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Men at War: Early Lessons at "The Town"
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Last spring I finally got the courage to teach a seminar in rhetoric and popular war films, especially those made during or shortly after World War II. As the bombing of Pearl Harbor is my earliest memory, I was literally weaned on such movies and made no distinction between what I saw on the screen and the war itself. Like Jeanine Basinger confesses in the introduction to her admirable study of World War II combat films, I expected the enemy in my backyard everyday. Why? In her words, "I went to the movies. . .and God knows, there they were."[1] Oh, I remember blackouts, shortages, and rationing. And I remember neighbors going to war and occasional talk of someone not coming home. But those memories are no more real to me than those black and white images I saw in the Town Theatre in Waukon, Iowa.

I never had any interest in the history of any war. I don't care if there was or was not a "Tanaka Plan." I don't care what the real turning point was in "The Battle of the Bulge" or even if Der Feuhrer is alive and well and living in Argentina. I care about war "films" because I learned from them values, senses of right and wrong, and notions about patriotism and freedom and courage and manliness. They placed images in my head of strange looking people from such far away places as Brooklyn and Tennessee, England and France, and, oh yes, from Germany and Japan. In simplest terms, I learned the lessons that World War II films had to teach and it is the manner in which those lessons were taught that continues to fascinate me. These unique specimens of rhetorical art represent the finest and most sincere efforts of propagandistic expression by many of the most creative people in Hollywood during a time of real international crises.

Viewed as rhetoric, war movies function as either rhetorical history or historical rhetoric. If they are made after a war and offer some justification or critique of that experience as word to the wise, they are rhetorical history (rhetoric in the guise of history). Films like **Battleground** and **Halls of Montezuma** comment on World War II. the **Bridges at Toko-Ri** and **Pork Chop Hill** do the same for the Korean conflict, and the contemporary "Rambo" makes it apparent that we could have "won" in Viet Nam if only we had turned "our boys" loose.[2] Such films shape history to a point of view and invent whatever is necessary to fill in the blanks. Movies made during wars, on the other hand, while also inventive, present rhetoric in the guise of truth and are structured to inspire qualities necessary to persevere in war and to accept as necessary the sacrifices already made. They remain as a repository of the real feelings and images of a people caught up in events deeply affecting their lives. Created as rhetoric, they remain authentic history of their times - a history of what deeply affected people like me.

The first lesson I understood was that killing for your country was praiseworthy if God was on you side. Although Bob Dylan would later question that presumption, boxing champion Joe Louis had no such doubts in the film, **This is the Army**. He says to Gerorge Murphy, "All I know is that I'm in Uncle Sam's army and we are on God's side."[3]

The best teacher of that lesson was Gary Cooper as Sergeant Alvin York. In **Sergeant York**, made just before Pearl Harbor, York, born again to a life of Christian pacifism, confronts the conflict between God and Caesar, finally deciding that killing to save lives was O.K. with the Lord. The scene with York sitting on a mountain, his dog at his side, wind and light combining to direct his eye to the proper passage of scripture, remains a classic image in the history of filmic rhetoric.[4]

Like **Sergeant York**, war films often cast clergymen in important roles. "We got our chaplains. What we need is killers," said the recruiting officer in **Gung Ho**.[5] Men of God like Pat O'Brien in **The Fighting 69th** and Preston Foster in **Guadalcanal Diary** made it clear that there was no room in war for "turning the other cheek." When the time was right they too could do their duty.[6]

The Norwegian pastor in **Edge of Darkness**, convinced that violence was against the will of God, speaks against armed resistance against the Nazi occupiers. but as resistance leaders are being forced to dig their own mass graves, the pastor finally appears in the church belfry in full clergical garb and calmly sub-machine guns rows of Germans, as the masses advance singing "A Mighty Fortress is our God."[7]

Both during the war and after, Americans spoke openly and often against the practice of Japanese "kamikazes," or suicide pilots, but, at the same time, we were teaching the lesson that giving your life for your country was the highest form of patriotism. World War II films thus are filled with scenes of people making the ultimate sacrifice. Moreover, films like **Wake Island**, **Bataan**, and **Sahara** were made at the time when America was suffering setbacks and desperately needed time to prepare for an all-out war effort. Humphrey Bogart's speech to his little band of soldiers in **Sahara** essentialized the national messages, "Dig in and hold on!"[8]

Audiences who watched **Wake Island** and **Bataan** knew they were watching stories of islands actually taken by the Japanese. **Bataan** depicted that defeat as the story of thirteen people who stayed behind the evacuating troops to delay the enemy. One by one they meet their Maker, none more heroically than George Murphy, who, fatally wounded, dives his plane into a vital bridge. This act of patriotism beyond the call of duty inspires the group's conscientious objector, who, ill with malaria, finally assaults the enemy with hand grenades.

Before the film's heroic last stand, **Bataan**'s central character comforts one of his men who has realized none will survive their assignment with the words that it does not matter where one dies as long as one dies for freedom. Heady stuff for a wide-eyed youngster in a movie theatre in Iowa. Then the hero and role model, Robert Taylor, digs his own grave and uses it, as long as he can, for his last fox hole. Also, heady stuff.

The lessons learned about our enemies from World War II movies were exactly what one might expect and a little more so. We learned that the Germans were stupid and cruel, dedicated to the false notion that they were a super race and to the false principle that might makes right and that only the strong should survive. While not all Germans were depicted as equally evil, the lesson was still clear. Judith Anderson, a captive Norwegian in **Edge of Darkness**, showed us how to treat good Germans, at least in times of war. What did she do to the German she could not help loving? With a tear in her eye, she shot him!

Of the many refutations of self-professed German superiority, my two favorites are from **Tarzan Triumphs** and **Pimpernel Smith**. In the first, Tarzan lures a Nazi officer into a pit with a lion to be devoured according to the true law of "Social Darwinism," the law of the jungle. Shortly thereafter Cheetah chatters into a microphone and is mistaken for Hitler by the Germans who hear him.[9] Not very "heady," but good fun nonetheless.

There is also plenty of "fun" in **Pimpernel Smith**, which remains an eloquent and final testimony to the values and patriotism of Leslie Howard. Based on **The Scarlet Pimpernel**, in which Howard had also starred, **Pimpernel Smith** tells the story of an effete elitist Archeologist, Professor Horatio Smith, who constantly outwits boorish Germans to rescue great artists and intellectuals from the Nazi concentration camps.[10]

During the course of the action, the protagonist, Professor Smith, confronts the antagonist, the slovenly, corpulent, tasteless, and witless General von Graum, played, British accent and all, by Francis Sullivan. Various cat and mouse games ensue, all relating to their contrasting feelings about cultural superiority. They spar over whether Shakespeare was English or German and whether or not "Twas Brillig" makes any sense, but, in the final analysis, it comes down to Von Graum's gun versus Smith's wit and eloquence. It is no cosntest as the slight Professor foretells to Von Graum the impending German nightmare in a way that can now strike only as prophecy and truth. As his final "parting shot," Smith tells Von Graum that a discovered relic proved conclusively that the notion of an ancient Aryan civilization was a myth. "You will never rule the world because you are doomed," says the Professor. "All of you who have demoralized a nation are doomed. Tonight you will take the first step on a road on which there is no turning back. You will have to go on and on from one madness to another, leaving behind you misery and hatred. And still you will have to go on because you will find no horizon and see no dawn until at last you are lost and destroyed. You are doomed, Captain of Murderers, and one day sooner or later you will remember my words."

In World War II films the Japanese were depicted as hypocritical savages, who had knifed us in the back at Pearl Harbor and who had no regard for the civility of war in any manner whatsoever. In **Wake Island**, they shot an unarmed American flyer who was parachuting from his downed plane. In **Destination Tokyo**, a downed Japanese flyer, in a perfect "Pearl Harbor metaphor," knifes in the back the American seaman who is trying to pull him to safety.[11] And so on and so on.

Of all such depictions, I recall most vividly the scene in **Guadalcanal Diary** where veteran Lloyd Nolan tells the youthful Richard Jaeckle that he will get used to killing. Besides, he added, Japs aren't "people." Jaeckle learned quickly. He pretended to be dead in order to fool the Japanese. Then, as they walked past him, he shot them in the back, saying "That's what you taught me, Tojo." Small wonder "Town" audiences stood and cheered for speeches delivered respectively by Dana Andrews in **The Purple Heart** and by Henry Hull in **Operation Burma**

As the leader of captured flyers accused of bombing Japanese civilians, Andrews has watched his men endure torture and humiliation and finally choose death rather than cooperate with the enemy. Finally speaking his mind, at the conclusion of **Purple Heart**, Andrews warns his captors that they have underestimated the depth of American indignation against those who wanted and started the war, a feeling, he said, so strong that it would prompt the Americans to blow the "dirty little empire" of the Japanese off "the face of the earth." He says that American flyers would come by day and by night. "They'll blacken your skies and burn your cities to the ground until you get down on your knees and beg for mercy."[12]

In **Operation Burma**, in one of the most repulsive scenes of World War II films, Errol Flynn discovers his best friend horribly mutilated. We see only a portion of a bloody trouser, then watch Flynn's face as he hears his friend's weak and pleading voice begging him to kill him. When he mercifully dies, Flynn says, "Syd, I never thought I'd be glad to see you dead." Hull is less restrained. "I thought I've seen or read about everything one man can do to another," he shouts, "from the torture chambers of the middle ages to the gang wars and lynchings of today. But this - this is different. This was done by people who claim to be civilized. Civilized! They're degenerate, moral idiots. Stinking little savages! Wipe them out I say. Wipe them off the face of the earth."[13] Were we killing to save lives, like Sergeant York, at Hiroshima and Nagasaki? Or were we vengefully administering genocide to a sub-human population? In Waukon, at "The Town," it was six of one and a half dozen of the other.

Wheras much of what I learned at that time about war was relevant to a particular war in which I was too young to engage, I could not help feeling that I was never going to "grow up" until I had confronted and passed through the "combat experience." Basinger takes the position that the "powerful and dark films about war" taught her that

"war is a terrible thing" and, thus, she concludes, "The best anti-war film has always been the war film."[14] I cannot agree.

I viewed the "war film" from a "male perspective," unconscious as that perspective may have been. I viewed the films as someone who would be expected to put on a uniform and take up arms for his country, not as someone who might be expected to keep the home fires burning or send my sweetheart off to war. I thus identified with Robert Walker as he boarded the troop train in **Since You Went Away**, not with Jennifer Jones when she received the news of his death in combat. I retained admiration, of course, for such brave females as Greer Garson as "Mrs. Miniver" and Claudette Colbert and Jennifer Jones in **Since You Went Away**. I recall the stoicism of Selena Royale in **The Fighting Sullivans** when she got the news that all five of her sons went down on the same ship. And I remember the combat heroism of Veronica Lake and the other nurses in **So Proudly We Hail**. I can understand why females might see the war films' depiction of "war as hell" as anti-war.[15] All that missed the point though, as far as I was concerned. War indeed may be hell, but hell was something that perhaps must be confronted before one reached full manhood and went to where that "Star Spangled Banner" was waving.[16] Thus war films to me were a preparation for what I thought was an inevitable confrontation-a confrontation I was taught to welcome. As such, all these films were pro-war. They taught me that killing could be moral and that dying for my country was the highest expression of patriotism. How could such lessons be anti-war?

Almost all soldiers in World War II films were "grown-ups," but in most of these pictures there was at least one "kid" with whom I could identify. Whether Robert Walker in **Bataan**, Farley Granger in **The Purple Heart**, or Richard Jaeckel in **Guadalcanal Diary**, the kids could not reach manhood until they had successfully confronted both the enemy and their own fears. Walker died a "man" after he finally "got his Jap" and Granger, after holding up under torture, walked proudly to his death. Jaeckle's reward for surviving the battle of Guadalcanal? He sprouted a whisker.

The connection between the military experience and the male rite of passage was more explicitly pronounced in post World War II films, like **Sands of Iwo Jima**, [17] where there were more kids than grown-ups and where the films began in training camps instead of combat zones and had professional sergeants such as John Wayne and James Whitmore and Richard Widmark as the midwife heroes entrusted with transmitting to the "boys" the proper lessons of the culture. I knew to what extent my mind had been affected by them while recently rewatching a scene from **Battle Cry** which I had digested uncritically in 1955. In that scene, the Colonel, Van Heflin, put his career on the line to get "his boys" the chance to "hit a beach" first to prove themselves before the war was over.[18] What was it the great patriot said? "Give me 'manhood' or give me death?" Or something like that?

In the film **Bridges at Toko Ri**, the Admiral, Frederic March, tells his favorite pilot, William Holden, that one cannot choose one's war , that one must fight when called upon no matter if things made sense or not. As March predicted, Holden lays aside his doubts and does his "job" before dying alone in a ditch in Korea, far away from friends and family. After hearing of Holden's death, March solemnly watches planes taking off for more combat and pays eloquent tribute to Holden's memory by asking, "Where do we get such men?" If I had known in 1955 what I now sense is true, I would have raised my hand. And when I had been recognized by my teacher, Professor March, I would have proudly answered: "From right here in the 'Town.' From right here in Waukon, Iowa."[19]

Notes

[1] Jeanine Basinger. **The World War II Combat Film: Anatomy of a Genre**. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986, p.x.

[2] **Battleground** (Directed by William Wellman. Screenplay by Harry Brown and James Edward Grant, based on a story by Brown. MGM, 1949) endorses the need for military preparedness in light of the dangers of fascism. **Halls of Montezuma** (Directed by Lewis Milestone. Screenplay by Michael Blankfort. 20th Century-Fox, 1951) supports American involvement in world affairs. **The Bridges at Toko Ri** (Directed by Mark Robson. Screenplay by Valentine Davies, based on the novel by James Michener. Paramount, 1955) and **Pork Chop Hill** (Directed by Lewis Milestone. Screenplay by James Webb. United Artists, 1959) give expression to "The Domino Theory." Taken as a whole, such films articulate the premises of the national mind-set that made the United States predisposed toward involvement in Southeast Asia.

[3] In *With God on Our Side*, Bob Dylan reveals that his attitudes toward war and particular wars had been shaped by the manner through which he had been taught and by the manner through which he had uncritically learned justifications for questionable war policies.

This is the Army Directed by Michael Curtiz. Screenplay by Casey Robinson and Captian Claude Binyon, based on a stage show by Irving Berlin. Warner Brothers, 1943.

[4] **Sergeant York**. Directed by Howard Hawks. Screenplay by Abem Finkel, Harry Chandlee, Howard Koch and John Huston, based on the diary of Sergeant Alvin C. York. Warner Brothers, 1941.

[5] **Gung Ho!** Directed by Ray Enright. Screenplay by Lucien Hubbard, based on the story by Captain W.S. LeFrancois. Additional dialogue by Joseph Hoffman. Republic, 1943.

[6] **The Fighting 69th.** Directed by William Keigthley. Screenplay by Norman Reilly Raine, Fred Niblo, Jr. and Dean Franklin. Warner Brothers, 1940.

Guadalcanal Diary. Directed by Lewis Seiler. Screenplay by Lamar Trotti; adaptation by Jerry Cady, based on the book by Richard Tregaskis. 20th Century-Fox, 1943.

[7] **Edge of Darkness.** Directed by Lewis Milestone. Screenplay by Robert Rossen, based on the novel by William Woods. Warner Brothers, 1943.

[8] **Wake Island.** Directed by John Farrow. Screenplay by W.R. Burnett and Frank Butler, from the records of the USMC. Paramount, 1942.

Bataan. Directed by Tay Garnett. Screenplay by Robert D. Andrews. MGM, 1943.

Sahara. Directed by Zoltan Korda. Screenplay by John Howard Lawson and Korda, adapted by James O'Hanlon from a story by Philip MacDonald based on an incident in the Soviet photoplay, *The Thirteen.* Columbia, 1943. In his speech, Bogart asks: "Why Bataan? Why Correigador?" He answers: "Maybe they were all nuts. but there's one thing they did do. They delayed the enemy until we got strong enough to hit him harder than he was hitting us. I ain't no general, but it seems to me that's one way to win."

[9] **Tarzan Triumphs.** Directed by William Thiele. Screenplay by Ray Chanslor and Carroll Young, based on a story by Carroll Young. RKO, 1943. In the film, Tarzan declares war on the Nazi's after his son, Boy, is captured. During the course of the film, both Boy and chimpanzee Cheetah shoot Nazis.

[10] **Pimpernel Smith.** Produced and directed by Leslie Howard. Screenplay by Natole DeGrunwald, based on an original story by A.B. MacDonell and Wolfgang Wilhelm. British National Films, 1941. If one seeks eloquence in World War II films, one should begin with Charlie Chaplin's speech at the conclusion of **The Great Dictator** (written, produced, and directed by Charlie Chaplin. United Artists, 1940.) Chaplin plays the duel role of a Jewish barber who is mistaken for Hynkel, the Great Dictator, and, in such a mistaken identity, addresses a Nazi rally with a plea for peace and a recognition by the peoples of the whole world of their common humanity.

[11] **Destination Tokyo.** Directed by Delmer Daves. Screenplay by Daves and Albert Maltz, based on an original story by Steve Fisher. Warner Brothers, 1943.

[12] **The Purple Heart.** Directed by Lewis Milestone. Screenplay by Jerome Cady, from a story by Melville, Crossman. 20th Century-Fox, 1944. Melville Crossman was producer Darryl Zanuck's pseudonym.

[13] **Operation Burma.** Directed by Raoul Walsh. Screenplay by Ranald MacDougall and Lester Cole, based on a story by Alvah Bessie. Warner Brothers, 1945. In The Star-Spangled Screen, (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1985, pp. 226-228), Bernard F. Dick notes that the "Hull speech" was created by MacDougall who changed Cole's draft from "There's nothing Japanese about torture. You'll find it wherever you find fascists. There are even people who call themselves Americans who'd do it too." Leftists Cole and Bessie protested the altered version, but producer Jerry Wald went with MacDougall.

[14] **Basinger, p.x.**

[15] **Mrs. Miniver.** Directed by William Wyler. Screenplay by Arthur Wimperis, George Froeschel, James Hilton and Claudine West, based on the book by Jan Struther. MGM, 1942.

Since You Went Away. Directed by John Cromwell. Screenplay by David O. Selznick, based on the book by Margaret Buell Wilder. United Artists, 1944.

The Fighting Sullivans. Directed by Lloyd Bacon. Screenplay by Mary C. McCall, from a story by Edward Doherty and Jules Schermer. 20th Century-Fox, 1944. The Sullivans lived in Waterloo, Iowa, ninety miles down the road from Waukon.

So Proudly We Hail. Directed by Mark Sandrich. Screenplay by Allan Scott. Paramount, 1943.

Dick thoughtfully discusses the role of women in World War II films (pp. 173-187) and **Basinger** gives special treatment to the "combat film" as a variation of the "women's film" (pp. 223-245).

[16] Elton Britt's popular World War II country song, "There's a Star-Spangled Banner Waving Somewhere," tells of a crippled boy who is not allowed to join the army and therefore is denied his rite of passage to the special heaven for heroes, the place where the Star-Spangled Banner waves forever. The boy claims he can fight in spite of his handicap and, one senses, if his plea is disallowed, he will always remain "crippled" or something less than a man.

[17] **The Sands of Iwo Jima**. Directed by Allan Dwan. Screenplay by Harry Brown and James Grant. Republic, 1949.

[18] **Battle Cry**. Directed by Raoul Walsh. Screenplay by Leon Uris, based on his novel. Warner Brothers, 1955.

[19] I do not mean to imply that the whole cause of the socialization of attitudes toward war can be attributed to "The Town" or the "movies." World War II films, by and large, were products of the society in general and the messages therein were reinforcing the prevailing attitudes of the times. So were families, churches, and schools, The "lessons" taught through World War II films thus had many schoolrooms, but in "The Town," especially for youngsters like myself, they were taught so well.

Up in the Air: Aristophanes, Socrates, and THE CLOUDS
Tully P. Daniel

> *The Graces, seeking a precinct imperishable,*
> *Found it in the spirit of Aristophanes.*   Plato[1]

Aristophanes is undoubtedly the first creative genius of Western comedy and by common consent one of the supreme masters of his craft. That judgment is necessarily based on only a quarter of his output—of the forty or so plays Aristophanes evidently wrote, eleven have come down to us bearing his name. Yet even here Aristophanes has been more fortunate than almost any other Greek poet. Out of the work of some fifty Athenian comic dramatists whose careers overlapped Aristophanes, not a single play has survived. Thus, almost all of our ideas concerning Greek Old Comedy are derived from a study of his plays.

The results of this intensive scrutiny have produced mixed results at best. Critics, both ancient and modern, have found themselves faced with an abundance of problems: What to make of the peculiar mix of haunting lyric poetry and obscene bawdry? Can surreal fantasy and lampoon denote a higher moral concern? Are Aristophanes' own frequent claims about the "serious" purpose of his plays to be taken seriously?

Perhaps no other play so well exemplifies the critical dilemma as does **The Clouds** and its wonderful, ragging satire of the sophists. But is the portratit of Socrates a willful act of malicious slander by Aristophanes? Why did this young and intelligent playwright present the wisest and most virtuous man of his time as a ridiculous and improbable buffoon?

An attempt to answer these questions might well begin with a look at the culture of fifth century Greece that provides both the background and material for **The Clouds**. As a result of the intellectual curiosity that distinguished the Greeks, two new developments were beginning to conflict with the traditional beliefs and practices of Greek society. One was scientific speculation on the structure of the universe, leaving little room for the traditional gods. The second development relevant to **The Clouds** is the growth of interest in the techniques of persuasion in lawcourts and political assemblies.[2]

Since the aims of the sophists were largely those of political education, the art and study of speech dominated their educational work. The Athenian public, in spite of a general interest in rhetoric, had only vague and often wrong ideas about the sophists and their theories. The people considered them idlers and liked to include, under the name of sophists, not only teachers and thinkers, but also soothsayers, physicians, and astronomers as well: parasites who got all they could from the State.[3] They were "sophists," since they lived by their brains and charged very high fees.

Thus, Aristophanes' genius for comic distortion and absurdity found a ready-made target in what the audience percieved as the sophist "corruption" of traditional education and values. Here was yet another chance to exploit what translator William Arrowsmith has termed the ". . .enormous cultural polarities. . .which Aristophanes loved to elaborate and which he presented in play after play as locked in a life-and-death struggle for the soul of Athens."[4]

The Clouds is one of the best known plays of Aristophanes and, without doubt, the one that contains the most puzzling riddle in his entire work: Why did Aristophanes select Socrates as his spokesman for the sophists, deliberately exploiting him in a grotesque, and hilarious caricature? It might be useful to note here that the Socrates of **The Clouds** is one of the few portraits of a "young" forty-seven-year-old philosopher, not the older Socrates that Plato created nearly thirty or forty years later when the early dialogues were published.

Also, Aristophanes was not the only comic dramatist to make fun of Socrates—his appearance and eccentricities evidently made him a peculiarly good subject. He is at least mentioned by four other writers of Old Comedy. While not all the remarks are uncomplimentary, he is represented as ". . .squalid (literally 'unwashed'), thievish, and an endless talker indulging in time-wasting dialectical subtleties."[5]

Nevertheless, the main source of the comic Socrates is **The Clouds**; hence, the nagging question—why was Socrates of all men chosen to represent the sophists, whereas he is depicted by Plato as the most formidable enemy of that movement? One authority has suggested at least a partial answer: Socrates may have been chosen because he was a "free-lance" philosopher who never had a school of his own; thus Aristophanes could avoid libeling any of the particular sophistic academies and their wealthy patrons.[6] Whether Aristophanes privately believed that Socrates was a sophist or presented him that way for preposterous effect, we cannot really know. It is feasible that the poet saw similarities in some of the methods and ideas of both Socrates and the sophists: dialectics, aversion to the old religion, and attacks on traditional views, especially of man's knowledge and justice.[7]

It was also traditional in Old Comedy to present familiar faces. Professor Cornford, in **The Origin of Attic Comedy,** argues that the actors wore one or another of set of stock masks representing a few set types: the Boastful Soldier, the Parasite, the Learned Doctor—which in a particular play were attached to the name of a well-known

contemporary figure. (Chapter 8) With his bald head and snub nose, his belly, his bare feet, and shabby clothes, Socrates offered a comic writer of Aristophanes' gifts a temptation he obviously could not resist.

Another consideration having to do with tradition involves the evolution of Old Comedy from the earlier komos. The komos was a convention whose essential elements were invective and abuse. Thus the Athenian comic poet was not just given free reign to be abusive, but that abuse was expected by the audience.[8] There would not have been any question of representing Socrates seriously and accurately. Otherwise, why would Aristophanes gather together the Weaker Discourse of Protagoras, some of the rhetoric of Gorgias, the air physics of Diogenes, the linguistics of Prodicus, and the ethic of Antiphon into one caricature called Socrates?[9]

This outrageous send-up of a familiar figure is not unusually cruel in Socrates' case; in fact, it is rather typical for Aristophanes. Consider his unrelenting distortion of Euripides in several works such as **The Archanians**: Euripidies' words are taken out of context, his plays parodied by willful misunderstanding, and even his mother made fun of because she sold vegetables! Some have noted that the Platonic defenders, angered by Aristophanes' mockery of Socrates, have never come to the defense of Euripides.[10]

Actually, the "harsh treatment" of Socrates in **The Clouds** is surprisingly mild and impersonal. The savage attack on Cleon in **The Knights** is an interesting comparison. Except for a couple of digs at Socrates' funny walk and his general untidiness, Aristophanes completely avoids the personal. We get nothing about the legendary shrewish wife Xanthippe, nothing about the fashionable homosexuality of the Soctratic circle, nothing about Socrates' midwife mother—a virtual gold mine for satiric lampooning that Aristophanes studiously avoids mining. Instead, the charges leveled at Socrates are entirely professional: he is a trickster and a charlatan.

Such observations appear to coincide with the critical opinion that views Socrates not as the improbable victim of **The Clouds**, but as the poet's comic representative of the sophistic "corruption" that is the play's real subject. Whether or not the loose assemblage of intellects, frauds, and 'educators' referred to as 'sophists' could be called a movement was of little concern to Aristophanes. He saw them as a conspiracy of humbugs and used Socrates as their emblem, exploiting the average citizen's warped stereotype of philosophy and science.

Many pages have been written to substantiate the claim that the attack on sophistry in **The Clouds** is a clear indication of Aristophanes' extremely conservative viewpoint—that he considers the prevailing educational system to be the cause of the overall decline of Athens. Critics have eagerly pointed to the few known facts concerning his birth and middle-class upbringing during the glory of Periclean Athens as evidence of his conservativism.

But what of the fact that the Old Tradition is lampooned just as relentlessly in the character of Strepsiades, the Athenian citizen and would-be pupil of Socrates? Strepsiades—his name translates almost literally as "Debtdodger" and is played upon throughout the play[11] is a typical comic hero, who acts as a buffoon to mock the pretensions of his opponent. Aristophanes shows that Strepsiades can be duped only because he had been corrupted prior to his enrollment in the Thinkery. Confronted with new ideas, Strepsiades alternates between extravagant praise and earthy comments which disgust his guides. Thus, Aristophanes manages to parody both learning and ignorance. But these are only two of the polar opposites Aristophanes sets up and elaborates on throughout the play: wise and foolish, young and old, city and country, rich and poor—culminating in the central argument of the Two Logics.

The contemporary classical scholar and translator William Arrowsmith has greatly clarified the central issue of **The Clouds** by rendering the so-called Just Reason and Unjust Reason as Philosophy and Sophistry respectively. (He also justifies his rendition in a lengthy note appended to his cited translation of the play, p.117+.) Here the comic genius of Aristophanes to play off opposites is clearly in evidence. The contest between Philosophy and Sophistry is really no contest. Philosophy has no weapon against the harsh criticisms of Sophistry except bad temper, and the peculiar feature of his idealized picture of the boys of an earlier generation is that his interest is strongly focused on their genitals. As K.J. Dover has suggested, it is doubtful that Aristophanes' audience listened to Philosophy with straight faces.[12]

Even the end of the contest is ambivalent: Sophistry wins when he gets Philosophy to admit that in truth everyone—advocates, poets, demagogues, in fact, all the spectators—are "all Buggers," that is, "have been reamed up the rectum with a radish." (The usual Athenian punishment for adultery.)

Sophistry: Then how do we stand, my friend?

Philosophy: I've been beaten by the Buggers.

(Flinging his cloak to the audience.)

O Buggers, catch my cloak/and welcome me among the Buggers! (Arrowsmith, p.80)

As Cedric Whitman has concluded, ". . .Aristophanes has shown singular skill in playing both ends of these antimonies, scarcely against the middle, but against each other, till both are attenuated and reduced to absurdity."[13]

As far as the poet's "serious" intentions are concerned, we must look to the **parabasis** of the Chorus, where the audience of Old Comedy is traditionally addressed directly on behalf of the poet. Except **The Clouds** is unique in having the Chorus speak **as** Aristophanes, using the pronoun "I." Doubtless this departure from the normal **parabasis** can be explained by the fact that this is not the original version of **The Clouds**, but a revision Aristophanes wrote several years later and put into circulation as a written text, but did not expect to see produced on stage. His complaint against the audience is quite explicit: "I thought you a bright audience, and that this was

my most brilliant comedy, so I thought you should be the first to taste it. But I was repulsed, worsted by vulgar rivals, though I didn't deserve that."[14] Aristophanes points out that rather than depending on cheap tricks like extra-thick phalluses or violent beatings, he has always used fresh themes with original characters and verses. Those who prefer his plays will be famous for their good judgment. How interesting that his pleas are aimed at the wise in the audience, not the fools who understand only belly laughs.

Could he be identifying himself, the clever (sophos) poet, with the Sophists in his play?[15] In point of fact, he uses their own techniques of persuasion and flattery to win the audience's approval.

Regardless of how his characterization is viewed, Socrates remains one of Aristophanes' greatest comic creations and **The Clouds** one of his funniest plays. Some scholars, shocked at what they deem a malicious slander, have reminded the world that Socrates never gave lessons or took money, was not interested in physics, and hated rhetoric in all its forms. Others have tried to show that it was not inaccurate, and that Socrates had much in common with his caricature. In a sense, both views are correct: Socrates was certainly the most genuine ethical philosopher of his age. But even as Plato presents him, he was surely the most adept, if not slippery, dialectician who ever existed.

Possibly the best solution to the "Socratic dilemma" is the one suggested by Aristophanes himself in two lines from his **Assemblywomen** (translated by Benjamin Bickley Rogers), as advice from the chorus to the audience:

> Let the wise and philosophic
> choose me for my wisdom's sake.
> Those who joy in mirth and laughter
> choose me for the jests I make.[16]

Notes

[1]Attributed to Plato by Cedric H. Whitman, "Criticism and Old Comedy," **Aristophanes and the Comic Hero** (Cambridge, 1964), p.15.

[2]K.J. Dover, "Clouds," **Aristophanic Comedy** (Berkley, 1972), pp.109-110.

[3]Victor Ehrenberg, "Religion and Education," **The People of Aristophanes** (New York, 1962), pp.290-291.

[4]Introduction to his translation of **The Clouds** (Ann Arbor, 1962), p.3.

[5]W.K.C. Guthrie, **A History of Greek Philosophy, III** (**Cambridge, 1969**), **p.360.**

[6]**Alexis Solomos, "The Clouds and Socrates," The Living Aristophanes** (Ann Arbor, 1974), pp.110-111.

[7]Ehrenberg, pp.276-277.

[8]Gilbert Murray, "The New Learning: Socrates," Aristophanes (Oxford, 1939), pp.85-105.

[9]Whitman, p.142.

[10]Arrowsmith, p.5.

[11]Arrowsmith, p.115.

[12]Dover, p.115.

[13]Quoted in Lois Spatz, Chapter 3, **Aristophanes** (Boston, 1978.), p.58.

[14]Dover, p.103.

[15]Spatz, p.53.

[16]Quoted in Kenneth McLeish, **The Theatre of Aristophanes** (New York, 1980), p.22.

A Chronology

450 B.C.?	Birth of Aristophanes
431	Beginning of Peloponnesian War between Sparta and Athens
429	Death of Pericles
428	Aristophanes' first play produced
427	Sophists Gorgias and Tisias visit Athens
425	Aristophanes: **Archanians** (Lenaia, second prize)
424	Aristophanes: **Knights** (Lenaia, first prize)
423	Aristophanes: **Clouds** (City Dionysia, third prize) Original version lost; extant play is later revision)
422	Aristophanes: **Wasps** (Lenaia, second prize)
421	Aristophanes: **Peace** (City Dionysia, second prize) Peace of Nicias between Athens and Sparta
415	Disastrous Athenian Expedition to Sicily
414	Aristophanes: **Birds** (City Dionysia, second prize)
411	Aristophanes: **Lysistrata** (Lenaia, prize unknown) Aristophanes: **Women at the Festival** (City Dionysia, prize unknown)
406	Death of Sophocles and Euripides
405	Aristophanes: **Frogs** (Lenaia, first prize)
404	Surrender of Athens
399	Execution of Socrates
392	Aristophanes: **Assemblywomen** (festival and prize unknown)
388	Aristophanes: **Wealth** (festival and prize unknown)
385 B.C.?	Death of Aristophanes. It is thought that he wrote about forty plays altogether.

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Arnold Bennett and the Theatre
Lawrence B. James

Novelist, short story writer, essayist, journalist, critic, and dramatist, Arnold Bennett (1867-1931) was one of the most widely known English writers of his time. His life was one of variety and contrast. He started slowly and obscurely but ultimately became one of the highest paid writers in the world. His work was usually hailed as first class or dismissed as negligible by his contemporaries. He went unpredictably from success to failure, from failure to success, particularly in the theatre. Though he knew many disappointments throughout his writing career, his energy and output were astounding.

Most people who are familiar with Bennett's work know him only as a novelist—author of **The Old Wives' Tale** (1908) and historian of the life of the Five Towns, around which some of his best novels were written. Yet, Bennett found it far easier to write a play than a novel. He wrote many plays—the most successful being **Polite Farces** (1899), **What the Public Wants** (1909), **Milestones** (1912), **The Great Adventure** (1913), and **Body and Soul** (1921). Bennett's connection with the theatre was not solely as a playwright. He did much work in dramatic criticism and production. He knew the stage well. Among the more than two thousand articles Bennett is said to have written, many of which have been collected, especially in the **Things That Have Interested Me** series, are many items dealing with the theatre. Most of these items revolve around a question of Bennett's: What is wrong with the English stage? Bennett saw an immediate crisis in the English theatre of his time and serious reasons for it.

This article arranges and presents Bennett's thoughts on the plight of the English stage at the turn of the century. This study makes no pretense of passing judgement, but is rather an assemblage of Bennett's views on the subject.

Enoch Arnold Bennett started life at Hanley, Staffordshire, one of the half dozen or so towns—which also included Burslem, Longston, Stoke-on-Trent, and Tunstall—in the heavily populated and small section of England called the Potteries, where some of the finest of English ceramics have been manufactured.[1] Bennett was born in 1867, the eldest of six children. His father, Enoch, was in turn a schoolmaster, pottery manufacturer, pawn broker and, finally, a solicitor.[2] Arnold's mother, Sarah Ann, was a quiet, patient woman to whom her eldest son was deeply devoted. He wrote to her nearly every day until her death in 1914.[3] Bennett began his formal education in 1877 at the age of ten at Burslem Endowed School. He showed some aptitude for writing and won prizes in poetry and short story during his five years there. He then went to the Newcastle-under-Lyme Middle School. He remained there for only one year and then entered his father's law office. After twice failing the legal exam to become a solicitor in 1887 and 1888, Bennett began to pursue his hobby of writing by contributing to the local evening paper.[4] He made his way to London in 1889 and there concentrated on educating himself and began to write fiction. The turning point in his career came in 1893 when he won a prize of 20 guineas from the weekly magazine **Tid-Bits** for his condensation of a serial by Grant Allen.[5] In 1897 Bennett met the writer Eden Phillpotts (1862-1960) and adopted the latter's philosophy of writing: to put earnings first, to try every form—the novel, the short story, the play, the article of every variety—from which money could be made. With the publication of **The Old Wives' Tale** in 1908, Arnold Bennett was rich. The novel was to be his greatest literary achievement; it lifted him immediately into the highest ranks of contemporary writers. He was elected to the National Liberal Club.[6]

Like his work in fiction, Bennett's association with the English stage began on a small scale and then expanded to encompass a larger area of theatrical work. From 1899 until the time of his death, Bennett was involved in the theatre. One of his first contacts with the stage was during the period 1900 to 1906-07 when he was a dramatic critic for the **Academy**. Bennett continued to practice criticism for years afterward with most of his later criticism being recorded in his **Journal**.

The vast majority of Bennett's theatrical work was in the area of playwriting. His first plays were one-act curtain raisers, but with encouragement from the manager Cyril Maude, Bennett began to write full-length scripts. During his early years as a playwright, Bennett seemed to have felt the necessity of collaborators; and he did continue to collaborate periodically during the rest of his career. The writers with whom Bennett wrote plays at one time or another were: Arthur Hooley, Eden Phillpotts, H.G. Wells, Frederick Alcock, and Edward Knoblock. In all, Bennett wrote fourteen plays alone and four in collaboration which were published, and another eighteen, either alone or in collaboration, which were not published. Bennett's greatest success in the theatre was **The Great Adventure**, an adaptation of his 1908 novel **Buried Alive**. It was presented by Granville-Barker in London on March 25, 1913. Because of the First World War, the play closed on November 7, 1914, after six hundred and seventy-three performances. However, it premiered as a moving picture on December 13, 1915. It was the first of Bennett's works to be filmed.

Besides writing, Bennett produced plays. His work with production began in 1918 at Lyric Theatre, Hammersmith. Bennett produced approximately five plays by himself, and several in association with Alistair Tayler and Nigel Playfair. The trio's outstanding run—three and a half years—was Bennett's own adaptation of **The Beggar's Opera**. One of the great services of these producers to the theatre was the casting of Edith Evans, later Dame Edith, as Mrs. Millament in a revival of Congreve's **Way of the World**.[8] In addition, the young actor,

Charles Laughton, made a triumphant beginning of his career in the title role of Bennett's last success in the theatre, Mr. Prohack.[9]

Bennett rounded his theatrical experiences by writing one film scenario which was produced and published, two which were not published, and two libretti.

Not only did Bennett take part in the theatre, he wrote about the many different aspects of the stage, recording his observations in articles for periodicals and in his journals. In nearly all of these essays and articles, Bennett spoke of a serious crisis in the English theatre of his time, the "plight of the English stage." Though never giving a definition of what exactly he meant by plight, Bennett did find several "serious" causes for what he considered to be the bad condition of the English stage. Among the phenomena (other than the competition of the cinema and the wireless) which kept the auditoriums empty and, therefore, helped to account for the plight of the English stage, Arnold Bennett named the following: and indifferent theatre public, a deficient supply of plays and playwrights, inaudibility on stage, bad acting, deterioration of a performance during a run, weak dramatic criticism, and bad producing and management.

The Theatre Public

Bennett felt that the public's complacency, insensitivity, and general indifference was a prime contributor to the poor condition of the stage.

> The British stage is now supposed to be in the bad graces of the British public, the theory being that the public has grown tired of it, or at best indifferent to it. For myself, I should say that the British public has been somewhat indifferent to the stage for close upon three centuries. The stage has never recovered from the blow given to it by that masterful ruffian Oliver Cromwell. Even today an organization such as the Church and Stage Guild is regarded as a daring business not altogether creditable to the Church, and millions of people will not go to the theatre unless they can persuade themselves that the piece they are to see is "good"—that is, preaches an uplifting lesson.[10]

According to Bennett, the British public was and had been typically more interested in games, politics, crimes, motoring, and cooperative associations for the improvement of society than in the theatre. Bennett wrote that British theatre attendance was usually less than that of foreign countries, such as Germany, France, Austria, Russia, and the United States. In New York, for example, sixty regular theatres could be found, nearly full each night. (Bennett sailed to America in the fall of 1911, visiting several eastern and midwest cities.)

Bennett described the theatre public as sometimes reacting sincerely to the play and sometimes not. For example, on a first night the audience seldom reacted sincerely because it was interested in the performance only by professional or other ties, or attended to be "in the swim." Bennett liked the first-night audience least of all.

> The attendance at the theatrical first night usually comprises three groups: 1. The professional first-nighters—critics, agents, playwrights, and theatrical advisers. Most of them are bored by the stage, blase, weary, indifferent. They seldom or never applaud. 2. A small intermediate group, partially overlapping No. 1 and consisting of professionals who have some reason to be sympathetic toward the author, the management, or the players. This group shows its friendliness by giving applause which in other circumstances it would not give. 3. Friends of the author, the management, or the players, who are not regular firstnighters. This group is present in order to applaud, it is determined to applaud, and if there is no reason to applaud it makes occasions. Thus on a first night the applause is both less and more than it is on any ordinary night. On the whole, the friendliness easily beats the indifference—but not always.[11]

Bennett seemed particularly disturbed that the majority of the audience left the theatre without giving a sign of their state of mind. This prompted the critic to write: "No! You are not demonstrative. That is one reason why you are so puzzling," and "And you are too easily satisfied with the mediocre and your appreciation of beauty is not very sensitive."[12] Finally, Bennett felt that the public had a terrible defect; it was not a fault: "You lack artistic keenness. You don't care very much either way. No play, no opera, no picture, and seldom a book, is an 'event' in Britain."[13]

Plays and Playwrights

Although he acknowledged the most important element of the theatre to be the play, Bennett found the number of really good plays hopelessly awaiting performance on the English stage to be "infinitesimal." He wrote: "To my mind the chief answer to the question, 'What is wrong with the theatre?' is plain enough. . . . It is in the extreme and notorious paucity of interesting plays."[14] Moreover, Bennett wrote that many adherents of the stage were concerned by what was called the "American invasion"—that is, that the London theatres were occupied by American plays. Bennett contended that only a minority of the theatres were occupied by American plays. Anyway, he was not in the least disturbed by this "invasion" because he found American plays to be even more sentimental than English plays, and the explanation of the success of American plays probably lay in this:

> That the sentimentality is done in a more workmanlike and thorough manner than English playwrights have yet achieved. . . .Further, American dramatists seem to me to take more trouble than British dramatists in the fabrication of an attractive, outwardly novel and easily graspable theme. You know where you are in an American play.[15]

About playwriting Bennett said that it was easy to write a play—at least easier than writing a novel. He said

that drama did not belong exclusively to literature; its effect depended on something more than the composition of the words.

> Consider the affair as a pyramidal structure, and the dramatist is the base—but he is not the apex. The egotism of the dramatist resents this uncomfortable fact, but the fact exists. And further, the creative faculties are not only those of the author, the stage-director ("producer") and the actors—the audience itself is unconsciously part of the collaboration.[16]

Inaudibility, or Imperfect Audibility, of Performers

Like many former and presentday theatrical critics and artists, Bennett emphatically pronounced the first requirement for the stage to be, "to get oneself heard clearly by the audience without putting a strain on the average ear." He observed, however, that this rule was nearly always ignored on the West End stage, since most of the actors and actresses were nearly always inaudible. Bennett complained about this problem in public and in private for a decade or more. He heard with his own ears ("which were in excellent order") hundreds of complaints about it from friends, acquaintances, and complete strangers. Moreover, he personally knew people who would not go to a play unless they were seated in the first three rows of seats. At nearly every play, Bennett was "well placed," but he missed words, "often whole phrases" which were apt to be "important words."[17] Bennett attributed this annoyance to the fact that actors and actresses simply did not know their jobs. Most performers seemed not to have simple knowledge of the elements of elocution. In addition to the typical dropping of important syllables and important words in sentences there were grave errors of pronunciation in the West End. For example, the interpolated "r" between two vowels was usually a problem for the performers. Instead of "soda-and-milk," it was nearly always "soda-rand-milk."[18] Worse than this, English was often spoken with a bad accent, usually cockney. Women were typically worse than men in this respect. Bennett was thoroughly convinced, however, that perfect audibility could have been achieved in any theatre. This point was proven by the fact that in every performance one or two players were perfectly heard, for the reason that they had learned their job. Performers such as Gladys Cooper, Mary Rorke, Frederick Kerr, Dennis Eadie, and Allan Aynesworth were nearly always understood on stage. Bennett thought that generally the older players were better than the young. Moreover, if the British public were not so complacent, the inaudibility scandal could have been "done away in six months."[19]

Actors and Actresses

For Bennett, acting was a "unique" profession which attracted individuals who loved self-exhibition. These performers worked while the rest of mankind slept, and slept while others worked. Bennett wrote that no profession worked harder while it worked, nor more enthusiastically; that was why the acting profession "stands by itself."[20] With reference to the West End stage, however, he said:

> The present is not an age of supreme acting. Supreme acting involves supreme individualities—individualities powerful enough to impose themselves universally on the public. None such is apparent. We have some actors, distinguished actors, clever actors; but not one with native force tremendous enough to become a public legend.[21]

Bennett noted that too often celebrated actors only exploited their individualities at the expense of the part which they were playing. They wanted to be recognized instantly as themselves. This was true especially among actresses. A few actresses imposed themselves considerably by "beauty, charm, grace, industry, and sincerity; but none of them stood supreme by sheer acting." It was a common saying in managerial offices, after the male roles had been assigned: "Yes, but where shall we find the leading actress?"[22] Bennett explained that one of the reasons Shakespeare had been handicapped in Britain (and in America) was because of "stars."

> By the time a star has finished producing Shakespeare, Shakespeare might as well have been thrown into the middle of the Strand and run over by thirteen K motorbuses. Stars cut all the parts but their own; they alter and minimize all the "business" but their own; and they most disastrously affect the casting. Stars are, to say the least, mature beings. As surely as a star plays, for example, Viola so surely you will see a perfect hag put into the part of Olivia—to save Viola's face. And so on.[23]

Bennett wrote that the legend that crowds of talented and trained players were eagerly waiting for a chance on stage was fantastic. The number of players who could act really well in minor parts was "small" and the number of players who could sustain a leading part was "pitiably small."[24]

Deterioration of Performances During a Run

Bennett observed that, generally speaking, performances were not consistently watched by producers. He noted that the first fifteen or twenty performances of a play improved in quality, then the performances began to deteriorate. Performances grew worse night by night until in some cases they reached the point of being insulting to the audience. To remedy the problem, Bennett proposed continuous scrutiny by producers throughout the entire run with rehearsals being called for the slightest lapse. "Nothing like a rehearsal call to bring the slackers up with a jerk."[25]

Dramatic Criticism

All dramatic criticism in morning papers was thoroughly unsatisfactory to Bennett. He thought that no critic could do justice to either himself or to a play when he had to rush to meet early morning deadlines. Bennett proposed sending the critics to dress-rehearsals to overcome the difficulty of time. The situation of the critics of the evening papers he found bad, but not so bad as those of the morning papers. The articles of the evening critics were better; those of critics of weekly papers he found better still. [26] On a broader spectrum, Bennett felt that a critic needed more than time to write good reviews.

> He needs taste, knowledge, and experience. Very few critics, and especially very few daily critics, possess these three. Many possess the third, some possess the second (usually combining it with an infallible partiality for the tenth-rate), and scarely any possess the first. [27]

"Mealy-mouthed" was the term Bennett applied to most dramatic criticism. [28] He said that there seemed to be a journalistic tradition that critics had to handle the stage with great delicacy, with the truth almost never being told about players—popular or unpopular. [29]

> There are players in the West End, mainly women, who never could act and never will act, who make a mess of every part they undertake, whom the entire theatrical and journalistic world knows to be perfect duds—and yet year after year critics will either laud their efforts to heaven or will keep falsifying silence about them. [30]

Bennett felt that it was this silence and unwillingness of critics to be frank and candid that accounted for poor acting and poor producing in general.

> If anyone would like to learn what candid theatrical criticism can be, let him read the wonderful volume of Maurice Boissard's collected articles recently published by the Librarie Gallimard. This book ought to open British eyes, and be an exemplar to British critics. Maurice Boissard is capable of being very rude. He is as rude as Alan Dale, of New York, and far more deadly. I do not declare British critics to imitate the rudeness, but only the frankness, of the afore-mentioned foreign critics. At present their good natured or their sentimental tolerance must count among the influences which hamper the progress of the London stage. [31]

Producers and Producing

Of London producing, Bennett wrote that it compared with that of other countries, it was generally bad—and when it was good, it was old-fashioned.

> Continental managers and American managers laugh at our native producing, so ingenious and so slack. Most rehearsals are slack. A thousand details which cry out for attention are passed over. The producer goes in fear of stars, and often of the second rankers. Rehearsals begin late. They end when someone has to run off to an engagement for afternoon tea. When American plays succeed in London they succeed as much by their American producing as anything else. And when they fail, English producing is chiefly to blame. [32]

Though he termed American rehearsal methods brutal, Bennett favored brutality which resulted in good performances to "drawing-room manners" which resulted in poor performances. He noted that American producing was favored in London for its smartness and energy, and wrote that much more "brutality and much more autocracy, and much more vitality and more finish" were required in English producing. [33] According to Bennett, the person chiefly responsible for a play—after the author—was the producer. He noted that producing did not, as many seemed to suppose, consist only of the arranging of scenery, lighting, "effects," and incidental music of a play. The producer had, among his other responsibilities, the responsibility of acting. Consequently, many of the criticisms directed against individual players should more properly have been directed against the producer. Although he hardly objected to criticism of players, Bennett thought that much of the reviewer's criticisms of an actor's or actress's slowness, clumsiness of business, restlessness, or inability should have been attributed to the producer as well, because he (the producer) had failed to correct it.

> Dramatic critics ought to take a new approach to a play. They ought to remember first, that the extremely important business of casting is the main function of the producer; and second, that all points of speed, style, mood, tone, and business are regulated by the producer. They ought to look upon the entire spectacle as primarily the artistic creation of the producer. They ought to award both far more praise and far more blame to the producer then they in fact do. [34]

Managers and Managements

Bennett defined managements as individuals or small groups who directed the policies of theatres—that is, those who chose the plays for production. Most of these managements were impermanent, meaning that management passed from hand to hand and was therefore, not identifiable with any consistent policies and regular patrons. Bennett acknowledged, however, that not all managements were impermanent; there were still a few

permanent ones. These permanent **managements** produced either musical comedies, or any plays by authors with fixed reputations of success, or comedies.[35] Bennett concluded that most managers had an enormous and contented ignorance of dramatic literature and of the arts in general. In addition, most managers had a lack of curiosity, had a natural tendency to refuse plays, and had a tendency to ask for a new piece while insisting that it be precisely like every successful piece that ever was.[36]

> But managers are very naughty. Most of them always want something that is exactly like something else. How often have Edward Knoblock and I listened to the impassioned and silly appeal, "Give us another **Milestone!**" And how often have I been begged, yea, with tears of yearning, to sit down and write another **Great Adventure!**
>
> Again, managers have such funny rules governing acceptance or rejection. . . .
>
> True, few interesting plays are being written, but a few **are** being written, and it is precisely those few that, as a rule, managers unanimously reject. A famine exists; managers are dying of hunger. Offer them a new loaf, and they turn away from it in fear. "No," they say, "you mustn't ask me to eat that; it's not stale," and go on bravely dying.[37]

The commercial manager's worst defect was said to be his lack of imagination. Although a manager would read a play, he did not have sufficient imagination to picture what the script would be like on the stage.

In reference to impermanent managements, Bennett observed that the majority of them were destined to fail from the start because of either over zealous intentions or "highbrow gentlemen" who took it upon themselves to "regenerate the theatre by presenting a play or player to the public for personal reasons.[38] In either case, the play produced was generally bad from every point of view. In general, the manager was usually one of the chief causes of the poor financial situation in most theatres.

> The financial situation of theatres is difficult, but not more difficult than that of other industries. Theatre rents have enormously risen, but so have business rents. Theatrical accomodation is far too limited, but so is business accomodation. . . . In other industries, faced with a rise of 100 or 200 percent in manufacturing costs, no manufacturer would dream of parting with his goods to the public at old prices. At present the stage represents a bargain sale to which the public is invited—not for one week in January, but all the year round. Theatrical managers are manufacturers. When it occurs to them that, like other manufacturers, they are subject to economic laws, and not living under a regime of heavenly miracles, then the financial situation will begin to look up.[39]

In his autobiography Bennett wrote that the chief characteristic of all bad criticism was the absence of genuine conviction, of a message, of a clear doctrine. If this philosophy is applied to Bennett's writing on the theatre, it may be fair to say he was a good critic. **He did have something to say.** Bennett was convinced that there was a serious and immediate problem on the English stage during the first decades of the twentieth century. He believed that the English theatre was falling behind most other national theatres. This crisis was a result of negligence on the part of all persons connected with the theatre. Bennett persistently exposed this negligence.

One inference that can be made is that Arnold Bennett knew well the world of the stage and its problems; he understood the nature of the theatre. This is somewhat unusual of a man thought of primarily as a "literary" figure. Arnold Bennett, however, showed an arresting understanding of the stage—its nature and its technique.

NOTES

[1]John D. Gordon, **Arnold Bennett: The Centenary of His Birth; An Exhibition in the Berg Collection** (New York; The New York Public Library; Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, 1968), p.9.

[2]Walter Allen, **Arnold Bennett** (Denver: Alan Swallow, 1949), p.11.

[3]Allen, **Arnold Bennett**, pp.12-13.

[4]Allen, **Arnold Bennett**, p.11.

[5]Allen, **Arnold Bennett**, p.15.

[6]Allen, **Arnold Bennett**, pp.27-28.

[7]Gordon, **Arnold Bennett**, pp.40-41.

[8]Gordon, **Arnold Bennett**, p.52.

[9]Arnold Bennett, **The Journal of Arnold Bennett** (Garden City, New York: The Garden City Publishing Co., Inc., 1932), pp. 981-86.

[10]Arnold Bennett, **Things That Have Interested Me, Third Series** (New York: G.H. Doran, 1926), pp.35-36.

[11]Arnold Bennett, **Things That Have Interested Me,** (New York: G.H. Doran, 1921), p.183.

[12]Arnold Bennett, **Things That Have Interested Me, Second Series** (New York: G.H. Doran, 1923), pp.50-52.

[13]Bennett, **Things**, p.125.

[14]Bennett, **Things**, p.125.

[15]Bennett, **Things**, pp.123-124.

[16]Arnold Bennett, **The Author's Craft** (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1914), p.90.

[17]Arnold Bennett, "Introduction," **Contemporary Theatre, 1926**, by James Agate (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1927), pp.v-vii

[18]Bennett, **Things, Third Series**, pp.30-31.

[19]Bennett, "Introduction," pp.viii-ix.

[20]Bennett, **Things, Second Series**, p.34.

[21]Bennett, **Things, Second Series**, p.35.

[22]Bennett, **Things, Second Series**, pp.35-36.

[23]Bennett, **Things, Third Series**, p.19.

[24]Bennett, "Introduction," p.ix.

[25]Bennett, "Introduction," p.x.

[26]Bennett, **Things, Second Series**, pp.40-41.

[27]Bennett, **Things, Second Series**, p.41.

[28]Bennett, "Introduction," p.x.

[29]Bennett, "Introduction," pp.x-xi.

[30]Bennett, "Introduction," pp.xi-xii.

[31]Bennett, "Introduction," pp.xi-xiii.

[32]Bennett, "Introduction," pp.ix-x.

[33]Bennett, "Introduction," p.x.

[34]Bennett, Things, **Third Series**, pp.21-23.

[35]Bennett, "Introduction," pp.xiii-xiv.

[36]Bennett, Things, **Second Series**, p.29.

[37]Bennett, Things, **Third Series**, pp.26-27.

[38]Bennett, "Introduction," p.xv.

[39]Bennett, Things, **Second Series**, pp.31-32.

Employee Communications: The Foundation of Employee Involvement

D. Edward Robertson

I want to preface this session with a qualifier. Abe Lincoln said, "You may fool all the people some of the time, you can even fool some of the people all of the time, but you can't fool all the people all the time." In the end truth **will** prevail. Everything I advocate here only works in organizations when it is the truth, not a slickly constructed facade. As Coca Cola knows, people do know the real thing when they see it. They understand the importance of the time worn phrase "actions speak louder than words." Effective communications work well to facilitate employee involvement in organizations where what is said matches what is done.

We in Employee Communications at Federal Express are fortunate in this regard. Our efforts work because at the heart of the operation is a philosophy based on human dignity, self-worth and respect for the individual.

Here is the way we express it:

> Federal express is dedicated to the principle that our people are our most important asset. As an employee of Federal Express, you are part of the finest team of professionals in our industry. The People/Service/Profit philosophy of our company is based on the belief that motivated and conscientious people will provide the necessary professional service to ensure profits and our continued growth.

An effective communication program cannot mask a weak employee commitment philosophy, at best creating the illusion of concern for the employee is a short term proposition. So now let us begin to explore how communications work in a company with a strong employee commitment philosophy to facilitate employee involvement that is directed at achieving organizational success.

Organizational communication includes a macro level and a micro level. Macro level communicaions are directed to the total organization. Micro level communications occur within each of the smallest units composing the organization. This discussion focuses only on organizational communication at the macro level.

When you ask most people about the employee communication function in their organization they usually talk about macro level programs, things they can see and touch—the company newspaper, video programming, the management magazine, the mass media of their organization that broadcast corporate messages to all corners of the operation. These communications are important because they act as organizational cement bonding all of the organization's parts into a corporate culture of common beliefs, values, and goals.

At Federal Express we have an extensive macro level communications program. Roughly three-fourths of our employee communication resource is devoted to creating messages via print and non-print media. Last year we produced 78 video programs, 52 employee publications, 12 management publications, 23 posters, 130 project communications, and 10 major meetings.

Macro communications facilitate employee involvement in two major ways: 1) building a climate of trust and, 2) unifying involved employees in a common mission for achieving organizational success.

Climate communications reflect an organization's human resource philosophy. They are concerned not as much by what information is communicated but how it is communicated. Individuals in organizations sense how their organization feels about them by how the organization communicates with them. The goal of climate communications is to build trust between the employee and the organization. It is difficult to conceive of an employee who wants to contribute to the organization without believing that the organization is concerned about his/her welfare.

Mission communications serve a second purpose toward encouraging employee involvement. They direct and unify each employee's efforts toward the ultimate goal of organizational success. These communications focus on the organization's mission in terms of facilitating goal congruence and sharing the organization's vision of the future.

I want to focus on climate communications first, and show how they build trust among the employee population as a whole. At Federal Express we build trust in several ways. The act of communicating itself communicates that the organization cares about the employee. I have often heard it said around our company, "I appreciate that the company cares enough to go to great lengths to communicate with me." Having an Employee Communications Department with sixty employees confirms the company's desire to communicate with its employees.

We have several communication programs sending clear messages to employees that the company cares about them as individuals and wants to earn their trust. Our Open Door policy insures that any employee can approach anyone in upper management with their question or concern. Our Guaranteed Fair Treatment procedures provide employees, who feel they have been treated unfairly, a five step process by which the complaint is aired through successive levels of management, and if necessary appealed to a board of review chaired by the CEO.

Each spring a company-wide upward communication survey is administered to all 46,000 employees, asking for their feedback on such items as their manager's effectiveness, confidence in upper management, benefits, pay and company pride. Each workgroup and manager meets to discuss the group's survey results. Then they decide on actions for improving areas of communication inadequacies.

We strive to operate under a receiver oriented communication philosophy. We attempt to keep the employee in mind when we develop our communication plans and programs. This approach stems from two beliefs: the person doing the job knows best what is needed to perform effectively and, communication to employees should be based on what the employees need and want to know. We have a standing rule to analyze an employee group's needs on a subject prior to developing any message. On a much broader scale, we periodically check via surveys and employee focus sessions to see if employees are receiving and understanding our macro level messages. One method we installed over a year ago, called EmpComm, is a monthly phone survey. Each member of our department makes phone calls to a group of employees to appraise the effectiveness of a recent communication effort. Two years ago we undertook a company-wide communication need assessment which identified the top five communication priorities of the overall employees as well as priorities at the divisional level.

The final example of macro level communications discussed here is the most important to our Employee Communications Department because we are the company group responsible for building a communication climate of openness and candor. I remember sitting in a meeting some years ago with our chairman, Fredrick W. Smith, and hearing him state explicitly to our department that he wanted communications to cover the whole picture, to "show warts and all." We do not hide much in our corporate media. We believe if there is something wrong, the best way to get it fixed is to get it out in the open. We tackle the hard issues head-on. Sometimes we have to take unpopular positions and sometimes suffer politically in the short run. Over the long haul, however, our open communication policy and dedication to candid honest coverage of corporate issues builds trust with employees that bonds them to Federal Express.

We encourage employees to speak up on the issues through our brown bag lunches. This program, started four years ago, places our highest level officers in lunchrooms throughout the company during the lunch hour. While the employees eat their lunch the officer delivers an informal talk on a timely corporate issue or project. The floor is always open for questions and voicing concerns.

Total freedom of press does not exist in a corporation, but we get about as close to it as possible. Our major corporate employee publication is called "UpDate," and over the years it has established itself as a credible and reliable source of information for our employees. We regularly survey employee perceptions of all our corporate media. The surveys indicate that the balanced reporting style and the inclusion of employee questions on timely, sometimes sensitive issues, contribute to "UpDate's" reputation as a credible publication.

I do not mean to imply that this happens without problems. It is difficult to protect the credibility of any publication or communication program. Let me relate to you what happens when things take a down turn, specifically with "UpDate." This scenario will illustrate the impact macro communications can have on a company's climate of trust. When development of the now terminated ZapMail service was initiated three years ago, our corporate media began covering the young and promising project. We are a project oriented company. It is part of our entrepreneurial heritage to innovate new and better ways to do things, particularly when they directly effect our customers. This project was the grandest of all the projects. It was a whole new way of doing business. It meant we would start moving customer documents by electronic transmission and replication vs. physically via aircraft. It is not our policy to wait for projects to mature before they are announced to our employees. We start the communication process as soon as a project is officially blessed, which usually comes in the form of budget approval. This strategy has two primary benefits. First, it starts employees thinking about the new project's impact and implications. As they start thinking they start talking, and before long we have a think tank 46,000 strong, involved in the company's future directions via these new projects. Given our open communication philosophy, employee ideas and concerns bubble upward to those people on the project who can use them to make changes and enhancements. Second, employees see this sharing of advanced information as evidence that they are partners in the company's future because they are not left uninformed. They feel they are a part of the inner circle, involved in the plans charting our company's direction. They feel they are being trusted with information that the company does not have to share with them and the company is confident in their ability to handle it.

Operating with this philosophy we started sharing the project with our employees as it developed. When we launched ZapMail we did it with flair. We held an international teleconference on a Sunday afternoon. We invited all our employees to hotel meeting rooms throughout the country to view a live TV broadcast, originating from seven uplink locations in the U.S., Canada, and England, and costing $1.2 million.

We chose the theme "Mission II" to premiere ZapMail as the best addition to the company's successful product line. Most employees at those Sunday afternoon meetings believed that ZapMail was the company's second mission and the key to our future. Well, things did not work out as expected. The market did not beat a path to our door to try the new 2½ hour service, and ZapMail volumes did not skyrocket the way projections said they would. Looking back at our communications during 1984 and 1985, and particularly the coverage given in our "rock of credibility," "UpDate," we reported what was given to us about ZapMail, and in organizations that is all you have. You take it on faith and print it. It is, however, a fact of organizational life that those closest to a project are careful

about what kind of information gets dispersed about it. they tend to accentuate the positive, and we took that kind of information and reported it, much of it within the pages of "UpDate."

In April of 1985, we conducted a survey called the Employee Communication Need Assessment. In that research effort we asked our employees what they thought about "UpDate" and our other corporate media. Most of the feedback was positive, but a portion of it served as a sobering reminder of how big a part macro level communications play in building credibility and trust within an organization. Employee feedback told us that ". . .communications often painted a far too rosey picture of the company's situation, especially with ZapMail." We learned that the success of future employee communications efforts may be based more on **how** we communicate rather than **what** we communicate.

In summary, corporate media programs at the macro level can cultivate a climate of openness and concern for the individual which builds trust. Organizations that care about their employees utilize newspapers, video networks, and other internal media to send macro level messages across the total organization, affirming this care.

The motivation factor in an organization starts with trust, and trust is facilitated through the process of communication. It is my belief that the vast majority of people entering the doors of our organizations want to commit their discretionary effort to and gain a sense of achievement from their worklife. They want to feel that they count, that they make a difference. All the organization has to do is not get in the way; not to do things that de-motivate the individual. At the individual level, an organization allows an employee's innate motivation to be actualized through establishing a climate of trust by communicating respect and concern for the individual, by maintaining openness through listening and answering candidly employee questions about what is really happening, by sharing reqards, and by practicing fairness.

Staying within the realm of the macro level, I want to shift our focus from climate communications to mission communications. I had a football coach tell me many years back "It doesn't matter how bad you want to score a touchdown if you don't know the plays." I might add to that, "and if you are not playing as a member of a team." Getting employees involved is very similar to getting a football team ready to play a game. Half of the battle is facilitating a winning climate and the other half is getting each member working together as a unit, moving the ball down the field toward the goal line. The second half of this equation is mission communications. Mission communications create a sense of common mission and purpose, enabling each individual employee to make that particular contribution which moves the total organization toward successful achievement of its goals and ultimate mission. At Federal Express we see our internal corporate media fulfilling two primary roles for enlisting employee involvement in the company's mission: 1) facilitate sharing the company's vision with employees, and 2) facilitate goal congruency among all the company's operating units.

These two roles are difficult to separate when you observe our communication efforts. Our awareness of them, however, guides our communication planning efforts.

I strongly support the notion that a great organization is an organization with a clear vision of where it is going—a vision of the future and the part of that vision that belongs to the organization. The vision in most cases belongs to the person at the top of the organization. In our case the chairman and founder, Fredrick W. Smith, started Federal Express with a vision of what kind of transportation system would be needed as our country moved from an economy based on heavy industry to one based on a new age of information, where the major articles of commerce would shift from big to small, heavier to lighter, steel to silicon. He saw that a dramatic change of the American industrial scene was approaching, and that it would create a demand for a new transportation system. The speed and reliability of systems adequate for the old economy would not suffice for the new. A new market existed for a highly reliable overnite delivery system and a new invention was needed to provide such a service. The "better mouse trap" he built first took form in a college term paper. The paper got only a passing grade, but the idea stuck with Fred Smith, and it became the vision of what is now a company of 46,000 employees, over 700 locations, 119 aircraft, and annual revenues of $2.6 billion.

Over the years the visionary leadership of our executive management team has been our primary communication resource. One of the most apparent places you can find our visionary communications is at our annual Family Briefings. Each year the company invites all employees and their families or guests to come and learn where the company has been over the past year and where it wants to go in the year ahead. At each of these events members of executive management, including Fred Smith, convey to the employees the company's values and vision of the future.

Organizations fortunate enough to have visionary leaders at the helm have a distinct advantage of building a highly committed and involved workforce. People strongly want to belong to something worthwhile, something that will make a difference, and the more they feel a part of the vision, the more involved they become in the effort to realize that vision. Organizational communicators must manage the vision-sharing process so that employees feel they are an integral part of something that is worthwhile. This identification adds a sense of purpose to their personal worklives.

Finally, at the macro level our internal media mobilizes the workforce to achieve the company's mission by facilitating goal congruence. The vision describes the destination of the company, and the strategic goals are the road map the company uses to get itself there.

Without this final piece of the equation an organization is like a football team, fired up and ready to win, led by

the vision of being a championship team but not knowing which direction to move the ball. Effectively involved employees participate in the overall planning to achieve organizational success, and they understand what the organization must do to complete its mission. Organizations become teams when all members direct their efforts toward the same goal.

Internal corporate media that facilitates workforce understanding of the organization's macro level goals is essential. Two examples from our files illustrate how we work toward this understanding.

As stated earlier, Federal Express is project oriented. New activities develop rapidly making it difficult to keep up with them all. We employees sometimes need a refresher course to answer the questions: what are all these efforts, how do they somehow connect, and is there some master plan tying them to the company's mission? To bring order to this situation we devised what we called the strategic grid (see Figure I). Across the top are our corporate objectives and down the left margin are our corporate strengths. We asked our managers throughout the company to confer with their employees and fill in the blocks with the company's current projects.

Sometimes major corporate goals change and we face the monumental challenge of communicating why a former goal is not as important as it used to be or, as illustrated in the following example, why a new goal is being added of equal importance to a current goal. Such was the case when we began to plan our communication strategy on a project called Cosmos IIB. The Cosmos IIB project puts a bar-code scanner, like those used by grocery store inventory clerks, into the hands of our employees directly involved in the movement of packages. As the package moves through our system it is scanned each step along the way, from pickup to the final delivery location. The retrieval data on each package's whereabouts is fed into our computer mainframe in Memphis. Our Customer Service Centers located all across the country access this data bank to provide customers with extremely accurate and timely information about their shipments. In developing our strategy we decided that our prime employee audience was the courier workforce, the 12,000 men and women who pick up and deliver our customers' shipments and interact face to face with customers daily.

We worked with our training department to achieve 100% data entry accuracy on every package passing through a courier's hands. Our role and the role of the training department for achieving this objective were divided along attitudinal and instructional lines. The training department would show them how to use the scanner and we would help them realize the value of the new technology, understand how their new job duties related to it, and how it effected the company's future success.

As we further analyzed our specific part of the strategy, we realized that we were really changing our couriers' traditional job role by asking them to share a new goal of equal importance to the single most important goal they had in the past. In the past, a courier knew that the most important goal was to get the package to the customer on time. We had built a culture of speed and reliability based on every courier's total involvement in meeting this goal.

With the introduction of CIIB the company was asking the courier to put as much importance on information tracking about a package as getting the package delivered on time. The couriers' primary goal had now become two-fold. We knew we had to launch a massive re-education process to establish the rationale for the company's decision to create the new goal.

For the couriers to be just as committed to and involved with the new goal as they were with the original goal meant they had to understand that the change in the company's overall strategy was based on a changing market place and on changing customer expectations. The new corporate strategy was called product differentiation. In the early years of Federal Express the goal of getting the package delivered expeditiously and reliably worked fine because that was all the market demanded. As the competition heated up things began to change. The distinction between Federal Express and those who emulated our methods was becoming less clear. Our commitment to superior service for the customer required that we offer what others could not offer—realtime shipment information in the market place. We knew that our first communication objective with the couriers was to help them understand the concept of product differentiation and why it was essential to the company's long term growth. Only then could they see the value of Cosmos IIB and accept the goal of gathering accurate and timely data on each package passing through their hands.

The result of our analysis and planning was a communication strategy based on the following objectives. We directed all of our macro media at 1) drawing employee attention to the new corporate goal of product differentiation. Based on employee understanding of this goal we would, 2) build the rationale for the importance of tracking shipment information for customers in order to distinguish us from our competitors, and 3) narrow our focus to each individual courier's new job goal to scan accurately and consistently each shipment. We decided that this final communication step needed to occur at the workgroup level. A manager and his/her people could interpret the company's overall product differentiation goal in terms of their local operation. This would allow the manager to be involved directly in building support for the new goal within the workgroup. We prepared our managers to lead an employee information processing seminar about the CIIB project at their locations. They received a kit to prepare them for that seminar. It included a meeting leader's guide, video tape, checklists, feedback log, questions and answers, and a communication schedule.

The Cosmos IIB communication program is currently in progress. Our feedback to date says that employees are committing to their new responsibility to gather accurate and timely shipment information. This happened because the macro level communication process helped them see the connection between Cosmos IIB and the company's

larger goal to differentiate Federal Express from its competitors.

We have looked at how an organization can use the potential of its macro media and programs to build trust between the employee and the organization through climate communication. We then examined how macro level mission communications channel employee commitment into employee involvement for organizational success by cultivating a shared vision, and by facilitating goal congruence.

To conclude I would like to issue a challenge to our profession. George Bernard Shaw said "The greatest problem with communication is the illusion that it has been achieved." Over the years this quotation has stuck with me. It summarizes the challenge we face to help organizational leaders break through some of the antiquated perceptions they hold about communicating with employees. We must stop playing with communication as if it were an innocuous art form, or even worse, a clear disguise for manipulating employees to work harder. Such regressive notions severely obstruct the organization from ever realizing the true value that a sound communication philosophy can provide, and that is establishing a work environment of openness and trust, where people on the line have confidence to speak out and to get involved in matters pertaining to the organization's welfare, and where managers have no fear of listening and accepting employee input. Communication illusions are not prevalent in organizations with open, free flowing, authentic communications at all levels. There are fewer corners in which they can hide. The organizations that will excel in today's changing economic environment and that will assume the positions of future leadership in their respective markets will do so because they learned to get employees involved in creating the solutions to tomorrow's problems. That means developing an enlightened communication foundation based on openness, trust, and authentic concern for the individual employees.

Figure 1

STRATEGIC GRID

Name _____

Employee Number _____

OBJECTIVES

STRENGTHS	1. Improve Service/ Differentiate Product	2. Lower Price/ Enhance Value	3. Expand Coverage/ Get Closer To Customer	4. Use Electronic Systems To Do 1,2,&3	5. Improve Cash Flow/ Manage Profit
1. Motivated Personnel	—Quarterly Pay Reviews —Quality Checks —Earlier Delivery Communication —Customer Satisfaction —Communication —Pay for Performance	—Q-P Programs —Productivity Improvements —Split Shifts	—Foot Couriers —BSC's —Earlier Delivery	—Prisms —Handheld DADS	—Improved Communication —Health Care Cost Containment —Q-P Programs —CPS Merit
2. Aviation Expertise	—Magic Window —CAT IIIA —Super Mod Program	—DC 10's	—Feeder Aircraft	—Simulator —Aircraft Charters	—Super Mod Program
3. Electronics Expertise	—Zodiac Sorting —ZapMail: International and Domestic	—Polaris —Overnight ZapMail	—DADS —Smart Drop Box —Customer Meters	—COSMOS IIB —Zap —DADS —Saturn	—Automated Billing —Descriptive Billing —Ambassador Billing
4. Size and Scope Advantages	—Space Program —Statewide Coverage —International	—On-call Pickups Hundredweight	—BSC —International —Kiosk —Metroplexes	—Call Centers —Customer Meters	—Greater Density —On-call Pickups —Bypass/Bleedoff —Metroplexes
5. Marketing Image	—Money Back Guarantee	—ONE Improvements —Drop-off Discount —October Pricing	—BSC's —Local Promotions	—Customer Premises Meters	—BSC's —Saturn

Electronic Mail, A New Media Technology, Making Its Way from a Cubicle in Academe to the Corporate Setting
Judie M. Thorpe

Introduction:

Imagine two graduate students, Lee Jones and Chris Brown, both majoring in communication at two different midwestern universities. Presently, they are co-authoring a paper for a national convention on using videotape in different organizational problem solving contexts. As Lee enters his research cubicle, he turns on his personal computer and notices that Chris has left a message. Upon checking the message Lee discovers that Chris has edited the section that he had sent her the previous day and has added an additional section for him to edit. If we extend this illustration into the future it is easy to see Lee and Chris in the positions of Director of Communication or Training in two different organizations located a continent apart. As colleagues performing similar jobs in two different organizations, they often exchange training materials, evaluation instruments, workshop ideas, and friendly messages with each other and with employees located in various parts of their own company. This illustration demonstrates how electronic mail can serve as an application for computer-assisted information flow in educational and organizational contexts.

This paper will define electronic mail, report its present status in terms of usage, explore relevant communication issues for assessing this computer-assisted technology, and infer several economic and societal implications based on these communication issues. Finally, an analysis of the discussed issues will be considered, as electronic mail gains greater acceptance.

What is Electronic Mail?

Although electronic mail refers to any one of a number of ways to send a written message by electronic means[1], the definition used here was phrased by Susen S. Kay, Senior Product Planner for AT&T Technologies of Lisle, Illinois:

> ...electronic mail is a system that allows a sender to enter a message/document until the receiver is ready to accept it. The receiver can generally answer, forward, file or delete the communication. This is technically called a computer-based message system.[2]

This definition suggests how the hypothetical co-authored paper and training materials can be transmitted via electronic mail. To clarify this communication network, Figures 1 through 4, provided by R.J. Spinrad, illustrate the operation of the electronic desk in accepting and sending electronic mail. Figure 1 represents the individual desk that Lee and Chris each have. Figures 2 and 3 refer to the connections that each have in their own organization with connections to the other employees within that network. Figure 4 indicates a method available to Lee and Chris that will connect them with individuals in other branches of their own organizations and with each other. Notice that this last communications server is linked via common carrier networks such as telephone wires or satellite, whereas the intrasite network only connects those within the organization itself. Chris and Lee could also have personal computers at home that would allow them to access electronic mail.

Although this concept of electronic mail may seem futuristic to the uninitiated, predicasts suggests that it will mushroom by the 1990's.[3] According to the **Christian Science Monitor**, electronic mail promises to generate over eleven billion dollars in revenue in 1995, up from 930 million in 1980.[4] Joe Malone, writing in **Communication News**, suggests that the use of personal computers to provide electronic mail is gaining acceptance.[5] According to **Infosystems**, as of June, 1984, there are over 40 vendors who offer computer-based electronic mail systems, almost double the number a year before.[6] In addition to the wide variety of systems and options, the market also provides over ten subscription vendors (previously called time-sharing vendors) who sell mailboxes based on usage or connect time.[7] There is also one vendor, Computer Corporation of America, that will sell an individual mailbox for a flat fee of $60 a month which includes a maximum of nine connect hours and 500 stored messages.[8] In 1982, there were over 500,000 of these electronic mailboxes in use. The electronic mailbox is only one aspect of the marketing potential. There are also a number of software packages available to make the transfer of the message as simple as turning on the system.[9] The truth is that electronic mail is available and ready to alter the traditional message exchange systems used by members of academe and the business community.

What Are the Potential Applications of Electronic Mail to Education and Business?

Many applications of electronic mail to educational and business goals exist in addition to the application illustrated in the above hypothetical example. Hiltz and Kerr reported that electronic mail in an educational setting was used to develop a network of scientists.[10] This network was funded by a grant from the National Science Foundation's Division of Information Science and Technology. One prominent system, the Electronic

Information Exchange System (EIES), designed by Murray Turoff, included messages, conferences, notebooks, and a large number of special structures and advanced features.[11] The University of Wisconsin financed the development of Telemail, an electronic mail system for communication among its network members. Since the system originated in 1976, it has been used fairly steadily. During a two-week monitoring period in early 1980, the data reported 387 registered users, of whom 202 were active, and about 150 messages daily.[12] Another popular application is the electonic mail system at the University of California's Division of Library Automation. This is implemented through a series of extensions to the widely-used WYLBUR text-editing system.[13] Other systems (COM, CONFER, PANALOG, NLS, OICS, PLANET, HUB, LEGITECH) all use electronic mail applications in more group oriented functions that would be classified as computer conferencing.[14] In addition to these more structured systems, individualized applications, previously called Computer-Assisted Instruction, are now using electronic mail as a teaching method. A typical example is student-teacher exchange of papers, designs, and research in an academic setting.[15] Particularly adaptable to leaves for consulting or research sabbaticals, the electronic mail system provides students a continuing link with their instructors who may be in the field.[16] The application of electronic mail to academe is rich in its promise but still in its infancy in regard to research reports.

The current academic environment, however, may not offer the number of applications that presently exist in corporate settings. Kerr and Hiltz argue that there are many commercial electronic messaging systems with no published evaluations and that many systems function within single organizations.[17] Existing literature mentions a few prominent examples. The Continental Bank links more than one thousand employees by electronic mail. ARPANET reports more than 5,000 use electonic messages. Texas Instrument has a worldwide network of eight thousand terminals that handle more than four million messages annually. In addition, just about every major office products company has developed or announced plans for electonic mail services, including Tymnet's OnTyme, Tenenet's Telemail, and Datapac's Envoy 100. Satellite Business Systems, Xerox and AT&T have announced the forthcoming availability of these systems. In addition, Datapoint, Wand, DEC, Prine and IBM, among others, include this capability in their newly designed and introduced "integrated office systems."[18] If there is presently a way that an electronic message can be used, its potential application is being tried. Forbes Magazine reported last July the transfer of a traditional telephone answering service company in Illinois to an electronic message system.[19] Perhaps Brian Ibsen put it best when he wrote in **The Office:**

> Once a decision-maker uses electronic mail, it tends to become an imperative rather than an alternative. It is one of the main building blocks of the office of the future. As computer-based technologies spread throughout the office, electronic mail will become second nature. Just as the local network will provide the necessary physical inter-connection for the office, electronic mail will provide the human connection. Replacing and supplementing the telephone and paper mail for many office and personal communications, electronic mail will be the communication of choice when integrated communications is required.[20]

What Are the Relevant Communication Issues that Need to be Considered with the Emergence of Electronic Mail?

Any communication exchange that is potentially as pervasive as electronic mail has relevant communication issues that one must examine as the technology receives wider acceptance. For example, traditional criteria for evaluating effective dyadic communication, such as the definition advanced by Kay, may prove to be a problem. The standard scholarly study of communication cannot describe and evaluate adequately electronic mail with a traditional dyadic model. To support this claim the 1970 work of F.E.X. Dance, when applied to the Tubbs and Moss definition of effective communication, will not work. Tubbs and Moss argue that communication is effective when the stimulus as it was initiated and intended by the source corresponds closely with the stimulus as it is perceived or responded to by the receiver.[21] They advance the following three criterion to evaluate the effectiveness of dyadic communication: (1) both parties are in close proximity; (2) both parties send and receive messages, and (3) messages include both verbal and nonverbal stimuli.[22] Electronic mail can only meet partially the three criteria. Simply put, traditional definitions advanced by communication scholars break down when applied to technologically based media. Electronic mail has, however, certain advantages that may create its own criterion. Consider the following four potential advantages of electronic mail over face-to-face message exchange. First, electronic mail is an extremely fast message sender and eliminates the problem of sender and receiver being in close proximity. As soon as the message is sent, Susen Kay argues, it can be received on the other end if the receiver is physically present and wants to receive it. Second, electronic mail promises to be cost effective. The message may be composed off-line and only accrues line charges when it is being "mailed" with the help of the modem. As such, it can prove less costly than Federal Express or the other overnight couriers. Third, the message can be edited and adapted quickly as a feedback mode if both parties are at their electronic desk at the same time. Fourth, electronic mail messages can be in the form of a written communication. Unlike the phone message or conversation which is generally considered over when both parties terminate the conversation, electronic mail can provide a written form of the message that can be read over and over. Because electronic mail does not match the criteria of effective communication advanced by traditional communication scholars it should generate some important criteria of its own. It can be argued that electronic mail promises to be fast, efficient, and cost effective when compared to the cost of travel time, and easier to document than phone conversations.[23]

The above communication issues, when examined by traditional concepts of effective dyadic communication, do not yield understanding when applied to electronic mail. This suggests that communication scholars should reformulate their models and theories so that they can apply to the developing computer-based communication technology that is becoming an important, if not the most important form, of communication. Dance's advice given in 1967 seems apropos here, when he observed, "A communicative transaction changes in the very act of examining it. No single particular operates apart from the totality of forces at work in the event itself. Changes in any one aspect of the process invariably affect all other constituent aspects of behavior."[23] Indeed, the channel, message, receiver and sender and feedback mechanisms all exist with electronic mail. To gauge its effectiveness, communication scholars must refocus their models and theories if they are to be relevant and serviceable to the discipline.

What Potential Positive Implications Does Electronic Mail Promise to Users and Society in General?

The benefits of electronic mail haves not been strongly established by research. Its influence is argued for however, by Kerr and Hiltz.[24] First, the potential for new markets as a result of computer-mediated communications systems is argued.[25] Electronic mail, as well as other computer-based communication systems, will create new markets for education hardware and software. They further argue that increased use can potentially shift people from urban to rural settings.[26] Perhaps it will not be long before more people, like the computer genius Cray, will find their way to quiet spots like Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin, where they can continue to work in their urban job because electronic mail has freed them to live where they wish. Although the potential economic loss to the metro area must be evaluated, the potential boon to smaller, revenue starved areas promises an economic counterbalancing.

In addition to new markets and the expansion of existing markets, the potential impact on productivity promises another benefit. Gerald Goldhaber reports the results of an experiment Control Data Corporation conducted with one hundred employees working at home or at satellite offices in an energy-saving, production-raising effort at telecommuting. Initial results showed that each participant reduced monthly auto driving by 500 miles for a $90 savings and productivity increased up to 300%.[27] Also, electronic mail appears to be a more satisfying and meaningful exchange. Cornelius H. Sullivan, Jr., President of Information Technology Planning Corporation of Chicago puts it this way:

> This flexibility and control over the pace of human correspondence leads to a more satisfactory, meaningful interchange. Not surprisingly, research has shown that the Delphi technique for achieving consensus among experts or contending parties seems to work best with the democracy, anonymity, and neutrality created by an electronic mail intermediary.[28]

This satisfaction with the use of electronic mail goes beyond the professional setting. Kerr and Hiltz argue that users of computer-mediated communication systems stand to improve the quality of their lives. In particular, the users expand their potential for learning throughout their lives. They can improve skills such as spelling, typing, and literacy. Users can expand their awareness of social and cultural horizons, increase the number and strength of support systems of family, friends, and professionals. They also argue that computer-assisted communication increases the degree of personal connectedness with others, in terms of expanding the status set, the number of social participations and the scope of social relationships. They claim it increases the number of contacts that can be maintained and creates the opportunity for regular connectedness with many people.[29] William J. Cook agrees with these claims, and expands upon them in **The Joy of Computer Communication**.[30] Cook suggests a number of potential applications from reducing everyday tasks such as shopping to including suggestions for improving your sex life through electronic mail dating services.[31]

In the final analysis, the suggested benefits are so numerous and wide-ranging that one would be remiss to accept them tentatively in the absence of extensive research. But, the few studies that have been conducted are promising.

What Potential Negative Impacts Does Electronic Mail Use Pose?

Despite the promised benefits of increased markets, greater mobility, increased productivity and personal benefits of electronic mail, one wonders about the potential negative impacts that will accrue if electronic mail becomes our predominant way of exchanging messages. There are three major potential negative effects: information overload, the dichotomy between the informationally rich and informationally deprived, and legal concerns.

First, Kerr and Hiltz focus upon information overload as a potential impact of electronic mail.[32] What happens to the users if too many messages get stored in his/her electronic mailbox? Miller and Hawes argue that seven responses can be generated from information overload in an organizational setting.[33] They are: first, omission (failing to handle all the information); second, error (ignoring or failing to correct errors when made); third, queuing (letting things pile up); fourth, filtering (dealing with input in categories ranked according to a priority system); fifth, approximation (lowering standards of precision); sixth multiple channels (delegation of information processing to others), and seventh, escape (refusal to handle the input at all).[34] Such responses would negatively

impact upon organizational productivity and satisfaction. Because electronic mail is fast, efficient, and capable of being monitored when the user desires, this potential threat grows with the rapid adoption of the technology.

If information overload poses a threat to the user, the threat to the non-user of electronic mail will be more destructive in the long run. Those individuals, institutions and organizations that cannot afford or are not computer literate will discover that the competitive edge will go to those who use electronic mail. An example will illustrate this threat. A small university may offer students individual attention and small classes, but if they fail to provide the equipment that graduate students like Chris and Lee possessed to co-author their paper, they may find they are as deprived as if their library holding were inadequate. The same could be true for a new stockbroker who does not possess the quick market analysis available to those in larger firms. Fortunately grant money and private sector support can help bridge the gap. Control Data Corporation has attempted to provide support services for new business ventures in some major cities.[35] But the dichotomy between those who have fast, efficient information retrieval and those who do not must be considered a strong economic, political and social issue that must be addressed with the increased adoption of electronic mail.

Besides the potential threats of information overload and dichotomization of society, the multifaceted issue of legal problems must be addressed. The first is the issue of system security, including the problems of royalties, patents, and copyrights. To address the first issue, one must question the security of an electronic mailbox. As System Security Technology Manager for Xerox, James A. Schweitzer suggests,   the electronic workplace is not as secure as it should be.[36] Schweitzer argues that if information is considered to be the key resource for business in the "information age," then managers and systems users need to gain control now, before the interconnection of people via electronic information processors make action too little, too late.[37]

In short, the legal issue, a concern for privacy, suggests potential threats to both academe and business. What if a competitive scholar or an ambitious colleague gains access to another student or colleague's electronic mailbox and uses the information to further his/her own work or standing? Granted, such "sabotage" probably will occur infrequently, and as Schweitzer suggests, a number of methods and policies exist to protect the electronic workplace. Nevertheless, the potential negative impact needs to be addressed.

A second legal issue is the use of electronic mail to exchange copyrighted material that would otherwise be secured. This issue has already surfaced with the database industry[38] and it can be a problem for the creators of the pirated material rather than for the user themselsves. But how secure is the exchange of material between two scholars working on a potential patent that could result in revenues from royalties? If two scientists are exchanging research that leads to the development of a patent for which only one of the scientists applies, then what are the legal implications? Can documents shared using electronic mail be admitted into court as evidence, the same way telephone records can be admitted? That question needs an answer. Reason suggests that if the material is outputed on the printer, the material may prove to be admissable as evidence. However, what if the exchanged material is simply accessed on the screen, and the receiver does not print the output? Thus the problem of determining to whom the patent claim rightfully belongs   becomes a sticky issue. Although electronic mail was not used by the researchers involved, if it had been the medium of exchange, the potential legal ramifications would become even more unique than they are in the present system.

Information overload, system security, and legal concerns are some of the potential negative implications involved with using electronic mail, and they raise many unanswered questions. They need to be studied, considered, perhaps monitored and regulated if potential abuses threaten the users.

A Critical Analysis of the Present Status and Future Utilization of Electronic Mail

Although this paper only included the more significant positive aspects and the most problematic negative issues of using electronic mail, other positive and negative concerns have been discussed in the professional literature. However, in terms of cost-benefits analysis, as far as this author is concerned, the scale is tipped strongly on the side of the positive benefits. Enough research exists to suggest that electronic mail is a useful tool for increasing productivity. Certainly, electronic mail is widely enough dispersed that it is no longer considered a "cutting edge" technology. Instead, it is an emerging, growing computer-assisted information system, creating new markets for information and new products to serve those market needs. Its value to both academe and business cannot be denied. Its application, although probably in the infancy stage, is advancing the cause of computer literacy. The argument that suggests a dichotomy will exist between the informationally rich and poor society is a strong and a serious concern for those who fear that our society, subject to a conservative political environment, is already being stratified into two classes. This does not, however, negate the value promised by the new technology. Granted, it would be naive to assume that everyone who wanted computer-literacy could gain it. However, it would be equally naive to ignore that there are a number of incentives presently available to help the new business venture or school gain the technology they cannot afford. For example, Control Data is helping new business ventures with a number of support services provided in low-cost rental suites in several healthy markets.[39] In addition, a number of states provide tax credit for individuals or businesses that donate computer hardware and software to public schools, universities, and vocational schools.[40]

As Ruth Davis argued in defense of electronic mail, the utility of the electronic mail systems is illustrated by the estimates that more than fifty percent of the information transmitted by telephone does not require interactive

communication, and as much as fifty percent of a manager's time is spent communicating with others by telephone, in meetings or by written correspondence. Davis concludes, therefore, that electronic mail systems promise a mechanism for improving productivity and relieving common forms of "office stress."[41] R.J. Spinrad concurs and personally testifies that for those who have had a few years to work with what is a seemingly impersonal system have found that they tend, paradoxically, to break down the barriers to communication. Spinrad further addresses the relevant communication issues squarely when he argues that daily message traffic takes on a less formal, more conversational air, and priorities are easier to establish. But most importantly, Spinrad concludes, immediacy reduces the chances for misunderstanding.[43]

In sum, electronic mail is a rich, exciting resource that can enrich the life and work of those in academe and business. New user's, scholars or business managers, possess the potential to have their lives changed drastically through the new medium. R.J. Spinrad expressed it best in the following lines:

> ...the most profound effects will probably occur at the personal level, in the way we do things using these systems. Certainly, we will gain new power—radically increased speed and flexibility in manipulating the substance of our working lives. But, more important, we will have found a new medium for interacting with others. Because of this, these systems will have the power to draw us closer together and change the ways we work and live.[43]

No doubt, Lee Jones and Chris Brown would agree.

Notes

[1]Stephen Connell and Ian A. Galbraith, **Electronic Mail: A Revolution in Business Communications** (London: Knowledge Industry Publications, Inc., 1980), p.3.

[2]Susen S. Kay, "How to Choose Electronic Mail," **Infosystems**, June 6, 1984, pp.98-100.

[3]**Christian Science Monitor**, January 19, 1982, p.11.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Joe Malone, "Use of Personal Computer to Provide Electronic Mail Gaining Acceptance," **Communication News**, September, 1982, p.19.

[6]Kay, Ibid.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Ibid.

[10]Elaine B. Kerr and Starr Roxanne Hiltz, **Computer-Mediated Communication Systems: Status and Evaluation** (New York: Academic Press, 1982), pp. 89-158.

[11]Starr Roxanne Hiltz and Murray Turoff, **The Network Nation-Human Communication Via Computer** (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1978), pp.7-30.

[12]R.E. Rice and D. Case. "Electronic Message Systems in the University: A Description of Use and Utility," **Journal of Communication**, 1983, pp. 131-152.

[13]Kerr and Hiltz, Ibid., p.12.

[14]Allen Newell and Robert Sproull, "Computer Networks: Prospects for Scientists," **Science**, February, 1982, pp.843-851.

[15]C.N. Quinn and H. Jehan, J.A. Levin and S.D. Black, "Real Education in Non-Real Times: The Use of Electronic Message Systems for Instruction," **Instructional Science**, 1983, pp.313-327.

[16]It should be noted that the Ohio State Engineering Department is in the process of setting up an electronic mail system that may be able to send messages, diagrams and other documents between faculty members as well as between students and faculty.

[17]Kerr and Hiltz, Ibid. p.12.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Jeff Blyskal, "Hello Central, Give Me the Computer," **Forbes**, July 2, 1984, pp.94-95.

[20]Brian Ibsen, "Electronic Mail: A Building Block for the Future Office," **The Office**, August, 1982, pp.19-20.

[21]Stewart L. Tubbs and Sylvia Moss, **Human Communication**, Third Edition (New York: Random House, 1980, pp.12-13.

[22]Ibid.

[23]C. David Mortensen, **Communication: The Study of Human Interaction**, (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1972), p.14.

[24]Kerr and Hiltz, Ibid.

[25]Ibid. p.24.

[26]Ibid. p.112.

[27]Gerald M. Goldhaber, **Organizational Communication**, Third Edition (Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown Company, 1983), p.141.

[28]Cornelius H. Sullivan, Jr., "Electronic Mail Can Serve as the Delivery Vehicle for Information Intensive Products and Process," **Infosystems**, September, 1983, p.113.

[29]Kerr and Hiltz, pp.90-120.

[30]William J. Cook, **The Joy of Computer Communication** (New York: A Dell Trade Paperback, 1984).

[31]Ibid. pp.157-162.

[32]Kerr and Hiltz, pp. 97-98.

[33]Stewart and Tubbs, p.307

[34]Ibid.

[35]For example, in Minneapolis, Minnesota, as well as in several other markets in the midwest, Control Data has purchased office buildings that they will rent to new business ventures. The suites share a common reception area, a typing pool and many other support services included in the low monthly rental fee.

[36]James A. Schweitzer, **Protecting Information in the Electronic Workplace: A Guide for Managers**, (Reston, Virginia: Reston Publishing Company, 1983).

[37]Ibid., p.117.

[38]Carlton Rochell, ''The Knowledge Business: Economic Issues of Access to Bibliographic Information,'' **College and Research Libraries**, January, 1985, pp.5-12.

[39]See footnote 35.

[40]For example, **Indiana 1984 Individual Income Tax Booklet** on p.21 has the computer donation credit noted.

[41]Ruth M. Davis, ''Computers and Electronics for Individual Services,'' **Science**, February 12, 1985, p.885.

[42]R.J.Spinrad, ''Office Automation,'' **Science**, February 12, 1985, p.812.

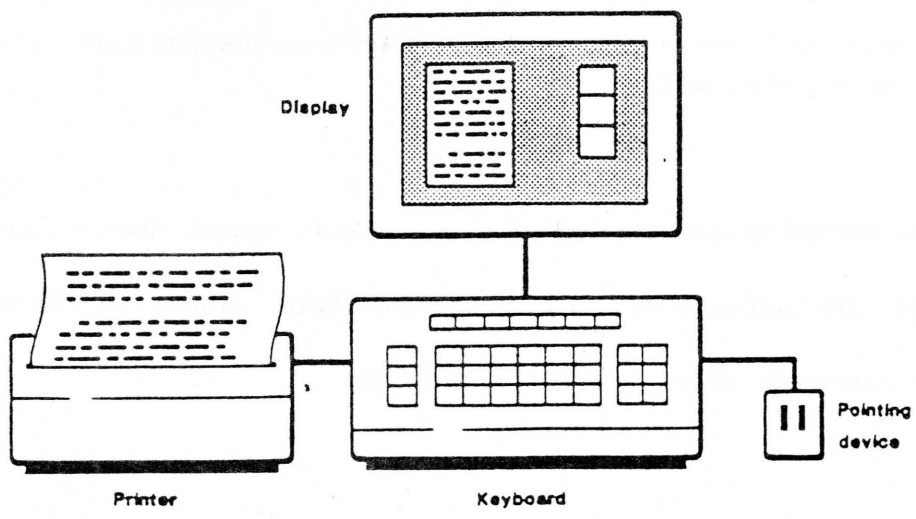[43]Ibid., pp.812-13.

FIGURE 1 and 2

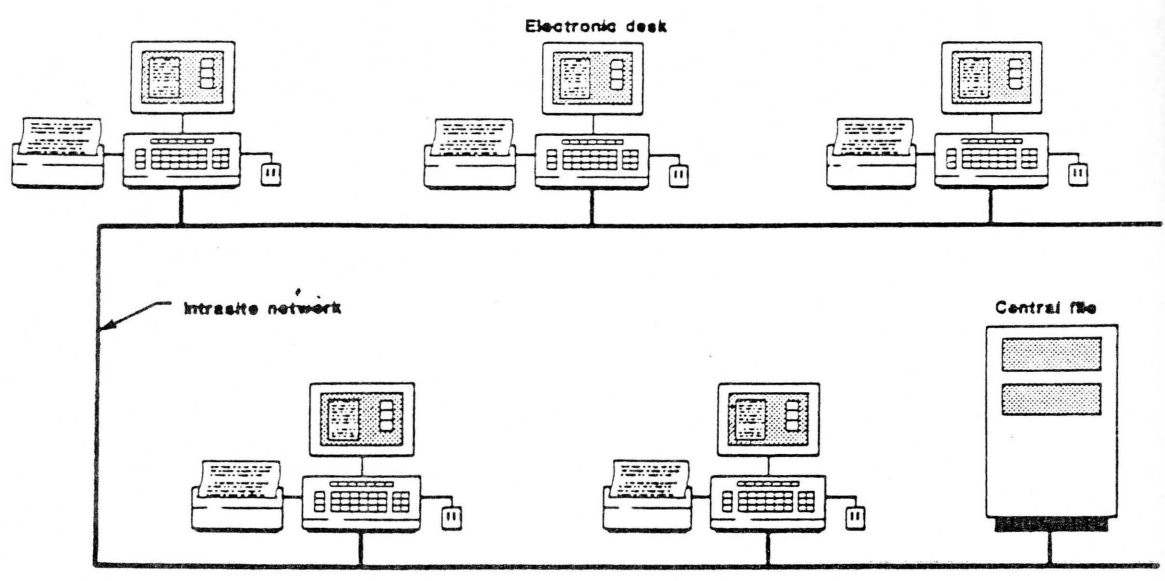Fig. 1. The electronic desk includes a keyboard, display screen, pointing device, and printer.

Fig. 2. The intra-site network links many electronic desks to one another and to a central file.
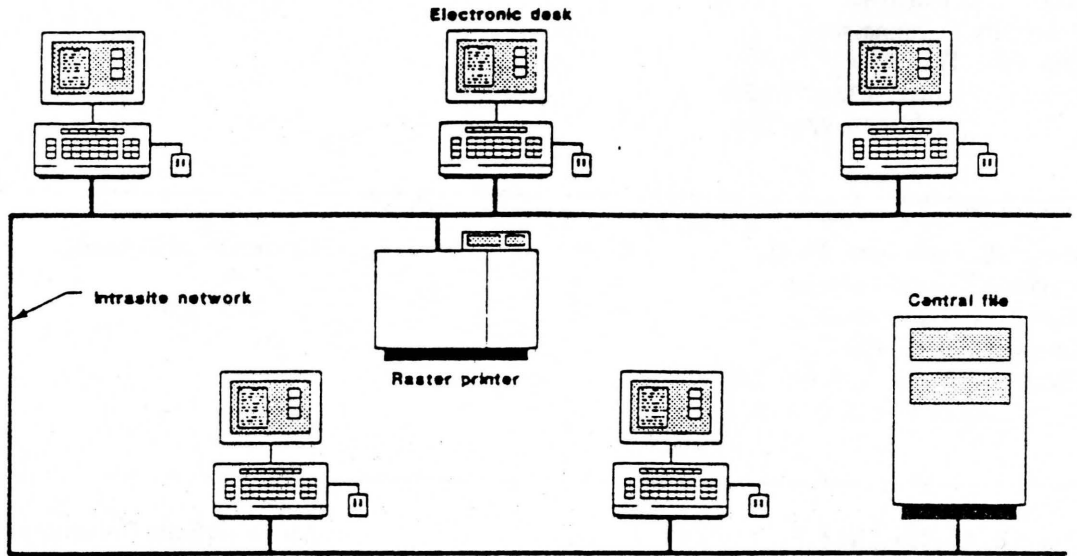
FIGURE 3 and 4

Electronic desk

Intrasite network

Raster printer

Central file

Fig. 3. The expanded intra-
site network offers many
shared services including
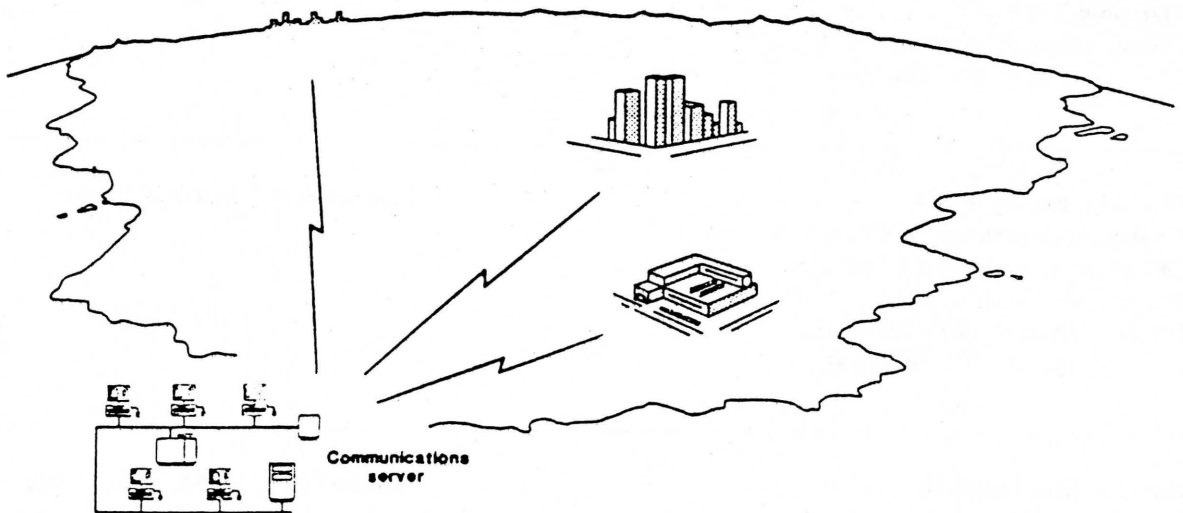raster printing.

Communications
server

Fig. 4. The com-
munications serv-
er enables geo-
graphically   dis-
persed   networks
to be linked to-
gether via com-
mon carrier net-
works.

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Tully P. Daniel has an extensive and varied career as a teacher of English and Director of Performing Arts and Theatre. He is currently a member of the faculty of Germantown High School, Shelby County, where he teaches English and Introduction to Film and Video. The article he contributed in this issue resulted from his graduate study at Memphis State University, where he is enrolled as a non-degree student.

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Ed Robertson serves as Manager of Employee Communications for the Federal Express Corporation, with offices in Memphis, Tennessee. During his time with Federal Express, Ed has led in the development of their organizational communication program. At the 1986 TSCA Conference, Ed directed a major session, in which he presented the essential components, design, and goals of the communication program at FEX.

Judy Thorpe, Assistant Professor of Speech Communication, is in her first year at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. She teaches the basic speech course and is Director of Forensics. In 1986, Ohio State University awarded her the degree of Ph.D. Her dissertation subject was the persuasive arguments of Lee Iaccoca in the repositioning of Chrysler Corporation in the market place. She focuses her research primarily in the area of media aspects of persuasive organizational communication.

Fall TSCA Convention

The annual convention of the Tennessee Speech Communication Association is scheduled for October 2 and 3. TSCA members will convene at Fall Creek Falls State Park, located in Middle Tennessee. Please reserve these dates on your calendar and attend the conference. You will profit from the professional encouragement and development and from the collegiality that exists among the speech communication teachers and practitioners who participate in TSCA.

We encourage you to participate in the convention by presenting your research, teaching techniques, curriculum innovation and development, and anything else that interests TSCA members. You can do this by letting the appropriate interest group officer know of your willingness and readiness to be a convention presenter. On May 11, the interest group officers will meet in a planning session with TSCA President, Joan Kennedy. At that meeting they would like to have your ideas, plans, and expectations for our fall convention.

If you need additional information about the conference before the final announcements are mailed later this year, then contact TSCA President Joan Kennedy. We look forward to being with you at our fall TSCA convention.

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