of policy effectiveness.

The investigation is centered on three objectives. The first is to summarise the historical debate surrounding the initial and long-term effectiveness of *Perestroika* and *Reaganomics*. These debates are evolving due to the gradual dissemination of government documents which re-shape opinions. The second objective is to discuss the prevalent opinions of leading historians including Marxist and capitalist interpretations in the works of Brian Caterino, Robert Parry, D. Lane and Arthur

B. Laffer. The third objective is to interest readers in direct comparisons of the two policies and the consequent changes in perception of the reforms since the policies were originally implemented.

ESSAY

Perestroika and Reaganomics shaped the political and economic futures of the Soviet Union and the United States in revolutionary ways, for better or worse. This report aims to highlight the debates surrounding the effectiveness of *Perestroika* and *Reaganomics* in the initial years of their implementation and the current economic impacts borne as a result. The notion of economic reform is chiefly represented in the writings of historians and economists who focus on two debates. The first debate assesses the initial effectiveness of the policies in mending the flaws within their economic systems while the current debate evaluates the lasting impacts of their implementation.

The initial effectiveness of the policies is discussed by empirical and annalist historians Lane and Laffer, empiricist Raleigh¹ and popular historian Domitrovic², who believe that the two policies strengthened and modernised their respective nations. Others such as popular historians Caterino and Livingston, research journalist Parry and Marxist academic Marcy believe that the policies undermined national stability and autonomy—particularly since the early 21st century.

The 'Global Financial Crisis' in 2008 opened another debate about whether the policies were a benefit or detriment to long-term economic prosperity. Recent releases of previously classified documents and recent economic experiences have prompted a re-evaluation of the positive and negative impacts of the policies. This debate is mainly analyzed by academic historians Lane and Laffer, who state that the reforms had a positive impact, while Caterino and Parry maintain that the policies are abject failures with detrimental impacts on America and Russia.

In the years prior to the Reagan Presidency of 1981–1989, the American economy was in a downward spiral as a result of the bipartisan ignorance of policy makers who used tax increases, currency devaluations, price controls, misguided spending³ and protectionist measures⁴. In an effort to curb unemployment and lower inflationary pressures, *Reaganomics* was implemented to loosen controls across the board, decrease the power of unions and encourage investment through large tax cuts. Due to the success of *Reaganomics* in energising the economy, the reforms gained widespread approval. The initial debate surrounding the reform has been overwhelmingly positive, especially because of the decrease in inflation from 13.5 per cent in 1981 to 3.2 per cent in 1983⁵.

The positive perspective on *Reaganomics* stems from its initial successes and popularity, as supported by commentators such as Laffer and Domitrovic. For them, *Reaganomics* was a step towards insightful and targeted policy making that changed public attitudes about working and spending⁶. Their opinion is similarly represented in the media during the time of the reform. For many journalists such as Broder, the policy of *Reaganomics* benefited the Republican Party because of the rapid economic improvements and the way it was portrayed as a revolutionary implementation of economic reform⁷.

In the eyes of its supporters, *Reaganomics* was mainly responsible for mending flaws in the American economy which allowed the United States to flourish, despite lowering welfare payments⁸.

The current state of the economy has raised significant doubts about the effectiveness of Reganomics in repairing the causes of inflation, unemployment and spending. Historians such as Livingston believe that the policy only delayed the effects of stagflation⁹ during the 1970s, but was incapable of fixing it¹⁰. With the benefit of hindsight gained from the recent release of government documents from the 1980s, Robert Parry's opinion casts doubt on the insightfulness of *Reaganomics*. He views it instead as a desperate blunder into the unknown, saying that it was not a revolutionary step towards a modern economy¹¹.

For historians like Parry, *Reaganomics* was simply the by-product of ignorant policy making, made worse by the desperate and discontented public; it was in essence an abject failure, not at all effective in rooting out the flaws within the system and mending the factors which caused them.

On the other side of the globe, many opinion leaders of the 1990s viewed *Perestroika* as a groundbreaking Soviet policy. It reformed the centralised economic framework and challenged beliefs that national-level controls could eliminate stagflation. In their place, it ushered in a quasi-free market framework with local controls that aimed to eliminate the perceived lack of productivity¹². The reason for the perception was a belief of Party Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev that there were too many different political groups to allow for a nationalised planning system¹³. Political diversity is evident in the fact that non-specialist workers, such as manual labourers, represented almost 46 per cent of the USSR's occupational makeup in 1984, and declined to 23 per cent by 1989¹⁴. Also, the upper and middle echelons of government declined in size, while the lower (local) echelon of government rose from 6.6 per cent in 1984 to 23 per cent in 1989.

In contrast to the consensus of economic opinion in the United States, nearly all Soviet institutions had mixed feelings on the reform¹⁵. The debate over the effectiveness of *Perestroika* in reforming an overly centralised economic planning framework began during the policy's implementation; not several decades later as did the debates over *Reaganomics*.

Those who are critical of *Perestroika*, such as Marxist historian Sam Marcy, focus on the fact that it undermined the systems which allowed the Soviet Union to function and eroded the core values of collectivism, planning and equality. Marcy and Caterino also believe that *Perestroika* was flawed from its inception and failure was inevitable¹⁶. However, Marcy does concede that the reform was an honorable attempt, which Caterino suggests was undermined by the fact that '*Glasnost17*' turned from an open forum of discussion to a committee that attacked anyone who spoke controversially. As academic historian and sociologist Peter J. Boettke states, *Perestroika* failed to make any changes because Gorbachev could not realize his vision¹⁸.

Critics such as annalist historians White, Gill and Slider¹⁹ also believe that *Perestroika* failed because, while the initial 'tweaks' were popular, Soviet citizens largely valued the communist/socialist ideals which underpinned their society. The results led to a collapse of the policy's support due to the ineffectiveness of the reform's leaders in ensuring its longevity, principally displayed by the way they forcibly implemented change in a society that had been 'hardwired' against it²⁰. This is evidenced by the rate at which popularity decreased amongst different groups, especially the skilled laborers—corresponding to the times when *Perestroika* entered a new phase of restructuring. However, most critics like Boettke believe that it was not a lack of public support which caused *Perestroika* to fail; it was the compromises in implementation of the original aims and objectives set forth by Gorbachev.

Boettke's belief is disputed by other historians including empirical historian Raleigh, citing economic data as evidence of the Soviet Union's improvement²¹. Likewise, David Lane and Donald J. Raleigh believe that *Perestroika* was an effective policy which did not collapse, but re-emerged as democracy under Boris Yeltsin²². To add popular history, journalist Isam al-Khafaji states that *Perestroika* was of supreme benefit because it prevented regimes like Saddam Hussein's from rising to absolute power. He continues to suggest that Arab businesses enjoyed the new freedoms. Real failure came when the reforms were halted, despite the lack of policy support by ethnic Russians²³.

Additional supporters of *Perestroika* like senior correspondent and popular journalist William Neikirk maintain that the policy was a success because it forged a new path

and achieved its aim: to break down central planning and lower the stagnation in the economy²⁴. They point out, however, that the reforms failed to achieve economic potentials to the fullest extent²⁵.

The debate surrounding the initial effectiveness of the two policies stems from the immediate changes which occurred as a result of the reforms. For *Reaganomics*, support was overwhelmingly dominant because of the sudden improvements to the economy. However, some historians and economists including Broder saw the possible weaknesses and negative implications which resulted from large tax cuts and privatisation. Similar to *Reaganomics*, *Perestroika* was initially popular because of the new freedoms enjoyed by the citizens. However, the undermining of key communist ideals such as collectivism and equality led to a gridlocked debate between those who believed that the reform removed stagnation and those who thought that it eroded the core of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

There is now a more recent debate centered on the current effects of the reforms. The main cause of the more recent debate stems largely from the recent economic recession in 2008 and the recovery of each nation afterwards²⁶.

Reaganomics, while initially praised by the majority for its superb efficiency in rooting out the issues within the economy, is now heavily scrutinised, particularly because of the current state of the American economy²⁷.

Supporters of *Reaganomics* like Domitrovic argue that the policy was meant for the 1980s and should not be faulted for recent economic issues²⁸. Instead, the positive legacy of *Reaganomics* is embedded within the methodology currently used by policy makers, who have been heavily influenced by the original writers of the economic reform²⁹. In addition, many defend the policy by stating how it effectively removed stagnation—a key reason why the Soviet Union collapsed ten years later. Historians do, however, acknowledge that *Reaganomics* has contributed to the weakened current state of the American economy due to its unbalanced spending and cutting of taxes³⁰.

While the supporters of *Reaganomics* have declined in the long-term, critics have increased in number³¹. Although evident that the United States economy prior to *Reaganomics* suffered from decades of stagnation due to the over-spending on armed forces and weaponry³², many commentators still view it as one of the chief reasons why the American economy is under continued heavy strain. They substantiate their view with the recent scaling back of all schemes within the Reagan policy.

An additional group of critics believe that *Reaganomics* exacerbated the attitudes amongst many economists and politicians that supply-side tax cutting and domestic budget reductions can solve all economic problems, and presumably solve the post GFC crises³³. In a display of popular history, talk show host Thom Hartmann states that *Reaganomics* exacerbated a widening gap between the wealthy and poor, further dividing the population and creating different 'classes of people', an unfortunate byproduct of any extremely capitalistic system³⁴. Hence the claim that *Reaganomics* was ineffective in the long-term is justified because it has adversely affected the recent state of the U.S economy, introduced some detrimental conservative attitudes and segmented the United States into a country with different 'classes' of people based on their economic successes.

On the other hand, *Perestroika*, which many consider was initially ineffective due to its chief role in the collapse of the Soviet Union³⁵, is now widely considered a positive influence in the long-term by many capitalist historians and economists³⁶. This is because the new economic system which followed Gorbachev did not suffer from stagnation and inefficiency to the same extent that the Soviet Union suffered. Therefore, *Perestroika* successfully accomplished the initial goal of economic reform. Its success is particularly evident in the current growth trend in Russia, placing it in the 'emerging economies' group along with China and Brazil.

Although the political reforms under *Perestroika* collapsed, many such as Greg Reeson believe that the political aims of the policy were successful because it overturned the old Leninist-Stalinist system and allowed democracy to filter through the different nations governed by Moscow.

Support for the current effects of *Perestroika* also extends to its role in ending the Cold War³⁷. Gorbachev's attempts to reform the Soviet Union and find peace are praised by a large proportion of western nations—chiefly the United States. Supporters specifically note Gorbachev's leadership of *Perestroika* that ended the Cold War, thus enabling peaceful co-existence with the West³⁸.

There are, however, people who remain critical of *Perestroika* and do not see the reform's impact on the Soviet Union as positive. As Reeson states, while Gorbachev's reforms were popular amongst Western leaders for introducing capitalism and democracy, the very same reasons led it to become vilified by those in the Soviet Union and beyond who benefitted from the communist framework. While few dispute the claim that *Perestroika* is one of the main causes for the Cold War ending, others saw the Soviet bloc as protection from radical groups like *Al Qaeda* and the *Taliban*³⁹, who

were allowed into power because *Perestroika* created weak governments which were fragile to opposition.

People are also critical of the adverse effects of *Perestroika* on individuals. This notion is chiefly explored by annalist historians and social analysts Jan Saarela and Fjalar Finnäs⁴⁰. When the Soviet Union broke up, a series of democratic revolutions and re-unifications swept through Eastern Europe. This caused many people to become displaced. Consequently, mortality and unhappiness rates rose particularly in Finland, resulting in stagnation and inefficiency at the same time that the new nations were adjusting to democracy and independence⁴¹, the very problem which *Perestroika* aimed to fix.

The debates surrounding *Perestroika* and *Reaganomics* are ongoing, particularly regarding their long-term consequences.

The original debate was dominated by a group of academic historians whose viewpoints were polarised in a few lengthy books that espoused pro-capitalist verses pro-communist opinions. For example, *Reaganomics* was almost unanimously deemed effective by historians and economists alike during the initial period of its implementation because of the rapid improvements in the American economy. However dissenting historians began to question the implications of such a reform. Similarly with *Perestroika*, annalists and like-minded historians were initially pleased with the proposed changes outlined by the reform because of the new freedoms regarding speech and consumerism. However, Marxist historians held a dissenting view of the policy as time progressed because it undermined core values of communism, collectivism and co-ordination.

The current debate is dominated by short articles written by economists, journalists and contemporary lecturers that lead to more convergent viewpoints of the twin Cold War-era policies. *Perestroika* is now widely praised by the majority of historians because the policy created peace between the Soviet Union and the United States, along with the economic improvement in Russia since 1991. Despite this, some still criticise it because the downfall of the Soviet Union led to many revolutions in Eastern Europe; and groups like the Taliban and Al Qaeda gained more power because of the vacuum created by the removal of Soviet authority. On the other hand, *Reaganomics* has seen an almost complete reversal in its popularity. Now, the policy is highly criticised because of the poor state of the American economy and the lack of foresight policy makers had when writing it, while supporters state that *Reaganomics* was meant to mend the issues present in the 1980s and should not be criticised for current problems.

The contrast between initial and current debates is important because it explains why the two debates are different. It also explains how the shifting means of recording history from lengthy books to short articles affects the nature of the debate.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Donald j. Raleigh wrote about the debate surrounding Perestroika-the opinions he mentions are a combination of multiple other historians.
- 2 Brian Domitrovic wrote about the debate around Reaganomics—the opinions he mentions are a combination of multiple other historians.
- 3 Reganomics: What we learned. Laffer, Arthur B. New York: s.n., 2011, Wall Street Journal.
- 4 Sing, V.B. Patterns of Economic Development; A study of the economic development of the UK, USA, Japan, USSR and China. [ed.] V.B. Singh. Bombsy: Allied Publishers Private Ltd, 1970.
- 5 Reganomics: What we learned. Laffer, Arthur B. New York: s.n., 2011, Wall Street Journal.
- 6 Domitrovic, Brian. How Historians Boot the Regan Revolution. Forbes. [Online] August 11, 2011. http://www.forbes.com/sites/ briandomitrovic/2011/11/08/how-historians-boot-the-reagan-revolution/.
- 7 Reaganomics: Fiscal Fog, Political Magic. Broder, David. August 11, 1991, Chicago Tribune.
- 8 Financial Times. In the News: Reganomics. Chicago Tribune. [Online] June 8, 1987. http://articles.chicagotribune.com/keyword/reaganomics.
- 9 Stagflation refers to an economic situation where inflation is high and growth is low/stagnant
- 10 Domitrovic, Brian. How Historians Boot the Regan Revolution. Forbes. [Online] August 11, 2011. http://www.forbes.com/sites/ briandomitrovic/2011/11/08/how-historians-boot-the-reagan-revolution/.
- 11 Parry, Robert. The abject failure of Reganomics. TruthOut.org. [Online] October 19, 2013. http://www.truth-out.org/news/item/19510-the-abject-failure-of-reaganomics.
- 12 White, Steven, Gill, Graeme and Slider, Darrell. The Politics of Transition-Shaping a post-Soviet future. London: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- 13 Marcy, Sam. Perestroika-A Marxist Critique. New York: WW Publishers, 1990.
- 14 Lane, David. Soviet Society under Perestroika-Revised Edition. 3rd (Revised). London: Routledge, 1992. Note: The statistics used by D. Lane are incomplete because the survey only focused on Russia, not the other nations within the USSR. Statistics taken from a translated copy of 'The Choice has been Made,' Izvestia, May 6, 1989. Translation found in: 'The Current Digest of the Soviet Press' (Columbia, Ohio). Vol 41, pS.
- 15 Lane, David. Soviet Society under Perestroika-Revised Edition. 3rd (Revised). London: Routledge, 1992.
- 16 Caterino, Brian. Perestroika's Last Stand. PS: Political Science and Politics, Vol.43, No.4. s.l.: American Political Science Association, 2010, pp. 753-754.
- 17 Glasnost means 'openness'-particularly with regards to the media and free speech.
- 18 Boettke, P. J., 1993. Why Perestroika Failed, London and New York: Routledge.
- 19 White, Gill and Slider compiled their research into one source-'The politics of Transition'
- 20 Marcy, Sam. Perestroika-A Marxist Critique. New York: WW Publishers, 1990.
- 21 Raleigh, Donald J. Soviet Historians and Perestroika: The first phase. 1st. New York: M E Sharpe Inc, 1990.
- 22 Lane, David. Soviet Society under Perestroika-Revised Edition. 3rd (Revised). London: Routledge, 1992.
- 23 The Arab Left after Glasnost: Who's Afraid of Bureaustroika? al-Khafaji, Isam. 1990, Middle East Report, pp. 30-34.
- 24 Neikirk, W., 2004. Chicago Tribune. [Online] [Accessed 17 April 2014].

- 25 Review-Soviet Historians: The first phase. Newton, Douglass. 1991, New Zealand Slavonic Journal, pp. 202-204. Note: Newton reviewed Raleigh's historiographical book—the statements made are not fully his own, only a summary of his findings at the conclusion of his reading
- 26 Two Sources: Reganomics: What we learned. Laffer, Arthur B. New York: s.n., 2011, Wall Street Journal. & Caterino, Brian. Perestroika's Last Stand. PS: Political Science and Politics, Vol.43, No.4. s.l.: American Political Science Association, 2010, pp. 753-754.
- 27 Hartmann, Thom. Let's Repudiate Reaganomics. [Online] April 8, 2014. [Cited: April 17, 2014.] http://www.talkradionews.com/opinion/2014/04/08/lets-repudiate-reaganomics.html#.U1R7G1d6-ul.
- 28 Domitrovic, Brian. How Historians Boot the Regan Revolution. Forbes. [Online] August 11, 2011. http://www.forbes.com/sites/briandomitrovic/2011/11/08/how-historians-boot-the-reagan-revolution/.
- 29 Reganomics: What we learned. Laffer, Arthur B. New York: s.n., 2011, Wall Street Journal.
- 30 Reaganomics: Fiscal Fog, Political Magic. Broder, David. August 11, 1991, Chicago Tribune.
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- 32 Sing, V.B. Patterns of Economic Development; A study of the economic development of the UK, USA, Japan, USSR and China. [ed.] V.B. Singh. Bombsy: Allied Publishers Private Ltd, 1970.
- 33 Hartmann, Thom. Let's Repudiate Reaganomics. [Online] April 8, 2014. [Cited: April 17, 2014.] http://www.talkradionews.com/opinion/2014/04/08/lets-repudiate-reaganomics.html#.U1R7G1d6-ul.
- 34 Sing, V.B. Patterns of Economic Development; A study of the economic development of the UK, USA, Japan, USSR and China. [ed.] V.B. Singh. Bombsy: Allied Publishers Private Ltd, 1970.
- 35 Marcy, Sam. Perestroika-A Marxist Critique. New York: WW Publishers, 1990.
- 36 Reeson, Greg. Mikhail Gorbachev: Changing the world. [Online] June 28, 2006. [Cited: April 21, 2014.] http://voices.yahoo.com/mikhail-gorbachev-changing-world-48455.html?cat=37.
- 37 Charles, Jon. How Perestroika and Glasnost Changed Europe and the World. [Online] August 1, 2010. [Cited: April 19, 2014.] http://voices.yahoo.com/how-perestroika-glasnost-changed-europe-the-6511488.html.
- 38 Simkin, John. End of the Cold War: Gorbachev or Regan? Spartacus. [Online] December 13, 2013. http://educationforum.ipbhost.com/index.php?showtopic=907.
- 39 The Arab Left after Glasnost: Who's Afraid of Bureaustroika? al-Khafaji, Isam. 1990, Middle East Report, pp. 30-34.
- 40 Saarella and Finnas are demographers who published their research on the effects of the changing political and social structure in eastern Europe during and shortly after Perestroika.
- 41 Saarela, Jan and Finnas, Fjalar. Forced Migration and Mortality in the Very Long Term: Did Perestroika Affect Death Rates Also in Finland? [Online] August 2009. [Cited: April 16, 2014.] http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2831340/.

Martin Tracey

Terra Nullius—Finders Keepers

STATEMENT OF INTENT

My series of photographs depict the complex relationship shared between ocean, earth and mankind. *Terra Nullius*, a Latin term employed by the English settlers to describe Australia as, "a land belonging to no one", is used here in conjunction with many lesser-known lyrics of "Advance Australia Fair", to illustrate a criticism of our current immigration policy, as both of these depict ideals of sharing our nation to all. The contrasting portrait subjects of a apparent immigrant with a longing expression and a stereotypical Australian countryman with a proud, protective stare expose this meaning, and the might of the ocean becomes the mediator between the two.

The use of deep black shadows and an overpowering darkness in the work creates a sense of intrigue and mystery. This is coupled with the small size of the series, in which an intimacy is established. I have employed the chiaroscuro lighting technique in the portraits to create a bold contrast between light and darkness and allow for a three-dimensional effect.













HISTORY

Charles Pegum

A historiographical discussion of geo-political perspectives of the American annexation of Hawai'i

SYNOPSIS

Geo-political events have always interested me, particularly the atmosphere surrounding them. In terms of this, particularly the reasoning of each party concerned and what makes them form these reasons. In hindsight, due to American being a young nation compared to countries with numerous overseas territories like England and Spain, this made me think how America procured so many possessions early on.

As I furthered my historiographical research into American territorial possessions, I learnt that Hawai'i had been a monarchy pre-annexation and until then, survived contact with the European world. My preliminary research interested me so I decided to stay with the topic. I continued to read broadly about Hawai'ian history, from historians such as William Morgan, Tom Coffman and Queen Liliuokalani.

My first understanding was that annexation was an inevitable event being accelerated by European immigrants and their influence over island economics, religion and government. There was so much on annexation that interested me I wanted to analyze the event, the factors influencing it, the benefits and the result.

There are five main historians used within this essay; Coffman, Young, Morgan, Fuchs and Liliuokalani. Each one of them offers a different perspective to the annexation and highlighted different factors of significance. Coffman's contemporary perspective is used to explain resistance to annexation in both Washington and Honolulu, whilst Liliuokalani's first hand experience is used to take a further in-depth look at the event occurring in Hawai'i and the public's opinion. Morgan, Young and Fuchs are used to explain the strategic importance of Hawai'i and the geo-political ramifications.

These perspectives identify the nexus between different factors influencing annexation, whilst discussing the debate over the motivations. This essay pinpoints the factors surrounding annexation through the correlation of historiography from different perspectives and schools of thought.

ESSAY

The United States of America's annexation of the Hawai'ian Islands in 1898 had great geopolitical significance for American imperial ambitions. (Appendix A) Simultaneously, conflict arose out of the ethical ramifications of this act, from within Hawai'i and the United States. The annexation provided economic benefits for some through the profitable sugar and whaling industries, as well a future strategic supply base from which Washington could stage military actions, whilst also acting as a buffer, which would protect the American mainland from the west.

Hawai'i was invaluable "[c]ommercially, and still more from a military point of view ... and no one will interfere with us there". Philosophical conflict occurred through the compromise of democratic values in the pursuit of acquiring territory through force. The idea of American 'Manifest Destiny' was used to justify Washington's expansionist policies of the time. Contextually, rival global powers were expanding their spheres of influences through empire building. However, they were not bound by the same moral values of constitutions such as the American one, documents that include freedom and independence from foreign rule. "[T]he power of the United States is to be exerted through example and influence, not by force". The annexation of Hawai'i was an incident that paved the way for future American territorial acquisitions and would be a "first fruit", in the multilateral clash for Pacific dominance. Evidence from the time and subsequent commentaries form the basis of the controversy from which debate has stemmed and flourished.

The annexation of Hawai'i was an incident which people had very conflicting opinions about. Annexation was greatly opposed by the native Hawai'ians, whose perspective is represented by their Queen Liliuokalani and her reflections on social and cultural

¹ Henry Cabot Lodge as quoted by William Michael Morgan 'Pacific Gibraltar: US-Japanese rivalry over the Annexation of Hawai'I, 1885-1898', p 182

² Republican Senator George F.Hoar July 29 1898 speech to Anti-Imperialist Committee of Correspondence at the Massachusetts Club.

³ Alfred.T.Manhan, as quoted by William Michael Morgan 'Pacific Gibraltar: US-Japanese rivalry over the Annexation of Hawai'l, 1885-1898', p 157

ramifications. Liliuokalani takes a Whig and Marxist approach in her accounts of the annexation. Her focus is on the undemocratic nature in which "the American Republic of States...degenerate" to, in forcibly annexing Hawai'i. ⁴ Liliuokalani's agenda was to re-empower the Hawai'ian state through the rebuttal of American claims that they acted in order to protect United States citizens living in Hawai'i. In response to American claims that their help had been used previously to resolve similar issues of unrest, Liliuokalani argues, "that a precedent had not been set in 1874 when there was a situation of political unrest and the Hawai'ian government had appealed for American intervention to resolve the crisis". This statement supports the rule of constitutional monarchy over Hawai'i and portrays the Americans as deceiving and dishonest in their approach to annexation, these beliefs meet the criteria of Whig history.

Liliuokalani goes on to emphasise the contradiction Americans create in annexing Hawai'i. Specifically, annexation was seen as hypocritical in regards to principles of the Monroe Doctrine⁶ (Appendix B). "The constitutional government of 1893 ... absolutely protested against" the actions of the representative of the United States. This compromised the American image as a role model for modern democracy and distorted it into a "colonizer and a land grabber". In raising these points, Hawai'ians are perceived as the 'underclass' in this geopolitical dilemma, with Washington taking the role of the powerful "oppressors". By keeping Hawai'ian personal freedom and support of the 'underclass' a recurring theme, Liliuokalani incorporates Marxist historiography, consciously or otherwise. Dually keeping independence and the constitutional monarchy central through her writings and resisting American annexation in the belief that her nations should never submit to a foreign power, Liliuokalani's work also reinforces her Whig tendency.

A diplomatic analysis of the Hawai'ian debate includes an overview of the conflicting opinions of American elected representatives and their people, an examination of the threats posed by other powers in the Pacific and why annexation was considered paramount to halting the progress of these.

William Michael Morgan's historiography is empiricist, utilising American government documents -namely speeches of government officials—alone.

- 4 Liliuokalani, 1898, p 67
- 5 Liliuokalani, 1898, p 372
- 6 (Monroe, 1823)
- 7 Liliuokalani, 1898, p 48
- 8 Liliuokalani, 1898, p 67
- 9 Liliuokalani, 1898, p 278

Morgan recognises that party support for annexation changed over time under different Presidencies and that a large majority of the Senate supported annexation. However, Republicans only had 43 reliable party votes, meaning that convincing arguments had to be put forward to secure the seventeen votes needed to sway Democrats to accept the United States' annexation of the Hawai'ian islands. The words of Speaker of the House Tom Reed and Secretary of State John Sherman's opinions are both used by Morgan to highlight the significant factors opposing annexation within the United States. Morgan shows strands of diplomatic history as he identifies Reed may "use his vast powers to block annexation" and Sherman is "a facts and figures man" reflecting the value he placed on the US\$30 million loss of tariff revenue that resulted from the Hawai'ian reciprocity treaty in the 1880s. Morgan shows these were not significant problems as the Provincial Government of Hawai'i and annexationists recognised the inevitability of annexation and were prepared to "have a long wait ahead" says Commissioner Hatch, until the American Government acted favorably towards delivering the outcome they hoped for.

Morgan substantiates this by recording that the same officials, Sherman, who opposed annexation in principle, recognised that this might be expedited if threats from other foreign powers emerged. They would in this case "make an exception to" and "take" Hawai'i in.¹³ William A Williams' *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* states that the 1890s served as a turning point for Americans policymakers as they believed that foreign policy could improve the economy. This belief grew even bigger to include the 'expansion as a way to improve economy, stifle unrest, preserve democracy and restore prosperity'.¹⁴

The annexation of Hawai'i had economic implications that are essential to understand in a historiographical study of this period. In *Hawai'i*; *Reciprocity or Annexation*, Merze Tate argues that commercial trade was a main issue between two countries, since the island kingdom had profitable fishing and whaling, and later sugar, industries. Sugar rose to prominence as one of the most profitable commercial industries on Hawai'i by the middle of the 19th century.

- 10 Morgan, 2011, p 181
- 11 Morgan, 2011, p 185
- 12 F.M. Hatch, Hawai'ian Minister in Washington, as quoted by William Morgan Pacific Gibraltar: US-Japanese rivalry over the annexation of Hawai'i, 1885-1898, p 187
- 13 Morgan, 2011, p185
- 14 Williams, 1959, p 19
- 15 Griffin, 2007, p 3-4

Firstly, Michener writes a fictional book, *Hawaii* that is an account of individuals throughout the history of Hawaii. Specifically in regards to Hawai'ian economic factors influencing the annexation of Hawaii, Yoder, a reader, states through annexation "sugar industrialists" would "make huge profits" from no longer being economically bound by the McKinley Tariff. This is Yoder's understanding from the book although it is fiction the book provides a "detailed" analysis of Hawai'ian society derived from "extensive research." This is an example of popular history as it provides Yoder with an emphasized narrative, which gives a broad understanding of events such as the economics at the time.

Subsequently, Coffman argues that given the nature of the global environment, although Hawai'i was being pulled into 'the economic and military systems of America', they were allowed the freedom of self-determination, unlike many other 'colonies', which had been carved up by the European powers. In this matter, Coffman shows Annalist tendencies, as he is able to balance the situation in Hawai'i with a global understanding of political maneuverings of the time. However, Coffman believes that many American planters in Hawai'i were frustrated by the high tariffs placed on the import of this product to the United States. From 1850 to 1898, efforts of sugar planters to secure and maintain markets in the United States dominated Hawai'ian-American relations.

The Hawai'ian Government tried unsuccessfully to establish reciprocity treaties, in 1848, 1852 and 1855. It was not until 1874 however that a treaty 18 was passed that "provided that unrefined sugar, rice and other Hawai'ian products should be admitted into the United States duty free". Offman argues that as a result of this treaty "where it had taken 40 years for annual production to reach 12,000 tons, it doubled in 4 years". This empiricist view validates the influx of investment of American capital into Hawai'i, as growers felt more confident of sustainable profits. Joseph Nawahi, statesman of Kaukau Ali'I, declared it was a "nation snatching treaty, one that will take away the rights of the people causing the throne to be deprived of powers that it has always held of fundamental". 11

- 16 (Yoder, 2014)
- 17 Coffman, 2009, p 62
- 18 Treaty of Reciprocity between the United States of America and the Hawai'ian Kingdom, June 3, 1875; Article IV.
- 19 House Ex. Doc. No.48, 53D Cong. 2d Sess., Vol XXVII, p405-409
- 20 Coffman, 2009, p 63
- 21 Osorio, 2002, p 159-160, 168

This Marxist perspective also concurs with that of Lawrence. H. Fuchs who argues that, in the case of conflict, Hawai'ian interests would never override American economic interests. "The white race, the white people, the Americans in Hawai'i are going to dominate".22 Until 1890, sugar planters enjoyed many profitable years and the idea of annexation became less important. Five major companies emerged that controlled the sugar industry and consequently many other structures in Hawai'i. Fuchs' annalist perception of this is recorded as: "the sugar industry is ruled by a financial oligarchy around which is built the business and social structure of the islands". 23 This all changed when the American Government passed the McKinley Bill (1890) as a means of reducing duties on commodities. The consequences for Hawai'ian sugar planters were dramatic as the price was said to have fallen in one day from US\$100 to US\$60 a ton.24 Kuykendall and Grove Day's Marxist interpretation of these times highlight that in this period of economic tension, where a depression was caused on the Islands by the impacts of this American bill, 'the thought of annexation to the United States made a strong appeal to certain elements in the community".25 It was under these times of economic difficulty that planters became disturbed of reports of a new Hawai'ian constitution which meant that they would be "driven from the islands or their property placed at the mercy of anyone who wished to take it".26 These interpretations make the move towards American annexation understandable in the geo-political climate of the time.

The contemporary global political climate was one of rapid change and empire building. It is for this reason that military and political historiography focus on the strategic value of Hawai'i for both mainland coastal security and for expansion. (Appendix B) Morgan cites the perspectives of preeminent naval strategist Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan. Morgan believes that although no studies of Hawai'ian annexation discuss in detail the interconnection between coastal security and the drive to improve seaboard defenses, they should be examined together. They shed great light on the acquisition of Hawai'i as the most important aspect of American fears regarding defense of their west coast. This is further reinforced through the first-hand accounts of Admiral Lucien Young, who believed:

the distinctive feature of Hawai'i, where in it is unique among the strategical points in the world, is that I lies at the center of an area so

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22 Fuchs, 1961, p 153
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²³ Fuchs, 1961, p 153

²⁴ Ayala, 1999, p 55

²⁵ Kuykendall and Grove Day, 1948, p 174-175

²⁶ House Ex. Doc. No.48, 53D Cong. 2d Sess., Vol XXVII, p115

great that commercial and military operations across it are practically impossible, except by using Hawai'i as a coal and supply station.²⁷

To ignore the military and expansionist strategic value of Hawai'i as a major reason for annexation would be irrational. These ideals tied in with the conviction in the principle of 'Manifest destiny' that had emerged during the 19th century. In discussing Hawai'i's annexation with his personal secretary, George B. Cortelyou, United States' President McKinley stated: "We need Hawai'i as much and a good deal more than we did California. It is manifest destiny".²⁸ This is substantiated by Morgan's claim that Mahan's ideas were presented:

to the opinion leaders, policy makers, and politicians who controlled national policy ... hardly a speech given in Congress on Naval expansion failed to evoke his name as proving an argument.²⁹

Wealthy industrialist Andrew Carnegie argued that:

Hawai'i was a unique situation, it was not being conquered, the people had a chance to vote—it was necessary to annex it because of the coaling station Hawai'i possessed.³⁰

He believed Hawai'i should be last far-outlying possession acquired. His views support the military and political perspective of the annexation. Mahan's principles regarding the need for annexation focused on the need to muster "menacing and efficient military forces" in order to survive in an imperialist world. These depended on strategic positions such as Hawai'i. For a political military analyst, the annexation of Hawai'i met all the criteria necessary to record it as a deliberate event of geopolitical significance. Specifically, as fears of Japanese expansion increased, "[o]wnership of Hawai'i was indispensable to the defense of our Pacific coasts". Morgan identifies that given foreign powers were focusing on empire consolidation in eastern Asia and the Pacific at the time, the United States had to adopt a stance of Social Darwinism

- 27 Young, 1899, p 288
- 28 Guetin, 2009, p 78
- 29 Morgan, 2011, p 147-148
- 30 Griffin, 2007, p 12-13
- 31 Morgan, 2011, p 156
- 32 Cushman Kellogg Davis, Chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, as quoted by William Morgan Pacific Gibraltar: US-Japanese rivalry over the annexation of Hawai'i, 1885-1898, p 181

in regards to global politics, to either expand their empire or allow it to wither away. Morgan's perspective is reinforced by government official's opinion such Henry Cabot Lodge, who stated: "Hawai'i must be annexed and the navy enlarged to meet the Japanese head on". Morgan's empiricist method of citing the American Senatorial debates and diplomatic analyses of external events linking to annexation enables him to justify Washington's actions. In hindsight, the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941 further substantiated American fears identified by Morgan.

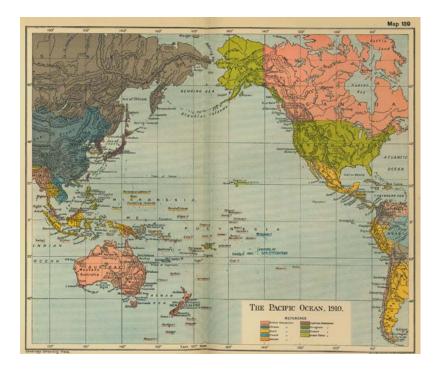
Ultimately, geo-political perspectives present a range of diverse explanations, which shape the interpretations of this controversial incident. Morgan's empirical method of history offers a comprehensive understanding of the political machinery of the American government and the internal division this debate caused. In contrast, Liliuokalani's Whig/Marxist portrayal highlights the personal suffrage and social impacts of an occupation, which she deemed illegal and contradictory to the tenets of the American Constitution. Coffman uses a balanced Annales approach, giving equal weight to both sides of the debate over annexation. Fuchs enhances his annalist views with a Marxist perspective as he examines the economic impacts of annexation on both parties. Young's perspective is influenced by his position as an Admiral in Hawai'i at the time these events where unfolding, through the emphasis he gives to the military and strategic value of Hawai'i, Young takes a militaristic view on the event.

33 54th Cong Rec,. 1st sess. (1896), 3141, 3193-94, 3196, 3240-43.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A: MAP OF THE PACIFIC

Source: http:// images.nationmaster. com/images/motw/ historical/ward_1912/ pacific_ocean_1910.jpg



APPENDIX B: MONROE DOCTRINE

"With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintain it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

ENGLISH

Jack O'Brien

NEST

REFLECTION STATEMENT

In reflecting the Kantian notion of individualism, my Major Work seeks to critique contemporary uses of cyber intelligence by governments to access personal data in the online world. By extrapolating current concerns into a future speculative context the conflict between individual privacy and government regulation reveals the importance of retaining freedom of speech online in order to promote political libertarianism. Ultimately, I have created a work of speculative fiction within a multi modal text in order to explore the conflict between individual freedom and online oppression.

NEST is a website generated by a community of individuals, founded on the values of political libertarianism in the Kantian tradition, who oppose the regulation of privacy online by a totalitarian government known as Vormund in the year 2084. The term Vormund is a German translation of guardian that Immanuel Kant uses in his works, including An Answer to the Question: What is Enlightenment? and Grounding for the Metaphysics of Morals, in which he argues that mankind must be in a position to "us[e] their own understanding confidently ... without outside guidance." It is this notion of paternalism that NEST condemns.

My work has been anchored by research into conflicts between individuals and government, such as Julian Assange's writing 'State and terrorist conspiracies'. Assange heavily promotes the need for information transparency, which has provided inspiration and direction in the function and objective of NEST. Yet unlike Assange, NEST is not concerned with market libertarianism but rather the founding work of Immanuel Kant who saw greater meaning behind individualised liberty in a balanced, structured society. Each article therefore is written with the same philosophical underpinning as Kant, "[t]he punishment of individual free thought must not be tolerated. We are only

JACK O'BRIEN ENGLISH 199 REFLECTION STATEMENT

what we voice" as they 1 strongly campaign against paternalism restricting the actions of individuals, communities and organisations which each 'News Article' represents. Visually, the promotion of Kantian values of political libertarianism and individualism is reflected throughout the site through the slogan 'Sapere aude', meaning 'dare to be wise' in Latin; a phrase drawn from Kant's work 'What is Enlightenment?' which appears as a title bar on each page. Furthermore, intertextual references are drawn to Kant's work within each 'News Article' such as the link between Kant's belief that, "[t]he concept of freedom is the key that explains the autonomy of the will" and the video interview with DLA fighter Alexei Vladislav who embodies this notion.

The website, as a multimodal text, functions as a site of resistance, mirroring WikiLeaks in its purpose to expose and ultimately oppose the exploitation of personal data for political agenda. The title, NEST, alludes to the popular social media platform, Twitter, as a safe and secure place for individuals to 'come home'. The logo of NEST, present throughout the site, was created using Adobe Illustrator; the geometric simplicity of the bird within a protective circle mirrors the streamlined designs of prominent present day news sites; The Daily Beast, Polygon, whilst also suggesting a community where individuals can safely exercise their unfettered autonomy online.

As a multi-modal speculative work, creating a sense of verisimilitude between the contemporary western world and the future context of 2084 has been essential for both the technical and literary aspects of form. The use of website allows for a realism through video and audio not possible in speculative fiction alone. However, by using speculative fiction in its article content NEST takes contemporary news stories about current breaches of privacy of individuals by governments and extrapolates these into the future context of 2084 as a warning. Laura McCaffrey's article, 'Why Write Speculative Fiction', explained that "with speculative fiction, both the people and the what-ifs exercise the imagination far beyond the other types of fiction, making the warning far more prevalent". One article, titled 'Ministry of Guardianship Bypassing Security to Access Home Automation Data', reflects the contemporary issues of data as a global resource that Perry Rotella suggests in his article 'Is Data the New Oil?'. Here, the NEST article, in line with McCaffrey's notion of creating a speculative environment, reveals how "[Vormund] can forcefully access this system and all data on the device

Major Work, Article: Daemon Special Forces Assault Apartment Complex Over Anti-Vormund Personal

² Kant I. (1785). Fundamental Principles of Metaphysics of Morals. Tr. Thomas Kingsmill Abbot (1829-1913).Retrieved from ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/k/kant/immanuel/k16prm/

can be retrieved with ease." ³ By extrapolating concerns about the role of governments in controlling the freedom of online resources, namely data, the need for political libertarianism is evident.

In terms of genre that manifests in my articles, blog posts, interviews and information content, this has been influenced by George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and Adam Bender's contemporary dystopian novel *We, the Watched.* My article 'Hackers Exposed In District 19. Task Force 101 Are Present' uses the tone of Orwell's *Ministry of Truth* "All the rest had by that time been exposed as traitors and counterrevolutionaries" ⁴ as in the 2084 world of NEST "*Black Hat Hackers in District 19 were exposed through an anonymous tip yesterday evening. Within twelve hours, Vormund soldiers had sealed off the surrounding area" ⁵To mirror elements of Orwell's writing, the <i>Ministry of Guardianship* in NEST performs the same actions of invasion of personal privacy as a consequence of surveillance, which acts to warn the viewer through its dystopian undertones. Furthermore, intertextual references to *Nineteenth Eighty-Four*, such as "freedom is the freedom to say two plus two is four" ⁶ and "it would appear nothing is our own except for the few cubic centimetres inside our skulls." ⁷

NEST fully utilises elements of its multi-modal form, with the inclusion of an image slider, two videos, an audio file, external hyperlinks⁸, a blog and a 'donate' function; elements which work cohesively to convey a sense of realism and fully explore the website form through interactivity, user engagement and social interaction. For example, the audio interview 'Vormund Found To Be The Cause Behind Recent Riots Across Northern Districts', covers the interaction between two leading Vormund officials and their plan to use mass messaging directed to the public for their own gain, inspired by the 2014 article 'Text Messages Warn Ukraine Protestors They Are 'Participants in Mass Riot', which discusses the Ukraine administrations method of reaching out to those opposing them through mass text messaging. Here I used the program Final Cut Pro X to alter my voice to enable me to distinguish between the two characters, but more

- 3 Major Work, Article: Ministry of Guardianship Bypassing Security to Access Home Automation Data
- 4 Orwell, G (1949) Nineteen Eighty-Four, p.96.
- 5 Major Work, Article: Hackers Exposed in District 19. Task Force 101 Are Present
- 6 Major Work, Article: Daemon Special Forces Assault Apartment Building Over Anti-Vormund Personal Message Content. Referencing Orwell, G (1949) Nineteen Eighty-Four, p.103.
- 7 Major Work, Article: 11 Dead, 26 Injured In Airstrike On Server Building For FreedomFighter. net.
 Peterspring Orwell, C. (1940) Nipoteon Fighty-Four p. 24.
 - Referencing Orwell, G (1949) Nineteen Eighty-Four, p.34.
- 8 Please note that all external hyperlinks (partnerships) have intentionally been linked to a Vormund page for realism.

importantly to provide a 'voice' for the viewer to engage with as they engage with this contemporary issue.

In order to construct NEST and develop its form, I used Hyper Text Markup Language (HTML) to build a robust, multi-platform compatible site. This coding language can function on both Windows and Mac OS, as specified in the requirements. To build on my basic experience in writing HTML, I consulted Jon Duckett's book, *HTML and CSS: Design and Build Websites*. This work helped me to develop my knowledge in nature and application of the code, and allowed me to create a more refined, stable and compatible site.

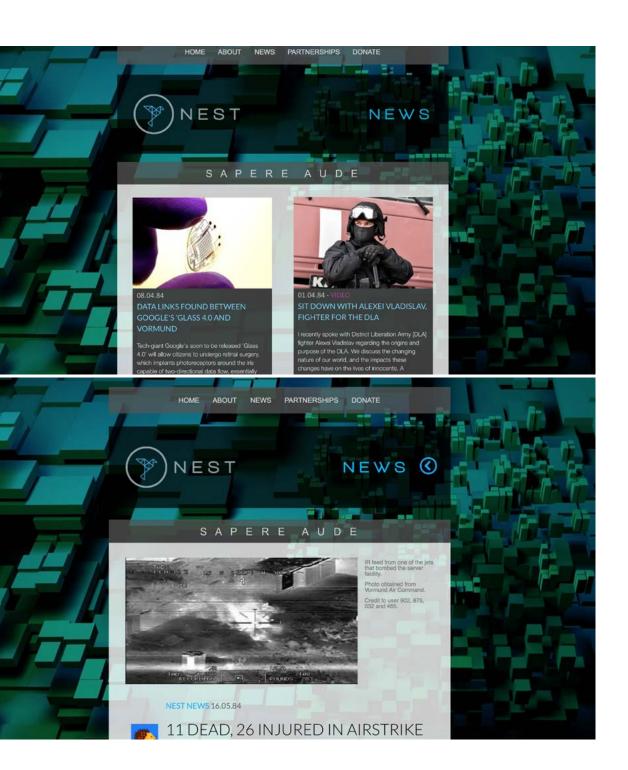
Visually, the website reflects my purposes through the use of an individualised reading path that the viewer chooses as they move through each divided section. Yet the Homepage is divided into three sections as a visual hierarchy; 'News', 'Have Your Say' and 'Help', in order to provide compartmentalised navigation. In particular the 'News' hyperlink is present in two areas on the home page, both in the menu bar and the central navigation, which draws the user to the most important aspect of NEST as each article reveals how present day personal, social and political issues, if left unchecked, will result in a world of over governance. The layout which utilises translucent monochromatic blue, black, white and green stemmed from my readings of 'Viewing the Web as a Cognitive Landscape', an article by Deborah E. Reson, which explores the importance of simple, contemporary design in order to create a professional and engaging experience, with translucent integration and simplified layout key aspects in NEST. The site is therefore intended to attract my target audience who would be active participants in sites with a similar function, such as WikiLeaks.org, cablegatesearch. net and trueactivist.com. Through linking with supporter sites NEST intends to build an online, underground community that will empower individuals to seek change.

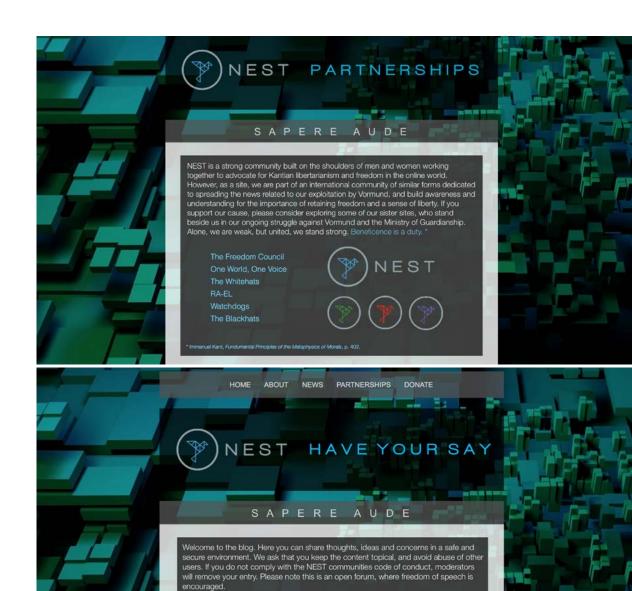
My Major Work is heavily influenced by my core topic in Extension 1 English, Science Fiction—where I was particularly inspired through the study of Aldous Huxley's novel *Brave New World*. Like NEST, this novel explores the impact of government control over civilians and the affect this has on the concept of freedom. These studies not only influence my projects purpose, but also its form—with the Internet and online media a recurring element in many science fiction pieces.

Consequently, NEST functions as an effective piece in reflecting the Kantian notion of individualism, whilst also critiquing the contemporary uses of surveillance and intelligence by governments affecting our personal lives.

WEBSITE









Henry Fisher

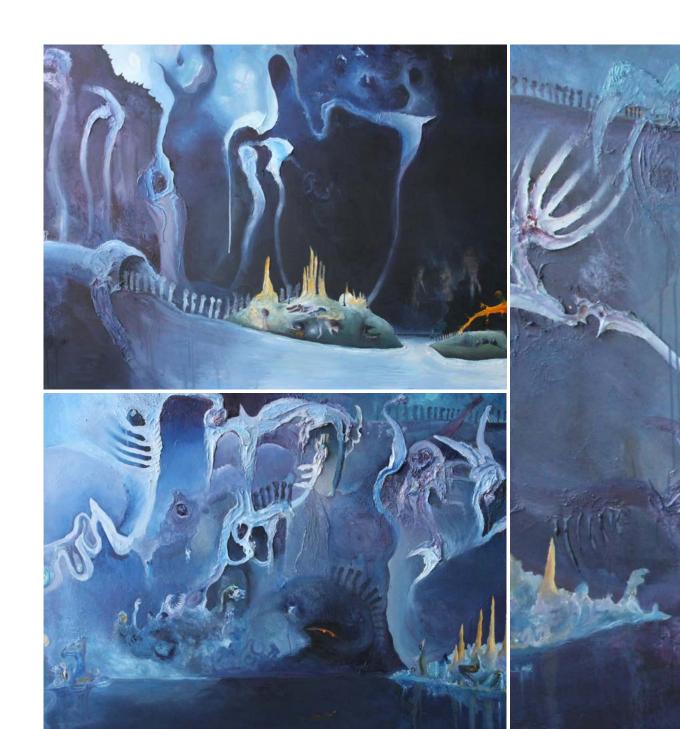
The realm of Moksha (the final pilgrimage at Varanasi)

STATEMENT OF INTENT

The notion of the afterlife has been a philosophical quandary which has perplexed humanity for time immemorial. After my travels to India, I encountered the funeral pyres at the city of Varanasi. For a Hindu, to be cremated here is considered an instant passport to heaven, freedom from the cycle of rebirth. In my work I sought to capture this concept through the development of a metaphysical landscape in which the spirits could undertake their journey. I convey this through the plumes of smoke and the tunneling voyage of the spirits through this unknown world. The oil paints enable the work to glow whilst maintaining a dark obscurity and a level of intricacy. I have drawn upon the works of surrealists such as James Gleeson who also explores realms beyond everyday reality.

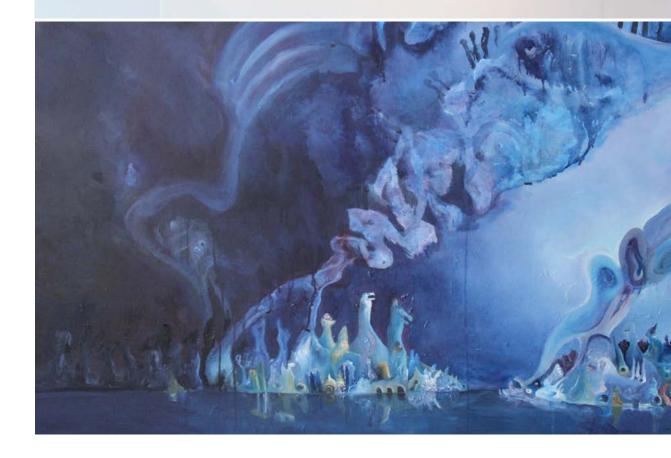


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Nicholas Bosworth

Evaluate the influence of nationalism in the collapse of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia between 1991 and 2006

SYNOPSIS

For the extension history assignment I decided upon the question "Evaluate the primary cause of the collapse of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia between 1991 and 2006". Initially the planned focus question was "Evaluate whether the creation of Yugoslavia in 1919 was a good idea". However after researching this question it became apparent that since the collapse of the federation, and the resulting war in the Balkans between 1991 and 2006, the majority of historians focus on causes of the war and who's to blame for the various atrocities committed. So I adapted my question to better suit the more obvious debate, and the sources, which I had originally intended to use, were reported into this new context.

I later shifted the question to a focus on the influence of nationalism, because there was a clear and apparent divide between Eastern and Western historians, over the blame and the cause of the crisis. Western historians focus on the fault of nationalism and Eastern historians focus on the effect of the West specifically the USA.

The essay analyses the majority views on the primary cause of the federation's collapse. I have chosen to group the opinions I found into three main arguments, which assert that Yugoslavia collapsed primarily because of economic, nationalistic and international pressures. I chose to discuss the 'primary' cause of collapse because many historians focus on one issue and how it resulted in the others, such as how economic issues led to nationalistic problems. Or how international pressures led to economic issues, which accentuated pre-existing nationalistic problems.

I chose to include content written around 1945 through to 2014. The former of this range was included to show how fears of the federation's collapse pre-dated its communist

reconstruction, while the later sources were used because they had the benefit of hindsight and superior access to information. I have also included work conducted during the wars from 1991 to 2006. These sources, while they have restricted access to information allow for a representation of the initial blame that was cast, by whom and why.

ESSAY

There are three main streams of thought around the effect of nationalism in the collapse of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia between 1991 and 2006. The first group of Western historians, including Vesna Drapac, Noel Malcolm and BBC's the death of Yugoslavia declare that the seeds of the dissolution of the Yugoslav federation in the 1990s and 2000s were sown in its creation in 1918. The second, opposing group of historians tutored in Yugoslavia and referred to as Eastern historians, includes Bosjana Isakovic, Ivo Lerder and Serbian documentary the weight of chains who argue that the dissolution of Yugoslavia resulted from the international intervention of the west and specifically America in their attempts to stifle communism. The third and smallest group of historians such as Ivo Andric and Misha Glenny propose a middle ground argument that the mix of nationalities combined with the international pressures resulted in the federations collapse.

The nationalist argument dominates the historiography of Yugoslavia's dissolution. It proposes that Yugoslavia was a doomed ideal; a failed attempt at a self-determined Balkan state disrupted by a bad setup and destroyed by inter-ethnic conflict. In *The construction of Yugoslavia, a transnational history,* Vesna Drapac focuses on how the tensions between the constituent states of Yugoslavia led to chaotic political systems and, eventually, open war. She identifies nationalist issues, including those involving different religions as being at the root of the problem.

Drapac focuses predominately on British, American and French sources as their 'breadth, importance, interest and representativeness' enable her to better support her positions. Following an empirical line, these choices are predominantly due to her language restrictions because she is a native English speaker, with some experience in French. She chooses to focus on the people in power during Yugoslavia's history, an empirical trope. Through her selection of Yugoslav sources, Drapac displays a more annalist approach to history, displaying the nationalist influences of her family background. The majority of Yugoslav sources she cites are Croatian. For example, when giving reason to demonstrate support existed for an exclusively Croat state as opposed to a state shared with other Yugoslav peoples, Drapac mentions emerging Croatian literature such as Ljudevit, a poet who sought to promote Croatian identity

in the Habsburg Empire. A Croatian-Australian, there is clear bias shown through Drapac's prominent use of Croatian sources as her only "Yugoslav" sources.

Like most modern historians, Drapac adopts a variety of historiographical approaches to her work. Citing the post-World War One peace treaties in relation to the accentuation of nationalistic pressures within the federation, her writing is empiricist. Through her analysis of literature to show a nationalist identity, Drapac utilises postmodern and annalist techniques. Writing only a few years after the 1991-95 war, Drapac had little trouble accessing sources, particularly given the popularization of history of the information era.

Drapac's viewpoint is corroborated by the BBC documentary *The Death of Yugoslavia*. Created in 1995, it uses interviews and archival footage to display the events leading up to the collapse of the Yugoslav federation, as well as its aftermath. There is a clear focus on the fault of the numerically dominant Serbians, especially the actions of President Slobodan Milosevic,² in accentuating pre-existing nationalist tensions. The history constructed is empiricist, with interviews conducted with high-ranking political officials, individuals involved in whichever event is being described and explained. The focus is on how those in power lead to larger movements.

The BBC documentary is not constructed as an explicit thesis; the purpose is more to inform. Following the journalist style, explanations of events are very shallow. In keeping with the time pressures of such programs, there is no development of why nationalist problems exist, or why Milosevic chose to annex the areas surrounding Serbia, beyond the reasoning he provided through the interviews. To this end its history is focused on being easily understood, with the fault falling squarely on Serbian nationalism. This was also the most popular view contextually, during the documentary's filming; the Serbian army was consolidating its positions in Bosnia-Herczegovina and Croatia.³ The BBC would have experienced some restrictions with accessibility to sources, both through translation issues and because the region was still in conflict during filming.

Another Western historian who argues that nationalism was the primary cause of Yugoslavia's collapse is Noel Malcom. *A short history of Kosovo* attempts to reduce intolerance of Serbian foreign policy towards Yugoslavia's Albanians to "gain a more accurate knowledge of the history of the region and a more critical attitude towards some of their national myths".⁴ He is extrapolating the problems in Kosovo, which he claims are mainly nationalist, and linking them to the start of the Yugoslav crisis. A political journalist by training, spearheaded by his work surrounding Kosovo and Eastern Europe, this is evident in his book. It includes thorough analysis of the political

system, even when this is not required to disprove myths. Malcolm uses Kosovo as a flash point to unfold how the internal conflicts of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia transformed into the Yugoslav war.

Malcolm uses French, English, Serbian, Albanian and Turkish sources. Malcolm would have needed to have many of his sources translated, because he is fluent in English and Albanian. Limitations derived from the need to translate are accentuated by the large mix of nationalities and the debates surrounding Kosovo. One of the unique problems Malcolm would have faced is availability of sources. Unlike Drapac, Malcolm was writing during the conflict of Yugoslavia, when his movements would have been restricted, limiting his ability to gather information. Through his focus on Kosovo, Malcolm extrapolates nationalist pressures as the cause of the collapse of Yugoslavia. Malcolm's work has empiricist and academic historical elements through his focus on government documents, which accentuated 'Serbian myths' and key individuals who helped shape the conflict. Malcolm also includes annales historiography through his analysis of Kosovo across time, focusing on how geography and nationalities were shaped as well as focusing on how the 'average' Kosovo citizen would have experienced events.

Therefore Malcolm, Drapac and the BBC documentary *The death of Yugoslavia* provide both academic and popular histories from a Western viewpoint on how nationalism was the primary cause in Yugoslavia's dissolution in 1991

The second group of historians argue that it was not conflicting nationalities that caused the dissolution of Yugoslavia, but that it was the influence of other countries, specifically the west and America that resulted in the Balkan conflict. This group of historians are predominantly Serbian or Russian and argue a pro-communist, anticapitalist, anti-western intervention viewpoint. For example, Bojana Isakovic was a Serbian journalist writing about atrocities committed against the Serbian people in the Yugoslav wars, presents another perspective on the role of nationalism in the dissolution of the Yugoslav Federation. The 1993 article 'Hidden side of the Yugoslav war' in the British periodical *Living Marxism*, displays an annalist and postmodern approach to writing the history of the conflict. Her photographic history is constructed to display the impact on the majority of 'lay people' in Serbia. 'Isakovic feels the British ban on the exhibition is typical of the attitude of the Western powers which she blames for the disintegration of Yugoslavia'. 8 She argues that European powers and the Americans do not want these pictures seen, as 'they are the authors'.9

Living Marxism's history is an opinion piece as a journal in the British Communist Party. The magazine suffers from heavy bias against the current British government and those who oppose Soviet rule. Is Isakovic would have suffered similar problems to Western

historians with accessibility to their sources, writing within the Yugoslav Conflict. Furthermore *Living Marxism*'s style of history, with an economic, class-based focus contradicts the arguments proposed by Isakovic because her attacks are very empiricist, while she uses annales styles of sources with her photographs of injured villagers.

Isakovic's work is reinforced by the Serbian documentary *Weight of Chains*, 2010. Released by Boris Malagurski a Serbian-Canadian, the documentary "takes a critical look at the role that the US, NATO and the EU played in the tragic breakup of a once peaceful and prosperous European state—Yugoslavia". Malagurski's history is very empiricist and consists of archive footage and interviews of Americans in power at the time of the federation's dissolution. Similar to the BBC's documentary, Malagurski's work suffers from its focus to inform and shape the public's opinion regarding the Yugoslav issues. This is most clearly observed in his focus on the reason for Yugoslavia's collapse, claiming it was American intervention to stop communism, with no acknowledgement of aggressive Serbian actions within the Yugoslav federation. Therefore both Malagurski and Isakovic provide Eastern perspective popular examples of how Yugoslavia was destroyed as a result of Western intervention.

Another historian who argues that the dissolution of Yugoslavia was a result of international pressures, not nationalistic pressures is Ivo Lederer. Lederer, a Yugoslav nationalist, blames the collapse of Yugoslavia on the failure of foreign consideration during the federation's initial creation, similar to Drapac's writing, however with a different focus. Lerder's *Yugoslavia at the Paris Peace Conferences* portrays the idea that all problems of the federal state stem from its creation, and the lack of understanding and care given by the *Entente*.¹² Lerder links contradictory Anglo-French promises to Italy and Serbia, to Yugoslavia's post-World War One conflict with Italy over Dalmatia; to the chaos in World War II; and the build-up of hatred during communist Yugoslavia: "The peacemakers of Paris rearranged Balkan frontiers in 1919 ... Their handiwork perhaps inevitably did not bring stability to the region". Lerder's opinion is clear; he is appealing to his audience in the west with 'peacemakers' while blaming them for the failure of Yugoslavia. Lerder's empiricist history shows a focus on the people in power and their effect on the majority in his analysis of the post-war peace treaties.

Lederer's use of sources is quite broad: being multilingual there are few language barriers to his work, since he appears fluent in most languages within the former Yugosavlia, providing his history unique insights. Lerder predominately uses Western sources to make his case, presumably due to lack of access to Yugoslav archival sources and also to appeal to his American audience.

Therefore historians Lerder, Isakovic and Malagurski provide both popular and academic styles of history to show the Eastern perspective on how Western intervention caused the collapse of Yugoslavia.

The debate surrounding the importance of nationalism in the Yugoslav crises does have some middle ground. Historians including Ivo Andric and Misha Glenny draw arguments from rival streams of thought. Economic historian Misha Glenny focuses The Fall of Yugoslavia on how the Balkan state's failure to deal with its economic problems brought about its destruction. Born to a Russian family who had left the Soviet Union, journalist Misha Glenny's writing is strongly influenced by this background. His anti-communist political viewpoint translate into his work, making his opinion on the collapse of Yugoslavia heavily biased against Stalin, and the Soviet Union, as appears in The Rebirth of History, Eastern Europe in the Age of Democracy (1990). While writing about Yugoslavia, Glenny was the Central and Eastern Europe correspondent for the BBC. This position influenced Glenny's work, being driven by the constraints of journalism.¹⁴ When he blames the problems of Yugoslavia on communists, Glenny specifically focuses on the Soviet Union's faults in causing the collapse of Yugoslavia. Glenny's work focuses on how the fall of Yugoslavia was based on faults caused by a failure in their economy, glossing over failures in their political system and nationalist pressures. Glenny focuses on the link between Yugoslavia's anti-Soviet stance causing a lack of trade, and thus a lack of economic development. These combined to accelerate existing problems and eventually cause the collapse of the state. Therefore through his singular focus, clear family influence and simplification for audience Glenny shows that Yugoslavia's collapse was the result of economic pressures.

Ivo Andric also displays a firm belief that only international pressures would destroy Yugoslavia. Andric's *The Bridge Over the River Drina* displays how Yugoslavia was a deserved ideal by a people who once united would be strong, able to overcome all national obstacles. By extrapolating his opinion, his argument may summed up as only through the actions of another country, contextually for him the Nazis, could destroy the united people of Yugoslavia. By extension, only international pressures would be the cause for the collapse of Yugoslavia.

Andric was a Nobel Prize winning author who concerned himself with Yugoslavia. Unlike the other historians referenced in this study, he wrote during the 1941-1944 Nazi occupation of Yugoslavia, while he was under house arrest. Andric's writing focused on the creation of Yugoslavia, especially on the people and folk tales in Bosnia. Andric's writing aims at uniting all of the Yugoslav people under a common history, a sympathetic history of existence as the underdogs. The Serbians and Bosnians specifically are depicted in this manner: constantly oppressed and ruled by Turks

and Hapsburgs. For example: 'The Austrians feared an ambush. The Turks feared the Austrians. The Serbs feared the Austrians and the Turks'. Drawing on Marxist historiography, Andric is a pro-communist writer, encouraging the communist unification of Yugoslavia through the portrayal of a common history of oppression of the poor by the rich. Andric's writing was (at least in part) a reaction to the Nazi occupation, encouraging self-determination for the South Slavic region, one not dominated by a foreign power. Therefore Andric writes in a manner that praises native Yugoslavs and encourages their unity. Displaying that together they are powerful, only international interests are what destroy them.

The secessions of 1991 led to a war where ethnic cleansing and other atrocities became commonplace. Historians endeavor to alternatively justify and blame these occurrences by presenting arguments for the primary cause for the federation's collapse. There is a split between predominantly Western and Eastern historians over the role nationalism played within the federation's dissolution, compared to the role of international intervention. There are three main groups that analyse this debate and they are made up of historians Vesna Drapac, BBC's *The death of Yugoslavia* and Noel Malcolm in the Western group; Bosjan Isakovic, Boris Malagurski, Ivo Lerder in the East and the centrists Misha Glenny and Ivo Andric.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Constructing Yugoslavia a transnational history: Drapac 2010 page 16
- 2 The Serbian, Dictator-President who led the Serbian section of Yugoslavia during the federations collapse
- 3 After the fall of the federation of Yugoslavia, the most common western view was that it was all the fault of the Serbs. As shown through Hollywood's focus on Serbian villains during the late 1990s and 2000. Such as in "Behind Enemy Lines" (2001) and "The Peacemaker" (1997)
- 4 Kosovo a short history: Malcolm 1998, page i
- 5 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NfSBAXkA-7M
- 6 Such as the victimization of Serbian citizens or the desecration of their holy sites by the Albanian majority in Kosovo.
- 7 Serbian "myths" such as Albanian anti-Serbian violence or anti-Christian violence were used by people like Slobodan Milosevic to further the conflict in Kosovo and Yugoslavia
- 8 http://www.srpska-mreza.com/WarCrime/Im53/LM53.html
- 9 See Endnote 6
- 10 http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/677481.stm
- 11 http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1789083/plotsummary?ref_=tt_ov_pl
- 12 British and French Coalition during WWI
- 13 Yugoslavia at the Paris peace conferences, Lerder 1963, page ix
- 14 BBC was one of the few main international news sources and had very large market share, along with CNN as by 1990 Fox news was still rising and Al Jazeerah did not exist.
- 15 The Bridge over the Drina, Andric 1959, page 124