

HISTORY IN THE MAKING

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Phi Alpha Theta's mission is to promote the study of history through the encouragement of research, good teaching, publication and the exchange of learning and ideas among historians. The organization seeks to bring students, teachers and writers of history together for intellectual and social exchanges, which promote and assist historical research and publication by our members in a variety of ways.

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History in the Making

Introduction

Welcome to the twelfth edition of *History in the Making*, California State University, San Bernardino's annual journal of history. As with all of our previous editions, students are responsible for both the composition and editing of the journal, resulting in a volume which truly reflects the skill and dedication of our colleagues here at CSUSB. The purpose of this journal is twofold—first, it serves to highlight the outstanding scholarship being produced by the students of CSUSB. Secondly, we hope to inspire our readership by asking new questions of our past and providing answers in the form of scholarship that drives our pursuit of knowledge forward. We sincerely hope that this year's edition fulfills that purpose and provides you with a meaningful examination of history.

The editorial board is honored to present the largest edition of *History in the Making* to date, featuring eight full-length articles which analyze a number of topics including US imperialism, indigenous movements in the Americas, and the early-Hollywood origins of the #MeToo movement. In addition to these articles, this volume also features a contemporary history piece, a report on student travel, three in memoriam selections, four reviews, and two articles in our Notes from the Archive section.

Our first article, Cameron Van Note's "Imperial Fastballs: The Cultural Imperialism of American Baseball," examines the role of baseball in both pre- and postwar Japanese culture. The article analyzes the way in which the game was initially used as a way to bring American culture into a newly-modernized Japan, as well as how the game served as a lasting bond between the US and Japan in the postwar era. Our cover image this year is dated July 2, 1942, and was taken at the Manzanar War Relocation Center. The image shows spectators at a baseball game, which was played by teams of incarcerated individuals. Manzanar was one of ten camps in which Americans of Japanese ancestry and resident Japanese aliens were

incarcerated shortly after the bombing of Pearl Harbor in December 1941. This image is from a set credited to the trailblazing photographer, Dorothea Lange.

The following two articles focus on the creation and evolution of indigenous identities. “*Neozapatismo* as History and Influence,” by Benjamin Shultz, discusses the evolution of the *Neozapatismo* movement from its origins in the early nineties to the present, as well as its adaptation to the media of the digital age. Jason Garcia’s “Music is Power” explores the role of indigenous identity in the creation of Chile’s *Nueva Cancion* musical movement in the seventies, led by Victor Jara.

Next up is an intriguing analysis of the US-backed 1953 coup d’état in Iran. Author Anthony Lucey utilizes newly released sources to determine the role of the Iranian clergy, or Ulama, in assisting the CIA as they endeavored to overthrow the democratically elected Mohammad Mossadeq.

The fifth article is titled “The Soft Power Practices of the Ming Dynasty,” and it features a comparison of political practices exhibited by both the modern PRC and Chinese leadership in the fifteenth century. Author Peter Weisser uses the first voyage of Zheng He as a focal point in describing the “soft power” practices of the Chinese.

The next two articles contribute to historical narratives of the American West. “Comanche Resistance to Colonialism,” by Tyler Amoy, describes the ways in which the Comanche were able to continually thwart the efforts of the Spanish, Mexican, and American forces which sought to remove them from the landscape of the west. Jacquelyne Anton’s “Racial Ambiguity in the Borderlands” examines the Buffalo Soldiers, a group of African-American veterans who traveled west in search of an alternative to the prejudices of the post-civil war south. These soldiers found a

life along the US-Mexico border, where understandings of race were not so black and white.

In our final full-length article, Federico Guevara traces the origins of the male gaze of Hollywood, which has led to the sexualization and objectification of women in media. In the wake of the #MeToo movement, “The Origins of Classic Hollywood’s Male Gaze” is a timely study of how an industry that once featured strong, independent women came to adopt such contradictory practices and standards.

In our History in the Making section, this year’s edition features an article titled “Hyperdemocracy: Euroskepticism and Elections in the United Kingdom.” This piece examines the 2016 “Brexit” vote in the UK, utilizing the theory of hyperdemocracy to explain the current trends in liberal democracies across the globe.

This last year saw the passing of several important figures, and in our In Memoriam section we remember three of them. First, author Fernando Sanchez reflects on the life and legacy of our nation’s 41st president, George H.W. Bush. The second piece remembers the contributions of Aiko Herzig-Yoshinaga, a Japanese-American internee at Manzanar War Relocation Center who fought tirelessly to right the wrongs committed by her country during World War II. CSUSB has maintained a close connection to Manzanar and its survivors, and authors James Martin, Kassandra Gutierrez, and Nathanael Gonzalez have all taken part in our History Club’s annual service trip to the site at Manzanar. Our final In Memoriam selection, written by Galilea Navarro, offers a tribute to the life of Stan Lee, the creator of the Marvel Universe which has enthralled millions of fans over the past several decades.

The Travels through History section features a report on the country of Jamaica by Margarita Navarette, who traveled there as a part of CSUSB’s annual study abroad trip to the Caribbean nation. The author illustrates the transformative experience that she had in

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Jamaica, tying in the complex history of colonization which has shaped the country into what it is today.

In our Notes from the Archive section, we offer two articles which feature in-depth research on a singular source. Federico Guevara's analysis of the Analects of Confucius offers readers a study on the writings of the great Chinese philosopher, examining the way in which his works have been adapted over the ages and yet remain relevant today. In "Vision of a Visionary," Alma Jimenez brings us to the ancient Egyptian city of Amarna, established and designed by Akhenaten as a space to honor the gods.

The Review section of this year's edition features two book reviews and two film reviews. *China Tripping: Encountering the Everyday in the People's Republic* and *Shades of Green: Irish Regiments, American Soldiers, and Local Communities in the Civil War Era* are both recent publications of faculty members within CSUSB's Department of History, and authors Byron Williams and Andrew Richter jumped at the chance to offer a review of their professor's works. Next, Ryan Rodriguez gives a review of *Studio 54: The Documentary*, a recent release on Netflix which chronicles the early years of the famed New York City nightclub and LGBTQ hotspot. Lastly, Scott Romo reviews the Academy Award-winning film *The Favourite*, which is set in 18th century England.

It is our sincerest hope that you find these selections as entertaining and enriching as we have found them to be. It has been a pleasure and a privilege to bring the work of CSUSB's students to publication. On behalf of the entire editorial board, we thank you for reading the 2019 edition of *History in the Making*.

Eric Lowe and Jasmine Colorado
Chief Editors

Acknowledgements

It goes without saying that this journal would not be possible without the hard work and dedication put forth by the many individuals who have taken part in its creation. From the very earliest stages of the process to the cutting of the final copy, numerous persons have contributed their time, expertise, and assistance to the publication of this journal. No one contribution has been more or less valuable than another—rather it has been the strength of many hands which has made light work of this otherwise gargantuan endeavor.

We first extend our gratitude to Dr. Jeremy Murray and Dr. Tiffany Jones, both of whom served as advisors to the editorial board throughout the process. Their institutional knowledge and memory is what ensures that each new edition of this journal not only maintains the same standard of quality as the last, but also grows stronger each year. While this is a student-run publication, their constant guidance and support are an invaluable component of what makes *History in the Making* a success. In addition, we must also acknowledge the contributions of CSUSB's History faculty who have worked with our authors to ensure the academic quality of their work.

Our Lead Copy Editor, April Terwelp, was tasked with copy editing our largest edition yet. We are truly grateful that she has opted to devote her valuable time towards bringing this publication to the finish line. Thanks as well to Benjamin Shultz, who assisted in the copy editing process. Thanks are once again owed to Dr. Murray and Dr. Jones, who are responsible for the creation of this year's cover—a task which requires both a keen eye for cover imagery and the technical expertise to design it. We extend our continued gratitude to Laura Sicklesteel and the staff at CSUSB Printing Services, who offer their outstanding services and expertise in order to bring our journal to life (print) every year. We also thank the Department of History and CSUSB's Instructionally

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Related Programs Board for so generously providing funding for *History in the Making*.

Lastly, we would like to thank the students of CSUSB, without whom this journal simply could not exist. We thank the students who submitted their original research for our consideration—without such a substantial number of submissions, we would not have been able to provide such a diverse selection of articles in this edition. Yet even the best authors are not complete without an equally talented editor, so we must also thank our superb editorial board for their outstanding efforts. Their one-on-one work with the authors has helped bring the articles and reviews herein to the fruition of their greatest potential. We thank you for your lasting contributions to the legacy of *History in the Making*.

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Editorial Staff

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Dr. Tiffany F. Jones
Professor, Journal Advisor

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Back row from left: Melissa Sanford, Benjamin Shultz, Federico Guevara, Byron Williams, Randy Stuart, Eric Lowe
Front row from left: Jasmine Colorado, Natassja Martin, Sephora Navarro, Jasmine Portillo, April Terwelp.
Not pictured: Lark Winner, Jacquelyne Anton

Articles

Imperial Fastballs: The Cultural Imperialism of American Baseball

By Cameron Van Note

Abstract: From the eighteenth and nineteenth century Imperialism was a major instigator for conflict across the globe, being split into many different subcategories such as economic, cultural, and military imperialism. This paper looks at the aspect of American Baseball being used as a tool of cultural imperialism over Japan prior to, and well after, World War II. Baseball in Japan was different than other examples of Imperialism because of how Japan accepted and integrated baseball culture into their own, resulting in Japanese and American players bonding over the culture surrounding the game. It was not easy to form these bonds however, and the change of ideals towards race, nationality, and culture, would be required to make the sport as we know it today.

Politics has been intertwined with sports for generations. Colin Kaepernick protesting racial inequalities in the US, national pride in global events such as the Olympics or the World Cup, and exhibition matches of US sports being played in London are all examples of the current ways politics and civil rights are tied to sports. Since the nineteenth century baseball has played a role in US expansionism particularly in Japan. However, in Japan, the

imperialist push for baseball took a different turn leading up to and post-World War II. Instead of merely adopting American imperialist views of baseball, the Japanese adopted and transformed the American culture of the sport and created their own relationship with baseball. Doing this was not what Americans envisioned when teaching Japanese citizens baseball during the Meiji reforms in the late nineteenth century. The Meiji reforms period, 1868-1912, was a massive nationalist movement that also wanted to adopt certain western ideals—including cultural products such as baseball—to modernize Japan.

So how and why did the Japanese assimilate American baseball culture into their own? The Japanese were resistant to foreign influence but would eventually adopt the sport as their national pastime, creating new political connections due to Japanese players making their way to the American leagues and with American players playing in Japanese leagues. One of the first American players to play in post-WWII Japanese leagues, Glenn Mickens, experienced this firsthand. Mickens was a pitcher for the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1958 before he moved on to play for the Kintetsu Buffaloes where he would be when international baseball laws were introduced, “When Ron Bottler and I got invited over there, Japanese baseball was an outlaw league. After I had been there about a month, they called me into the office and wanted to know what the reserve clause was and the whole bunch of other things...”¹

The reason his managers wanted to know was because of the backlash that came from American teams, specifically the Brooklyn Dodgers. The Dodgers would regret that decision and demand that future Japanese teams ask for permission before signing an American player. “They showed me a letter from the vice president of the Dodgers that said the Dodgers were highly regretful that the Buffaloes had taken one of their players and signed him to a Japanese contract. From then on, the Japanese had

¹ Robert K. Fitts, *Remembering Japanese Baseball: An oral History of the Game* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2005), 68.

to get permission from the United States before they signed any American players.”² Mickens, alongside Japanese players such as Wally Yonamine and Hirofumi Naito, would be one of the first players, American or Japanese, to experience the strange circumstances around the culture and politics of baseball in Japan after World War II, which helped form the sport we know today.

Baseball & Cultural Imperialism

The imperial age of the nineteenth century by western powers was a major issue for Asian countries. During this period western powers wanted to spread economic, political, militaristic, and cultural influence to control the populations of “lesser nations.” However, Japanese culture would act differently towards this imperialist expansion. Japan would adopt certain American ideals because they would benefit from them or they followed a similar set of rules and honor-based ideals already. Satoshi Shimizu analyzed this concept by looking at the historical research of baseball done by Ki Kimura, “He analyzed how the spirit of professionalism was established in the development of baseball from the Meiji era to the establishment of professional baseball...”³ During WWII baseball was played by prisoners on both sides in prisoner of war camps, creating an unusual bond between the soldiers and their cultures. This bond would be one of the few connections that lasted through the post-WWII cultural “revolutions” and changes that came to the country.⁴ For decades the Japanese leagues and American leagues would stay separate other than occasional exhibition games with American teams in Japan, but the culture gap between the two leagues would continue to widen until the leagues crossed paths on a large scale, with the

² Ibid., 68.

³ Satoshi Shimizu, “The Creation of Professional Sports Leagues in Japan: A Cultural History of Human Network,” *International Journal of the History of Sport* 27, no. 3 (2010): 556.

⁴ John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999).

transition of Japanese players to the Major Leagues in the US, something which had an uncertain effect on US baseball fans. However, Japanese players quickly proved themselves to be just as talented and gifted as American players, with many baseball fans considering Japanese all-stars to be some of the best players to have ever lived. This includes Wally Yonamine, Kenichi Zenimura, Hideo Nomo, Ichiro Suzuki, and most recently Shohei Ohtani. Their stories and experiences in the transition from Japanese baseball to American baseball details the ever-growing history, national pride, and culture of the sport of baseball.

Sports play a vital role in the lives of billions of people from all backgrounds. Sports such as football—soccer in the United States—and rugby are two sports that influence the most countries in the world. These sports are a massive, borderless community, connecting people with one another from opposite sides of the planet. Postcolonial and revisionary historians ask, “have sports been used as a form of cultural imperialism?” This question is discussed when looking into the sport and practices of American Baseball and how it was spread to Japan. Gerald R. Gems states that the past “manifest destiny” rhetoric of the United States would carry over to sports once the US cemented its global power, “...the United States has been in a continual imperial mode since its colonial status, pushing ever westward. Once assured of continental dominance, it proceeded to international aspirations, and by the end of the twentieth century, to global expectations...”⁵ Global expectations were what the US looked for, be it militarily, economically, or culturally, and all three of these are isomorphic in a sense, in that they interact with each other in order to spread faster.

Culture is what defines the people of a nation, their entertainment, their politics, and their social interactions. Edward W. Said states that there are two definitions for the word culture; first, that culture is often explained as an aesthetic view into a

⁵ Gerald R. Gems, "The Athletic Crusade: Sport and Colonialism in the Philippines." *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 21, no. 1 (2004): 1-15.

nation, the economic, social, political, and pleasures of that nation.⁶ Culture is a narrative look into the lives and daily routines of citizens in a nation. The second point that Said references about culture is that it is a “refining and elevating element,” allowing that society to show what they can offer the world and how they can counter the aggressive modernization and capitalist ideals of the world.⁷ When Said examines the system of imperialism he analyzes the work of Conrad and states, “imperialism is a system. Life in one subordinate realm of experience is imprinted by the fictions and follies of the dominant realm.”⁸ Imperialism has been debated plentifully, from how it started to the different types of imperialism. However, imperialism has always been a system of imposing a dominant nation’s will upon that of a weaker nation. Imperialism spreads through the military, economy, and culture, but it stems from a greater sense of nationalistic pride.

Nationalism, the pride someone feels for their country, the nation they feel connected to through religion, language, or race, creates a competitive mindset for many citizens. The communities that form around nationalism according to Benedict Anderson in his book *Imagined Communities* are imagined and should have no merit behind them, “Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist.”⁹ The formation of nations leads to so called “competition” between them. This “competition” is seen as one nation being the dominant power through industrial, technological, military or moral means, which the non-dominant nation does not have, making the non-dominant nation inferior in the minds of the dominant nation.¹⁰ This imposition of cultural influence, as with baseball in Japan, is woven into the everyday lives of the people primarily through

⁶ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Knopf: distributed by Random House, 1993), xii-xiii.

⁷ Ibid., xiii.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Benedict R. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* Revised ed. (New York: Verso, 2006), 6.

¹⁰ Said. *Culture and Imperialism*, xii.

entertainment and the daily news. By doing this it ensures that the maximum amount of people of the so called non-dominant nation will be exposed to these new cultural activities, to assimilate the people.

Cultural imperialism means a culture spreads in some way, the most prominent way the US has spread its influence is through war, conflict, and most importantly, established military bases around the globe. This spreading of influence is important to the US, as Noam Chomsky references in his book *Hegemony or Survival*, in that the US has a “grand strategy” for gaining global power.¹¹ This grand strategy is an attempt to maintain the world in such a way that the US has no competition and states it has the right to declare a “preventive war” in the face of threats to the country.¹² This strategy is a modern development, although this practice of expansion has been used, and is a common part, of US history, “the ideological need to consolidate and justify domination in cultural terms that has been the case in the west since the nineteenth century, and even earlier.”¹³ US cultural imperialism and global influence increased post-World War II due to the Cold War and the competition between the capitalist US and communist USSR. Said indicates that in 1963 scholars knew and argued that imperialism still played a major role in US economic, political, social, and militaristic global influence.¹⁴ The spread of US culture in the terms of baseball can be seen even in the middle of WWII when US troops would play baseball in prisoner of war camps, which helped to create a bond between those soldiers and Japanese soldiers. This type of imperialism could be seen in every conflict during and after WWII in Japan, Korea, Vietnam, and Western Europe.

¹¹ Noam Chomsky, *Hegemony or Survival: America's Quest for Global Dominance*, 1st Owl Books ed. American Empire Project (New York: Henry Holt, 2004), 11.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 184

¹⁴ Ibid., 282.

There is a difference when looking at Japan. Japan was absorbing western culture and influence during the Meiji period which lasted 1852-1912. This period saw major changes to the country with the adoption of western modernization, industrialization, forms of government, models of education and art, and, of course, sports.¹⁵ Japan brought western culture to their nation through western teachers employed to aid in the transition to western ideals. Many Americans traveling to Japan saw the country as having a cultural weakness and expressing racist sentiments in some cases due to not having athletic clubs or sports.¹⁶ The first to see the need for physique and health of Japanese students was Horace Wilson, who brought baseball equipment with him to Japan in 1871.¹⁷ Wilson, among other western teachers in Japan, thought that baseball would work as a great tool to break down cultural barriers between the two nations. The adoption of western ideals was poorly negotiated, allowing multiple ports to be granted to American authority, and many scholars in Japan at the time felt no need for western ideals in Japan including athletic programs in schools.¹⁸ Sport was seen as a way to overcome the tensions involved with change, and the ideals of loyalty, honor, practice and skill were traits in team sports that the Japanese admired. These traits translated well for the Japanese because they were similar to traits they practiced before the Meiji reforms.¹⁹ During an interview at a Japanese baseball game, a fan said that if America did not invent baseball, then Japan would have. This shows how drawn towards and close to baseball the Japanese feel.²⁰ However, as with any imperialistic force, a backlash to the reforms and American influence would arise. This

¹⁵ Gems, "The Athletic Crusade," 30.

¹⁶ Donald Roden, "Baseball and the Quest for National Dignity in Meiji Japan," *The American Historical Review* 83, no. 3 (1980): 520.

¹⁷ Gems, "The Athletic Crusade," 31.

¹⁸ Roden, "Baseball and the Quest for National Dignity in Meiji Japan," 512.

¹⁹ Gems, "The Athletic Crusade," 31.

²⁰ "Begin Japanology – High School Baseball," filmed 2016, YouTube Video, 27:59, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A3puTgRqZ48>.

resistance was not entirely like traditional resistance to a dominant nation however, the resistance of a culture is set by a series of tasks. These tasks, as stated by Said, were to first reclaim, rename, and re-inhabit the land. This to be followed by the search for the culture's own authenticity, assertions, and identification.²¹ The US was already successful however; Japan had already integrated baseball and western culture into their own.

Japan would soon begin to change the culture that the US was trying to import with baseball. Japan to this day has different rules, leagues, respect, excitement, concessions, and mindset about baseball compared to American baseball. Because of this alteration to baseball by implementing their own culture, could this be a form of cultural exchange? Looking at how baseball was brought to Japan it can be seen in that fashion, "thinking about cultural exchange involves thinking about domination and forcible appropriation: someone loses, someone gains."²² Cultural exchange clearly has its faults, because one way or another someone suffers from it. However, this exchange has been theorized as useful in terms of adopting only certain aspects of American culture into Japanese culture, choosing what they want to incorporate as Ho Chi Minh believed in Vietnam.²³ Ho Chi Minh, stated Said, had originally believed that aspects of Western culture could help end the power of colonialism; this theory was never tested however and resistance in Vietnam would change.²⁴ This theory, however, would work in cases like baseball, becoming essentially two sides of the same coin; Japanese on one side, American on the other, and baseball the metal in between.

Early Japanese Baseball Expansion

Baseball has always been considered the national pastime of the United States, and this idea of having a national sport where one's

²¹ Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 226.

²² Ibid., 195.

²³ Ibid., 196.

²⁴ Ibid.

patriotism could be expressed helped the process of assimilating baseball into Japanese culture. It was not just the culture of baseball that influenced the people of Japan; economic influence would soon follow. Surrounding sports is a large economy of players, coaches, equipment, fields, and more—the economic upside of spreading sports to other countries was clear to the US Money spoke to the people, “The marketing of American popular culture, athletes, and leagues themselves greatly expanded under the shrewd guidance of corporate-minded commissioners.”²⁵ Baseball and sports would also be used in the twentieth century as a way to accommodate high school students through baseball and softball scholarships. It was also a way to increase the reach of commercial capitalist culture.²⁶ Companies would form around the sport in order to supply the equipment needed, creating a new and large market. Japanese citizens would return from the US bringing home with them equipment and a new love for the game of baseball and they shared that love in their home nations.²⁷ This practice would not work for long. In 1906, Japan would establish their own companies, like the Mizuno Company, to supply equipment in order to resist the high import costs of American equipment.²⁸

Baseball was the athletic embodiment of the American people, the original idea of spreading the sport was based on enlarging American cultural influence around the world.

There was an implicit assumption that, if British, French, Or Egyptian youth could begin to experiment with baseball on their own, they would also come to appreciate the depth of American ingenuity and determination. In this sense, baseball

²⁵ Gerald R. Gems, Linda J. Borish, and Gertrud Pfister, *Sports in American History: From Colonization to Globalization* (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 2008), 308.

²⁶ Gems, “The Athletic Crusade,” 36.

²⁷ Roden, “Baseball and the Quest for National Dignity in Meiji Japan.” 524.

²⁸ Gems, “The Athletic Crusade,” 37.

could enlarge the American cultural sphere of influence and bring greater respect for the nation around the world.²⁹

This was a change in the talks of cultural imperialism when discussing Japan and baseball. The game was catching on in Japan as Americans felt it should around the world, but Japan changed the plan by fully absorbing baseball into their culture, and through this making their own baseball culture.

The next stage of adopting American baseball culture was sending eager Japanese college students to the United States to learn baseball technique from its creators. The American side of this was to stage exhibition games between two American teams, like the Chicago White Sox and the New York Giants in 1913, in Tokyo.³⁰ This would be the opening of inter-league play between professional American teams and Japanese teams. This fueled nationalistic powers in both countries. However, Japan was on the rise in the baseball world in the terms of skill and size; the people of Japan would begin to turn away from American players and teams that would visit, and turned to their own teams and players for the first time.³¹ Nationalistic pride began to sweep the country, people wanted the autographs of Japanese players not American. Japanese sporting goods companies offered equipment sponsored by Japanese players and not American stars. This along with the racist sentiment the US still held against the Japanese led to the deterioration of the political bonds pushed in the years prior. The culture of baseball was still there and always will be, but the connection that the US was trying to establish with the people of Japan failed. The new imperialistic view of Japanese politics saw capitalist intervention as a problem. Baseball would now be used as a tool for prewar-time politics.

From 1909-1934, American exhibition games were being used to spy on, gather information about, and build political

²⁹ Roden, "Baseball and the Quest for National Dignity in Meiji Japan," 518.

³⁰ Gems, "The Athletic Crusade," 37.

³¹ Ibid., 41.

relations with Japan, such as in the last pre-war tour that included all-star players Lou Gehrig, Babe Ruth, and Moe Berg.³² The Japanese side of this was more divisive; author Robert K. Fitts writes in his book *Banzai Babe Ruth*, that during this same tour there were foiled assassination plots on the American all-stars.³³ Baseball players on both sides truly became ambassadors for their respective countries. The Japanese nationalism that was spawned from baseball was now a tool of “resistive force” as Gems calls it. Resistive force through baseball would reach its peak when newly formed Japanese professional leagues wanted a “true world series” to beat the US at baseball on the global stage.³⁴ The US response to this was to support a true world series as the start of a surrogate war, but the imperialist military campaigns against China would change that and the view of Japan as a whole at the global level. Baseball, by the start of World War II, was used as “preparation for hostilities” against those that introduced them to the sport.³⁵

Baseball started out as a way for the US to increase their influence over Japan, and to say that it did not make an impact is an understatement. In Japan, baseball was seen as good and bad, their quest to prevent a foreign power from gaining influence in their country played a part in the resistance to baseball, while it also helped establish a larger sense of nationalism and athletic skill in the country.³⁶ Japan became infatuated with baseball, but the conflict over a sport forced upon them by foreign imperial powers, leaves a lingering question about its influence. Whether baseball was used as a form of cultural imperialism is unquestionable, but the outcome of its spread is not what most expected. Alan M. Klein states, “The Japanese have succeeded in making baseball their game, despite the feudal impulse to do so in isolation. Insularity

³² Ibid., 42.

³³ Robert K. Fitts, *Banzai Babe Ruth: Baseball, Espionage, & Assassination during the 1934 Tour of Japan* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012).

³⁴ Gems, “The Athletic Crusade,” 42-43.

³⁵ Ibid., 43-44.

³⁶ Alan M. Klein, *Growing the Game: The Globalization of Major League Baseball* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 125.

has never really been possible, all the less so in a globalizing world.”³⁷ In the modern age baseball is now what it was originally intended to be, a way to break down the cultural barriers between the two nations, allowing Americans and Japanese to bond over the sport.

The 1909 and 1934 American Baseball Tours of Japan

Baseball was first introduced to Japan in 1871 by American teachers who would travel there as foreign advisors to help modernize their education system. One of these teachers, Horace Wilson, saw a problem with the education system in that there was no free time for students, “He immediately saw a growing need for time away from the classroom and suggested the American pastoral game of baseball.”³⁸ On one of his trips he brought with him baseball equipment and started to teach Japanese students the sport as a way of increasing physical education and to fill the void of pastime games.³⁹ The sport was enjoyed by some, but others saw it as a foreign problem for Japanese culture. “As far as the Japanese are concerned, Major League Baseball is a ‘tar baby.’ They want desperately to be rid of it but can’t separate from it. They want to vanquish it, yet they slavishly follow it. They invite it in the front door and toss it out the back...”⁴⁰ Another American teacher, Albert Bates would help increase the sport’s popularity by creating the first formal game in 1873 at Tokyo’s Kaitaku University.⁴¹

The early relationship with baseball was confusing to many of the Japanese. The Meiji reforms, however, saw the willingness to try western influence, but it did not stay that way. The resistance

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Joe Niese, “Voyage to the Land of the Rising Sun: The Badger Nine’s 1909 Trip to Japan,” *NINE: A Journal of Baseball History and Culture* 22, no. 1 (2013): 14.

³⁹ Gems, “The Athletic Crusade,” 30.

⁴⁰ Klein, *Growing the Game*, 125.

⁴¹ Niese, “Voyage to the Land of the Rising Sun,” 14.

to western influence started with the resistance to the Christian presence being forced upon their country which was protested by and eliminated by the Tokugawa shogunate.⁴² This period from the 1870s to 1890s saw constitutional reforms in the government, primarily at the end of the Sino-Japanese War, but unequal negotiations started with western powers affected the global view of Japan. Author Donald Roden states in *Baseball and the Quest for National Dignity in Meiji Japan*, “Suddenly, ‘Japan the exotic’ became ‘Japan the competitor’ in war, diplomacy, commerce, and, one may add, baseball.”⁴³ With the Meiji reforms that would follow, Japan started to see a tactical advantage in taking what they learned from the western influence in their country and using it against them. In the context of baseball, it started when more Japanese citizens began to play baseball, primarily high school and university students. The popularity of baseball among students carries over into today’s age with high school tournaments drawing large crowds in Japan, although baseball did not become serious as a sport until the turn of the century, after the original teachers of baseball left Japan.⁴⁴

When baseball eventually made its push into Japanese universities the US began to see potential foreign opponents for their Major League Baseball (MLB) teams. Firstly, to have a better sense of the international appeal for the sport, Secretary of War and future president William Howard Taft saw potential bonding through the University of Wisconsin-Madison’s team the Mendotas, who wanted to set up a college series in Japan.⁴⁵ In 1909, Genkwan Shibata, a native of Toyama, Japan, dreamed of having a series between the Mendotas and Japanese ball clubs. The second such exhibition series, he would be the student to start negotiations between his home country and the university⁴⁶ Tokyo’s Keio University would be the Japanese university to make

⁴² Klein, *Growing the Game*, 125.

⁴³ Roden, "Baseball and the Quest for National Dignity in Meiji Japan," 519.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 519.

⁴⁵ Klein, *Growing the Game*, 126.

⁴⁶ Joe Niese, “Voyage to the Land of the Rising Sun,” 13.

the plan plausible, making this 1909 series one of the earliest American-Japanese baseball games. Professors and other US diplomats saw the trip as a great way to learn more about current Japanese affairs, “University of Wisconsin professors were also praising the trip as a great educational experience for the students...”⁴⁷ Shibata did warn the confident American students however that Japanese culture does not like playing or fighting weak opponents, but the series would prove to be an exciting one. The Wisconsin team, now known as the Badgers, started off the series poorly because the Japanese teams were playing the older, dead-ball era of baseball where they did not focus on power hitting but on base running and defensive plays.⁴⁸ One of these lost games, the Badgers felt, was the fault of the Japanese umpire Takeji Nakano. However, with this game the Badgers earned the approval of the Japanese people because they accepted the ruled outcome.⁴⁹ The Badgers started the series poorly but would fight their way back despite many errors and, in some cases, bad luck. Their luck was discussed in the newspaper the *Japan Advertiser*, “The fortunate hitting of the Keio team when a hit was most needed won the game for them.”⁵⁰ From the social connections they made off the field, to the games on the field, the Badgers hoped to reconnect with the Japanese ball club players in the future as friends. The importance of this intercollegiate trip is summed up by Wisconsin Secretary of State William A. Frear, “Wisconsin unlocked the door of social fraternity with Japan in a manner never before equaled.”⁵¹

American University teams were not the only ones traveling across the Pacific to play baseball. Japan had teams as far back as 1905 traveling to the United States to play and learn from

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 16.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ “Wisconsin’s Ball Players Find Japs Hard to Beat,” *Washington Post*, (November 21, 1909).

⁵¹ Harold Seymour and Dorothy Seymour-Mills, *Baseball: The People’s Game* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 171.

American teams. The problem in the early years of the Japanese teams was that they were amateur in skill compared to professional American teams. “As Japanese baseball was primarily an amateur endeavor until the mid-1930s, the touring Americans played lopsided games against university and amateur teams. From 1908 to 1934, American professional teams won 87 of the 88 contests in Japan.”⁵² Pre-WWII Japanese baseball was a purely amateur sport, but what would help change that, and form the first Japanese Professional Baseball League, would be the Major League All-Stars tour of Japan in 1934 which included American stars such as Babe Ruth, Lou Gehrig, Connie Mack, Moe Berg, and other all-stars.⁵³ However, due to the times and the political climate in Asia, politics, culture, and national dignity would be intertwined with this tour.

November 2, 1934 was the day the American All-Stars made it to Japan for a series tour of the country. This tour would be unlike any other tour previously, as during this tour a Japanese Professional League would finally come to fruition. This tour was a gamble for the Japanese government because issues were starting to arise across the Pacific involving Japanese imperialism. A Japanese newspaper writer, Shigenori Ikeda, saw an opportunity while looking at the success and failures of previous American baseball tours to Japan. The idea Ikeda had was to sponsor an All-Star American baseball tour in Japan so that he could cover the tour in his newspaper to make more sales, especially if they could convince Babe Ruth to be a part of the tour.⁵⁴ It was towards the end of Babe Ruth’s career, his skills had started to fade and he was ready to move on from the New York Yankees, with whom he had been for a large portion of his career. What Ruth still had though was his charisma and presence in baseball culture, one of the handful of players that transcended the cultural borders between Japanese and American baseball. Babe Ruth was needed to make this tour successful as he was a global name in American culture,

⁵² Fitts, *Remembering Japanese Baseball*, xx.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Fitts, *Banzai Babe Ruth*, 10.

although the current greatest player at the time, Lou Gehrig, was included in the tour.⁵⁵

The American ambassador in Japan at the time, Joseph Grew, knew an all-star tour would benefit the United States in creating mutual respect and friendship between the two countries. However, the opposite could occur, due to how the Japanese treated American tourists:

The Japanese tended to overschedule American visitors, seeing historical sites, museums, and industrial centers and filling in the remaining time with banquets, receptions, and formal speeches, all while spouting transparent propaganda. Visitors often left exhausted and suspicious of Japanese intentions. Grew had spoken to the Japanese about tailoring the tours to the American temperament, but he found habit and custom too entrenched, and the pattern continued.⁵⁶

Along with suspicious treatment of American visitors, inflammatory speeches and the comparison of Japanese and American Naval powers by Japanese military leaders led to an increase of tension between the countries. Grew witnessed the swinging of Japanese and American relations for two years prior to the tour, including incidents that would spark WWII in the Pacific. Grew took his position as ambassador nine months after Japan invaded Manchuria, three months after they attacked Shanghai, and three weeks after an attempted coup; nine months into his stint as ambassador, Japan would withdraw from the League of Nations.⁵⁷ With these major events happening Grew saw an opportunity for mutual respect and entertainment with the all-star tour.

By the time the all-star tour started anti-American articles and rhetoric began to die down, with fans swarming pier number 4

⁵⁵ Ibid., xiv.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 86.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

in the Yokohama Harbor, but as Grew noticed with tourists, the Japanese were overscheduling the players leaving them exhausted. Continuing their tour, the All-American players would be introduced to the All-Nippon team—the Japanese Professional Baseball team—to become acquainted with their Japanese counterparts. The All-Nippon team felt they were talented enough to win against the American team, as stated by Tokio Tominaga, the All-Nippon Third Baseman, “The Japanese are equal to the Americans in strength of spirit.”⁵⁸ The Nippon team was also favored by many Japanese fans to win the series against the American team, but still watched the American stars in awe.⁵⁹ The mutual respect many of the players and fans had for each other started to work as Grew envisioned, but not all Japanese citizens agreed on the need for harmony with the Americans.

Capt. Koji Muranka had devised a plan to save Japan; a coup was being planned in Japan. Knowing that past coups fell apart because of inside betrayals, he kept his group of assassins to a minimum.⁶⁰ This assassination plot against Japanese leaders would be foiled by an unlikely person, Capt. Masanobu Tsuji. Tsuji would become known as an unstable leader and would help orchestrate a massacre in Singapore and multiple executions during the Bataan Death March. Tsuji would be the one to uncover the plot and prevent a possible coup that would have interrupted the All-Star tour of Japan.⁶¹ The coup plot that was foiled during the tour was not the only problem, unknown to the Japanese one of the American players was working for the US government to gather information, a spy. Moe Berg saw an opportunity to slip away on the morning of November 29, 1934. He left while claiming to go visit Ambassador Grew’s newly-born granddaughter, but really traveled to the top of the building hiding a recording camera, and filmed the surrounding area and bay.⁶² Ambassador Grew would

⁵⁸ Ibid., 153-156.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 104-112.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 182.

⁶¹ Ibid., 183.

⁶² Ibid., 203-205.

send a memo on December 26, 1934, about the Japanese military's paranoia on spies:

In a confidential memo...reported to Secretary of State Cordell Hull, 'During recent months there have been renewed manifestations of spy hysteria in Japan...Whereas the tendency to suspect foreigners...of nefarious prying into military secrets seems to be ingrained in the Japanese race and had always existed to an exaggerated degree, it is believed that recent spy scares...are largely the result of...the military to foster public apprehension.'⁶³

Even with this worrisome news, many described the tour as a diplomatic coup that did more for the understanding of each other's culture than any previous diplomatic mission. The problem in the US started after the tour was over when newspaper articles spewed racial bigotry towards Japan by using racial slurs, racist cartoons, and stereotypes.⁶⁴ On the Japanese side, Ambassador Grew believed the tour was a success in the development of Japanese-American relations, but nationalist groups in Japan saw the tour as treason. An example of this came in 1935 when Katsusuke Nagasaki would be a part of an assassination plot against Yomiuri official Matsutaro Shoriki, the plot would become realized when Nagasaki would slash a hidden samurai sword into Shoriki's head.⁶⁵ Nagasaki would turn himself in with a detailed confession, "The Primary reason for the assassination: Shoriki had defiled the memory of Emperor Meiji by allowing Babe Ruth and his team to play in the stadium named in the ruler's honor."⁶⁶ Moe Berg would write on the day war would be declared between Japan and the United States, that during his trips to Japan the people were

⁶³ Ibid., 205-206.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 230.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 237.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 237.

kind and hospitable as a whole, but like America's nationalistic Ku Klux Klan, every country had their own version and in Japan their nationalistic group had control over the government.⁶⁷ Even with the confidence stars such as Babe Ruth, Lou Gehrig, and the rest of the All-Stars tour of Japan in 1934 had that they had formed a lasting friendship between the countries, WWII had begun, and baseball would be an afterthought for both sides on the professional level until after the war had ended.

The First Baseball Stars of Post-WWII Japan

Post-WWII baseball would return in full force for both sides and would introduce baseball superstars not only in the US, but Japan as well. The power baseball gained after WWII was thanks to the Allied occupation forces that wanted to help restart the professional Japanese leagues to boost morale.⁶⁸ Two major factors helped to restart Japanese baseball after occupational forces had left: American players signing contracts with Japanese teams, like Glenn Mickens, and the continuation of American baseball tours in Japan. The American tours were more successful than the tours prior to the war because these tours would lead to two league systems in Japan, and create Japanese all-star players.⁶⁹ One of these players was Hirofumi Naito, an infielder for the Tokyo Yomiuri Giants and the Kintetsu Buffaloes.

Naito was a Japanese star that started in 1949 at second base. As Naito states however, he did not want to originally play baseball, and his family and the public perception of baseball had not fully returned to what it once was, "I didn't want to be a baseball player. I wanted to be the captain of a ship... Then, suddenly, I got an acceptance notice from the Giants... I hadn't even I told my parents I took the test [To join the Tokyo Giants].

⁶⁷ Ibid., 245.

⁶⁸ Fitts, *Remembering Japanese Baseball*, xxi.

⁶⁹ Ibid., xxi.

So I told my parents, and one word they said was ‘No!’”⁷⁰ At this time, at the end of the war, baseball players were seen as low status and not respected, Naito even compares the public view of baseball players to that of the Yakuza, Japanese gangsters.⁷¹ His interest in being a naval captain was not possible however because of the US occupation of Japan, part of the rules of the occupation was that the US had complete control over all naval vessels. This occupation also had an impact on the equipment the ball clubs used, “In those days, we didn’t have sufficient equipment to play baseball, and there wasn’t enough food to eat...After practice, I gathered the equipment and took care of it. Balls were very valuable in those days.”⁷² He goes on to state that they had go so far as to count balls before practice and again after practice. If any of the balls were missing, they had to go through “every single stand and corner until I had them all.”⁷³

After the war Naito changed the feelings of many of the older players, and the freedoms they had changed as well. Naito did not appear in any of the Giants games until his second year where he started as shortstop. During one of his first games a routine double play to the second baseman Shigeru Chiba went wrong when Naito mis-threw the ball. In Chiba’s response to this play after the game, he told to the news, “I’m not bullying the young boy. I’m not being mean to him on purpose. I’m teaching him what it is to be a professional player. Teaching him to be a real Giants player.”⁷⁴ Naito’s presence was, unofficially as he states it, seen in the American leagues as well when in 1953 he was invited to join and play with the Dodgers during spring training.

During this period he was able to experience baseball the way Americans play. What he experienced during spring training with the Dodgers made him realize transitioning to the MLB was

⁷⁰ Ibid., 11-12. The test that Naito is referring to is the open tryout tests for the Tokyo Giants ball club.

⁷¹ Ibid., 12.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid., 13.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 14.

not for him, “I knew they were such big guys and so much more powerful that I wouldn’t be able to do it over there. So I said no.”⁷⁵ Naito also stated one of the big differences between American and Japanese players was that American players try to prevent double plays at all costs, to the point of sliding into base at full speed with their cleat spikes pointed at the baseman, something he still had scars from.⁷⁶ Hirofumi Naito’s career spanned from 1949 as an infielder to being the team manager for the Yakult Swallows farm team manager in 1982. While Naito was a notable infielder in Japan, one player that was big because of his transition from America to Japanese baseball was Wally Yonamine.

Wally Yonamine was known as the Jackie Robinson of Japan because of his fast-paced style of play that credited him with changing Japanese baseball and bringing it into a new age. What made Wally different from other Japanese players was that he was a Japanese-American that traveled back to his ancestral home of Japan to play.⁷⁷ Wally was born on June 24, 1925, in Maui, Hawaii, and started his early sports career in American football. Wally enjoyed both football and baseball and dreamed of playing in Honolulu Stadium, which he achieved his junior year of high school.⁷⁸ After Wally graduated high school, he continued to play both football and baseball when he was drafted into the military in 1945, two months before the end of the war. Wally was talented in football, drawing enough attention to earn a scholarship to Ohio State, but he would receive a better offer. “After I got discharged from the army, I had a scholarship to go to Ohio State for football. But the San Francisco 49ers offered me a two-year contract for fourteen thousand dollars. In 1947, fourteen thousand dollars was a lot of money, so instead of going to college, I signed right away.”⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Ibid., 19. Naito is talking here about a reporter who stated that American teams would love to have more players like him come over to the United States.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 18.

⁷⁷ Robert K. Fitts, *Wally Yonamine: The Man Who Changed Japanese Baseball* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008).

⁷⁸ Fitts, *Remembering Japanese Baseball*, 22.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

Wally would play for one year with the 49ers, after which he would have an accident during off-season where he broke his wrist while playing baseball for fun. His contract with the 49ers required he stay healthy however, and because of that he would be dropped ten days into his second season.⁸⁰ After Wally was dropped by the 49ers he played for a team in Honolulu for a short time until he signed with the San Francisco Seals, then went to Salt Lake City in 1950. The next step for Wally came when he met Lefty O'Doul:

He told me 'Wally, I think that you should go to Japan. The Japanese are going to love your style.' I decided to go because I had hurt my shoulder playing football. So if I stayed in the States, the best I could do was AAA ball because of my shoulder...The Tokyo Giants offered me a two-year, guaranteed contract, so I came to Japan in 1951.⁸¹

The transition between the play styles of baseball intrigued Wally, because in Japan it was a slow game compared to the aggressive style they played in the US Wally would be encouraged by his manager, Mr. Mizuhara, to play as he would in the US This led to outrage from other players and from fans believing he was a dirty player. The aggressiveness came in the form of breaking up double plays, which Japanese players didn't do.

In those days, when they were turning a double play, the second basemen would stand right on the base and throw to first. So, I'd knock them down. Naturally, they were very surprised. The fans for other teams thought that I was a dirty player and would yell, 'Go back to Hawaii!' But that was my style of baseball.⁸²

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid., 23.

⁸² Ibid.

Wally explained the fans would throw rocks at him while he was on the field and would treat him horribly because of how he played and because he was an American, which is where the comparisons to Jackie Robinson came from. However, Wally does not think that's the reason fans hated him; it came down to the team he played for. The Tokyo Giants were a strong team in the years he played for them, so the fans wouldn't just pick on him but the team as well.⁸³ What shocked Wally the most about playing in Japan was how his teammates and people accepted him although the war only ended six years prior, "I came to Japan in 1951 only six years after the War, and some of my teammates had fought against the United States...But I didn't have any problems whatsoever. The players didn't talk about the War, just baseball."⁸⁴ The comradery between his teammates lead to a cultural acceptance by them as well, because he did what they did, slept where they slept, ate what they ate, and did so without complaining.

After playing baseball in Japan from 1951-1962, he moved on to managerial and coaching positions with multiple ball clubs across Japan, with his final coaching position being with the Nippon Ham Fighters from 1985-1988.⁸⁵ Wally strove to be the best he could in the Japanese Nippon League, and did that and more; being inducted into the Japanese baseball Hall of Fame, earning the MVP award in 1957, three batting titles, and a lifetime high batting average of .311.⁸⁶ Wally was able to achieve all of these goals by changing the way baseball is played in Japan, leading the way for more American players to travel to Japan to play, and by the turn of the twentieth century paving the way for Japanese stars traveling to the US and playing in Major League Baseball.

⁸³ Ibid., 23-25.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 25.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 21-31.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 21.

The New Generation of Japanese All-Stars

The new generations of Japanese baseball players and baseball culture have created an entirely new feel to the sport. Author Robert Fitts is one of the many American tourists that have traveled to Japan and attended Japanese baseball games, observing the difference in the energy and the pride they express at their games is huge. Fitts states that what he expected at the baseball game he went to in 1993 was not what he experienced. “Forty-thousand fans began beating noisemakers in unison and chanting fight songs...fans in the bleachers waived giant flags bearing team insignia and pounded drums in hypnotic rhythm.”⁸⁷ Another cultural difference at baseball games are how stars are remembered. Fitts recounts the times he traveled the back roads of Tokyo and the baseball stadiums there looking for books, cards, and anything about the history of Japanese baseball, but they did not have the same stories and memorabilia for former stars, just oral memories of a different era of baseball.

The many major Japanese stars at the turn of the twentieth century are definitely remembered in the US because some of these stars were—and in one case are—players that add an aspect to the game of baseball Americans never thought possible. One of the biggest of these stars is Ichiro Suzuki, who any baseball fan knows brought greatness to the US from Japan. Ichiro was an important milestone in MLB because he would become the first Japanese position player to make the transition to America after seven years playing in Japan.⁸⁸ American baseball had no idea what was coming, but Japanese fans knew and were ecstatic about his debut. In 2000, Ichiro would be approached with the opportunity to play in the MLB, and the team that he would join was the Seattle Mariners. The transition to the team was a tough challenge for him however, “It’s been such a dizzying experience ever since I joined the Mariners. Sometimes it feels like several years have gone by,

⁸⁷ Ibid., xv.

⁸⁸ “In the Time of Ichiro: Ichiro Suzuki Story,” uploaded by photo beautiful, (Dec. 31, 2014): 1:04, www.youtube.com/watch?v=emkT42WGe6o.

and sometimes like it's just been a few months. It's the most dramatic change I've ever gone through."⁸⁹ The cultural differences between the sport were just as Wally noticed when he played in Japan. Ichiro states that from how fans watch the game, to how the stadium is designed, and even to how the grass is mowed, is different in Japan and required adjustment. These differences can affect the game even down to how the ball will bounce when it hits the ground, "As soon as the ball is hit I try to pick up where the ball's going and how it's going to bounce, and I like the grass flat so the speed doesn't change; it's easier to play defense that way... The stress it puts on your body is [also] different... The difference in the grass can make baseball more interesting, or less interesting."⁹⁰ The style of game was changing for Ichiro and he had to adapt, which he would do quickly in his career in the MLB.

Ichiro would soon become one of the best base hitters and base runners the game has seen.⁹¹ Ichiro was watched by not just his team or Japan, but the whole league and the world of baseball. Ichiro's batting is what stood out the most: "As the season progressed Ichiro displayed an uncanny versatility at the plate... he can hit any pitch at any place, he can pull it, he can hit it to left, he can slap it, he can bloop over the infield."⁹² Ichiro became one of the most prolific hitters baseball has seen, leading to his career 3,089 hits across his 18 years in the MLB. Ichiro in his debut season in America would break the record for most hits in a rookie season with 242 hits, and was the first position player to lead both batting average and stolen bases since Jackie Robinson in 1949. His debut season would end with him winning the Rookie of the Year award and the American League's Most Valuable Player Award.⁹³ Ichiro's follow-up seasons would further his baseball

⁸⁹ Ichiro Suzuki, *Ichiro on Ichiro* (Seattle: Sasquatch Books, 2004), 2.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 64.

⁹¹ "In the Time of Ichiro, Ichiro Suzuki Story," 2:48.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 3:12.

⁹³ Robert Whiting, *The Samurai Way of Baseball: The Impact of Ichiro and the New Wave from Japan* (New York: Grand Central Publishing, 2005).

stardom by being the first Mariners player with two consecutive 200 plus hit seasons, the third player in history with three consecutive 200 hit seasons, break an 84-year-old record for the most hits in an entire season, and become the second youngest player to reach 3,000 career hits across Japanese and American leagues.⁹⁴ After his stint with the Mariners he was traded to the New York Yankees, moving him up to a bigger stage and a better-known team. After two years playing for the Yankees, Ichiro would have another short stint with the Miami Marlins, where even in old age he still managed to make amazing plays. Finally, Ichiro would return to his home American team, the Mariners, to play before taking on an office and coaching role for the team, where he is to this day.

Ichiro was just the beginning of Japanese position players making a move to MLB. Before him, Japanese pitchers had been coming over to show their skill, players like Hideo Nomo. Nomo, however, was one of the many Asian players to be mismanaged and treated poorly by the Dodgers. Nomo and Ichiro would meet a few times in MLB, and every time they did Japanese fans all over the world were filled with pride. Having two amazing Japanese players facing each other in what many consider to be the highest level of baseball was a major change from how baseball in Japan first started. Nomo and Ichiro both faced major cultural changes when transitioning to the MLB, like food and entertainment which Ichiro describes as one of the biggest challenges: “I had to adapt, to learn to live in an environment completely different from what I was used to, which naturally wasn’t easy.”⁹⁵

The transitions for both Ichiro and Nomo were dramatic changes, but they would lead the way for the newest Japanese start to transition to the American baseball leagues, Shohei Ohtani. Ohtani was one of the most watched players in baseball in the 2018 season because he is one of the first consistently good two-way players since Babe Ruth. Two-way players are players that can hit

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Suzuki, *Ichiro on Ichiro*, 4.

and pitch well, which Ohtani can do. The future of baseball, American and Japanese, will be interesting to follow for sports fans, especially in looking at the way it works with the relationship between Japan and the United States.

The Cultural Power of Baseball

The way baseball was intended to be used is quite different from what it ended up being, moving from cultural imperialism to the assimilation of the sport into Japanese culture. The relationship the Japanese have with baseball is an important study in how a nation adopted the influence of another nation and incorporated it in their culture. To this day baseball is considered an American sport, with many people not knowing that it is greatly enjoyed and played in not just Japan, but many Asian and South American countries. The story of baseball as a way to connect with people on a global scale, however, is not over. A true World Series has yet to come:

One oft-voiced objection to the World Series is, simply, that it excludes most of the world. Outside of the United States and one city in Canada, people quickly point up the combination of arrogance and defensiveness in suggesting that the rest of the world does not really matter when it comes to baseball.⁹⁶

The globalization of baseball is something that many fans and scholars are discussing today in the context of the World Series, but how the sport originally spread could be considered an early attempt of globalization. During the nineteenth century baseball spreading to Japan could be cultural imperialism, or globalization, or even Americanization, but the assimilation and change of the sport by Japan creates a different perspective. From the accounts of former and current Japanese players, researchers, and fans,

⁹⁶ Klein, *Growing the Game*, 215.

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baseball has its own culture across the world, but can still be identified by all. Players today do not necessarily see it that way however; to players such as Ichiro Suzuki, that understand the importance and complexities involved in the culture, politics, and life of baseball, baseball is not just a sport, it is a way of connecting communities and fans together, and to break cultural barriers.

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Cameron Van Note

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Author Bio

Cameron Van Note graduated at the end of the fall quarter of 2018 with a Public and Oral History degree from CSUSB. He is currently looking into Master's degree programs. History has always been something that Cameron found fascinating. While not wanting to become a teacher, wanting to be able to help others understand history better led him to become interested in archives, collection rooms, and libraries. He also enjoys baseball, which is what inspired me to find a topic related baseball history.



Neozapatismo as History and Influence

By Benjamin Shultz

Abstract: On January 1, 1994 the North American Free Trade Agreement went into effect with the espoused intention of opening trade relationships in North America. In Mexico City, the leaders of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional were celebrating this economic victory which they assured would bring about economic prosperity and wealth for Mexico. Yet while the PRI celebrated, the Ejercito Zapatista de Liberacion Nacional, emerged from the Lacandon Jungle in the southern state of Chiapas and took control of the city of San Cristobal de las Casas. Their demands focused on social and economic justice for the indigenous campesinos whose lands would be seized and privatized in order to meet the trading conditions specified in the NAFTA. However, the EZLN's armed insurgency was short lived since by January 12th the Mexican army drove the insurgents back into the Lacandon Jungle. The movement is alive today and has acted as a catalyst for many other anti-globalization movements, including 1999 WTO protest in Seattle and the more recent Occupy Wall Street protests. In my article I will discuss the historical factors of the ideology of Neozapatismo and how it drew in supporters for the EZLN at both the national and internal level.

On January 1st, 1994 the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) went into effect with the espoused intention of opening trade relationships between the United States, Canada, and Mexico. In Mexico City, the leaders of the *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* (PRI) were celebrating this economic victory. They

assured the people that this new economic deal would bring about economic prosperity and wealth for all Mexicans. Yet while the people of Mexico City celebrated, the *Ejercito Zapatista de Liberacion Nacional* (EZLN), a group of insurgents, emerged from the Lacandon Jungle in the southern state of Chiapas and took control of the city of San Cristobal de las Casas. Their demands focused on social and economic justice for the indigenous *campesinos* whose lands would be seized and privatized in order to meet the trading conditions specified in the NAFTA agreement. However, the EZLN's armed insurgency was short lived. By January 12th, the Mexican army drove the insurgents back into the Lacandon Jungle. This setback did not stop the vision of this small group of insurgents making an impact on history. In 2018, the movement that began in 1994 remains alive with the same focus on the issues of social and economic justice for the native people of Chiapas. While the internet was key in helping spread the ideals of the EZLN, it was the key concept of *Neozapatismo* that drew support from the people of Mexico and the international communities who had been negatively affected by neoliberal politics. This rather nationalistic myth and history, presented as *Neozapatismo*, is how the EZLN sustained its momentum within the national and international context with their call for "justice and equality" into the modern era.¹

Literature Review

What is it that has drawn supporters to the cause of the EZLN? The EZLN had not created new tactics or approaches to sustain its mission and disseminate its message since they began their revolt in 1994. It is very much a combination of multiple elements that have allowed the EZLN to be successful in drawing support for their cause. Yet it is still possible for one element to be a huge influence in gaining support for the movement. Therefore, it is

¹ General Command of the EZLN, "First Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle," *Enlance Zapatista*, January 1994.

important to look at how other scholars have attempted to figure out these issues.

One of the main elements that many scholars point to as a huge asset for the EZLN has been the group's use of the internet to promote their cause online. The use of the internet by the EZLN is important, because they were one of the first insurgent groups in the world to do this. This perspective is represented in David Ronfeldt's "Emergence and Influence of the Zapatista Social Network." It is in his article that Ronfeldt points out that the EZLN, as a group, could not have survived if they had not legitimized themselves on the web.² This is due to the fact that with the world's eyes on Mexico, the government in Mexico City was unable to act without being seen as violating human rights. The EZLN was therefore able to interact with an international audience without having to leave the state of Chiapas or the politics of indigenous peoples living there.

This connection between the EZLN and the use of the internet was also touched upon by in Alex Khasnabish's, *Zapatistas: Rebellion from the Grassroots to the Global*. While he does not focus solely on the internet as an influence for supporters of the EZLN, he does state that the EZLN have come to be understood as "Internet Warriors."³ This status of internet warrior has been seen as a pioneering process for the EZLN since their first declarations were released for the world to see on January 1, 1994. But as Khasnabish also argues, there is more to the EZLN movement than just the material influences of the internet. For example, the timing of the movement could not have been more influential given the recent trend and development of globalization. Since the Soviet Union had collapsed just three years prior, the

² David Ronfeldt and John Arquilla, "Emergence and Influence of the Zapatista Social Netwar," in *Networks and Netwars: The Future of Terror, Crime, and Militancy*, ed. by David Ronfeldt (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2001), 172.

³ Alex Khasnabish, *Zapatistas: Rebellion from the Grassroots to the Global*, (London: Zed Books, 2010), 175.

EZLN became a new symbol for the fight against capitalism and neoliberalism.

One other topic discussed by other authors has been that the EZLN movement is representative of the traditional underdog story, but with a more postmodern approach. For instance in John Holloway's "Zapatismo and the Social Sciences," he talks about how the EZLN is a reaction to the "bitterness" of history that has caused the indigenous peoples of Mexico to suffer hardships.⁴ They are fighting against a force, the force of NAFTA and neoliberal politics in Mexico that seeks to further push indigenous peoples out of the picture in Mexico. It is therefore the case that the EZLN rises up to fight against this force in a nontraditional way. Instead of calling for a mass revolution and seizing power for themselves, they are calling on others to launch movements that will change Mexican society from the bottom up.⁵ This is what the author considered to be the driving point of the EZLN's success.

A similar argument can be found in Richard Stahler-Sholk's article "The Zapatista Movement: Innovation and Sustainability." He argues that while the EZLN is fighting for change in Mexican society, the group has unintentionally developed a framework by which they are opposing the rise of globalization.⁶ The EZLN has translated its movement into that of an international movement almost by accident. They have gained support on an international level that was meant to support the local level in the state of Chiapas. In many respects, the EZLN is one of the first successful underdogs to emerge and push back against the ever growing force of globalization that is dominating the political and the economic state of the world. This is yet another reason why the EZLN may have amassed so much support.

While all these factors are important, it seems as though most of these authors have missed a key factor in the development

⁴ John Holloway, "Zapatismo and the Social Sciences," *Capital & Class* 26, no. 78 (2002): 157.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Richard Stahler-Sholk, "The Zapatista Social Movement: Innovation and Sustainability," *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 35, no. 3 (2010): 271.

of the EZLN. Many have touched upon this idea, but it has always been seen as a minor part of the overall movement. However, this idea that has been touched upon many times is one that deserves a more in-depth look. It is the ideology of the EZLN, *Neozapatismo*, that has allowed the EZLN to gain legitimacy and recognition for their cause and gain support at both the national and international level. This look will include multiple communications from the EZLN through their website as well as a number of secondary sources.

Roots of Neozapatismo

Neozapatismo is a broad ideology which draws from numerous left wing ideas, yet the core of this ideology is a synthesis of two major ideas from Mexican society. These ideas are the importance of Mayan culture and language, along with the ideals that were formed as a result of the Mexican Revolution. The ideology is congruent with the notion of *mestizaje*, or a mixture with regards to both ethnic and cultural aspects of everyday life in Mexico and Latin America overall. Historically, the predecessor to the EZLN had not held to the ideas of *neozapatismo*, but rather to the ideas of the Mexican Revolution and various left-wing ideologies.

The primary founders of the EZLN were non-indigenous urban guerrillas from northern Mexico known collectively as the *Fuerzas de Liberacion Nacional* (FLN). Having adopted left-wing ideology, which mainly consisted of Libertarian Marxist ideals and Subcomandante Marco's own take on revolutionary theory, then infused with the ideas from the Mexican Revolution, allowed for groups to begin to move further south to appeal to the poor *campesinos* whom resided in Chiapas and other southern states of Mexico. Members of the FLN began to systematically incorporate themselves into the indigenous community with the help of local *campesino* movements and the local Catholic Church (which had been helping to develop these local *campesino* movements since the 1960s through the use of Liberation Theology). Through living in these communities, the FLN members deepened their

understanding of the struggle of the local indigenous *campesinos* and started incorporating more indigenous traditions, such as the Tzotzil language, Mayan oral history, and communal based agricultural system into the framework of their ideology thus drawing more indigenous *campesinos* into the movement.⁷ By the 1990s, the FLN had reconstituted itself as the EZLN and were comprised primarily of indigenous *campesinos* whose primary mission was to fight for the rights of all indigenous peoples in Mexico through their new ideals of *neozapatismo*.

Impact of the Ideals of the Mexican Revolution

In order to fully comprehend the essence of *neozapatismo*, it is important to understand where it draws its ideas from. The first thing to look at is the ideals on which the Mexican Revolution was fought. The Mexican Revolution began in 1910 and lasted until the early 1920s. It was an event that changed the landscape of Mexico by ending the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz. According to Vincent T. Gawronski's analysis and essay on the Mexican Revolution, there were five promises that the revolutionary leaders made to the people of Mexico over the course of the revolution. These five promises included: 1) agrarian reform, 2) respect for labor rights/unions, 3) no reelection of the president, 4) national economic sovereignty, and 5) social justice.⁸ These five ideas have resonated in the minds of the people of Mexico since the revolution ended and are often the crux of any nationalist movement. Historically, these five ideals have permeated the formation of the central government in Mexico City as well as the numerous guerilla armies, such as the *Ejercito Popular*

⁷ Gunther Dietz, "From *Indigenismo* to *Zapatismo*: The Struggle for a Multi-ethnic Mexican Society," in *The Struggle for Indigenous Rights in Latin America*, ed. Nancy Grey Postero and Leon Zamosc (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2004), 59.

⁸ Vincent T. Gawronski, "The Revolution is Dead. *Viva La Revolucion!* The place of the Mexican Revolution in the Era of Globalization," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 18, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 365.

Revolucionario, that exist in the rural regions of Mexico. One thing that all of these groups had in common was that they practiced vanguardism. This means that each group believed that only their group could carry out the ideals of the revolution. However, most of these groups, like the PRI, have failed in practice to support these ideals and in many ways their actions and decisions negatively impacted the progress that had been made in some of the areas after the revolution. In part, this is due to widespread political and economic corruption that has plagued Mexico since its independence from Spain in 1821.⁹

In addition to the ideals of the revolution, the images and heroes of the revolution had a significant impact. These heroes include Francisco Madero, Pancho Villa, and Alvaro Obregon, whose lives and stories of their willingness to commit themselves to the causes of the Mexican people are deeply intertwined with the ideals of the revolution. The most prominent hero and mythical figure of the revolution is Emiliano Zapata. The image of Zapata is important not just in the urban areas of Mexico, but to the poor *campesinos* in the rural areas as well. Zapata has been framed as the poor man's hero. As a result, his image in history stands out even more than Pancho Villa's. What makes Zapata so special is his background growing up a poor *campesino* in the state of Morelos, and then emerging to fight for the rights of the poor farmers of the region. His famous *Plan de Ayala* was one of the first declarations in Mexico to call for mass land redistribution in order to return the land to those who worked it.¹⁰ Zapata's ideals of *zapatismo* focused on bringing about social justice much like the EZLN is attempting to do now with indigenous rights. Even the EZLN's name is derived from the name of Zapata.

⁹ Jose Rabasa, *Without History: Subaltern Studies, the Zapatista Insurgency, and the Specter of History* (Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 2010), 18.

¹⁰ Thomas Benjamin, *La Revolución: Mexico's Great Revolution as Memory, Myth, and History* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 53.

Historic Evolution of Indigenous Rights in Mexico

Today, the Mexican Revolution and the image of Zapata is not unique for a group such as the EZLN. What has distinguished the EZLN from other insurgent groups, however, is their integration and call for the rights of indigenous *campesinos*. Much like their counterparts in the United States and Canada, historically the indigenous people of Mexico have always been treated as second class citizens in the eyes of both the Mexican government and the Mexican people. This included being discriminated against in the private sector and being forced to live in the more remote areas of Mexico. Even when the indigenous people are recognized as being a part of *mestizaje*, along with the original *peninsulares* (Spaniards born in Spain under the Spanish Empire) and the *mestizo* (Spaniards born in Latin America), they have always been relegated to the lesser third of the three roots of Mexican people.

Historically, the indigenous peoples of Mexico have suffered as well. Since the arrival of the *conquistadors*, the indigenous population had to deal with oppression and subjugation at the hands of the Spanish Empire and later the Mexican government. From enslavement to trafficking of indigenous peoples, they had little to no freedom under the rule of the Spanish and later Mexican government. It could even be argued that the Mexican government treated the indigenous people worse, as the Bourbon Reforms under the Spanish Empire would have given indigenous peoples more freedom. When the EZLN issued its first declaration, they claimed that the indigenous peoples of Mexico had suffered for 500 years under the rule of a tyrannical government since the Americas were first “discovered.”¹¹ Even the legend of *La Malinche*, a legend of an indigenous woman who is seen as a traitor for acting as a translator and concubine for Cortez, serves as a tribute to the subjugation of the indigenous peoples.

Given this evolution of events over a 500-year period, the final straw came as a result of the adoption of NAFTA, and the

¹¹ EZLN, *First Declaration*.

impact of those reforms on the lives and economic opportunities allocated to the indigenous peoples. Taking the advice of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, the PRI began to privatize large sections of land in Mexico so that they could be developed by American and Canadian businesses. These were the same areas of land that were occupied by indigenous reservations since the time of conquest in Mexico beginning in 1519. Thus, the PRI seized the land from these groups in order to develop them as they envisioned these lands and peoples as being expendable in order to develop their own wealth. To make matters worse, the new trade deal allowed for the movement of products across North American borders to move more freely. For example, this meant that corn, which could be cultivated and mass produced more easily in the United States than in Mexico, would drive down the prices of corn and force these indigenous *campesinos* out of business. NAFTA also had a negative impact on the economic and social fabric of indigenous groups since they would not be able to cultivate and sell corn at a competitive price, thereby losing their ability to meet their basic needs for survival.¹²

When the FLN first came to the indigenous regions, the indigenous groups already living there were very skeptical about their “true” motivations. However, as the members of the FLN built relationships and trust with the indigenous peoples and integrated into their communities, they became more accepting of their ideas and clear about their intentions. This led to the elimination of the FLN and the emergence of the EZLN which fully integrated indigenous culture and language into their group structure. By the time that the groups emerged in 1994, their ranks consisted mostly of indigenous Mayans. The major features that the EZLN had adopted from the Mayan groups in Chiapas included managing communal land and adopting the Mayan language of *tzotli* as their primary language for communication. By the time the

¹² Nancy Postero and Leon Zamosc, “Indigenous Movements and the Indian Question in Latin America,” in *The Struggle for Indigenous Rights in Latin America*, ed. Nancy Postero and Leon Zamosc (Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2004), 21.

Chiapas conflict started in 1994, the EZLN was mainly composed of indigenous fighters and became one of the first fully indigenous rebel groups to directly confront the Mexican Government. Thus, their primary goal became that of the defense of the right of indigenous *campesinos* to their land and culture. The EZLN even had a major impact in influencing the creation of the *Congreso Nacional Indigena* (CNI).¹³

Conflicting Ideals in *Neozapatismo*

As the ideals of *neozapatismo* evolved, it was clear that not all aspects of these ideals were clearly integrated and harmonious with one another. For instance, the EZLN prided itself on being a feminist organization. As seen in their *Women's Revolutionary Law*, the EZLN states that the women in the movement and their supporters are equal to men under all of these revolutionary laws and that they can also have their own personal needs met as well.¹⁴ However, this is in exact contrast to beliefs from the Mayan culture which in the past had been very patriarchal, emphasizing the importance of male warriors. While it is true that some family lines were traced through the women of the family, the men in the family were still heads of the household. Therefore, it is important to note that some of these patriarchal ideas still exist in the Zapatista autonomous and support communities to this day. This was highlighted during the "Intercontinental Encounter for Humanity and Against Neo-liberalism," a conference for global supporters of the EZLN in 1996.¹⁵ While the EZLN and their international guests were eating and discussing strategy, the women of the movement were confined to cooking and cleaning for the conference guests. However, the EZLN attempted to fix

¹³ Khasnabish, *Zapatistas*, 65.

¹⁴ General Command of the EZLN, "Revolutionary Law for Women," *Enlace Zapatista* (December 1993).

¹⁵ Roger Burbach, "Zapatismo and the Intergalactic Age," in *Globalization and Postmodern Politics: From Zapatistas to High Tech Robber Barons* (London: Pluto Press, 2001), 135.

these issues by having women play a primary role in the negotiations for peace during the San Andres accords. The most prominent figures of these accords being Comandante Ramona who was the first Zapatista fighter to travel to Mexico City to begin peace talks while she was recovering from cancer treatment. If nothing else, critics will say that *neozapatismo* is very broad in terms of its definition (incorporating numerous ideas from former movements) and it is also very idealistic.¹⁶ It is presented in such a way that a person could romanticize the possibilities of what could come out of the movement. This is shown in the writing of Subcomandante Marcos whose poetic stylizing has been called both artistic and propagandist given its utopic portrayal of indigenous culture and peoples. One of these books, *The History of Color*, stands out as being one of the most idealistic as it calls for social justice while also recognizing the need for unity in diversity.¹⁷ Yet while these works and other publications from the EZLN are idealistic in nature, they exemplify the important ways to share their ideas of *neozapatismo*, and reach out to supporters and potential supporters. This is where supporters recognized the universal value that the EZLN had put forward and still continues to do today.

EZLN and PRI: Ideals in Opposition

Before looking into the supporters of the EZLN and what drew them to the cause, it is important to understand their enemies. The one adversary that stood out as being most opposed to the EZLN was the *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* or PRI. At the time of the Chiapas Conflict, the PRI had been in control of all of Mexico's political affairs since the end of the Mexican Revolution in 1920. The PRI had been ruling Mexico as a one-party state and they had been unopposed primarily due to the suppression of opposition parties. Yet there were instances in which the party

¹⁶ Stahler-Sholk, "The Zapatista Social Movement," 283.

¹⁷ Subcomandante Marcos, *The Story of Colors*, (El Paso: Cinco Puntos Press, 1999), 15.

would not hesitate to flex its strength against political dissidents. One such event was the massacring of student protesters during the 1968 Olympic Games.¹⁸ The party justified this atrocity by claiming to be defending the ideals of the Mexican Revolution. While the public saw through these claims long ago, they did little to change the status quo and for decades tolerated corruption and brutality and thereby offered support, by default, for the status quo asserted by party members. Yet because they ruled Mexico for so long, they were beginning to further lose credibility in the international community. So, as a means to appease outside influences, the PRI began to adopt the neoliberal reforms that other developed countries had adopted and began to negotiate with the United States and Canada in order to create NAFTA.¹⁹

The PRI claimed that the neoliberal reforms would allow for greater economic prosperity for all of Mexico while still allowing for certain aspects of self-determination about specific economic goods, such as oil. Thus, the PRI expected to be able to hold their political and economic hegemony over Mexico. However, they began to backtrack on these promises after the International Monetary Fund and World Bank recommended that in order to fully adopt NAFTA, they would need to privatize a majority of their land for development. This in particular applied to the agricultural industries that included corn and wheat production. Most of the land that was privatized was taken from poor areas of the country, which consisted of communally owned land run by indigenous *campesinos*. Thus, the PRI violated the Constitution of 1917, which stated that indigenous persons could hold communal land separate from the government, allowing the EZLN to justify their armed struggle against the government.²⁰

The PRI had also endeavored to take control of indigenous affairs by trying to create a bureaucratic regulatory system that

¹⁸ Gawronski, "The Revolution is Dead," 370.

¹⁹ Lynn Stephen, *Zapata Lives!: Histories and Cultural Politics in Southern Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 35.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 36.

would come to be known as *indigenismo*.²¹ This system of *indigenismo* was an attempt by the PRI to bring indigenous culture in Mexico into a regulated form of information that would be used by the state. The process they used was to study the various cultures of indigenous peoples around Mexico and understand their different traditions and practices. The espoused outcome was to identify the unique elements of each culture under the guise of co-opting Mexico's indigenous heritage while giving little to the actual indigenous groups. By embracing not only Mexico's revolutionary past, but also its indigenous past, the PRI sought to manipulate the information and knowledge related to the history of Mexico and the concept of *mestizaje* (the concept of the merging of cultures and societies in Latin America). Thus, by controlling and regulating cultural information, the government could use it as it saw fit as a way to influence public perceptions and interpretations of the actions and decisions that were being made at the time. This would play directly into the unique culture of *mestizaje*, literal mixing of races that has dominated the modern culture of Mexican society.

Since many indigenous languages and cultures had been either suppressed or wiped out by the 1990s, it was the Mexican intelligentsia and non-native speakers who understood and practiced the language on a regular basis. Professors would tend to be the ones who muddled the languages, and ultimately utilized the languages in order to control the image of Mexico's indigenous past.²² Additionally, most indigenous people were excluded from these classes due to their poor socioeconomic status. Consequently, the development of the class was mainly done through the studies of professors and students, taking the main focus away from the people who actually spoke the language. Since the professors were constantly utilizing the language and the culture, they asserted that they knew more about the indigenous cultures of Mexico than the people from the indigenous blood lines in Mexico. These classes

²¹ Dietz, "From *Indigenismo*," 35.

²² Ibid., 44.

were also seen as a way to fully assimilate the indigenous peoples of Mexico into the *mestizaje* culture. This meant that the culture of indigenous Mexico was downplayed in favor of this concept of *mestizaje*—with an emphasis on the European origins—the culture of modern Mexico.

Yet the EZLN came to challenge these beliefs and seized them for their own purpose. The EZLN even claimed the right to use the national symbols of Mexico, including the right to fly the national flag. By taking the mixed history of Mexico and creating *neozapatismo*, the EZLN was taking the image of Mexico and making it their own. They took what the PRI had used for years to subjugate and control the people of Mexico and instead used it to amass support for their cause on a national level. So while *neozapatismo* is a combination of ideas, it has an appeal at the national level as it relates to a common history. At the same time, *neozapatismo* generated an international appeal (in the form of Marco's stories) that amassed a large international support group. This would include ideas that are universally recognized by people from around the world. That is why this idea is so powerful, in that it is able to create a big tent effect and thus draw in more people; not just sympathizers in Mexico, but groups and organizations from around the world that would like to see the ideals of *neozapatismo* be realized. Following are just a few of these groups that sought to support the EZLN and its goals.

National Supporters of the EZLN

The initial supporters of the EZLN were the indigenous Mayan groups of Chiapas²³ Later other indigenous groups from across Mexico, such as Mexica tribes in the north, gave their support to the EZLN. As mentioned, the FLN integrated themselves into the indigenous communities before they initiated their revolutionary actions in 1994. Once they had support from the indigenous communities, they were able to initiate their first armed rebellion.

²³ Ibid.

This led to larger numbers of indigenous *campesinos* joining their struggle and resulted in indigenous members of the group becoming the leaders of the movement while the original members of the FLN stepped aside and held honorary positions. Yet the best evidence that demonstrates the support from the EZLN in the indigenous communities comes from the stories of Old Antonio.²⁴

As the story was told by Marcos, Old Antonio was an old man of Mayan decent living in Chiapas. Old Antonio had met numerous times with Subcomandante Marcos to talk with him and to help the FLN integrate into the indigenous cultures of the area. In fact, Marcos claims that it was the stories told by Old Antonio that inspired the FLN to integrate aspects of indigenous cultures into their framework. The story that had the biggest impact on Marcos was called "Questions." As Old Antonio told the story, he described how two ancient gods had come together to form a human being that had the ability to question the world around it and make decisions for itself.²⁵ The human that emerged, according to Old Antonio, would eventually come to be known as Emiliano Zapata, thus connecting the ideals from Mayan mythology with the mythical figure of Zapata.

Another important tale that has drawn indigenous peoples to the cause of the EZLN was the "Story of the Seven Rainbows." In this story, Old Antonio tells Marcos about the seven rainbows which serves as a bridge between the gods and the original peoples of the earth.²⁶ This story acts as a metaphor for the connection between the EZLN and their indigenous supporters. Marcos points out how the connection between the EZLN and their supporters is a mutually supportive relationship and just like in the "Story of the Seven Rainbows," there is a mythical connection between the

²⁴ Kristine Berghe and Bart Maddens, "Ethnocentrism, Nationalism and Post-nationalism in the Tales of Subcomandante Marcos," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 20, no. 1 (2004): 129.

²⁵ Subcomandante Marcos, *Questions & Swords: Folktales of the Zapatista Revolution*, (El Paso: Cinco Puntos Press, 2001), 12.

²⁶ Subcomandante Marcos, "The History of the Seven Rainbows," *Enlance Zapatista*, January 7, 1996.

EZLN and their supporters which keeps them strong. While this is a very poetic way of describing the beauty of the support the EZLN receives, Marco's story is important in that it demonstrates that the indigenous groups of Mexico are the essence of what motivates the EZLN to take appropriate actions to create a beautiful future (like a rainbow) for the indigenous peoples of Chiapas.

These stories must have had a positive effect on the indigenous population, as multiple villages within Chiapas have shown support for the EZLN. In their call to action they listed eleven demands which included; work, land, roof, food, health, education, independence, freedom, democracy, justice, and peace.²⁷ All of these were rights that the EZLN claimed the Mexican government had denied indigenous peoples for far too long. The indigenous people were sympathetic to the struggle because this was one of the first times a social movement had recognized their desires beyond the corrupt system of *indigenismo* which consistently provided no real assistance and support for their cause and continued economic viability. They also needed to be steadfast and committed to this new idea because of the danger that their allegiance with the EZLN put them in.

In the years following the initial violent uprising by the EZLN, villages that had supported the EZLN were targeted by the government as being potentially dangerous. Thus, paramilitaries were established, including the infamous *Paz y Justicia* group, for the alleged protection of pro-government areas. The result has been a terror campaign against the sympathizers of the EZLN, particularly remote indigenous villages in the state of Chiapas.²⁸ This is due to the large Mayan population in the area, as well as being the main state that the EZLN operates out of. Some of the supporters of the EZLN attempted to appeal to the Comandantes in order to gain protection from the paramilitaries. The EZLN could

²⁷ Nicholas P. Higgins, *Understanding the Chiapas Rebellion: Modernist Visions and the Invisible Indian* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 102.

²⁸ Alex Khasnabish, "A Tear in the Fabric of the Present." *Journal for the Study of Radicalism* 2, no. 2 (2008): 38.

not help them however, as they were actively involved in peace negotiations with the PRI and could not break their truce. Despite these setbacks, the sympathizers were still supportive of the EZLN, and some even managed to protect themselves against the paramilitary groups by organizing themselves into defensive groups that would resist the terror being incited by the paramilitary groups.²⁹

These organizations contributed to the creation of the EZLN's *Caracoles*. These autonomous self-sufficient communities were some of the first initiatives to be developed by the EZLN and their supporting communities.³⁰ These autonomous communities were located in the remote areas surrounding the southern mountains of Chiapas and have been the stronghold for the Zapatista communities. Yet had it not been for the supporters teaching and helping the EZLN how to live self-sufficiently in the high density jungle area, the group probably would not have survived for long. As a result, the communities that surrounded the autonomous areas have acted as a barrier between the government and paramilitary forces. Of course, these supporting communities tend to be the first and hardest hit when violence occurs in the region.³¹

During the early 2000s, the indigenous peasants had a resurgence of interest in their ancient culture. Unlike the oppressive forces of *indigenismo*, the ideas of *neozapatismo* sparked interest in indigenous communities to be proud of their heritage and practices. They no longer had to tolerate the bureaucratic nature of the PRI government manipulating their culture for the purpose of controlling their actions and interactions. The people were now free to use their language and practice their cultural traditions as they saw fit and continue their communal lifestyles and practices. This did not remove the threat of NAFTA;

²⁹ Jeff Conant, *A Poetics of Resistance: The Revolutionary Public Relations of the Zapatista Insurgency* (Oakland: AK Press, 2010), 127.

³⁰ General Command of the EZLN, "The Sixth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle," *Enlance Zapatista*, 2005.

³¹ Conant, *A Poetics of Resistance*, 127.

however, it did allow for indigenous groups to start pushing back against the unjust nature of what had been occurring to them for over 500 years.

One of the main organizations that emerged as a group of indigenous supporters of the EZLN was the nationwide *Congreso Nacional Indígena* (CNI). This group was comprised of numerous tribes and indigenous groups around Mexico in response to the EZLN's call for action. Beginning in 1996, the group operated as a congressional body that had called on the indigenous people to act and not wait for the government to tell them what to do. Specifically, they have adopted the EZLN's model of autonomy, and began working to undo the damage that was caused by NAFTA to the communal indigenous lands. They were also looking to fight against *indigenismo* by adopting aspects of *neozapatismo*. This included their focus on expanded rights for indigenous people to their own self-determination and socioeconomic justice.³²

It is important to note that while the CNI had adopted aspects of *neozapatismo*, they were not part of the EZLN and their fighting forces. The CNI was more loosely confederated than the EZLN and acted more as a voice for indigenous peoples. Thus, the CNI brought together a multitude of ideas that were not associated directly with the EZLN. It would be unwise however, to distance the two completely, as the EZLN and its ideas of *neozapatismo* was what sparked the group initially to take action and organize.³³ Had the EZLN not existed, it is highly unlikely that the groups would have had the confidence or the ability to initiate actions and focus on the changes that needed to be made. Thus, the CNI was representative of the ideals of *neozapatismo* going beyond the

³² Dietz, "From *Indigenismo*," 63.

³³ Christopher Gunderson, "The Making of Organic Indigenous-Campesino Intellectuals: Catechist Training in the Diocese of San Cristobal and the roots of the Zapatista uprising," in *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change*, ed by Patrick G. Coy (Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2011), 278.

EZLN to work in full support of the mission for change to positively impact the lives of the indigenous peoples of Mexico.

One of the more recent campaigns the CNI has undertaken has been a joint effort with the EZLN. As of January 2017, both the CNI and the EZLN have stated that they would be putting their weight behind an independent indigenous female candidate in the 2018 Mexican election.³⁴ This candidate would represent both the indigenous peoples of Mexico and the political agenda of the EZLN. It is unlikely that this individual will win the election, however this move does show a joint cooperation between the CNI and the EZLN in term of their unified goal to improve the conditions for indigenous peoples. That being said, the CNI does not represent all of the indigenous peoples of Mexico, yet it does show a huge indigenous support for the EZLN and their vision for change, somewhere in the tens of thousands.

Even with all of the support coming from the indigenous peoples, the EZLN and Marcos made a critical mistake. Specifically, the indigenous peoples were being characterized in idealized ways implying that they were from historically privileged groups that would one day rise up against their oppressors in Mexico and take what was rightfully theirs.³⁵ While this may be very appealing to the indigenous peoples of Mexico, it also becomes very exclusionary to non-indigenous Mexicans. To facilitate their effectiveness, that is why it was important that the EZLN have some support from the non-native population of Mexico to validate its purpose and support its actions.

This is where the appeal to the people of Mexico began to develop. Much like the indigenous peoples of Mexico, the poor *campesinos* also played a significant role in supporting the EZLN as a movement. In many cases, these groups were intertwined with the indigenous peoples of Mexico. This was especially the case when the EZLN worked with the local Catholic Churches in

³⁴ Rassec Niembro, "The Zapatista Candidate," *Jacobin*, January 29, 2017. Accessed February 10, 2018.

³⁵ Berghe, "Ethnocentrism," 132.

Chiapas. These groups included the working poor, the trade unionists, and the teachers of Mexico.

Many of the poor *campesinos* and working class people had been in support of the ideals of the Mexican Revolution, though not all. This concept of revolution was seen as a way to raise their status in society because of its call for social justice and respect for workers' rights. These dreams and ideals never materialized however, because of the efforts of the PRI and other corrupt groups who sought to gain power for themselves. Thus, these same peoples were forced to live and work in conditions that were as bad, if not worse, than the conditions that indigenous peoples had historically suffered under.

While the PRI and other groups had circumvented the ideals of the Mexican Revolution for the working class of Mexico, the EZLN became a new hope. The EZLN had become the most prominent group, by the end of the twentieth century, to challenge the authority that the PRI had held for decades. While the Zapatista Uprising was meant to strive for the betterment of the indigenous people, many working class peoples and *campesinos* were motivated to help the EZLN because of their shared ideals of the Mexican Revolution.³⁶

These same *campesinos* and working class people had also helped the EZLN on a few occasions. For instance, during the creation of the *Caracoles* in the jungles of Chiapas, many working class people and other non-indigenous *campesinos* from the surrounding areas also came to establish the infrastructure. They developed the cooperative shops that have been used by the EZLN's supporters to create and sell goods in order to maintain the schools and housing for the supporters and autonomous areas.³⁷

One of the greatest contributions that the working class and *campesino* people have contributed to the EZLN has been their support during the San Andreas Accords.³⁸ During these accords, both indigenous *campesinos* and working class people acted as

³⁶ Higgins, *Understanding the Chiapas Rebellion*, 56.

³⁷ Khasnabish, *Zapatistas*, 161.

³⁸ Stahler-Sholk, "The Zapatista Social Movement," 278.

protectors and supporters for the EZLN delegates who would go to these accords. The most widely known protection tactic used by the supporters was to stand with arms locked at the entrance to prevent any potential attacks against the EZLN delegates by government or paramilitary forces. All of these people were volunteers who wanted the accords to go peacefully and smoothly.

Another example of working class solidarity with the EZLN was during the speech given by Comandante Ramona in Mexico City. At the height of the San Andreas Accords in 1996, it was decided by the EZLN that the terminally ill Comandante Ramona would give a speech in Mexico City as an appeal to the PRI for peace in the region of Chiapas. Ramona along with EZLN soldiers and supporters would caravan to Mexico City from Chiapas. Along the way, the working class people of the region gave their full support and protection to Ramona and her caravan as they traveled through the harsher areas of the country.³⁹ Thus, it can be seen that support for the EZLN was widespread.

While the working class, indigenous groups, and *campesinos* of Mexico had given a large amount of support to the EZLN, support also came from the student population and the intellectual population of the country (specifically those affiliated with the political left). Most student populations have been considered radical in the political ideologies, and Mexican students were no exception. One of the most significant historic events that occurred, which was led by Mexican students, was what had come to be known as The Massacre of Tlatelolco. It was during this time that Mexican students were massacred by government forces for protesting against the government for hosting the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico at a time when the government refused to address the economic issues faced by the country.⁴⁰ Much like the working class and the indigenous groups that were discussed before, the student body had also lost hope of achieving the ideals of the Mexican Revolution.

³⁹ Khasnabish, *Zapatistas*, 142.

⁴⁰ Gawronski, "The Revolution is Dead," 370.

One of the biggest contributions that the students made to the EZLN cause was during an event referred to as *The Other Campaign*. In 2000 the PRI lost its powerful hold on government and was replaced by the *Partido Accion Nacional* (PAN) with Vicente Fox acting as president.⁴¹ Yet the PAN was still willing to accept the terms of NAFTA and continue expansion of these policies. Thus, the EZLN sent out Subcomandante Marcos as a spokesperson and campaigner between 2005-2006 to rally support for a wider anti-capitalist/anti-neoliberal movement that would encompass more social groups in a grand coalition against these forces. Keep in mind the main goal for Marcos was to pressure President Vicente Fox to ensure that indigenous rights were protected, and that NAFTA's accords would not negatively impact them. Students ended up being a great help to the campaign as they created networks which called for an end to the massive corruption in Mexico City. These students acted almost like a megaphone for Marcos, as their networks allowed for the greater spread of information about the EZLN's cause.⁴²

Similar to the EZLN's activities, *The Other Campaign* was meant to draw in students and other social movements, it was also meant to make an appeal to the intellectual class in Mexico. From elementary school teachers to college professors, Marcos and the EZLN made an appeal to use their knowledge not just for the sake of their own university, but for the people of Mexico as well. In fact, Marcos himself had been a teacher before he joined the EZLN and assumed the image of the Subcomandante. However, the response from the intellectual community of Mexico was mixed and did not yield the support that was hoped for to address social and economic equality.⁴³

For the most part, many of the teacher unions in Mexico agreed with the ideals and the cause of the EZLN. Yet they were uncertain about how long the EZLN would be able to hold out against the onslaught of the paramilitary groups and government

⁴¹ Gawronski, "The Revolution is Dead," 374.

⁴² Burbach, "Zapatismo," 139.

⁴³ Higgins, *Understanding the Chiapas Rebellion*, 156.

forces. They worried that the organization would also just turn out to be another group of people motivated by power. A group that would be just as corrupt as the previous groups who had taken power. Despite these reservations, some of the braver teachers contributed to the curriculum of the Zapatista schools in the autonomous rebel zones. One teacher even lost his life when a group of paramilitary soldiers ambushed and destroyed one of the schoolhouses the EZLN supporters were building.⁴⁴

While some of these teachers voiced their support for the EZLN, many more were critical and even condemned the movement as a whole. They wrote scathing articles about how the EZLN had wooed the public with their leftist propaganda and that they were no better than the cartels that had been slowly gaining territorial power in Mexico.⁴⁵ These educators even went so far as to reveal the true identity of Subcomandante Marcos. They had found out that he was actually Rafael Sebastian Guillen Vicente, and his identity had been revealed due to the similarity between his writing style when he was working at the *Universidad Autonoma Metropolitana*, and his writings for the EZLN. Thus, the educators came out to personally condemn the actions of Marcos and the EZLN. This is still speculation however, as Marcos never confirmed these claims.

When looking at all of these national supporters, it is clear to see that the EZLN has appealed to many different constituent groups in Mexico over the last quarter century. Though their primary goal focused on the rights of Indigenous peoples in the state of Chiapas against the changes resulting from the implementation of NAFTA, the group had also appealed to the workers, the poor, the students, the teachers, and the human rights groups of Mexico more broadly. While their main ideals were narrow in scope, they had a universal appeal that historically has been shown to impact social change through the focus on economic justice. What makes their movement unique was the

⁴⁴ EZLN, "Sixth Declaration."

⁴⁵ Higgins, *Understanding the Chiapas Rebellion*, 156.

EZLN's use of the internet and how that has influenced their ability to make an international appeal to outside groups.

International Supporters

Connected to the time frame of its social movement, the EZLN was able to use the internet as a tool that changed the course of history and its ability to gain influence by using the power of the worldwide web to disseminate information and gain international support for its mission. The EZLN were the first modern insurgent groups that utilized the internet as a tool to both appeal to the international community and to also save their dispatches and other important materials to influence the perceptions of the international community⁴⁶. Because of this, the ideals of *neozapatismo* directly reached international supporters without being filtered by the press or other sources and thus the ideas of *neozapatismo* gained an international audience. This meant that the EZLN and its movement could gain support from multiple international groups appealing to individuals from many different backgrounds.

One of the first international groups to respond and offer their support to the EZLN and the *neozapatismo* movement were those affiliated with the political left. The groups included communists, anarchists, and many other groups that aligned themselves with the political left, all of whom were ecstatic to see that a grassroots movement had risen up in Mexico to fight against the corrupt state.⁴⁷ This was a significant event that gave hope to many left wing groups as even the EZLN would adopt the phrase "down and to the left" as a description of their political affiliation. Even Subcomandante Marcos had brought his own ideas of libertarian communism to *neozapatismo* just like the ideals of the Mexican Revolution and indigenous culture.

It is also important to understand the historic timing of this movement as it played a huge role in the amount of support that

⁴⁶ Ronfeldt, "Emergence and Influence," 172.

⁴⁷ Nick Henck, "The Subcommander and the Sardinian: Marcos and Gramsci," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 29, no. 2 (2013): 430.

the political left gave to the EZLN. Just three years before the uprising, the USSR had economically collapsed and had ceased to exist. This event marked the end of the cold war and was seen as the last shred of hope by groups within the left to see their political and economic theories make historic and permanent changes in how governments and economic systems would work.⁴⁸ In fact, most of the world had now turned to the United States with its liberal democracy and capitalist economy as the victor of the Cold War and therefore the optimal system of governance with the best economic system. Along with the neoliberal economic policies that were coming into place because of international organizations such as the IMF and World Bank, very few left wing groups had any hope about the viability of their political philosophies in the modern world. That coupled with the ever growing influence of globalization, with the development of international corporations, could significantly curtail the possibility of a global working class revolution.

Yet the EZLN and their insurgency offered hope for those on the political left globally. While the movement offered hope for another potential revolution, it was also seen by many leftists with anti-authoritarian tendencies to be a potential counter to that of the brutal regime of the USSR. By developing a bottom up approach, based on autonomous development and direct democracy, a different ideal revolution could potentially occur.⁴⁹ That is why when the EZLN announced that they would be sponsoring an “International Conference”⁵⁰ on the basis of combating neoliberalism and capitalism, many of these left wing groups quickly registered to attend so they would have the opportunity to see the movement firsthand.

This conference, hosted by the EZLN in 1996 in Chiapas, was meant to create an international network of fellow anti-

⁴⁸ Khasnabish, *Zapatistas*, 168-169.

⁴⁹ Conant, *A Poetics of Resistance*, 26.

⁵⁰ Elisabeth Mudimbe-Boyi, *Beyond Dichotomies: Histories, Identities, Cultures, and the Challenge of Globalization* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 273.

globalization and anti-capitalist movements. Sometimes referred to jokingly as the “Intergalactic,” this weeklong conference drew participants from a wide range of leftist groups who came together at the behest of the EZLN to plan on building their own movements. During the conference, theories were discussed by intellectuals and plans were made for direct action and mutual aid utilizing a bottom up model of power, and all while being treated to speeches made by Subcomandante Marcos and other leaders from the EZLN’s general committee. While this event was meant to create an integrated plan and organized approach for the leftist’s leaders when they returned home, it was also meant to inspire hope among this international group of supporters reigniting hope in these groups that they could bring about change in the world despite the problems that globalization and neoliberal policy posed. It can even be argued that as a result of this conference, the left was inspired by the EZLN to start a series of anti-globalization movements against the powers that be.⁵¹

If the EZLN and their insurrection was the start of this anti-globalization trend, then the next historic event would have been the so called “Battle for Seattle” in 1999. This mass protest was meant to shut down the World Trade Organization Ministerial Conference of 1999 and on November 30, 1999 the protesters indeed managed to shut down the conference. This anti-globalization event truly demonstrated the influence of grassroots and informal organizations of people against what is perceived as and understood to be malevolent and domineering forces that negatively impact social and economic justice. One important point to notice is the clear linkage between the EZLN’s own grassroots movement and the N30 protesters organization. While well prepared, and even with some outbreaks of violence, both movements sought to challenge the authority of an international group that was attempting to impose on the rights of marginalized people. In the case of the N30, it was to disrupt the WTO as they

⁵¹Gunderson, “The Making of,” 277.

were seen by protesters as building an economic hegemony that would alienate and potentially harm the sovereignty of nations and peoples. Thus, these left-wing groups that participated in the “Battle for Seattle” sought to do as the EZLN and disrupt if not halt the globalization process that would hurt the underclasses of society.

One other prominent example would have to be the various *Occupy Movements* that started up in 2011. While there were numerous movements that went by this name, the biggest was *Occupy Wall Street*. Similar to the “Battle for Seattle” and the Chiapas Uprising, this movement sought to oppose the social-economic injustices that were being committed by states and corporations all over the world. They demanded social and economic justice for those who had suffered from exploitation and repression by these corporate and state entities that were committing these acts so that they could extend their own wealth, power, and influence. Unlike the “Battle for Seattle” and the Chiapas uprising however, the Occupy movements have been seen as a relative failure both due to the duration of the movement and the inability to obtain any short term goals or achievements. There have also been numerous allegations of internal strife and infighting. However, much like how the EZLN has espoused its ideas online and maintained a strong supporting group by keeping its message alive on social media, so have the Occupy movements created a lasting effect on the way people look at and understand the impact of globalization on their lives and economic well-being. While the movement may have fizzled out, it has allowed for other groups to pick up the torch and continue movement against the negative impact of globalization.

There are many other anti-globalization movements that reflect this recent historic trend, from the 15-M Movement in Spain, to the anti-austerity movement in the UK, and even the most recent J20 protest after the 2016 United States presidential election. These movements have built on the momentum focused on the need for social change and economic systems that benefit all, not just the rich and powerful, in the first part of the twenty-

first century. While the EZLN and *neozapatismo* may not have directly influenced these events, it was one of the first to be covered extensively and it has acted as a catalyst for other such anti-globalization movements.

However, in recent years, left-wing support has dwindled for the EZLN and *neozapatismo*. Because of their inability to grow due to constant economic and political pressure being put on them by paramilitary groups and the government, many left-wing groups have lost interest in the EZLN. Over time, they were no longer the spreading revolutionary force that the left had perceived them to be, but evolved into a national and indigenous group just trying to get by. Some groups even shunned the EZLN for merchandising their revolution and becoming more of an image rather than an actual social and economic movement. Despite these claims, many still see the EZLN as a prime example of developing autonomous communities and becoming self-sufficient entities.⁵² As long as someone is paying attention to the EZLN, they can continue to maintain their influence and relevance.

The ideas of *neozapatismo* are so rooted in indigenous and Mexican culture, that one might not expect it to be directly translated into other cultures beyond EZLN controlled territory. However, their ideas have resonated with Latinos, Chicanos, and other interest groups outside of Mexico. Some of these groups have even gone on to create NGOs and other support groups that directly work with the EZLN's supporters and the *Caracoles*. Some have even supported the EZLN by touting their cause in ways that are somewhat abstract and unique.

One of these groups is a rap metal band referred to as Rage Against The Machine (RATM). This group, originally based out of Los Angeles, played during the 1990s and was a very politically charged and controversial band. Yet when they released their second album in 1996, numerous songs had been dedicated to the EZLN and their struggle. Such songs included, "People of the

⁵² General Command of the EZLN, "Third Declaration of the Lacandona Jungle," *Enlance Zapatista*, January 1995.

Sun,” “Born without a Face,” “Zapata’s Blood,” and “War Within a Breath.” Even when the band played their live shows, they would drape the flag of the EZLN (a black flag with a red star) behind them as they played.⁵³ All of this was due to the activism of lead vocalist Zack de la Rocha who was the spearhead for the band’s political activism. De la Rocha even traveled down to the *Caracoles* in the late 1990s to help with their construction and development.

Part of the appeal of RATM’s interpretation of *neozapatismo*, was that they perceived this idea as being universally appealing. It was not seen as a constrained, nationalist, and indigenous ideal only, though they are still a very important part of the message. This is particularly demonstrated in the song “War Within a Breath” wherein the band presents an ideal world in which the downtrodden of the city of Los Angeles rise up against their oppressors united under the banner of the EZLN. Much like the left wing groups that were mentioned before, RATM sees the EZLN as a force that could change the landscape of the world as we know it. Thus, it was interpreted as being a universal ideal instead of a national one.

Another international supporter resides in a small community building located in the neighborhood of El Sereno in East LA referred to as the Eastside Café. Despite its name, the building is not a coffee shop, but rather a community space in which people of the neighborhood gather and participate in group activities and other community building movements. The reason that this café is included is because the creators of this building claim to be inspired by the EZLN and their ideas of *neozapatismo*. The groups emphasize the idea of autonomous development as a means to support a community from the bottom up. This was demonstrated at the café through their commitment to providing a space for the Chicano community in El Sereno and all others to participate in developing themselves and being autonomous and self-sufficient.

⁵³ Khasnabish, *Zapatistas*, 120.

This group at the Eastside Café also believes heavily in the rights of women to participate in community affairs just like the EZLN called on women to participate in their revolutionary movement. This is seen through the development of their artisan community, based on muralist practices, and their contribution to women's health in the area of El Sereno and providing a safe space for women who have been abused. The Café is affiliated with an all-women's biker group known as the Ovarian Psycho-Cycles that operate as an activist group in Boyle Heights. The Café has even helped to revive some of the indigenous cultural music of Mexico in its own space thus keeping up the indigenous ideals of *neozapatismo* in a unique and interesting way.

Yet there are also radical groups that have contributed greatly to the cause of the EZLN. This is partially related to the stories that were told by Subcomandante Marcos. Despite being rooted in the traditions of the indigenous Mayans of the region, they have a greater general appeal as well. One such story was the last story that was told to Marcos before Old Antonio dies called "In the Mountain the Force Is Born, but It Is Not Seen until It Reaches the Bottom." In this story, Antonio tells Marcos of the need for patience, but also to recognize the flow of power and how it influences those at the bottom.⁵⁴ He uses the mountain as a metaphor for the source of power and how rain acts as a dispersal of power which contributes to the benefit of the river. In this cause the river is the people making the changes that they want to see in their lives against those who seek to do them injustice.

Just as in the story, people did respond to the calls of the EZLN, as did numerous non-radical groups who voiced their support for the EZLN.⁵⁵ One of the primary ways that this was done was through the development of various non-government organizations (NGOs). NGOs have played a significant role in the

⁵⁴ Subcomandante Marcos, "Old Antonio: 'In the mountain the force is born, but it is not seen until it reaches the bottom,'" *Enlance Zapatista*, May 28, 1994.

⁵⁵ Subcomandante Marcos, "The Story of Clouds and Rain," *Enlance Zapatista*, November 2, 1995.

development of the EZLN as they have provided a financial base from which to operate. Much like how there were physical volunteers that helped with the building of the Caracoles, the NGOs were the financiers of these projects. While many of these NGOs were temporary establishments, there are still quite a few that are in operation today.

One of the most well-known NGOs that operated out of the United States is called *Schools for Chiapas*. Based out of San Diego, California, this NGO played a significant role as a support group for the EZLN in the United States. Founded in 2006, the NGO hopes to get supporters to help fund the autonomous schools that are set up in the rebel zones and generally promote the importance of the EZLN's struggles. While they are supporters of the EZLN, this NGO is not a radical organization like the Eastside Café, or the other left-wing organizations mentioned earlier. Rather this is a concerned group of supporters in the US that hope to raise funds to help the EZLN remain autonomous and develop their school programs so as to better their children. Also, much like the vendors at the national level that sell the goods created in the cooperatives, the *Schools for Chiapas* acts as a distributor for those products in the United States. Certain goods like coffee and corn are shipped over the border to this specific group so that they can sell these goods to a wider market.

That is one thing that has always been unique about the EZLN, they managed to take a nationalist and indigenous focus and translated it to an international level in order to gain support. While it does not seem as though they intended this when the process began, it evolved organically as they used the internet as a means to share their ideas and challenges. This is what is truly fascinating about the EZLN and probably what has contributed the most to their survival. Because they utilized the internet and communicated directly to a wider audience, fueled by Subcomandante Marcos's charisma, they would not be easily put down as other insurgencies have been historically. This appeal to a wider audience, and the audience's subsequent acceptance of these

ideas, was what has allowed the EZLN to survive for so long.⁵⁶ Their name stands out among the rest because most of the other insurgent groups were silenced by those in powerful positions who were controlling the flow of information and communications with the outside world. But because the world was watching Mexico, and at such a critical time as well, the PRI and subsequent governments could not enact the same brutal force against an opponent that had laid down its arms and spoken their mind to the world. Suppression of the EZLN by the PRI definitely would have made a deeper negative impact on the PRI's image, given the track record of corruption within the Mexican government. Thus, the EZLN and their supporters remain alive and well to this day.

Conclusion: History and Influence of the EZLN is Still Being Written

The EZLN has officially cemented itself in the history of the world. It started out as a regional movement that sought to strengthen the rights of the indigenous peoples and fight against the corruption of the PRI and the bad governance of Mexico City. It went on to become an internationally recognized force whose ideas of *neozapatismo* have spread across the world. The original intent of appealing to the international world was to literally be watched by a greater audience. The movement never desired to spread outside of Chiapas, and this was reflected in *neozapatismo*.

Because of the way this movement draws from both Mexico's past, in the form of indigenous culture, and Mexican Revolutionary ideas, the intention was only to represent the socially and economically oppressed within the country. Therefore, their message would be most appealing to the groups who could culturally identify with the EZLN. Yet the movement spread out more widely because of how broad the ideas of *neozapatismo* were. These ideals have a universal recognition linked to the history of social and political oppression that has impacted so

⁵⁶ Holloway, "Zapatismo," 159.

many people in other countries globally. Such universal ideas of respect for one another and having the ability to question your environment has historically been the genesis of social movements. It does not matter whether a person was born in the Americas or even on some remote island, the ideas resonate because they appeal to the human spirit.

While the EZLN has translated this idea of *neozapatismo* to a wider audience, it never expected to be a leading movement. It was deemed to be a tactic to be used by people who were being oppressed and abused. Not every single movement that models itself after the EZLN is going to be able to develop a series of autonomous *Caracoles* where they can survive separately from other aspects of the state apparatus. Instead, *neozapatismo* becomes a series of guidelines which groups can build off of to develop their movements to create and sustain social and economic reform. Take the CNI for example, a group that was heavily inspired by the EZLN. While they have many close relationships with EZLN, they have developed their system of understanding by operating as a congress that acts as an outlet for the indigenous peoples of Mexico. As such, it has superseded the nationalistic interests of Mexico and focused on the issues that affect its own people. This is similar to the people who developed the Eastside Café, in that they wanted to make a space for the people of El Sereno to flourish as themselves.

Yet *neozapatismo* also represents something else. It is an antithesis to the emergence of NAFTA and the neoliberal reforms being implemented in Mexico. Where the policies of neoliberalism are focused on profit, the economy, trade, and general infrastructure needed for private corporations, as a counterpoint the ideals of *neozapatismo* are focused on the human factors, culture, and traditions. The ideas of *neozapatismo* offers a moral critique of the amoral politics of neoliberalism and presents an alternate future in which people are placed before profits. Hence, this is why the ideas of *neozapatismo* are seen as so important to many people on the national and global scale.

To many, the EZLN and *neozapatismo* represent a challenge to the imposing future of globalization. This “global” future has been framed in many ways, yet it shows the ever changing nature of the world. Where some see it as a beautiful and prosperous future, others see it as a threat to their very existence. The Zapatistas perceived it as a threat to their existence. That is why they became one of the first groups to act as a force against globalization. Not in the sense that people around the globe would be disconnected, but rather that entities and states would not dominate the world and exploit it for its resources at the expense of people who needed those resources for their very survival. It was then that others would follow suit to share the same struggle of the Zapatistas.

From the “Battle for Seattle” in 1999, to the Arab Spring, to the protests in Hamburg Germany during the G20 conference in 2017, anti-globalization movements have transcended the original actions of the EZLN. All of these new movements highlight and reinforce what the Zapatistas had experienced in Chiapas and sought to change the world and prevent these imposing entities from destroying them. These are people of no political affiliation who choose to represent themselves on the world stage as themselves. They want to lead the lives that they had for generations without being told what to do by an unjust government or state. In the end, these groups and movements want to be able to rule over themselves.

Now, to bring it back to the EZLN, they have come to represent many ideals. They are considered freedom fighters for some and terrorists to others. They are a group of nationalists, yet they also espouse very universal values. They are a lot like the other guerilla groups that historically have made a negative impact on Mexico, yet they are also very different from them. In a state of confusion, both literally and figuratively, they have emerged as a force calling for change and recognition to underscore the injustice that they were living under. They live in low tech communities but

have reached millions through the use of the internet.⁵⁷ Yet what binds these groups together, what draws people from all over the globe, what gives hope to other individuals and groups around the world, is the ideals that they hold in common. Ideals that are shaped by the rich history of Mexico, that incorporate both indigenous and revolutionary ideas. Ideals that are referred to as *Neozapatismo*.

⁵⁷ Ronfeldt, "Emergence and Influence," 173.

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Author Bio

Benjamin Olson Shultz is a graduate student in the Social Science and Globalization MA Program at California State University, San Bernardino. His main interests and areas of focus include Environmental History, Latin American History, and US History. He is currently involved as a Graduate Assistant for the College of Social and Behavioral Science's History Department. Once he is graduated from CSUSB, he hopes to apply to a PhD program in Environmental History, as well as starting a career in both research and non-research based writing in said interests. He then hopes to start teaching and writing professionally at either the community college or university level.



Music is Power: Nueva Cancion's Push for an Indigenous Identity

By Jason Garcia

Abstract: The emergence of Nueva Cancion musicians during 1960's Chile, such as Victor Jara and Inti-Illimani, played an important role in propelling the left wing revolutionary movements that supported Salvador Allende's presidential victory in 1970, making him the first democratically elected Socialist in the Western Hemisphere. Although there is much scholarly literature that deals with the social and political aspects of Nueva Cancion, historians have failed to recognize how indigeneity played a crucial role in the shaping the identity that Nueva Cancion musicians embodied through their music. With the power of music, Nueva Cancion became a militant song movement that represented their indigenous heritage through the mixture of traditional Chilean folklore, the utilization of indigenous Andean instruments, and contemporary political lyricism that addressed issues of capitalism, colonization and neoliberal policies that exploited the poor, working class, and indigenous people—all of which were important to Allende's voting base. Nueva Cancion musicians utilized their representation of indigenous heritage to create a Chilean identity through music that left long-standing impact on Chilean social, political, and most importantly cultural life into the present day.

In 2004, Chile's major sports complex in its capital of Santiago, originally called Estadio de Chile, was renamed to Estadio Victor Jara, after the famous folk singer murdered in the stadium and

thrown in the street during the 1973 coup to oust democratically elected socialist president Salvador Allende. Before his death, Jara became one of the leading stars of the Chilean *Nueva Cancion Movimiento* which supported Allende's short-lived presidency. The indigenous sounds of Andean flutes, strumming guitars, and politically charged militant songs had been silenced in swift order by military repression under the military dictatorship funded by the United States and headed by Augusto Jose Ramon Pinochet. Groups like Inti-Illimani and Quilapayun were exiled and Pinochet's new military government made it illegal to own or play any music by *Nueva Cancion* musicians. What gave rise to this movement, and why had it been so crucial to the Chilean identity of Allende's socialist government? Was music so powerful that it had to be silenced to bring order to the Pinochet regime? Why did it become necessary for the Chilean army to order the assassination of Victor Jara who suffered the horrible and twisted fate of torture and murder by a firing squad? The *Nueva Cancion Movimiento* became a powerful force that helped shape the identity of left-wing groups that supported Allende. Between 1964 and 1970, with the rise of a growing ideology of left wing politics, Chilean folk musicians created an indigenous identity around Socialist and Communist ideology that led to the successful election of Salvador Allende in 1970. Chilean *Nueva Cancion* became the representation of indigenous culture and folklore during Allende's "peaceful road to socialism." During Pinochet's military dictatorship they became identified as enemies of the state.

Folklore and Chilean Indigeneity: The birth of the New Song

The term folklore derives from a British antiquarian, William John Thomas, who described folklore as, "The manners, customs, observances, superstitions, ballads, proverbs, etc., of olden times."¹ Folklore emerged as a bourgeoisie understanding of a rapidly

¹ Richard Bauman, *Folklore, Cultural Performances, and Popular Entertainment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 29-40.

modernizing world in the industrial age of technological innovations during the nineteenth century. But this interpretation of people's traditions and culture have created problems that contemporary scholars have debated for years. Scholars like Ana Maria Ochoa Gautier describe the problems that lie within the modern day interpretations of folklore, which have continued to mold themselves after old ways of thinking; this trend is specifically noticeable with her studies into Latin American folklore in Colombia. Ochoa describes the biases that lie within the viewpoint of modernity, and how these modern interpretations of folklore of the past can lead to misinterpretations of folklore. Ochoa states, "In the name of recognizing the other, it ends up historically using the same method the moderns created to incorporate alterity into its guise, and in the name of decolonizing, it actually recolonizes."² Although it is difficult for historians to put their own biases aside, it is necessary to create a clear understanding of another person's culture and identity. Therefore, understanding Latin American folklore is crucial to understanding *Nueva Cancion* songs and poems that were a combination of indigeneity and traditional lifestyle of the past.

Latin American folklore derives from the indigenous traditions that date back to the time of the Inca empire.³ Many Latin American scholars have come to an agreement that although different regions differ in their folklore tales, they all share a similar trait; they are tales that interpret the origins of certain natural phenomena, instruments, demons and spirits, and children's tales created to educate them about proper behavior.⁴

The Chilean dance called the *cueca* played a significant role in influencing the *Nueva Cancion* songs. For instance, the *cueca*, which is a "type of choreography, a poetic form, and several

² Ana Maria Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality: Listening and Knowledge in Nineteenth Century Colombia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 10-40.

³ Paula Martin and Margaret Read MacDonald, *Pachamama Tales: Folklore from Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay* (Santa Barbara: Library Unlimited, 2014), xii-xx.

⁴ Ibid., xi.

styles of vocal and instrumental performance,” originated in Chile.⁵ According to Laura Jordan Gonzalez, the *cueca* is said to have originated from the ancient *zamacueca*.⁶ Some of the most popular *Nueva Cancion* songs were structured in *cueca* form, which demonstrates the incorporation of traditional Chilean traits into their music, creating an expression of Chilean nationalism. McSherry notes that through the use of folk music *Nueva Cancion* music became a , “politically conscious movement” that embraced a “Latin American identity” that combated the influence of North American pop culture.⁷ As a result, *Nueva Cancion* utilized Chilean nationalism, indigenous folklore, and indigenous instruments to create an entirely new musical experience. Songs like Inti-Illimani’s “*Cueca de la C.U.T.*,” and Quilapayun’s, “*Cueca de la Libertad*,” embodied these characteristics while also utilizing the traditional Chilean *cueca* as the foundation for their songs that discussed political issues. Victor Jara’s “*Preguntas por Puert Montt*” is central to the argument of how *Nueva Cancion* used their platform as musicians to describe issues that affected indigenous communities such as agrarian reform. Gonzalez argues that this a major component to why *Nueva Cancion* was indeed its own genre, separate from traditional folk music of the time.

Violeta Parra, the Mother of *Nueva Cancion*

As early as the 1950s, folk musicians such as Violeta Parra had been traveling the Chilean countryside documenting and taking notes on Chilean folklore and folk songs. A prominent musician herself, she felt the need to bring these indigenous songs to light, and wrote many songs based on her findings. It was not until 1962 that she would write a song titled “*La Carta*” about her brother

⁵ Laura Jordan Gonzalez, *The Militant Song Movement in Latin America: Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina* (Blue Ridge Summit: Lexington Books, 2014), 95.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ J. Patrice McSherry, *Chilean New Song: The Political Power of Music 1960-1973*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015), 7.

being imprisoned for his involvement in a workers strike. Many scholars consider this the moment the *Nueva Cancion* was created because it was the first time a song described a political situation rather than the previous popular songs that romanticized the ideal Chilean lifestyle of the countryside in folk form.⁸ Nancy Morris argues that Parra chose to use folk style of music to create the new genre of politically charged music that became the *Nueva Cancion* because she felt it was a way to denounce the growing influence of Anglo-Saxon rock in South American popular culture.⁹ The *Nueva Cancion* created a Latin American identity that could combat imperialism, exploitation and colonialism through political action, in her case, music in the form of folk songs.

Latin American *Nueva Cancion* is generally known as a fusion of politically conscious lyrics with traditional musical styles.¹⁰ Scholars argue that this became a new genre of music because it combined classical folk songs with contemporary political issues of the time. The Chilean *Nueva Cancion* used traditional rhythms such as the Chilean *cueca* and instruments such as the *zanpona* (panpipes), *quena* (flute), *charango* (guitar) and *bombo* (drum) to create a new style of music that differed from the popular folk music of the time.¹¹ These songs called for direct action and political mobilization in the form of supporting left-wing candidates of the *Unidad Popular* specifically its leader, Salvador Allende, something never before seen in popular Latin American music. The United States already had years of folk protest songs that had been used since the 1930s to denounce

⁸ Nancy Morris, "New Song in Chile: Half a Century of Musical Activism," in *The Militant Song Movement in Latin America*, ed. by Pablo Vila, 19-44 (Blue Ridge Summit: Lexington Books, 2014), 20.

⁹ Ibid., 21.

¹⁰ Pablo Vila, "Introduction," in *The Militant Song Movement in Latin America: Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina*, 1-16 (Blue Ridge Summit: Lexington Books, 2014), 5.

¹¹ Laura Jordan Gonzales, "The Chilean New Song's *cueca larga*," in *The Militant Song Movement in Latin America*, ed. by Pablo Vila, 71-96 (Blue Ridge Summit: Lexington Books, 2014), 73.

certain social inequalities and issues of their time, but none made specific reference to supporting certain political candidates or political party.

Nueva Cancion musicians understood the importance of South American folklore and incorporated it in every aspect of their music, through the use of indigenous rhythms, instruments and language being the main components. This acceptance of indigenous heritage is why the *Nueva Cancion* differed from the typical folk songs of the past. In addition, *Nueva Cancion* solidarity with indigenous communities such as the Mapuche people of Southern Chile also demonstrate this trait in their songs. Victor Jara, Inti-Illimani, Violeta Parra, and Quilipayun all wrote and recorded *cueca* style songs that represented their solidarity with Chilean folklore and its creators. Through the use of indigenous instruments, and creating an indigenous identity, *Nueva Cancion* established the soundscape of the *Nueva Cancion Movimiento* that became a movement and major supporter within Salvador Allende's Chilean "peaceful road to Socialism."

Nueva Cancion, the Militant Song Movement

Pablo Villa argues that *Nueva Cancion* songs were "militant" songs because they differed from the typical protest song that became popular amongst American folk musicians since the early 1930s.¹² Villa argues that compared to protest songs in the United States that protested certain forms of social injustice, Latin American songs took an entirely different meaning altogether. This difference begins with the choice in words to describe the songs in title and name of collectives of musicians. According to Villa, instead of the word protest, many Latin American songs use the word "denounce" to describe certain injustices that they felt were affecting their communities.¹³ In addition, in Chile, their song movement was not called the New Protest Song but rather the New

¹² Vila, "Introduction," 2-5.

¹³ Ibid., 5.

Song Movement. Villa argues that this is a clear difference between militancy and protest. For instance, primary source material like Inti-Illimani's militant anthem oriented song structure in "*Cueca de la C.U.T*" advocating for support of the Chilean worker's union is clearly different when compared to other American protest songs like Creedence Clearwater Revival's "Fortunate Son" that protested the United States involvement in the Vietnam War. Furthermore, the former is advocating a clear action while the latter only protests the injustice. Chile's *Nueva Cancion* movement differed from American protest songs in their use of more broad based grievances like independence, nationalism, anti-imperialism, workers' rights, and agrarian reform, and its call to direct action in the form of protest, political mobilization, and direct support for left-wing political groups.

Aside from politically charged lyricism, *Nueva Cancion* musicians also felt the need to include their indigenous heritage as a way to express a true Chilean and South American identity. It was this return, to their native roots in a sense, that made this movement of songs that created the soundscape of Allende's campaign and presidency. Indigeneity and folklore played a crucial role in the formation of *Nueva Cancion* and they support many scholarly arguments that it was a new genre. Bands such as Inti-Illimani and Quilapayun took on indigenous names for their groups demonstrating their need to return to an original Chilean identity. The use of indigenous instruments and traditional folklore is also evidence of this indigeneity essence within the *Nueva Cancion*. *Nueva Cancion* fused indigeneity and Chilean nationalism to create an entirely new identity that supported Socialist and Communist ideology.

The Alliance for Progress and The Era of President Frei 1964-1969

During the 1960s and early-70s Chile experienced many radical changes that affected its social, political and economic stability. In order to understand how *Nueva Cancion* emerged as a political

force it is necessary to discuss the social and political atmosphere that made this new genre possible. During the 1960s, the Cold War in Latin America was in full effect. Events such as Fidel Castro's *July 26th Movimiento* in 1959 sparked a surge in Latin American independence movements that had a critical impact on the Chilean politics. Although socialist and communist ideology existed in Chile and other Latin American countries prior to Cuba's revolution, Castro's victory gave light to the ability and likelihood of Latin American countries gaining independence in the backyard of the powerful North American country, the United States of America. Since the end of World War II, the United States used several different methods to solidify their sphere of influence over the western hemisphere.

Chile's economy relied heavily on its exportation of raw materials such as nitrate and copper. American companies had a strong foothold in the Chilean economy since the 1940s during World War II, becoming one of Chile's top consumers of copper. Chile also experienced the downside of this because its reliance on copper exports depended on foreign investments that depended on the world market. This became evident during the 1950s when the market for copper saw a collapse in 1953, this status of unemployment and inflation gave way to growing of workers' unions such as the Central Unitaria de Trabajadores, or CUT, in 1953. With the growing threat of Communism in the region and the rise of workers union parties, the United States sought to gain control of Chilean politics through economic aid in the form of loans and the purchase of raw materials. According to Faundez, "the historical record shows that the United States State Department was an important factor... in persuading the Chileans government to repress the trade union movement and to ban the Communist Party."¹⁴

¹⁴ Julio Faúndez, *Marxism and Democracy in Chile: From 1932 to the Fall of Allende* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 51.

Citing the Monroe Doctrine, the United States sought to secure their sphere of influence over the Latin American continent from foreign influence, specifically Communist infiltration. Latin American countries like Chile historically supported left-wing movements to combat what they felt were foreign infiltration to their social, political and economic way of life. The growing influence of American foreign investments and political power created a Chilean nationalist approach to improving the political and economic turmoil they experienced. Politicians struggled to create a solution for Chile's problems that grew the divide between the right, center and left wing parties. These issues created the polarization of Chilean politics that reached a turning point with the growth of left wing parties in the 1964 election. The growth of Marxist ideology alarmed the United States, who began a new strategy to combat communist infiltration with the new plan implemented by John F. Kennedy, the Alliance for Progress 1961.

John F. Kennedy's Alliance for Progress assumed that the most effective way of fighting communism in the region was by promoting economic developments and through American financial aid. With the election of Eduardo Frei Montalva, representative of the Christian Democrat Party in 1964, the Alliance for Progress experienced a comfortable relationship with their Chilean allies. According to McSherry, under the Alliance for Progress, the United States gave almost 1 billion dollars to Chile between 1962-1969, receiving the most aid per capita of any other Latin American country.¹⁵ Frei became a beneficiary of this massive economic aid in the form of secret aid funded by the CIA during his campaign against Salvador Allende in 1964. Historical records show that the CIA funded Frei and a propaganda campaign against Allende. According to Stephen G. Rabe, "The United States directly intervened in the 1964 Chilean election. Between 1962 and 1964, the CIA spent \$4 million on polling posters, and

¹⁵ McSherry, *Chilean New Song*.

radio and television advertisements for the Christian Democrats.”¹⁶ The CIA helped fund a scare campaign against Allende hoping to defeat him, their campaign proved successful.

Freis’ “Revolution in Liberty” called for a political and economic reformation of Chilean society. His platform consisted of agrarian reform, the mobilization of workers unions, and the creation of new social programs such as his infamous literacy campaign.¹⁷ Although the middle and upper classes benefited from American investments, the workers of the mines, continued to see their economic situation deteriorate. It became clear to workers that the reforms Frei described during his campaign did not come in fruition for working class Chileans. Although he successfully bought 51 percent of Chilean copper mines that benefited powerful mine investors he was unable to appease one of his main political platforms, agrarian reform. His agrarian reform only successfully reached the lives of 20,000 peasants and only 15 percent of the land had been officially redistributed.¹⁸ With the failure of his reforms, the people of Chile began to cling to left-wing groups and workers unions that represented Socialist and Communist ideology. Indigenous communities also reacted to these changes and began to mobilize themselves by joining communist groups and indigenous right organizations.

Conditions for Revolution: The emergence of indigeneity and the *Nueva Cancion*

Conditions of high inflation, unemployment and powerful foreign investments led to the strengthening of leftist political parties that gained ground during this time. It is here where we see the development and growth of the *Nueva Cancion* as the music that embodied the leftist stance against the wealthy landowners and

¹⁶ Stephen G. Rabe, *The Killing Zone: The United States Wages Cold War in Latin America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 24.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid., 48.

political elites. Young people across the country grew impatient with Frei's reforms and began to mobilize behind socialist and communist ways of thinking.

Culturally, Chile became a haven for American pop culture disseminated across radio channels and in mainstream popular Chilean culture. Record companies like the German owned Orfeon and American Polydor recorded and released many groups that took on Anglo names and sang lyrics in English. During this time, *Neo-folklore* also became popular among university students and musicians that were attracted to an alternative to the popular songs of the time. *Neo-folklore* adapted many traditional Chilean folk songs but did not have the political edge that *Nueva Cancion* developed later on. McSherry notes that for folk musicians this was a troubling time, and artists like Violeta Parra, Victor Jara, Inti-Illimani and Quilapayun felt the need to combat this cultural foreign invasion with a return to a Chilean traditional identity that mixed indigeneity and nationalism. In an interview with Inti-Illimani founder Jorge Coulon described the perspective of Chile's cultural atmosphere as a "very, very depressed cultural situation."¹⁹ Coulon described how music from Parra and Jara had moved underground, and Chilean folk music rarely played on the radio making it difficult to be heard. Coulon and many other *Nueva Cancion* musicians felt the heavy influence of North American pop culture embodied a form of cultural imperialism, colonization and whitewashing of their culture and indigenous traditions. The music that artists like Jara and Parra produced during this time signified a return to the traditional Chilean culture and the indigeneity that it expressed.

Parra, the founder of *Nueva Cancion*, knew the importance of her indigenous ancestry and wanted to bring attention to traditional Chilean culture in the form of folk music. During her times as a *Neo-folklore* artist she cemented herself as the true representative for Chilean folklore representing the indigenous component to her music. During the emergence of the *Neo-folklore*

¹⁹ Ibid., 53.

movement, musicians like Parra played a critical role in the development in what became the *Nueva Cancion*. After traveling across Chile documenting different tales of folklore and folk songs. Violeta became an international sensation playing in countries like France and even Poland. She became an icon for Chilean folk music. One of her most famous songs that preceded *Nueva Cancion* was her song titled, “*Gracias a la Vida*” or “Thanks to Life” released by RCA in 1966 in the album titled *Las Ultimas Composiciones de Violeta Parra*. For years Parra sang traditional Chilean songs based on Chilean and South American folklore, here we catch a glimpse of an original written song that speaks about her true feelings as an artist. This song became one of the most famous songs Parra ever wrote in Chile’s very rich history of folk music.

Thanks to life that has given me so much
It gave me two stars, that when I open them,
Perfectly I distinguish the black from the white
And in the high sky its starry background
And in the crowds, the man that I love

Thanks to life that has given me so much
It has given me the ear that in all its width
It records night and day, crickets and canaries,
Hammers, turbines, barks, squalls,
And the so tender voice of my beloved

Thanks to the life that has given me so much
It has given me the sound and the alphabet;
With the words that I think and declare:
Mother, friend, brother, and light shining
The path of the soul that I am loving

Thanks to the life that has given me so much
It has given me the march of my tired feet;
With them I walked cities and puddles,

Beaches and deserts, mountains and plains,
And your house, your street and your yard²⁰

The song begins with a very relaxed guitar rhythm and Parra's somber voice describing her gratefulness for life and what it has given her. Although Parra had been known to compose many traditional Chilean folk songs that had developed the first half of her music career, in this song we see an entirely different approach not only to lyrical content but in guitar rhythm as well. Many of her former songs based on traditional folklore were upbeat with faster tempos. Her voice echoes over the guitar beautifully exposing her passion in the words she is speaking. Throughout the song she describes the different physical parts of her body that she is grateful for, her eyes, her ears, her feet. In a heavily Catholic country like Chile, this song and songs like it spoke volumes to the manner in which Parra began to separate herself from the *Neo-folklore* of the time and into a more secular approach to lyrical content that did not necessarily give thanks to God but rather a new form of spiritual belief, possibly indigenous spirituality. It is no wonder this song became a national sensation amongst Chile and South Americans, it enveloped the most basic element of human existence, life.

Early in her musical career Parra understood the power of her music and knew her status as a musician and the ability she had to disseminate her messages to a wider audience, through her music. "*Gracias a la Vida*" is a good example of the first developing stages of *Nueva Cancion* because it exposes the transformation of folk musicians as they began to express themselves about common issues that reflected the life of average Chileans rather performing strictly old folklore. Although this may seem as contradictory to the argument of *Nueva Cancion* embracing traditional Chilean folklore, it was indeed much more than that. Parra was emerging as an artist that was much more than just traditional folk tales, she was indeed an intellectual and poet.

²⁰ Translation from insert in album, by Raul and Eleonora Madariaga.

She embraced the origins of traditional folklore; her new focus was merely a continuation of what had been laid down to her after years of researching and documenting songs from her country. *Nueva Cancion* embraced traditional folk songs and structures but wanted to explore new ways of thinking and new ways of expressing their culture. Songs like this and “*La Carta*” would develop the beginnings of what would become the *Nueva Cancion Movimiento*.

For Parra, the political instability Chile experienced during the 1960s shaped her music and lyrical content. She began to interweave traditional *Neo-folklore* songs with lyrics that dealt with political and social issues. Her songs consisted of everyday Chilean struggles that she felt needed to change. Through her music she described not only working class struggles but indigenous struggles as well. Acknowledging her indigenous ancestry gave her an ownership of the culture she represented. Although the *Nueva Cancion* eventually became a musical genre dominated by males, she was the example that all Chileans that followed. She became the official ambassador of the *Nueva Cancion* until her suicide in 1967. Although her death became a crucial blow to *Nueva Cancion* musicians and the movement, she became a martyr for the revolution and laid the foundation to what became *Nueva Cancion*.

Nueva Cancion’s Push for an Indigenous Identity

Parra’s death cemented Victor Jara as the new leader of the *Nueva Cancion*. Jara studied extensively under her leadership and now began to demonstrate his own musical talent by recording several solo albums and leading new groups such as the great Quilapayun. Between 1965 to 1969 new groups began to emerge such as Quilapayun and Inti-Illimani. Both groups, like Parra, embodied the indigenous aspect of *Nueva Cancion* with their use of indigenous instruments like the *charango*, a guitar made out of the shell of an armadillo, the Andean flute called a *quena*, and *bombo* drum. In an interview with Inti-Illimani, musician Jorge Coulon

described the reasons, “we use the instruments of the Andean tradition, like panpipes and quenás, which are the traditional flutes. We also use the charango, which is an instrument born in Bolivia after the Spanish settlement, because it’s a blend, a sort of mandolin, but it’s made with the shell of an armadillo. And the scale is a pentatonic scale. It’s a typical ‘criollo’, a mixture between Spanish and Indian culture.”²¹

For *Nueva Cancion* musicians, the choice of instruments became a major representation of their indigenous ancestry. Although the overwhelming majority of *Nueva Cancion* musicians were urbanized radical students, poets, and instrumentalists, they felt that expressing themselves through the sounds of the instruments their ancestors had used for hundreds of years before them created a stronger connection to their indigenous heritage. This became the foundation for how *Nueva Cancion* musicians like Victor Jara and Quilapayún were able to establish a clear indigenous identity through their music even though they lived in the urban sector of the country. The fact that they became politicized was a result of being exposed to the political issues of the urban sectors of the Chilean country. Urban *Nueva Cancion* musicians utilized their ability to influence local politics and wrote about the issues that not only affected the urban sectors of the country but also rural issues such as agrarian reform. They took up the fight for indigenous grievances against the Chilean state and became known for their radical belief in issues that affected indigenous peoples.

In addition to choice of instruments, both groups, Inti-Illimani and Quilapayún had indigenous names. Quilapayún’s name translates into “three beards” in Mapuche, and Inti-Illimani name is derived from the Quechua word “inti” meaning the Incan sun god and “illimani” the highest mountain in Bolivia in the Aymara language, identifying their relationship to their indigeneity

²¹ Adrian Pertout, “Inti-Illimani: Chilean Folk Legends,” *Mixdown Monthly* no. 66 (October 6, 1999): 70. <http://www.perout.com/IntiIllimani.htm>.

and cementing language as a central component to *Nueva Cancion*'s identity.²²

These components of *Nueva Cancion* musicians separated them from the *Neo-folklore* artists of the time that did not press issues of indigeneity nor the political issues of the time. Both groups chose to wear the ponchos that many of the native community wore to identify with the native community. Inti-Illimani and Quilapayun were central to the split between *Neo-Folklore* musicians and the emerging *Nueva Cancion*. With Victor Jara as the new leader of *Nueva Cancion*, they became the new face of Chilean folk music that used their music to represent not only their Chilean indigenous roots but their political stance as well. Both groups began to produce and records songs that dealt with issues that indigenous communities dealt with since the arrival of the Spanish in the 1500s. The Mapuche people of Chile had a history of fighting against the colonization of their lands. The Mapuche led several uprisings against Spanish conquistadores, like Pedro de Valdivia who was eventually defeated and killed by the Mapuche after an uprising. Victor Jara, Inti-Illimani and Quilapayun felt the same blood that ran through the veins of those past warriors was their own. Rebellion became the nature of the Mapuche and almost 400 years later they were still fighting the effects of colonization but in the forms of foreign domination of their lands and the economic instability that came with this fact. It was the warrior spirit of the Mapuche that created the militancy of the *Nueva Cancion*. Through this militancy, *Nueva Cancion* musicians were able to project a music that was powerful and direct. Under Frei's government the Mapuche did not see the changes they had hoped for. *Nueva Cancion* became the spokesman for their grievances against the Chilean State.

²² Ibid., 70.

Victor Jara: Mapuche people and Agrarian Reform

Nueva Cancion musicians aligned themselves with the workers, peasants, and indigenous population of Chile. During Frei's reformist government they were the hardest hit by his government reforms. Although he did not implement the repression that leftist had seen in the 1940s and 1950s, his economic policies affected the entire working class, especially the rural and peasant communities. One of the most important issues that affected indigenous communities throughout Chile was Agrarian Reform. Mapuche people had been fighting against colonization of their land by widespread land seizing since the Spanish conquest and now had new enemy, the Chilean State. For so many years the Chilean government chose to focus on wealthy Chilean landowners and the government protected their interests over the Mapuche. Indigenous people began to seize lands by force by settling on land that was owned by wealthy landowners illegally under Chilean law. Although Frei had been able to create a small form of agrarian reform, it was not enough to appease the peasant and indigenous peoples of Chile.

Frei, under pressure from the landowners and conservatives who supported him, began to enforce police and military repression against the illegal seizing of lands. Things took a drastic turn in 1969 with the growing illegal occupation of lands by the Mapuche and other peasant communities. According to Edward Murphy, between 1967-72 about 279,000 Chilean took part in land seizures.²³ Although land seizures had existed long before this period, during Frei's administration there was a significant spike in this activity. Joana Crow, a researcher of Mapuche people in Chile, describes the situation for rural and peasant communities this way, "Mapuche peasants, frustrated with the slow pace of agrarian reform, were increasingly taking the law into their own hands..."

²³ Edward Murphy, *For a Proper Home: Housing Rights in the Margins of Urban Chile, 1960-2010* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015), 73.

and seizing lands that they believed to be theirs by legal or ancestral right.”²⁴

Frei’s response to the illegal squatting and settling on land that had not been expropriated led to brutal and harsh police repression. One instance of this can be found in Frei’s police repression of settlers at Puerto Montt in 1969 that killed 11 peasants. Upon hearing of this tragic event Victor Jara began writing one of his most moving songs, describing the event and his solidarity with those who had been murdered.

On March 9, 1969 under the direct order of Edmundo Perez Zujovic, a wealthy businessman and member of the Christian Democrats, ordered the attack of a group of landless peasants. The result left eleven peasants killed, including a boy of nine months who had been suffocated by the tear gas that had been used in the attack. The machine gun attack wounded sixty, who were fortunate to have survived the attack. Jara, hurt by the event that had killed innocent peasants, took to his guitar to compose a song for the fallen. Throughout the song Jara describes the injustice of the attack. He recorded this song and put it in his profoundly political and controversial album *Pongo en tus Manos Abiertas*, released in 1969 by DICAP, the communist record company that became the major producer of *Nueva Cancion* albums. Although Victor Jara has a rich discography of songs that deal with agrarian reform like “*A Desalambrar*,” and “*Juan sin Tierra*,” this song is a powerful example of *Nueva Cancion*’s support for issues like agrarian reform that affected the Mapuche people and peasant communities.

All right, I'm going to ask
For you, for you,
For you because you were left alone
And the one who died without knowing.

All right, I'm going to ask

²⁴ Joanna Crow, *The Mapuche in Modern Chile: A Cultural History* (Orlando: University Press of Florida, 2014), 117.

For you, for you, for
You because you were left alone
And the one who died without knowing
And the one who died without knowing

He died without knowing why
His chest was riddled
Fighting for the right
Of a floor to live,
You have to be more unhappy,
The one who sent a shot
Knowing how to avoid
A vile slaughter

Puerto mono, Puerto Montt
Puerto Mono, Puerto Montt
Puerto Mono, Puerto Montt
Puerto Mono, Puerto Montt

You must answer
Mr. Pérez Zujovic:
Why did the defenseless people
Answer with a rifle?

Mr. Pérez his conscience
Buried her in a coffin
And not clean his hands
Or all the rain in the south
Or all the rain in the south

He died without knowing why
His chest riddled
Fighting for the right
Of a floor to live, we
Must be more unhappy
The one that I command to shoot

Knowing how to avoid
A vile slaughter
Puerto mono, Puerto Montt
Puerto Mono, Puerto Montt
Puerto Mono, Puerto Montt
Puerto Mono, Puerto Montt²⁵

Like many of Jara's songs the guitar was the central instrument used, and this song begins with the plucking of the strings in what becomes a gallop of rhythmic guitar strumming. Jara's voice echoes over the guitar in a deep and powerful way, expressing his outrage over the massacre. Jara questions the government for those who had been murdered and physically attacked in the massacre displaying the militancy of his words. This song did not simply protest the event, it questioned and pressured the government to accept responsibility for the massacre. In line four, Jara is stating that the ones who were killed were senselessly murdered without the knowledge of why they were being treated in the manner that they were. Jara goes on to place the responsibility on Perez Zujovic for the assault on the defenseless peasants. In stanza 4, Jara called for an answer to the decision to attack the peasants who had no weapons to defend themselves. According to Edward Murphy the massacre "became a national scandal that led to divisions within the Christian Democrat Party".²⁶

Like Parra before him, Jara understood the power of music and wanted to bring attention to this event by creating a song that held the government accountable for the massacre of rural indigenous and peasant Chileans. This defiance and boldness is central to *Nueva Cancion* songs during this period. Although Jara did not name the indigenous population involved, indigenous people identified themselves with the same struggle. Crow states, "Through music Violeta Parra and Victor Jara communicated a history of social inequality that linked Mapuche and Chileans

²⁵ Translation from insert in album, no author is mentioned.

²⁶ Murphy, *For a Proper Home*, 90.

together.”²⁷ Indigeneity within Chilean identity played a significant role within the lyrical and rhythmic components of *Nueva Cancion* songs.

Jara, the son of a peasant family, felt a strong bond with the indigenous population in Chile. Like Parra he also considered himself a descendant of the Mapuche people. Victor Jara understood the power of his music and his live performances could be used a platform to disseminate his message in public as a protest of the event. According to Joan Jara, on March 13 Chilean activists and students led a demonstration protesting the massacre. She states, “It was there that Victor sang his song ‘Preguntas Por Puerto Montt’ for the first time in public.”²⁸ Public performances became a platform for song-led militant protests led by the Communist youth during this time. Joan also describes how songs like this created hostility for Victor who would be threatened on multiple occasion due to his subversive songs. It would be until Salvador Allende’s victory that the hostility towards *Nueva Cancion* musicians would lessen but the hostilities towards Allende’s government would only strengthen until his ousting in 1973.

Agrarian reform is still one of the most important issues that affect indigenous populations across the world. For the Mapuche, it was central to their grievances with the government they felt had betrayed them and failed to recognize their struggle. Allende understood this issue and although he did not create overwhelming changes for the Mapuche his administration did respect their call for agrarian reform and recognized their indigenous culture. This is evident with the Cautin Pact that Allende and several Mapuche organizations signed in Cerro Nielol, Temuco on April 6, 1964.²⁹ In the pact, Allende as the leader of the Socialist Party promised the Mapuche if he won the election to

²⁷ Ibid., 137.

²⁸ Joana Jara, *Victor: An Unfinished Song* (Great Britain: Bloomsbury Publishing, 1998), 121.

²⁹ Crow, *The Mapuche in Modern Chile*, 120-122.

recognize their struggles for respect for their culture and religion, and begin to implement reforms that benefited Mapuche peoples. *Nueva Cancion* musicians like Jarra and Inti-Illimani supported Allende's agenda to increase government involvement in Mapuche grievances thus making him their candidate for both the 1964 and 1970 elections. Although Allende did not win the election in 1964, the pact between Mapuche people and leftist political groups grew stronger. Many indigenous people supported Socialist and Communist reforms because agrarian reform was central to their platform.

Although indigenous people were apart of Communist groups there was still a divide between Communist ideology and the Mapuche way of life. An interview between Chilean anthropologist Carlos Munizaga and Lorenzo Aillapan Cayuleo, a member of an indigenous rights organization, described the relationship between Marxism and the Mapuche way of life. When asked if the Mapuche could be considered Marxist, he declined, stating, "Marxism is a scientific conception, and the Mapuche people cannot relate to it as such. It is incompatible with Mapuche culture generally, which renders tribute to spirits, animals, and supernatural forces."³⁰ Aillapan described that although many Mapuche are communists and socialists it did not fully embody the Mapuche way of life. Mapuche people supported Marxist ideology because it highlighted grievances they felt strongly about such as agrarian reform and workers' rights, but it was quick to recognize the problems Marxism created for the Mapuche. The Mapuche way of life was sacred and could not be described through scientific means. Workers' rights also became an important aspect of how *Nueva Cancion* used their music to identify themselves with indigenous struggles.

³⁰ Ibid., 116-117.

“*Que Vivan las Obreros!*”: *Nueva Cancion* and the Fight for Workers Rights

Workers’ rights were also an important component to the *Nueva Cancion* genre. Violet Para wrote songs describing miners and agricultural laborers struggles. Many *Nueva Cancion* musicians supported and participated in left wing groups that supported Allende in his 1964 and 1970 elections. By the end of the 1960s groups like Inti-Illimani began being more specific about their support, exposing their militancy towards issues like workers’ rights. In 1968 Inti-Illimani released this powerful song titled “*Cueca de la C.U.T*” that was released on DICAP (Discoteca del Cantar Popular) a Chilean record company ran by the Juventudes Comunistas de Chile. The CUT, a labor union formed in 1953 was a powerful asset to Salvador Allende’s *Unidad Popular*.³¹

Central Única de Chile
Solid as the steel
That candles for the conquests
Of the Chilean worker
The pampino, the chilote, caramba
And the peasant
With the miners they fight, caramba
For their destiny
For their destiny yes, caramba
Precious jewel
The unity of all classes, caramba
Worker
Who live the workers, caramba
Of the whole world (of Chile)³²

The song opens with a strong guitar rhythm with heavy drumming with the use of various South American instruments like the

³¹ Faundez, *Marxism and Democracy in Chile*, 77-78.

³² Translation from insert in album, no author is mentioned.

charango (guitar) and *bombo* (drum). The song is centered around the rhythm of the chorus of singing by Inti-Illimani along with the guitar. The chorus of the men is powerful and expresses their passion for the topic at hand. In the song the group is calling for support of the CUT and its workers. As Laura Jordan Gonzalez' analysis of the *cueca* points out, it consisted of "two main performance elements: disposition and repetition of poetical lines throughout the musical performance... when the *cueca* is sung, its abstract form is transformed through the introduction of vocal interjections, lines disposition, and repetitions".³³ "*Cueca de la C.U.T*" embodied the traditional characteristics of the Chilean *cueca*.

Nueva Cancion's *cuecas* interwove contemporary political issues, socialist solidarity with the use of traditional form of song, while utilizing indigenous instrumentals. The repetitious aspect of the *cueca* is utilized in this song. In lines 1 and 2, Inti-Illimani describes the strength of the union and its solidarity for their fight for workers' rights. With this description of the union as "solid as steel" they are describing it as an indestructible force of dedicated workers. Although they do not specifically mention indigeneity throughout the song, indigenous campesinos were the major part of the workforce that represented the CUT. The fact that the song describes the Chilean union directly represents their push for nationalism in the form of solidarity with workers unions that represented indigenous workers.

The CUT was a strong supporter of the *Unidad Popular* and its Socialist reforms, that included workers' rights to unionize and nationalization of the Chile's copper mines. Faundez notes that the growth of the left-wing political parties, such as the Socialist Party, directly correlated with the growth of the CUT.³⁴ Other labor unions like the CUT were a critical component to Allendes victory in the 1970 election as well.

³³ Gonzalez, "The Chilean New Song's *cueca larga*," 77.

³⁴ Ibid., 78.

This song is evidence that groups like Inti-Illimani used their militant style songs to call for the support of Socialist/ Communist ideology and political support of the *Unidad Popular*. According to Laura Jordan Gonzalez, although *Nueva Cancion* musicians became a combination of many different styles of Latin American music, groups like Quilpayun and Inti-Illimani tried to develop a sound that was specific to Chile, the *cueca*. According to Gonzalez, “The *cueca* is much more than just a kind of music. It is a type of choreography, a poetic form, and several styles of vocal and instrumental performance.”³⁵ However, Gonzalez notes that the *cueca*’s most significant characteristic is its form musically and lyrically, she states, “In defining the form, two main performance elements participate: disposition and repetition of poetical lines throughout the musical performances.”³⁶ *Nueva Cancion* musicians used the *cueca* as a way to give recognition to the developers of the genre while also creating an indigenous aspect of the music with the use of indigenous instruments. Songs like these were central to the separation of Chilean *Nueva Cancion* musicians compared to other popular folk movements like in Argentina, United States and Uruguay.

During Frei’s year in office, the political turmoil of Chile saw no significant changes to the lives of lower class Chileans. Indigenous communities did not see the agrarian reforms that Frei had promised, and subsequently left-wing groups began to gain popularity among young university students and intellectuals. *Nueva Cancion* continued to sing songs that supported indigenous peoples issues and problems that affected the working and lower classes.

During this period Salvador Allende emerged as the leading candidate for the 1970 election, consistently gaining the support of the Socialist and Communist factions of left-wing groups in Chilean politics. Chile would experience a social, political, and economic transformation with the election of Salvador Allende in

³⁵ Ibid., 76.

³⁶ Ibid., 77.

the 1970 election. These changes affected the *Nueva Cancion* movement in many ways. First, it solidified its indigenous identity and was officially recognized by the new socialist government, becoming a part of the political structure that had once alienated it. Secondly, new nationalist songs emerged which increased Chilean nationalism and solidarity within the country. Lastly, it gave *Nueva Cancion* positions within the government as cultural ambassadors and representatives of indigenous peoples' issues and struggles.

Allende's "Peaceful Road to Socialism" 1969-1973

Chile's 1970 election became one of the most important and historical elections in Latin American history. Frei could not run again due to the constitution that barred him from participating in the election. The Christian Democrat party's candidate was Radomiro Tomic Romero. Allende, formerly of the Frente de Accion Popular (FRAP), formed a new political party named the *Unidad Popular*, or Popular Unity, which was a combination of the Communist, Radical and Socialist parties and other smaller left-wing groups. *Unidad Popular's* candidate, Salvador Allende, had already run four times before the 1970 election but failed each time. Allende, a former doctor and Chile's Health Minister in 1952 became the face of the Chile's growing new-left that saw an immense growth during the 1960s and increased during Frei's presidency. His campaign was based on socialist reforms, such as universal healthcare, education, workers' rights, agrarian reform and nationalization of their copper mines.

A devout Marxist, Allende's hard work and consistency made him a powerful force in Chilean politics. On September 4, 1970 Allende was victorious with 36.3 percent of the vote.³⁷ The vote had been split between Right, Center and Left-wing political parties that gave Allende the advantage over the Christian Democrat party that saw a large faction of their support go to

³⁷ Nathaniel Davis, *The Last Two Years of Salvador Allende* (London: Cornell University Press, 1985), 4.

Allende and the Center party. Due to Frei's inability to appease his left-wing factions, the Christian Democrats became successful only for one term. This defeat was humiliating to the Christian Democrats and right-wing conservative elites. Finally, after campaigning three times, Allende made history, the first Socialist elected into a political office in the western hemisphere.

Allende's platform of "peaceful road to socialism" now became a reality; the conditions that the Argentine Guerilla warrior, Ernesto "Che" Guevara, outlined in his *Guerilla Warfare* did not have to be utilized for the new Chilean society. Socialism won a democratic election and did not have to undergo a violent transition through the use of military force to gain power. Through the democratic process, Allende silenced his critics who mischaracterized him as a dictator who did not believe in the values of democracy. Aside from Cuba, Chile now became the only Latin American country that adopted a Marxist approach to government in the western hemisphere. This alarmed the United States, and historical records show plans were in place to overthrow Allende in case of a victory, yet the United States chose to covertly attack Allende's government through economic sanctions until the coup of 1973 that was ultimately funded by the CIA. Meanwhile, *Nueva Cancion* musicians rejoiced in their leader's victory, after years of concerts and events in support of Allende, they now held the power. On November 3, Joan Jara described Santiago's cultural festival that inaugurated Allende as their new president: "the celebration underway. The Alameda is packed again. People are climbing lamp posts, trees, parapets, and flooding up the hill opposite, hoping to get a glimpse of Allende when he speaks. Inside, all is joy, embraces, tears. I find myself swept off my feet. Everyone is hugging and embracing one another."³⁸

Nueva Cancion musicians became one of the main musical attractions at the festival. As the leader of *Nueva Cancion*, Victor Jara dedicated his songs to the new president, reinforcing the

³⁸ Jara, *Victor*, 145.

relationship that *Nueva Cancion* had forged in the past decade. Allende understood the power of music and recognized the dedication *Nueva Cancion* musicians had for his political campaigns since the 1964 election. Finally, all their hard work had paid off. Although *Nueva Cancion* began as a form of musical expression, it now became clear that it was much more than just music; *Nueva Cancion* became a militant political movement.

It was in this movement of national identity and social and political revolution that the birth of the *Nueva Cancion Movimiento* had been conceived. For years, *Nueva Cancion* musicians sang songs that described the exploitation of the *campesinos* who worked in the mines, support of indigenous communities, workers' unions, and against foreign imperialism. The indigenous identity created by *Nueva Cancion* musicians now became a part of the new government, Allende's socialist experiment. The atmosphere of political activism led by musicians and students created new forms of poetry, art, and music that supported the victory of a democratically elected socialist president. Chile's *Nueva Cancion* had supported him since the beginning of his campaign performing at festivals, campaign speeches, and eventually at his inauguration in 1970. Joan Jara described this as if "they had entered the Moneda Palace with him."³⁹

With Salvador Allende in power, *Nueva Cancion* musicians had a newfound momentum in songs that expressed the nationalist sentiment of an independent socialist country. Groups like Quilapayun began to compose songs that expressed their solidarity not only with their indigenous population, but with the general population's expression of nationalist pride. It now became time for real change to be enacted, this time in the form of socialism led by Allende, a devout and self-proclaimed Marxist. Quilapayun's song, "*Cueca de la Libertad*" is one of the more popular and powerful examples of this newfound nationalist pride in being Chilean, and a supporter of a socialist government. Although there

³⁹ Ibid.

are many songs that were popular among left-wing political groups, the use of the *cueca* embodies the traditional aspect of the *Nueva Cancion*. In addition, the rhythm and instruments used in the songs express their solidarity with the indigenous population.

“Cueca de La Libertad”

I really enjoy life
And the landscape of my country.
I do not want to be there
As if I were a stranger

I want the sea and the mountains
Speaking in my own tongue
And no one asking permission
To construct the new homeland

I really enjoy life
And the landscape of my country

And with liberty
“oh, life” no one deceives me
While there is misery
There is no liberty of worth

Caramba, there is no liberty
Without dignity

Liberty has arrived
It’s a victory of the people
Already its flame has been lit
In the heart of the Chileans

The homeland has decided
That it will always remain here
With unity and work

Nothing will stop it
Liberty has arrived
It's a victory of the people⁴⁰

The song opens with an Andean indigenous rhythm, with the strumming of the *charango* becoming the basis. We can hear the four guitars in complete harmony with one another, with the indigenous *bombo* keeping the beat of the song. The chorus of men begin to sing along with the rhythm of the guitars and drum. The song describes the pride in the country and the importance of liberty along with dignity. In lines 1 through 4 we can imagine that Quilapayun is referring to Violeta's "*Gracias a la Vida*" by describing their love for life. They describe how they also love the landscape of their country and how they did not want to live in Chile if they are treated like strangers. Quilapayun, being one of the more prominent groups of the *Nueva Cancion* musicians, knew how difficult it was to be respected as left-wing socialists under the conservative government of Frei, and could now be proud of being a part of Allende's "peaceful road to socialism."

This song can also be related to by indigenous people because since the arrival of the Spanish they have been alienated by the elites who disregarded their struggles, because they were seen as a roadblock to progress and modernization. *Nueva Cancion* was in fact a return to this traditional indigenous culture that had been mistreated and neglected for so long. During an era dominated by the popular culture of Anglo rock, there emerged a new genre that did not use instruments regarded as modern; instead it chose to utilize the instruments indigenous to the continent. This became the ultimate separation from other genres of the time; *Nueva Cancion* not only identified with its indigenous heritage but also embodied the indigenous struggle for acceptance. Indigenous people wanted to live their lives and enjoy their culture and not

⁴⁰ Translation from insert of album, no author mentioned.

have to feel as if they were the strangers of the new modernizing Chile.

Since the Cautin pact of 1964, Allende vowed to ensure that Mapuche culture was protected and respected. Once Allende became president of Chile in 1970 he became the first president to begin a series of reforms that benefited indigenous communities such as the Mapuche. Crow notes that by December of 1970, only months into his presidency, he began to draft a law that would focus on the issues indigenous people had, specifically the Mapuche. Allende understood the importance of the indigenous grievances over the land that they felt was theirs for a millennia. The Cautin pact Allende signed with the Mapuche six years earlier had to be honored in order to show his dedication to the indigenous cause. Crow notes Allende passed a law for the indigenous people in September 1972 and its goals were to, "Promote the social, economic, educational, and cultural progress of indigenous people, and strive for their integration into the national community, taking account of their idiosyncrasy and respecting their customs."⁴¹ Crow notes that this was the first time in history an official definition of indigenous had ever been used to describe people who originally lived on Chilean land.⁴² After years of producing songs that described indigenous peoples struggles, real change was now possible under the presidency of Allende and his *Popular Unidad* government.

With regards to indigeneity, it is clear that the *cueca* was indeed an integral part of the *Nueva Cancion* musicians homage to their traditional nationalist form of song structure. This created the clear image of a true Chilean group that not only represented the general population but the indigenous communities as well. In lines 5 through 10 of "*Cueca de La Libertad*" they state, "I want the sea and the mountains speaking in my own tongue, And no one asking permission to construct the new homeland." Even though it is not clear what language the author is speaking of, this stanza

⁴¹ Crow, *The Mapuche in Modern Chile*, 144-145.

⁴² Ibid., 144.

makes it evident that Quilapayun felt strongly about linguistic nationalism. It can be assumed that they included the language of the indigenous peoples of Chile, specifically the Mapuche, due to their alignment with campaigns for agrarian reform and workers' rights, all issues that greatly affected the indigenous people of Chile. Furthermore, In lines 17 through 20 they perfectly demonstrate the nationalist attitude *Nueva Cancion* musicians had during this period—they felt that Allende's election was also a victory for the Chilean people. Allende became the beacon of light in the age of imperialism and capitalism that seemed to have plagued the country in what *Nueva Cancion* musicians felt created exploitation, political, social and economic injustice and inequality. It was now time to be proud of being a Chilean and support the government that had instituted true liberty. Although this was an epic time for *Nueva Cancion* musicians and those who supported Allende, wealthy landowners and conservative political parties were already plotting the ouster of Allende with the help of the Central Intelligence Agency. Allende's socialist experiment would only last three years.

The end of *Nueva Cancion*: The murder of Victor Jara

On September 11, 1973, Allende gave his final speech to his people while military forces, led by his former general Augusto Pinochet and funded the by the United States Central Intelligence Agency, began bombing the Moneda, the Chilean presidential palace. Before Allende's final words, David Spener notes that the song "*No nos Moveran*" by a *Nueva Cancion* group named Tiempounuevo aired for the last time on Radio Magallanes, a *Nueva Cancion* classic that described the unity of the revolution and the solidarity behind the new Socialist government.⁴³ Along with thousands of other Chilean students and activist, Allende was murdered by Pinochet's military forces. *Nueva Cancion* leader

⁴³ David Spener, *A Song, Socialism, and the 1973 Military Coup in Chile* (Arizona: Temple University Press, 2016), 18-24.

Victor Jara's body was found in the street days after the coup. He had been tortured and shot to death in act of brutal murder. Allende's government socialist experiment had come to a bitter end leaving thousands killed and a country now under martial law. The beginnings of one of the most brutal regimes in Latin American history began with the running of blood and fear.

The stadium that once held Victor Jara prisoner now bears his name as recognition of the wrongdoing of the Pinochet regime. He did not deserve the death he was given, and the United States is equally responsible for the terrible and senseless murder of one of the most significant folk musicians in history. For the first months of the new regime, Pinochet ordered *Nueva Cancion* music made illegal along with the Andean *queana* and *charango*. Quilapayun and Inti-Illimani were on tour in Europe during the coup, and now became exiles from their country which was now under the control of a military dictatorship.⁴⁴ For the indigenous communities, the improvements of agrarian reform and workers' rights that benefited them under Allende, were now withdrawn. *Nueva Canción*, the music filled with sounds of the indigenous instruments, traditional folklore, and cries for political and social change, was now silent from swift military repression. Although there is much scholarly research in the history of *Nueva Cancion*, the indigenous identity that *Nueva Cancion* was ultimately successful in creating through the use of music has largely been understated. Furthermore, *Nueva Cancion* remained consistent with their sound, never changed the structure nor the instrumentation of their music, and remain one of the most important musical genres in Latin American history. In the present day, Victor Jara shares a special place in Chile and in the world. He is a martyr of the revolution for peace and equality. His legacy along with all the other *Nueva Cancion* musicians will continue to be discussed among educational circles for years to come. In the words of the *Nueva Cancion*, "*Venceremos!*"

⁴⁴ For more information on *Nueva Cancion* in exile, refer to J. Patrice McSherry's *The Political Impact of Chilean New Song in Exile*, 2016.

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Author Bio

Jason Garcia is a Cum Laude honors graduate from CSUSB with a BA in History, and his focus is in Latin American studies and US relations. His study on Chilean folk music granted him the opportunity to present his work at conferences in the universities of San Francisco and Pittsburgh. Jason developed his project working in Dr. Isabel Huacuja's senior seminar research class. He would like to thank his wife for her never-ending support, Dr. Huacuja for her guidance and inspiring this research, Dr. Pedro Santoni for his constructive criticism and furthering Jason's knowledge of Allende's Chile, Federico Guevara for his immense editorial help, and San Bernardino Valley College professor Ed Gomez for sparking his interest in Latin American studies. Jason is eager to begin his academic journey applying to several universities to teach Latin American studies at the university level.

History in the Making

Iranian Ulama & the CIA: The Key Alliance Behind the 1953 Iranian Coup D'état

By Anthony Lucey

Abstract: Much of the anger and hatred that is a part of US-Iranian relations, which has exploded onto the world stage since the Iranian Revolution of 1979, stems from the 1953 coup d'état which removed Iranian Prime Minister Mohammad Mossadeq¹ from power. A large field of scholarly work has been dedicated to the 1953 coup, specifically surrounding the participation of US and British intelligence. However, one interesting and surprising aspect of the 1953 coup which has not been sufficiently investigated is the role of Iranian religious clerics, known in Iran as the ulama, in assisting the CIA and their Iranian sub-agents in carrying out the overthrow of their own country's democratically elected prime minister. As new documents are released, we can refine our understanding of the complex dynamics and array of participants in this event. Further illuminating this history is particularly relevant because it is the ulama that leads the 1979 Revolution and establishes a new government.

It is August 19, 1953 in Iran's capital city of Tehran. Demonstrators are in the streets looting, rioting, chanting, and protesting. Beautiful mosques, main government and office

¹ Various spellings of the name Mohammad Mossadeq are used in this article. All references made by the author are spelled as above, but spellings used by other scholars (when quoted or in the titles of their work) may differ, most common being the spelling Mosaddeq.

buildings are being demolished and a local Tudeh (Iran's Communist Party) theater and office equipment are burned to the ground. The demonstrators continue their march and attack local newspaper offices, leaving them in ruins. Trucks and buses now arrive flooding the streets with local tribesmen from surrounding areas who join the madness. The will of the people becomes too much, and soon the occupying army units join the movement. Civilians and soldiers, side by side, proceed to take over the main squares of the city and ultimately seize the broadcasting facilities of Radio Tehran. This historic Persian city has officially erupted into total chaos. Tremendous fear from local families caught in the fray fills the air. The demonstrations seem to have taken on a life of their own as they continuously grow in size. The mob moves on to take over the telegraph office, the foreign ministry, press and propaganda bureau, the police and army headquarters. Finally, they come to the home of the man who is the ostensible cause for all of the mayhem, their Prime Minister, Dr. Mohammad Mossadeq. A battle breaks out between Mossadeq's supporters and the anti-Mossadeq crowds, leaving hundreds of people dead on the streets. The overthrow is now complete, and later the same day Army General Fazlollah Zahedi announces that he is Iran's new Prime Minister and that his forces now control the city.² At the time, and for many years following the *coup d'état* which overthrew Prime Minister Mossadeq almost no one, outside of British and US intelligence and their Iranian operatives and collaborators, would have ever dreamed that this horrific scene was entirely fabricated, designed, and orchestrated by a new world power—the United States of America and their top intelligence agency, the CIA. Hard to believe as it might be, this is no movie scene, but a sad narrative that lies at the heart of modern US-Iranian relations.

This research seeks to shed light on the relationship between the CIA and prominent Islamic religious figures and their participation in the 1953 Iranian coup. This work will draw much

² Mark J. Gasiorowski, "The CIA's TPBEDAMN Operation and the 1953 Coup in Iran." *Journal of Cold War Studies* 15, no. 4 (2013): 20.

of its information from declassified CIA documents like CIA Operative Dr. Donald Wilber's contemporary historical account titled "*Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran, November 1952 – August 1953*," CIA Historian Claud Corrigan's "*The Battle for Iran*," CIA Staff Historian Steve Koch's more recent CIA history titled "*Zendebad Shah!*," as well as the newly declassified British memorandums titled "*Persia: Political Review of the Recent Crisis*," which provides key information regarding the payoffs of Iranian clerics by the CIA as well the expectations the CIA held for those clerics in return for said payoffs, the actions taken by both the CIA and key members of the Ulama, and the roles played by prominent groups and individuals throughout the major sectors of Iranian society. This research aims to deepen and enhance our understanding of the inner workings of the CIA, their role within the unfortunate tale of the 1953 coup, the motivating factors behind the CIA involvement, as well as the contributions of Iran's own religious elites towards the toppling of Dr. Mossadeq.

The first portion of this research will provide a deep historical context of the events leading up to the ousting of Prime Minister Mossadeq from office with the aim of providing sufficient background to facilitate the understanding required to make sense of this complicated course of events. First, it is necessary to return to the beginning in 1901 with the notorious D'Arcy oil concession of Iranian oil rights to the British, continue into the early 1950s with the nationalization of Iranian oil, and conclude with the unfolding of the coup itself. The second portion of this study will focus on Mohammad Mossadeq himself, providing a background on the type of man he was and the positions he stood so strongly for. In this section we will also look into why the US and Britain both wanted to remove Mossadeq and their motivations for conducting the coup. This segment also aims to cover the regional and economic goals desired from the removal of Mossadeq and the consequences that followed. The third section of this paper will provide a background on the ulama, their role within Iranian society, and possible motivations for their participation in the coup. Section four will inquire into the relationship between the

CIA and members of the Ulama as well as their direct involvement through forming and implementing anti-Mossadeq street demonstrations, by using their influence in the political realm in Iran, in exchange for bribes in the form of cash as well as potential backing for power positions within the Iranian government, and by filtering “black” and “gray” propaganda through the mosques and their religious circles in hopes of toppling Mossadeq. This research will also help to show the inner workings of the CIA at this time and other activities they carried out in congruence with ulama networking and bribery that facilitated the coup. Lastly, I will introduce and analyze the primary source documents from the CIA and British Intelligence (MI6) that give context to the entire process of the coup as well as irrefutable, incriminating evidence of the CIA utilizing money to bribe influential Iranian clerics into participating in the 1953 Iranian coup.

This work could not come at a time of greater importance in regard to current US-Iranian relations and is necessary to highlight the gravity of the effects that the decisions of today’s American leaders might have on Iran’s people, just as the decisions made by those in power back in 1953 have continued to have unforeseen consequences over the last 66 years. Current US regime change efforts in Venezuela should be viewed in much the same way, with the understanding that such efforts will carry with them their own set of long-lasting undesirable results. According to United States Secretary of State Mike Pompeo when discussing current US efforts in Iran, “It’s not about changing the regime, it’s about changing the behavior of the leadership in Iran to comport with what the Iranian people really want them to do.”³ While current US leadership under the Trump administration knows the history of the 1953 coup in Iran and the tremendous blowback it has caused well enough to know to change their verbiage when publicly discussing their current attempt at regime change in Iran,

³ Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, “Pompeo: U.S. Looks to Change Iranian Behavior, Not Regime” (May 25, 2018). <https://www.rferl.org/a/pompeo-u-s-looks-to-change-iranian-behavior-not-regime/29251208.html>

their actions and their intentions have changed very little. This is not surprising as the current leadership in Iran was born out of the 1979 Revolution which itself came out of the ashes of the CIA-led 1953 coup. This has further entrenched both sides against one another and has created an unending closed circuit of hatred and a distaste for coming to a mature, mutual understanding. The United States is continuing their aims to control Iranian Oil through the use of extremely harsh sanctions and by stopping the majority of Iran's oil clients from doing business with them. Through this kind of an economic chokehold the US hopes to make life so miserable and unbearable for the Iranian people by causing mass forced starvation and a total depletion of life's necessary resources that the Iranian citizens will rise up and overthrow their current government themselves. So, while the United States may not openly admit to attempting to force a regime change in Iran, this is without a doubt their one true goal.⁴ We may not know exactly how today's actions against Iran will play out over the coming years, but we do have the ability to use 1953 as a lesson which if understood correctly, could drastically and positively change and even save the lives of the Iranian people today and could shape future US-Iranian relations for many generations to come.

While the 1953 coup was born out of the Anglo-Iranian Oil crisis, it is necessary to go back a further 50 years and examine British-Iranian history to find its roots. Coming second in size and breadth only to the Reuter concession of 1872, a British oil prospector named William Knox D'Arcy was responsible for one of the largest and internationally most significant purchases of natural resources in world history, known as the infamous D'Arcy Concession of 1901. D'Arcy made an agreement with the Iranian monarch, Mozaffar al-Din Shah, for the exclusive rights to explore, extract, refine, and export all oil products that spanned the entire nation of Iran for the next 60 years, with the exception of a few

⁴ If this route were to be successful, the United States would be able to push the blame onto the actions or inactions of the regime leadership, rather than where it should be; on the United States government.

small regions bordering Russia.⁵ The shah handed over all of his country's rights to what would become their largest and most valuable resource for only £50,000 directly into the shah's pocket, another £20,000 in shares to be spread amongst other key Iranian political elites, and an agreement to pay the Iranian government a total of 16 percent of net annual profits. It wasn't until 1908 that oil was first discovered in Masjed-e Suleiman in the province now known as Khuzestan. Not long after oil was struck, D'Arcy decided to sell his rights to the Burmah Oil Company, controlled by representatives of the British government, which later took on the name of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (APOC).⁶

At this time in history, as it still is today, oil became of the utmost importance to the British. Unable to produce oil of their own, the British, led by the "oil maniac" Lord Admiral John Fisher, were set on converting the British Navy away from coal power to petroleum power.⁷ With these changes in mind, the British were able to secure 52.5 percent of the voting rights within the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. Along with majority voting rights, the British government held two director positions within the company, giving them the right to veto any decisions made by the Board of Directors.⁸ With what amounted to basically full control over the APOC, the British were set to reap tremendous profits from Iran's oil since they could control the price and output.⁹ In 1912 the British entrenched themselves even further into the region by linking their major oil well in Masjed-e Suleiman with a pipeline to an island in the Persian Gulf known as Abadan.¹⁰ The British were able to convince the chief of the largest Arab-

⁵ Amin Saikal, *The Rise and Fall of the Shah* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 13.

⁶ Ervand Abrahamian, *The Coup: 1953, The CIA and the Roots of Modern U.S.-Iranian Relations* (New York: New Press, 2013), 18.

⁷ Ibid., 5.

⁸ Ibid., 18.

⁹ The higher the output of oil by the British government means the lower the price, therefore even though they are still profiting, Iran is getting fewer royalties and more resource exploitation.

¹⁰ Saikal, *The Rise and Fall of the Shah*, 13.

speaking tribe in all of the southwest region, Sheikh Kha'zal, the leader of Abadan, to allow them to build the largest oil refinery in the world, allowing Britain to turn Iranian oil into a major export sector. The APOC quickly began producing more than 357,000 barrels of oil per day, cementing themselves within the rankings of the Seven Sisters of oil who held a virtual monopoly over the worldwide oil industry.¹¹ This resulted in more than £24 million a year in taxes and £92 million in foreign exchange for the British and as figured by the Ministry of Fuel and Power, the Abadan refinery alone was bringing in more than \$347 million per year.¹² These numbers greatly eclipsed what the Iranian government was receiving in the form of taxes, royalties and profit sharing.¹³

Not surprisingly, the success of the APOC and the British in the mass production of oil within Iran began to cause some serious public discontent, but with the Abadan oil refinery producing enough fuel to cover 85 percent of Britain's Royal Navy and Royal Air Force's needs in Asia, public discontent would hardly be enough to stop the British imperial enterprise.¹⁴ Not only were the Iranian people angered by the negligible profits they were being given by the British from the production of Iranian oil, while the British government and the APOC's investors were raking in tens of millions of pounds per year, they were also tired of the racism and exploitation of Iranian locals working for the APOC by the British management and leading officials. They were refused full-time positions and instead were hired as temporary contract laborers to limit job security. Iranian workers were forced to live in Shantytowns, while the European employees enjoyed superior housing. The Iranians were looked down upon and referred to as "wogs," a derogatory and racist British term and were also kept out of management positions. Iranian anger and frustration continued

¹¹ The Seven Sisters of the oil industry consisted of: Exxon, Mobil, Chevron, Gulf Oil, Texaco, British Petroleum, and Shell.

¹² Abrahamian, *The Coup*, 18.

¹³ Saikal, *The Rise and Fall of the Shah*, 14.

¹⁴ Abrahamian, *The Coup*, 19.

to build as they realized they had no real control or say over their country's most valuable resource.¹⁵ Iran was going through an immense economic collapse and the Iranian people were greatly impoverished, as the British continued to collect most of Iran's oil profits. ARAMCO reaching a 50/50 deal with Saudi Arabia in December 1950 would be the last straw for Iran.¹⁶ In 1951, with their unrest boiling over, the Iranians turned to their members of Parliament, who in turn looked to Mohammad Mossadeq to do something about their predicament.¹⁷

By the time he had taken power as Prime Minister in 1951, he was already an elderly man at seventy years of age and had been a member of the Iranian Parliament, known as the Majlis, for many years. Mossadeq was a strong believer in the power of parliament and the checks and balances this placed over the Shah's control. In his eyes, the Shah was meant to reign over Iran, but not to have unlimited power and control. He also believed that the police and military were meant to serve the people, not the Shah. In fact, his goal was to limit the authority of the Shah, and to move the majority of power to the Majlis. He fought for constitutional democracy and stood for freedom of the press, something he knew would never be possible under the total control of the Shah.¹⁸ Mossadeq was intensely opposed to British Imperialism and was a prominent Iranian Nationalist with a proven track record. He was considered an incorruptible man by his contemporaries, known for being relentless in his aspirations, maintaining unwavering positions regardless of risk, for being truly stubborn in his efforts to improve his country, and for working towards Iranian prosperity and independence with a vision based on Iran first, all else second.

¹⁵ Stephen Kinzer, *All The Shah's Men: An American Coup and the Roots of Middle Eastern Terror* (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2003), 2.

¹⁶ Daniel Yergin, *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money & Power: with a New Epilogue* (Free Press, 2009), 432-437.

¹⁷ Kinzer, *All The Shah's Men*, 2.

¹⁸ Wm. Roger Louis, "Britain and the Overthrow of the Mosaddeq Government," in *Mohammad Mosaddeq and the 1953 Coup in Iran*, eds. Mark Gasiorowski and Malcolm Byrne, 126-177 (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2004), 127.

Western-educated and with a deep understanding of Western politics, Mossadeq was a very Westernized individual, but strongly rejected the Western policies of imperialism and foreign intervention, especially in his beloved homeland.¹⁹ Much of Mossadeq's policy and the motivation behind his actions stemmed from the British and Russian occupation of Iran over Iranian Oil, not once but twice, in less than a fifty-year period. Sharing in the feelings of his fellow countrymen, Mossadeq was ready to end this pattern. In 1949 he began constructing a plan to nationalize Iran's oil industry and headed an alliance known as the National Front, which consisted of Majlis from most of the political parties within Iran, including a prominent member of the Ulama, known as Ayatollah Sayyed Abol Qasem Kashani. While constructing his plan for the nationalization of oil, Iranian anger toward the APOC gained strength and momentum. The British finally agreed to renegotiate the terms of their concession agreement to increase Iran's portion of the APOC profits from the 16 percent they were getting to about double that, but these actions proved to be too little and much too late.²⁰ ARAMCO, the American owned oil company working in the Persian Gulf, negotiated 50/50 concession deals with both Saudi Arabia and Kuwait for their oil rights. This meant that ARAMCO would keep 50 percent of their profits and give 50 percent to each accordingly.²¹²² Mossadeq and the Majlis

¹⁹ Ali Rahnema, *Behind the 1953 Coup in Iran: Thugs, Turncoats, Soldiers, and Spooks* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 11.

²⁰ Saikal, *The Rise and Fall of the Shah*, 38.

²¹ Abrahamian, *The Coup*, 20.

²² Venezuela had also reached a 50/50 split deal with the United States in 1943 on the production of their oil. Much like Iran today, Venezuela is also suffering the effects of harsh US sanctions affecting their ability to export oil in an effort to remove President Nicolas Maduro and change the regime, just as they did with the 1953 Iranian coup. In an interview with Fox Business, US National Security Advisor John Bolton made the intentions of the US clear when he stated: "We're in conversation with major American companies now. I think we're trying to get to the same end result here. ... It will make a big difference to the United States economically if we could have American oil companies really invest in and produce the oil capabilities in Venezuela."

fought for a 50/50 agreement in Iran, but the British thought this to be ridiculous and much more than they were willing to offer. Mossadeq and the National Front would not sit by and allow this to go on. On April 30, 1951, the Majlis voted Mossadeq in as the new Prime Minister of Iran. It was only one day later, on May 1, 1951, that Prime Minister Mossadeq officially nationalized Iranian oil, seizing Britain's most profitable business in the world.²³

As expected, the British were outraged with this course of events and were determined to return to the way they were pre-Mossadeq. Britain openly and publicly rejected Iran's oil nationalization as completely illegal, as they believed that they had a valid contract with Iran for their oil, and had built, invested in and ran the oil field operations. The British first tried to fight Mossadeq at the United Nations and the International Court of Justice, but both attempts were unsuccessful. Britain proceeded to withdraw their advisors from Iran, froze Iranian funds from being converted in English banks, and issued harsh sanctions against the country.²⁴ The British then took things much further, and introduced gunboat diplomacy by sending warships into the Persian Gulf. They set up a blockade so that any Iranian oil that was shipped out would be stopped and confiscated as the possession of APOC and Britain. They also made an agreement with the other major powers of the oil world, stating that none of them would step in and enter an agreement with Iran to purchase, process, or ship their oil. Both APOC and ARAMCO agreed to increase their oil production two-fold in Kuwait, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia in order to offset the missing oil from Iran. This had severe negative effects on Iran's economy by reducing their oil production from 241.4 million barrels in 1950 to 10.6 million barrels in 1952, and their oil income to almost nothing. The Soviet Union saw this as a possible opportunity to form an alliance with Mossadeq and the nation of Iran and offered their support for his

²³ Saikal, *The Rise and Fall of the Shah*, 39.

²⁴ Abrahamian, *The Coup*, 47.

nationalist views.²⁵ Soviet support would prove a crucial component in the way the remainder of this story unfolds.

While both the United States and Britain were worried that the Iranian nationalization of oil could result in a weakened ability to control worldwide oil prices and would give Iran the power to hold onto its oil and control worldwide prices it was Britain who was far more concerned with turning back the hands of time than the United States.²⁶ The British knew that they would need US cooperation and backing against Iran to regain control over their oil. Unfortunately for the British, US President Harry Truman was more or less opposed to imperialism and the old way of doing things. Truman urged the British earlier on to come to a 50/50 deal with Iran, which was now too little, too late, but he himself did not like the idea of full nationalization of Iran's oil industry as he believed this would have disastrous effects for the US and Britain around the world concerning other peripheralized oil-producing nations. Though keen on having the British come to an agreement with Iran, Truman remained opposed to the use direct military force and the use of covert operations to bring down Premier Mossadeq.

Nevertheless, at this time the US government was focused on the Cold War and American society was experiencing the height of the Red Scare and McCarthyism. The main concern for the US was not so much Britain's plight over oil but was focused on Soviet influence in Iran and their potential for becoming a Communist country. Luckily for the British, Truman was coming to the end of his final term in office, and would soon be replaced by President Eisenhower. Britain rather brilliantly decided to play upon the fears of the United States and especially President Eisenhower, who was at the same time being influenced by the new Secretary of State, and anti-communist hardliner, John Foster Dulles. With the economic situation in Iran deteriorating, the US believed that Mossadeq could inadvertently allow Iran to slide into

²⁵ Saikal, *The Rise and Fall of the Shah*, 40-41.

²⁶ It is important to remember that the US has indigenous sources of oil but Great Britain has none.

the Communist camp and could be replaced by a leader of Iran's Communist Tudeh Party. Unlike the Americans, the British believed that if Mossadeq was removed there was a good chance that they could implement a pro-Western conservative government led by an Iranian monarch, but they would need the Americans help to accomplish this.²⁷ Britain then began implementing their scheme of using American panic and frenzy revolving around Communism against them. According to British Intelligence Agent C.M. Woodhouse:

I went to Washington with the permission of Anthony Eden, and I put it to the Americans that there was a very serious Communist threat against Iran. The Americans were not hard to convince. There was a general fear of Communism in the early 1950s which it was not hard to play on.²⁸

This approach was incredibly effective and helped move Eisenhower into an anti-Mossadeq position. Eisenhower then agreed to enter into a joint CIA-SIS operation under the codename TPAJAX to support the opposition movement in Iran and take out Mossadeq. The American and British led 1953 coup of the democratically elected Prime Minister of Iran had officially begun on July 11, 1953.²⁹

The Role of the Ulama in Iranian Society and their Motivation for Participation in the Coup

Iran offers a long, rich, and complex history of religious development and spiritual teachings dating back to pre-Islamic

²⁷ Wm. Roger Louis, "Britain and the Overthrow," 154.

²⁸ William Cran and Daniel Yergin. "The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, & Power." YouTube Video, 44:06, July 8, 2016, www.youtube.com/watch?v=mM7O3rbgqxc&t=2761s.

²⁹ CIA Clandestine Service History, "Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran, November 1952-August 1953," by Donald Wilber (March 1954): 18.

times, some of whose ideas have continued into and influenced Islam today. From Zoroastrianism to Manichaeism, much of Iran's religious background and conditioning is based upon a dualistic struggle between the forces of good and evil, represented by a good deity and an evil power, where good is meant to be victorious. This theme of righteous warfare between good and evil, or justice and oppression, along with the exaltation of martyr figures, are found in pre-Islamic religions and have held their place in society well into the modern Islamic period. It took a number of social revolts at the beginning of the Islamic period in the seventh century to combine these pre-Islamic ideas with Islamic beliefs.³⁰ These fundamental beliefs are so infused within Iranian society because they mirror the daily struggle of injustice and inequality faced by the middle and lower classes of Iran throughout much of their history and provide much of the motivation necessary to give one's life for a cause.

However, it was not until the arrival of the Prophet Mohammad in early seventh century Arabia that politics and religion became intertwined, with a number of his revelations being political or legal in form. It was around this time, during the second half of the seventh century that Islam spread to Persia, but it would not be until the sixteenth century that Shia Islam would become the official state religion.³¹ Within Iranian society Ulama members have the responsibility to handle matters concerning Islamic law and education, providing them with further social control, but more importantly greater reliance on them by Iran's citizens. This reliance on religion and the Ulama by the Iranian population for spiritual, economic, and social guidance and prosperity has placed enormous power into the hands of Iran's elite religious clerics. They are looked to as force of good against the evil oppressors, whomever they may be at the time. This,

³⁰ Nikki R. Keddie and Yann Richard, *Roots of Revolution: An Interpretive History of Modern Iran* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 2-7.

The revolts were often carried out by the descendants of Ali or by men who lead revolts in his name, against the Umayyad caliphs.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 5-9.

especially because they are Shiites, is why it is so shocking to find out that a number of these religious elites, who their people trusted and relied on so heavily to act in their best interests, worked hand in hand with the CIA, in exchange for bribes of money and political positions of power, to overthrow Iran's Prime Minister who was dedicated to bettering the lives of his people.

Shia Islam

Following the death of the Prophet Muhammad in 632 A.D., the Islamic community split into two groups based on who they believed to be the next valid leader. One group chose Muhammad's close friend Abu Bakr and the line of Caliphs that followed. This community became known as Sunni Muslims. The other group believed that the line of succession should have passed to Muhammad's descendant, his cousin and son-in-law Ali, this group became known as the Shiate Ali (partisans of Ali) later shortened to Shia Muslims. After Ali's death his firstborn son Hasan resigned from his position of authority, and Ali's second son Hosain claimed this leadership role, but was soon thereafter massacred by armed forces of the Umayyad Caliph Yazid in 680 A.D at Karbala, Iraq. One of Hosain's sons survived the massacre and was able to continue on the line of Imams, which is the honorific title given to this line of descendants of Mohammad.³² The son of the eleventh Imam following this line of descendants one day suddenly disappeared and went into occultation. The followers of this line are known as "Twelvers" and believe that the twelfth Imam will one day reappear similar to the Judeo-Christian messiah.³³ Following the occultation of the twelfth Imam, it is

³² Ibid., 6-7.

³³ Ibid., 7-8. A split occurred with the sons of the Sixth Imam, Ja'far as-Sadeq, where one group of Shi'is followed one of his son's name Isma'il, and this group became known as the "Seveners." The other group decided to follow another of Ja'far's sons and believed that the infant son of the Eleventh Imam on this line of succession, who had disappeared, went into was is called

believed that there is no infallible interpreter or leader until his return when he is to come back and bring with him perfection and perfect justice.³⁴ There was a strong belief within the Islamic community of Iran that the Imams held far greater knowledge and power than did any government or political ruler, leading to the belief that members of the Ulama, in the absence of the twelfth Imam, are far more qualified to interpret the will of the Imam than any political ruler can ever be, giving religious rulers great political influence and control.³⁵ The disappearance of the twelfth Imam allowed the community to be quiescent generally as they would accept and support royal, local, political, and military rule until his coveted return.

From the time of Mohammad there were three primary sources where Muslims could find answers to the everyday problems pertaining to social, political, and legal life. The first and most authoritative option was the Quran itself, which is understood as the word of God, which came down through the Prophet Mohammad himself. The second source is known as the *hadith*, which are the recorded words and practices of Mohammad throughout his life. The third option was to listen to the consensus of the leading Islamic scholars and jurists. These three sources covered many of life's issues, but there were many parts of modern life that were not necessarily covered in the Quran or the *hadith*. Without a living Imam to provide infallible instruction to the people, how were they meant to handle many of life's most important issues while staying true to their faith? How were they to interpret these divinely inspired sources, the Quran and *hadith*? This problem led to the creation of a specialty within Islamic scholarship, *mujtahids* (members of the Ulama trained to interpret the Quran and *hadith*), who are scholars and theologians who possess high levels of intelligence and have dedicated their lives to religious training and study, making them the most qualified to

"occultation" in the ninth century, leaving not another Imam, but rather four interpreters of his will.

³⁴ Ibid., 8.

³⁵ Ibid., 9.

provide judgments on a wide range of topics.³⁶ Originally there was quite a strong alliance between the *mujtahids* and the political leaders, but this would not last due to the increasing wealth and power of the Ulama.

Within the Muslim world there is a process where a person, upon death, can leave their property or can offer it as a charitable donation to the “church”, in what is known as a *vaqf*, or an inalienable endowment that cannot be taken or taxed by the government. Charitable *vaqfs*, usually in the form of land, are given to help fund and run schools, hospitals, mosques, and any other institution, which are run by the Ulama.³⁷ Even the private *vaqfs* that are given must go through the Ulama, who are paid through the *vaqf* revenues. As the government cannot ever seize these contributions, the wealth and power in the hands of the ulama grew greater along with their spiritual and legal duties and responsibilities. This placed the Ulama in a position where they could potentially challenge the authority of the government and had the backing to do so.³⁸ On top of the *vaqfs* the Ulama also controlled religious taxes and performed community services for a fee like weddings, that did not have to go through the government. These funds were meant to go strictly to helping the poor and running the welfare institutions but in reality increased the wealth of the religious classes dramatically.³⁹ With this wealth and new independence from the Iranian government, the power of the *mujtahids* grew even further as they gave the people interpretations of religious law in response to the problems of modern life that were so desperately needed.⁴⁰ The Ulama almost effectively made the Shahs and Iranian leadership unnecessary in the lives of the regular everyday people in Iran, as they received most of what they needed both physically and spiritually from their religious leaders.

³⁶ Ibid., 10.

³⁷ Ibid., 16.

³⁸ It is important to note that the traditional Twelver Shiite tradition historically valued supporting the monarchy as opposed to anarchy.

³⁹ Ibid., 16-17.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 18.

The power and influence held by the Ulama within Iranian society had been set in stone from this point on.

Development of the Coup

Arguably the most important religious figure, who was very politically involved during the 1940s-50s, and a part of Mossadeq's National Front, was the fervently anti-British Ayatollah Sayyed Abol Qasem Kashani. Kashani was the speaker of the Majlis and at first a close colleague of Mossadeq's.⁴¹ He maintained a growing influence with the Iranian people, especially after the oil crisis, and was known to have ties to a terrorist fundamentalist group by the name of the Feda'iyān-e Islam.⁴² Kashani had a long history of what was considered subversive behavior by the British and well as the Pahlavi regime. He took part in the 1920 Shi'a Revolt against the British as a young man, was arrested by the British for having links to the Germans in 1944-45 and was arrested once again in 1946 for organizing protests in opposition to the rigging of the fifteenth Majlis elections. In 1949, Kashani was arrested after his photographer shot Mohammad Reza Shah, injuring but not killing him, and was later exiled to Beirut. Kashani was not allowed back into Iran until June of 1950 after he won a seat in the sixteenth Majlis. Even though he was in exile for some time, Kashani still maintained his connections and influence over the Tehran bazaar.⁴³⁴⁴

⁴¹ Saikal, *The Rise and Fall of the Shah*, 43-44.

⁴² Keddie and Richard, *Roots of Revolution*, 129. Founded in 1945, the Feda'iyān-e Islam were a small group of young, extremist, fundamentalist terrorists who assassinated those they believed to be enemies of Islam.

⁴³ Abrahamian, *The Coup*, 30.

⁴⁴ Keddie and Richard, *Roots of Revolution*, 30. The bazaaris, who are the merchant class, are a very prominent and influential group within Iran. The wealth and international ties of the elite bazaaris, who conducted cross-border trading, and the power of the guilds representing the local artisan shopkeepers gave the bazaaris a great deal of weight in Iranian society. Many of the bazaaris and members of the Ulama even came from the same families. With religious observance being extremely important within the bazaar class much of the

While playing the role of religious leader on the outside, the controversial cleric was not opposed to breaking his assumed moral code when it came to maintaining his power or increasing his bank account. After Ahmad Qavam failed to take control of the Majlis, Mossadeq's political influence was stronger than ever. Using this power and popularity, Mossadeq moved to limit his former supporter, Kashani, and his ability to intervene in his plans. Kashani, as well as his close allies and influential members of the National Front, Baqa'I and Makki, began to see their political influence slip away.⁴⁵ These three men, along with a few of their allies came together and created a parliamentary group whose aim was to limit Mossadeq's authority. In January of 1953, Mossadeq asked parliament to increase his legislative powers for another year, which would allow him to issue reforms immediately without going through parliament. Kashani took this opportunity to fight Mossadeq within parliament, stating that this was opposed by Iran's Constitution. This did not work out the way Kashani had planned as the people of Iran went on strike in support of Mossadeq, chanting "Mossadeq or death" bringing business to a standstill. The Majlis listened to their constituents and voted in favor of Mossadeq almost unanimously. This was an embarrassing defeat for Kashani and his allies. Additionally, the very next day Mossadeq replaced one of Kashani's closest allies, Chief of Police Colonel Kamal, which was another major blow to Kashani's political stature.⁴⁶ Kashani began to realize that fighting Mossadeq politically or legally was almost impossible, but this did not deter him. Ayatollah Kashani had been embarrassed and could feel his power slipping through his grasp. This was enough to motivate

Ulama's income was paid by the guilds in exchange for religious services and duties.

⁴⁵ Mark J. Gasiorowski, "The 1953 Coup D'Etat Against Mosaddeq," in *Mohammad Mosaddeq and the 1953 Coup in Iran*, eds. Mark J. Gasiorowski and Malcolm Byrne, 227-260 (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2004), 243. Mozzafar Baqa'I was a member of the National Front and Hossein Makki was the National Front leader and a close ally of Kashani.

⁴⁶ Abrahamian, *The Coup*, 30.

Kashani and his men to partake in subversive and covert operations aimed at the removal of Mohammad Mossadeq, in order to reinstate the level of power he so desperately yearned for. It was at this point that Kashani and his followers allied with General Zahedi, the Shah, and the US/British alliance.⁴⁷

Traditionally in Iran the Ulama were supporters of the monarchy, so while Kashani may have been the most prominent and aggressive cleric involved in Mossadeq's ousting, he was not the only one. Another major player in Iran's religious circle who took part in overthrowing Iran's Prime Minister was Ayatollah Seyyed Mohammad Behbahani. A son of one of the two leading religious figures in Iran's constitutional movement, the pro-British Behbahani became personally close to Mohammad Reza Pahlavi during the Shah's rise to power. In fact, the two became so close that Behbahani came to be the Shah's religious protector and a very close ally early on. Even though Behbahani's position as Ayatollah ostensibly meant he stood for religious piety and incorruptibility, he seemingly had no issue accepting funds directly from the Shah to continue promoting his authority. The Ayatollah was known to have "the reputation of being quite unscrupulous and corrupt, ready to sell his influence on the bazaars to the highest bidder."⁴⁸ As the situation between the Shah and Prime Minister Mossadeq began to erode, Behbahani took an active role in rallying support for the Shah and promoting opposition to Mossadeq through the creation and utilization of powerful street demonstrations.⁴⁹ While Behbahani's close relationship with the Shah and the power he could offer may have been enough to impel him to rally Southern Tehran into action, the payments he received from the CIA assured it. Behbahani also had the support of fellow clerics such as his son-in-law Ayatollah Bahaeddin Nouri and Seyyed Jalaaladdin Firouzabadi.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Rahnema, *Behind the 1953 Coup in Iran*, 30-32.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 301.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 39.

The final critical member of the Ulama with CIA ties was also a close friend and ally of Ayatollah Behbahani, the powerful preacher by the name of Sheikh Mohammad Taqi Falsafi. Falsafi held strong influence with the traditional classes within Iran. A longstanding opponent of both Mossadeq and Kashani, Falsafi would eventually ally himself with Kashani based on their shared anti-Mossadeq views. He was staunchly anti-Communist and used the pulpit to spread anti-Mossadeq propaganda, which suggested that Mossadeq was paving the way for the Tudeh Party to take power and implement Communism in Iran. Why was it though that Falsafi was so adamantly anti-Mossadeq and what motivated him to sway the masses towards the Prime Minister's overthrow? This was largely due to Mossadeq's strong stance in favor of nationalism, and in Falsafi's eyes this diminished the religiosity of the Iranian population. Falsafi was also angered by Mossadeq's beliefs regarding free press, since this allowed for the Communist Tudeh Party to publish openly.⁵¹ Finally, much like his friend Ayatollah Behbahani, Falsafi's moral obligation as a member of the Ulama did not carry enough weight to deter him from accepting bribes and corruption. In his book *Unseating Mossadeq: The Configuration and Role of Domestic Forces*, Fakhreddin Azimi describes how, "Falsafi generally had a reputation for willingness to adjust his fluctuating political allegiances for tangible gains."⁵² This became clear when Falsafi began accepting CIA money in return for using his political and religious influence to mobilize the masses against Mohammad Mossadeq and to destabilize the National Front.⁵³

⁵¹ Publication by the Communist Party were particularly alarming to members of the ulama due to the party's emphasis on a secular society.

⁵² Fakhreddin Azimi, "Unseating Mosaddeq: The Configuration and Role of Domestic Forces," in *Mohammad Mosaddeq and the 1953 Coup in Iran*, eds. Mark J. Gasiorowski and Malcolm Byrne, 27-101 (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2004), 68.

⁵³ Gasiorowski, "The CIA's TPBEDAMN Operation," 14.

US Government and CIA Activities within Iran

Claud H. Corrigan, member of the CIA's History Staff provides the CIA's most blatant admission of guilt to date in his detailed history of the 1953 coup in Iran titled *The Battle for Iran* where he states:

“The point that the majority of these accounts miss is a key one: the military coup that overthrew Mosadeq and his National Front cabinet was carried out under CIA direction as an act of U.S. foreign policy, conceived and approved at the highest levels of government. It was not an aggressively simplistic solution, clandestinely arrived at but was instead an official admission by both the United States and United Kingdom that normal, rational methods of international communication and commerce had failed. TPAJAX was entered into as a last resort.”⁵⁴

Kermit Roosevelt, head of the CIA's Near East and Africa Division and grandson of US President Theodore Roosevelt, was selected by President Eisenhower, CIA Director Dulles, as well as the British MI6 and given complete authority to command and carry out the overthrow and removal of Mossadeq in Tehran by any means necessary. Along with the British, and other US operatives, Kermit Roosevelt and the CIA used a plethora of techniques to influence Iran's bureaucrats, clerics, merchants, workers, criminals, religious community, and the remainder of the masses, in an effort to shift their views regarding Mossadeq, in as negative a way as possible, in order to undermine the massive amount of power he held in Iran at the time. Long before Roosevelt and the CIA had arrived in Iran, the British had been building a large network of inside agents, including key figures

⁵⁴ CIA Clandestine Service History, “The Battle for Iran,” by Claud H. Corrigan, undated (c. mid-1970s): 26.

such as the powerful Rashidian Brothers, prominent businessmen and pro-British loyalists, who they could rely on for key intelligence information, to disseminate propaganda, and to help influence and mobilize the masses when needed.⁵⁵ However, once the British had been ousted by Mossadeq in October 1952, they were forced to share the identities of their inside agents with the US and had to rely on the Americans to carry out the groundwork while Britain assisted behind the scenes. The CIA built some of their own relationships once in Iran but most of the key players that the CIA would utilize in the removal of Mossadeq were apart of Britain's vast network of insiders. Many of the covert techniques and dealings that were used by the CIA can be found throughout Claud Corrigan's *Battle for Iran*, CIA Historian and head coup propagandist Dr. Donald Wilber's *Clandestine Service History: Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran – November 1952-August 1953*, CIA History Staff member Scott A Koch's "Zendeabad, Shah!": *The Central Intelligence Agency and the Fall of Iranian Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadeq, August 1953*, along with the newly declassified top-secret CIA documents and British Memorandums from the *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954, Iran, 1951-1954, Volume X*, titled *Persia: Political Review of the Recent Crisis*, "September 2, 1953" which lie at the heart of this core analysis.

The main focus and foundation of my analysis will rely on Dr. Donald Wilber's *Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran* which provides a contemporary first-hand account of the actions that were taken by the CIA, including its alliance with the ulama, the details regarding how many of those actions were carried out, as well as context for the thinking that motivated them. While Wilber's work provides an abundance of important information regarding the 1953 coup in Iran, it must be understood that a good portion of the original text is still redacted, therefore we do not

⁵⁵Rahnema, *Behind the 1953 Coup in Iran*, 64-78. The Rashidian Brothers consisted of Saifollah, Qodratollah, and Asadollah Rashidian. These three powerful and wealthy Iranian businessmen had a long history of being Pro-British loyalists and would prove to be a key part in the carrying out of the coup.

have all the details and certain aspects must be logically pieced together from information gathered from other primary documents and the many works of past scholars specializing in this field. Corrigan's *Battle for Iran* and Koch's *Zenbedad Shah!* will share the important role of helping to fill in any gaps found within Wilber's work, as well as to help confirm or deny the details Wilber offers.

Once the US government and the CIA had come to the conclusion that they would commit completely to Mossadeq's removal by any means necessary, CIA Director Allen Dulles approved a \$1,000,000 budget on April 4, 1953 "which could be used by the Tehran Station in any way that would bring about the fall of Mossadeq."⁵⁶ According to Wilber, one of the very first aims of the CIA and ways in which they chose to allocate this money was to steadily intensify their anti-Mossadeq and pro-Shah propaganda.⁵⁷ They wanted to saturate the country as quickly and effectively as possible through a multi-layered approach by targeting the population religiously, politically, economically and socially. "In Iran, CIA and SIS propaganda assets were to conduct an increasingly intensified propaganda effort through press, handbills, and the Tehran clergy in a campaign designed to weaken the Mossadeq government in any way possible."⁵⁸ The United States government then went on to have some of their high-ranking officials make public statements that made clear that American economic aid would not be given to Iran as long as Mossadeq was in power. This was done with the goal to diminish any confidence the people of Iran had in Mossadeq and to eliminate the idea that he was on good terms with the US and had the country's support.⁵⁹⁶⁰

⁵⁶ CIA, "Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran," 3.

⁵⁷ Ibid., vi-vii.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid., vii.

⁶⁰ PressTV, "Trump tells Venezuela military to back Guaido or 'lose everything," YouTube Video, 12:21, February 19, 2019. Accessed April 04, 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ARTn0F8zzOs&feature=youtu.be>.

Wilber's report continues on to explain how the CIA played a crucial role in choosing who was to replace Mossadeq once he was out of the way. General Fazlollah Zahedi, who had previously been a member of Mossadeq's cabinet, was seen as the best choice to step in as Iran's new Prime Minister. This was due to Zahedi being the only reputable figure in Iran who had consistently spoken out in opposition to Mossadeq and at the same time had a large enough following to permit his new upcoming position as prime minister.⁶¹ While supporting Zahedi had its faults, such as his a pro-German stance during WWII, he had a solid record as a leader and combat officer, was staunchly devoted to the Shah, and he had an "aggressive desire to change the course of his country's destiny."⁶² The CIA went on to approach Zahedi personally and explain their goal of implementing him as the new prime minister along with orders that he was to name a new military secretariat, at which point the CIA would provide a "detailed staff plan of action."⁶³ While the CIA had chosen the man they wished to place as Iran's new Prime Minister, they also knew that this would not be possible without the cooperation of the Shah. The Shah's support would provide two requisite actions that were necessary to carry out a smooth transition between Mossadeq and Zahedi: the first was to ensure the backing of the Tehran military garrisons, and the second was to provide for the legal succession of Zahedi as Prime Minister.⁶⁴ The only glaring issue with this plan of action was that the Shah of Iran was an indecisive, timid, and fearful man who was deathly scared of the repercussions of a failed coup attempt that he was complicit in.

These tactics are remarkably similar to the regime change efforts by the United States in Venezuela in 2019. The U.S. continues to utilize economic warfare through the use of sanctions, along with the threat of direct military intervention, in order to oust the democratically elected President Nicolas Maduro and to replace him with a more U.S. friendly leader in Juan Guaido.

⁶¹ CIA, "Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran," vii.

⁶² CIA, "The Battle for Iran," 32.

⁶³ CIA, "Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran," vii.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

It was no secret to the CIA or US government that the Shah would not be so easily persuaded to go along with the coup due to this specific set of character traits. Therefore, the CIA took it upon themselves to call on the Shah's much more confident and aggressive twin sister, Princess Ashraf Pahlavi, for some assistance in coercing her brother to fall in line with the joint US-British plans. The Princess was brought in reluctantly from Europe back to Tehran to push the Shah towards the removal of Mossadeq as prime minister and to make clear that she had been communicating with the US and the British who had requested her support on this matter. The Central Intelligence officials also decided to try to persuade the Shah into participation by setting up a visit from General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, who the Shah knew personally and had grown to like and respect. It was Schwarzkopf's job to explain the upcoming plans of the CIA and to guide the Shah towards signing three *firmands* (royal decrees), which would provide the needed legal basis for the new change in government.⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ The first *firman* was meant to dismiss Mossadeq from office, the second was to appoint General Zahedi as his successor, and the third to call for the Army to stay loyal to the Shah. Through their agents in the Tehran military, the CIA made as certain as possible, the support of the Army for the Shah and for the acceptance of General Zahedi as prime minister.⁶⁷ However, Corrigan's history shows that Kermit Roosevelt lowered the number of *firmands* to be signed by the Shah from three to two. The first to dismiss Mossadeq from his position as Prime Minister and the second would name Zahedi as his successor. The information in the paragraph following this section has been completely redacted.⁶⁸

Claud Corrigan provides what looks to be two pages of a roughly handwritten, hard to read outline of the plans for the coup

⁶⁵ Ibid., viii.

⁶⁶ CIA, "The Battle for Iran," 45-46. Schwarzkopf's role here is also confirmed in some detail in Claud Corrigan's *The Battle for Iran*.

⁶⁷ CIA, "Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran," viii.

⁶⁸ CIA, "The Battle for Iran," 54.

following page 25 in his CIA history titled *The Battle for Iran*. While there is no mention made by Corrigan explaining exactly what these pages are, the nature of these pages becomes quite clear after reading them through. The pages are numbered and lettered in common outline form and touch on most of the major players that participated in the coup. It begins with an "Introduction" followed by a section titled "Operational Plan." The first subtopic is titled "Preliminary Support" and is followed by "Role of the Shah." This shows that from the very beginning the CIA was fully aware that the coup would not be possible without the cooperation of the Shah as he would be the linchpin of the entire operation that would help carry public opinion and sway the masses. The "Role of the Shah" passage is followed by three subtopics titled "First Stage, Second Stage, Third Stage," showing that the CIA planned for a steadily increasing effort to persuade the Shah into joining the plans. This may relate to the fact that US/British Intelligence knew the Shah to be a timid and very indecisive man who would need some rather strong coaxing. Section "C" is titled "Arrangement with Zahedi" making clear that they knew he was their choice for replacement from the very beginning. The following Section "D" has the title of "Organ to Mount Overthrow" followed by "Organ to Mount Coup" which openly suggest Zahedi was the man who the operation would rely on to take power once Mossadeq was gone.

The document moves on to include Zahedi's military secretariat position followed by his duties and the "Actions on Coup Day". The outline continues by listing the influential sectors of Tehran, laying out all the different groups who would need to be included in the plan for a successful coup to take place. These groups include "press and publicity," "the Majlis," "Political Elements," "Bazaar Merchants" and most importantly for this study "Religious Leaders." The documents end with a "Final Action" section and lastly a section titled "Estimate of Chances." While this document is only a barebones outline, it does help to confirm the actions taken by the CIA during the coup, as the outline aligns almost perfectly with all of the sectors of society that we now know the CIA worked to influence in order to oust Prime

Minister Mossadeq.⁶⁹ Corrigan later refers to the assumptions that the plan was based upon: that Zahedi was the best option for coup leader, the Shah must be a part of the plan (against his will if necessary), that the Army would follow the Shah, a legal or quasi-legal basis must be found for the coup, that public opinion must be negatively aroused against Mossadeq, (next sentence excised), and finally that the new government must be protected from the Communist Tudeh Party.⁷⁰ These assumptions provide context and direct insight into the CIA's thinking process and planning procedures concerning the coup operation.

It was not until the beginning of July 1, 1953 that the Director of the MI6, the British Foreign Secretary, and the British Prime Minister signed off on the official operation plans for the coup.⁷¹ Then, finally on July 11, 1953 the Director of the CIA, the Secretary of State, and President Eisenhower approved the final plans which was an action based on National Security Council Report 136/1 "U.S. Policy Regarding the Present Situation in Iran."⁷² Prior to this official authorization however, the Tehran station was continuing its covert activities and gained authorization to spend one million rials per week, which at the time was at a rate of 1 US dollar for every 90 rials (\$90,000 USD), in order to purchase the support and cooperation of the members of the Majlis. Around this same time one of the two main groups within the CIA, who were working together but on different areas on the project of the coup, put together an exhaustive military plan, which was given to Zahedi and his military secretariat, providing them a detailed roadmap for action.⁷³ In fact, the CIA was so well prepared that they had three separate plans of actions depending on the different scenarios that could potentially play out.⁷⁴ The second group within the CIA, which was headed by Dr. Donald Wilber

⁶⁹ Ibid., 25-26.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 34.

⁷¹ CIA, "Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran," 19.

⁷² CIA, "The Battle for Iran," 31.

⁷³ CIA, "Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran," 19.

⁷⁴ CIA, "The Battle for Iran," 37-38.

(the author of this document), was given the responsibility of carrying out the psychological warfare portion of the plan.⁷⁵

To further degrade the level of respect and trust the people of Iran felt towards Mossadeq, the US government orchestrated a series of three publications and speeches that were meant to diminish his public standing. The first of this series of publications, released July 9, 1953, was a copy of President Eisenhower's letter written to Dr. Mossadeq on June 29, 1953 which made it explicit that increased economic aid for Iran would not be provided to help with the loss of Iran's oil sales due to British blockades. The second publication came from the Secretary of State's press conference on July 28, 1953, where the US stated that the growth and toleration of the activities of Iran's Communist Tudeh Party made it almost impossible for any further US aid or assistance.⁷⁶ This was intended negatively affect US public opinion regarding Mossadeq as well as to shape international views of the situation. Finally, President Eisenhower gave a speech in Seattle at the Governor's convention where he stated that, "the United States would not sit by and see Asian countries fall behind the Iron Curtain."⁷⁷ This speech would prove to have a significant effect on the situation in Iran. The CIA, in cooperation with the Department of State, created and published several articles in major American newspapers and magazines, which they knew would be reproduced in Iran. The reproduction of these scripted articles would carry heavy influence over the opinions of Iran's population and would help to slightly loosen the grip Mohammad Mossadeq held over his people.

The CIA knew that outside propaganda, press publications, royal decrees, and pressure on the Shah would not be nearly enough to carry their plans to fruition. Knowing this, they turned to their human assets present in Iran, and more specifically the assets that the British had built strong relationships with over the years, who held powerful influence over many large sectors or Iranian

⁷⁵ CIA, "Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran," 19.

⁷⁶ Ibid., ix.

⁷⁷ Ibid., x.

society. The CIA and the SIS had many contacts and inside agents within Iran. Due to their willingness to oppose the power of Mossadeq in any way they could, even at their own expense and while risking their own lives, there were perhaps none who were as important throughout Iranian society as the three Rashidyan brothers.⁷⁸ Saifollah, Qodratollah, and Asadollah had amassed a huge family fortune through shipping, real estate, banking, among numerous other business ventures including owning and operating cinemas.⁷⁹ The Rashidyan family had strong contacts in many areas including: the Majlis (parliament), armed forces, the press, the Ulama, politicians, street gangs, as well as other influential figures in Iran.⁸⁰ Under the British, the brothers had been receiving a monthly payment of ten thousand British pounds in order to influence the bazaar merchants as well as to have anti-Mossadeq articles regularly published in the newspapers.⁸¹ The actions of the aforementioned Rashidyan brothers proved to be highly effective in creating a negative image of, and building popular support against, Mossadeq through bribery of other influential figures as well as through their financing of protesters to carry out violent street demonstrations. The CIA also utilized the Rashidyan brother's connections with the press to begin releasing "grey propaganda," which attacked Mossadeq but would not credit the source or identify the sponsor of the information. Wilber does mention that the CIA had two of their own principal Iranian agents, whose information was to be shared with the British, but the names of these two agents have been redacted from Wilber's account.⁸²

Wilber recounts that by mid-July 1953 a large number of anti-Mossadeq articles had been written by or at least outlined by his group. They had also provided constant guidance to the CIA

⁷⁸ Ibid., 7.

⁷⁹ Louis, "Britain and the Overthrow of the Mossadeq Government," 138.

⁸⁰ CIA, "Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran," 7.

⁸¹ Louis, "Britain and the Overthrow of the Mossadeq Government," 138.

⁸² CIA, "Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran," 8.

Art Group so that they could create a considerable number of anti-Mossadeq cartoons and broadsheets.⁸³



Illustration titled, "Mossadeq, the Thief."⁸⁴

The goal here was to focus on building the size and potency of anti-Mossadeq forces, instead of merely countering those who supported him.⁸⁵ The CIA Art Group was also commissioned to draw a wall poster that portrayed Zahedi being presented to the people of Iran by the Shah. The propaganda began to stack up very rather quickly and was then taken to Iran, where on July 22, 1953 it was distributed to CIA and SIS agents to be used throughout all

⁸³ Ibid., 20.

⁸⁴ Leslie Illingworth, "Mossadeq, the Thief," Cartoon. Daily Mail. October 4, 1951. Source: <http://www.cartoons.ac.uk/>

⁸⁵ CIA, "The Battle for Iran," 36.

the avenues of the press which the CIA had control over.⁸⁶ It is now known that the CIA held influence over four-fifths of the newspapers in Tehran of which they were able to make very effective use of in many different ways.⁸⁷ The Tehran Station claimed that about 20 local newspapers “were now in violent opposition to Mossadeq.”⁸⁸ Wilber goes on to explain that the CIA’s propaganda efforts took another turn as the anti-Mossadeq campaign had already gained traction and was now building steam. Instead of strictly releasing articles and cartoons that attacked Mossadeq, they made a push to disseminate articles and cartoons that supported and positively portrayed the Shah. The CIA provided a personal loan of \$45,000 to the owner of a newspaper, whose name and newspaper title have been redacted, in hopes that this would make him more conformable to their efforts. Asadollah Rashidyan was given the propaganda which had been prepared by CIA agents, who then passed the articles along to his press connections, and by the end of the month the new campaign was up and running.⁸⁹

After being pressured so strongly by his own sister and after several personal meetings with Kermit Roosevelt, the pressure had become so forceful that it was easier for the Shah to sign the royal *firmans*, which he did on August 15, 1953, than it would have for him to refuse.⁹⁰ The coup was planned for the very next day. However, the information contained in the plans had been leaked to Mossadeq, who began to prepare. When the Shah’s bodyguard arrived to arrest Mossadeq, he was outnumbered and overpowered by military forces that were loyal to the prime minister and the coup failed. Knowing that this was a possibility, the CIA had arranged a protected hiding place for General Zahedi. The Shah had also decided to leave Iran for Baghdad, as he thought he would not survive if he stayed in the country. With the

⁸⁶ CIA, “Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran,” 20.

⁸⁷ Kinzer, *All The Shah’s Men*, 6.

⁸⁸ CIA, “Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran,” 32.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 26-27.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 22.

help of a secret CIA arranged press conference and through covert CIA printing facilities, on August 17, 1953 General Zahedi announced to the people of Iran that he was now their legal prime minister and that Mossadeq had tried to carry out an illegal coup against him. Agents of the CIA began sending out large numbers of photographs of the *firmons* stating that Mossadeq had been dismissed from his position and that Zahedi was now prime minister.⁹¹



Mohammad Reza Shah (right) shaking hands with General Zahedi (left).⁹²

This propaganda worked precisely as it was intended and very seriously affected the views of the Iranian people. Iranian citizens were angered and shocked at what they were hearing and at the fact that the Shah had been forced to flee the country and was

⁹¹ Ibid., xi.

⁹² Sadegh Abbasi, "1953 Coup: Replacing an Elected Govt with a 'Fascist' Dictatorship," Khamenei.ir., August 19, 2017. Accessed March 27, 2019. <http://english.khamenei.ir/news/2159/1953-coup-Replacing-an-elected-govt-with-a-Fascist-dictatorship>. Mohammad Reza Shah (right) General Zahedi (left) shaking hands at Iran's imperial palace a few days after the CIA-backed coup, 1953.

exiled to Italy for some time.⁹³ Kermit Roosevelt and the CIA did not believe that the coup was lost, so they contacted the Shah and encouraged him to make public statements that would encourage the Army and the Iranian population to accept Zahedi as their new prime minister.⁹⁴

After the first coup attempt, which was shut down by Mossadeq's supporters including the Communist Tudeh Party, and after Mossadeq himself received leaked information about it, the CIA's Tehran station had to reexamine their plans before moving on with the second attempt.⁹⁵ The CIA no longer saw the operation as a military coup, but rather as a political action to help move the Iranian military away from Mossadeq's now illegal government and place them behind Zahedi and the Shah. Roosevelt, with the Shah's signed *firmands*, knew that he had two very powerful pieces of paper in hand and knew that if he could publicize and disseminate this information quickly that Mossadeq would not be able to hold on to his power for long.⁹⁶ They also knew that they would need a much larger support group from the local military units, local tribal leaders, and the religious community if they intended to be successful this time. The CIA sent an Iranian Colonel (name excised) to meet with Colonel (name excised), who was the commanding officer of a local garrison, in hopes of persuading him to declare his support for the Shah. Zahedi, along with another CIA agent were sent to meet a Brigadier General, again whose name is not provided, to request his support for the Shah as well. Following these requests for support, the CIA once again stepped up its propaganda efforts by sending guidance to the stations in Karachi, New Delhi, Cairo, Damascus, Istanbul, and

⁹³ Jon Gambrell, "Shah of Iran Modernized His Nation but Vacillated in Crisis," AP NEWS, January 17, 2019, accessed April 12, 2019, <https://www.apnews.com/c037d5af8b3b4be6ae47f125d847d0f0>.

⁹⁴ CIA, "Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran," xi.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 57-58.

⁹⁶ CIA, "Zendeabad, Shah!: The Central Intelligence Agency and the Fall of Iranian Prime Minister Mohammad Mossadeq, August 1953," by Scott A. Koch, June 1998 (Reviewed for declassification in November 2017): 55.

Beirut, stating that General Zahedi's government is now the only legal one in Iran.⁹⁷ Corrigan tells us that the CIA had their plan of action for the second attempt already arranged. The idea was to recruit a group of officers in key positions that would enable them to take over army headquarters, Radio Tehran, the homes of Mossadeq and his associates, police headquarters, the telephone exchange, the Majlis building, along with a handful of other key locations and the arrests of prominent pro-Mossadeq figures in the military, government, and the press.⁹⁸ The Tehran Station received news from Kermanshah on August 18, 1953 that would greatly help their cause. Colonel Abbas Farzanegan had returned with news that Colonel Bakhtiar had agreed to march on Tehran to support the Shah and oppose Mossadeq.⁹⁹ With these important posts locked down and key figures in on the plot, the coup was sure to be a success. Roosevelt, the CIA, and Zahedi now felt that they were prepared with enough support to come back and carry out a successful coup against Mossadeq.

Strong signs of reemerging support for the Shah in Tehran spurred along by the CIA propaganda had now become obvious.¹⁰⁰ According to Wilber, a pro-Shah demonstration originated in the bazaar area of Tehran on August 19, 1953, "partially spontaneously revealing the fundamental prestige of the Shah..."¹⁰¹ While a pro-Shah demonstration did break out, whether it was spontaneous and due to the "fundamental prestige of the Shah" is unlikely as many pro-Shah and anti-Mossadeq demonstrations were created and led by CIA operatives, religious clerics, political parties, and through a handful of other influential groups or leaders who were being paid for and/or were paying others for their participation. Wilber does go on to mention that certain assets from the CIA's station in Tehran contributed to the start of the pro-Shah demonstrations, which seems to be in keeping with what is known regarding paid

⁹⁷ CIA, "Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran," 57-58.

⁹⁸ CIA, "The Battle for Iran," 37.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 65.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 66.

¹⁰¹ CIA, "Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran," xii.

demonstrations. The CIA ordered their sub-agents to gather their paid followers and begin taking over key locations. Their first stop was to set fire to the offices of the *Bakhtar-i-Emruz*, a leading newspaper which was anti-Shah and strongly pro-Mossadeq. They moved on to ransack the offices of the leading Tudeh newspapers as well. The Rashidian brothers were then told to call for their followers to take over Radio Tehran, which they later did successfully. Members of the Iranian *Zuhrkhaneh* (*House of Strength* a traditional Persio-Islamic gym), including acrobats, weightlifters, and wrestlers were at the head of the masses. They had specifically chosen Shaban Bimohk (the Brainless) Jaffari, Iran's most famous athlete to lead the crowd, which created an absolute frenzy. The people of Iran idolized the athletes of the *Zuhrkhaneh* in a similar manner to the American idolization of football, baseball, and basketball players. Therefore, this was a very effective move on behalf of the CIA and the Rashidian brothers to play on Iranian popular culture to promote their participation in the coup.¹⁰² Then a leading Colonel, whose name has been redacted, took control of a tank, along with members of the disbanded Imperial Guard, took over trucks and began driving through the streets and came together at Sepah Square in Tehran.¹⁰³

The demonstrators soon came face to face with the Army units in Tehran whose job it was to disperse them. The soldiers began firing hundreds of warning shots over the crowds.¹⁰⁴ The troops finally realized they could not quell the crowds and refused to fire on their people and so joined the pro-Shah demonstrations making it clear that the Shah's supporters had taken over Tehran. This set the stage for the CIA's original course of action for carrying out the coup. The crowds then took over the press and propaganda offices, along with the central telegraph office. CIA operatives used control over the telegraph offices to send telegrams to the provinces to call for the people to stand up in support of the

¹⁰² CIA, "Zendabad, Shah!" 63.

¹⁰³ CIA, "Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran," 66-67.

¹⁰⁴ CIA, "The Battle for Iran," 66-67.

Shah.¹⁰⁵ Radio Tehran was now the main target as this was the fastest and most far-reaching way to spread the news that the Shah's troops were now in Tehran and to convince the people of Iran to support Zahedi's government.¹⁰⁶ Understanding their control over the situation, the CIA station then prompted Zahedi to come out of hiding and continue with the CIA's original plans with the Shah's signed *firmands* in hand. Zahedi was picked up by a tank and driven to Radio Tehran headquarters to broadcast a reading of the Shah's *firmands* and to declare that the government was now his.¹⁰⁷ Zahedi, with CIA asset assistance, then took over the offices of the General Staff, they seized Mossadeq's home, searched then trashed the place, and finally they arrested all of the pro-Mossadeq politicians and officers.¹⁰⁸ It was now official, as of August 19, 1953 that General Fazlollah Zahedi was the new Prime Minister of Iran.

Upon hearing that the coup was successful the Shah remarked, "I knew my people loved me."¹⁰⁹ Dr. Wilber explains that the Shah soon returned to Iran where he received a warm and popular reception from the Iranian people. It seems that the Shah was moved emotionally by this response and the fact that his people and the Army had stood up to Dr. Mossadeq and had revolted against the Communist Tudeh Party. According to Wilber, this was the first time in the Shah's life that he felt that he had the total support of Iran's population as well as the Army.¹¹⁰ While the Shah was basking in his newfound glory and success, he was well aware of the fact that none of this would have been possible without the help of Kermit Roosevelt and the CIA. According to Roosevelt, the Shah proclaimed that "'I owe my throne to God, my people, my army and to you!'" By 'you' he (the Shah) meant me

¹⁰⁵ CIA, "Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran," 72-73.

¹⁰⁶ CIA, "The Battle for Iran," 68.

¹⁰⁷ CIA, "Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran," 72-73.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., xii.

¹⁰⁹ Kermit Roosevelt, *Countercoup: The Struggle for the Control of Iran* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1981).

¹¹⁰ CIA, "Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran," xiii.

and the two countries—Great Britain and the United States—I was representing. We were all heroes.”¹¹¹ With all of this done, the CIA’s work was not yet complete. In order to help Zahedi succeed and continue to pay his staff until the United States government could provide large-scale aid, the CIA covertly provided Zahedi with \$5,000,000 within two days of his supposition of power.¹¹² Kermit Roosevelt and the CIA had successfully organized, orchestrated, and carried out the first overthrow of a government using covert operations in the CIA’s history, which would drastically change the course of Iran’s and the world’s history forever.¹¹³ Moreover, As Claud Corrigan so casually puts it regarding the state of Iran after the coup: “A successful TPAJAX left behind a good deal of debris to clean up, plus not a few complications.”¹¹⁴

The Role of the CIA and Iran’s Ulama

While understanding the CIA’s actions and level of involvement in the 1953 coup in Iran is crucial to understanding US, British, and Iranian history, as well as current US-Iranian relations, this is a history that has been very thoroughly examined and studied by many of the top scholars in this field. What has not been detailed to a sufficient extent is the role of Iran’s religious clerics in the coup and their relationships and interactions with the CIA, and the effect that their cooperation had on the coup’s final outcome. This will offer a much more nuanced understanding of the 1953 coup in Iran and will also provide additional context from which to view the events that occurred. The plans carried out here will also shed light on the inner workings and guidelines that can be used to carry out a coup in almost any society, but more importantly will expose

¹¹¹ Roosevelt, *Countercoup*.

¹¹² CIA, “Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran,” xiii.

¹¹³ The United States would repeat this process over time, one prominent example being in Guatemala the following year.

¹¹⁴ CIA, “The Battle for Iran,” 71.

the role played by Iran's own religious leaders in ousting their democratically elected prime minister.

While the many different groups who worked in cooperation with the CIA or under the influence of their subagents played key roles in the 1953 coup, and without a doubt facilitated its outcome, there was no single group who had a more crucial role than the Ulama. I argue that there was no single group who had the potential to play such a key role in these events as did Iran's religious elite. This is because no other sector of Iran's society could possibly hold the power and influence over the masses like the country's clerics. Relied upon as spiritual leaders and interpreters the Quran and *hadith*, as well serving as custodians of most of Iran's social welfare systems, it is no wonder that the influence of the Iranian clerics was far greater than any other group involved. Having studied Iran's history thoroughly and having had years of experience within Iran's culture, and MI6 held a deep understanding of the Ulama's role in Iranian society, which they relayed to their CIA counterparts thus playing upon the weaknesses and cultural norms within Iran and placed an enormous amount of focus on gaining the cooperation of some of Iran's highest-level clerics.

Dr. Donald Wilber's account shows that from the start the CIA knew they wanted to target Iran's Ulama. Wilber states that the funds provided by the CIA were meant to carry out an "increasingly intensified propaganda effort" through use of the local media, the passing out of pamphlets, and through the "Tehran Clergy" in an effort to diminish the power of the Mossadeq's government.¹¹⁵ Corrigan's history also provides evidence that the Ulama were a CIA target from the beginning with the handwritten coup outline/plan he provided that lists "Religious Leaders."¹¹⁶ There were many instances where members of the Ulama were used or participated in actions geared towards swaying the thoughts of Iran's public. The first to be examined is an instance

¹¹⁵ CIA, "Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran," vii.

¹¹⁶ CIA, "The Battle for Iran," 25-26.

offered by Dr. Wilber which suggests that when Dr. Mossadeq dissolved the Majlis, which they considered a clear abuse of the constitution in order to gain single-handed control, this gave the CIA an issue over which they could attack Mossadeq. The Tehran Station of the CIA reported that their agents made numerous efforts to project the illegality of the dissolution of the Majlis both before and after it took place. Wilber comments that every declaration made by religious clerics during this time strongly stressed this idea. While he does not explicitly say that these religious leaders were acting in line with CIA guidelines, it is understood that many of the religious clerics were under CIA influence and were following their themes. So, while this particular instance may be mere coincidence, it is likely not.¹¹⁷

Prior to the first coup attempt, the CIA set out to discredit the people's belief in Mossadeq. Their first goal was to create divisions within the National Front Party by targeting the popular Ayatollah Kashani. The CIA began spreading propaganda that attacked Kashani directly in order to create problems between himself and Mossadeq. For examples, they issued a cartoon in Iranian newspapers during the fall of 1952 implying that Mossadeq was sexually molesting Kashani. The propaganda did indeed help to create a gap between the two as Kashani began to turn on Mossadeq by the fall of 1952, and had broken ties with him in early 1953.¹¹⁸ This was a major blow for Mossadeq because the group that Kashani led, known as the Warriors of Islam, included the bazaar merchants along with many of the leading clerics and support from these two groups together has been vital to Iranian governments throughout history.¹¹⁹ This quote from the memoirs of Prince Manucher Farmanfarmaian, sixth son of one of the most prominent politicians of his time the Qajar Prince Abdol-Hossein

¹¹⁷ CIA, "Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran," 32.

¹¹⁸ Gasiorowski, "The 1953 Coup D'Etat Against Mosaddeq," 243-244.

Information comes from interviews with K. Roosevelt and interviews with CIA operatives who were involved in the coup. Some information comes from endnotes discussing the interviews

¹¹⁹ CIA, "Zendeabad, Shah!" 7.

Farmanfarma, paints a picture of the powerful relationship between the two and illustrates their influence: "It (the bazaar) was a world unto itself, impregnable to the army, which could not easily enter its labyrinthine alleys. The leaders of the bazaar were weighty men, often tightly allied with the mollahs, and they could start riots or shut down the bazaar to instant political effect."¹²⁰

Due to this split, Kashani and his followers began voting against Mossadeq in parliament and created a deadlock on many cases, limiting Mossadeq's power for a time. The CIA also wanted to gain the cooperation of another leader outside of the National Front and began giving money indirectly to Ulama member Mohammad Taqi Falsafi, and likely to other leading clerics as well. Although the CIA was not able to make direct contact with Kashani, they were able to fund him indirectly. Around this time it is also likely that the Tehran Station provided money to the leading cleric Ayatollah Mohammad Behbahani, who played a monumental role in the coup.¹²¹ Behbahani's role started well before the street demonstrations as he supposedly wrote and sent out "black" letters, under the pretense that they had been sent by members of the Tudeh Party, to other clergy members threatening to hang them in the streets.¹²² This was intended to build popular support amongst the religious community against Mossadeq and the Tudeh party.

In the weeks leading up to the first coup attempt the CIA had their Iranian agents make "black" phone calls to many clerical leaders throughout Tehran, which were incredibly threatening in nature, in the name of the Tudeh Party. They also conducted a "sham bombing" at one of the mullah's personal homes, which was followed up by sending a "stink bomb" into a Tehran mosque. The CIA were likely responsible for attacks that took place on other mosques as well but there are no official records to support this. The aim here was to continue to try to turn the religious

¹²⁰ Manucher Farmanfarmaian and Roxane Farmanfarmaian, *Blood and Oil: Memoirs of a Persian Prince* (New York: Random House, 1997), 36.

¹²¹ Gasiorowski, "The 1953 Coup D'Etat Against Mosaddeq." 243-244.

¹²² Ibid., 254.

leaders against Mossadeq, in order to make use of the incredible influence they held over the population.¹²³ Following the failure of the first coup attempt, the CIA made an attempt to reach out to the leading Shi'a cleric from Qom, Ayatollah Borujerdi, by sending a Tehran cleric (name excised) in an effort to persuade him to declare a holy war against the all communists in Iran with the pro-Shah newspapers ready and waiting to issue the story immediately. He was also asked to build a large demonstration based on the theme that it was now time for the army officers, soldiers and the people of Iran to rally behind both religion and the Shah.¹²⁴ While he never agreed to issue such a declaration this shows yet another effort by the CIA to include a leading cleric in the coup.¹²⁵ However, there is conclusive evidence that shows the CIA working directly with members of Tehran's Ulama regarding when to stage the coup. In *The Battle For Iran*, Claud Corrigan explains:

Roosevelt had hoped that it would be possible to emphasize the religious aspects of the demonstration to be held the 19th, but if this was to be done, the mullahs wanted to hold it on Friday, 21 August, which was a religious festival day. For a number of reasons, not the least of which was the widespread rumor that the arrested officers were to be hung on the 20th, the operation could not be held off the two extra days the religious leaders wanted.¹²⁶

The names of the clerics that Corrigan is referring to are not offered but may very well be included in the redacted portions that immediately precede and follow this passage. This quote once again confirms how seriously the CIA took the influence of the clerics, as they made sure to place emphasis on the religious aspect

¹²³ CIA, "Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran," 28-37.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 57.

¹²⁵ CIA, "The Battle for Iran," 65.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 62.

of these demonstrations knowing that this would inflame the crowds far more than any political protest ever could.

On the morning of August 19, 1953, two CIA officers delivered \$10,000 dollars to one of Kashani's men to pass along for Kashani to use as payment for protestors to create and participate in street demonstrations that were both anti-Mossadeq and pro-Shah in form.¹²⁷ Corrigan confirms that many of the street demonstrators on this day were those that Kashani was paying 200 tomans (about \$26.65) each for their participation.¹²⁸ While Kashani received large amounts of money from the CIA, the operatives claim that Behbahani was the leading figure behind the demonstrations and he himself had received large amounts of funds from the Tehran Station.¹²⁹ He had actually received so much money that the expression "Behbahani dollars" was even used many years after to refer to the money that was used to hire the street demonstrators.¹³⁰ During an interview one CIA member recalls how "so much American currency found its way into Tehran's black market during the coup that the exchange rate fell from over one hundred rials to the dollar to under fifty"¹³¹ Koch cements the fact that the Ulama were absolutely key in carrying out the powerful demonstrations which came together and finally toppled Mossadeq when he states:

[First line excised] the influence of the mullahs on the demonstration was clear. Holy men had galvanized many of the poor of South Tehran by hammering on the themes that the Soviet-backed Communists were taking over, the Shah was gone, and Mossadeq was to blame. The streets of Tehran,

¹²⁷ Gasiorowski, "The 1953 Coup D'Etat Against Mosaddeq," 338.

¹²⁸ CIA, "The Battle for Iran," 66.

¹²⁹ Gasiorowski, "The 1953 Coup D'Etat Against Mosaddeq," 338.

¹³⁰ Richard W. Cottam, *Nationalism in Iran: Updated Through 1978* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1979), 226.

¹³¹ Gasiorowski, "The 1953 Coup D'Etat Against Mosaddeq," 338.

which had belonged to the Tudeh 24 hours earlier, now belonged to a different crowd.¹³²

In March 2018 a British memorandum titled, “*Persia: Review of the Recent Crisis*,” was released which provided a detailed account of the events that occurred in Tehran between August 19th-21st. This key document provides the entire list of events that took place leading up to the powerful anti-Mossadeq and pro-Shah street demonstrations in Tehran and the taking over of Mossadeq’s personal residence the day of the coup. While this memorandum contains a host of completely relevant and vital information regarding the unfolding of the coup events, this is not what makes this document so crucial. What makes it so important is a section, which had been excised for security reasons until only recently, and it is this section that provides irrefutable evidence that places responsibility on members of the Tehran Ulama, specifically naming Ayatollah Behbahani, for receiving US funds for their complicity with the CIA in the 1953 coup. The recently released passage states:

According to reliable reports received on 10th August, the American Embassy had secretly handed over large sums of money to certain influential people, including AYATULLAH BIHBIHANI, the well-known ecclesiastic. Certain sources in close contact with General ZAHIDI stated that all plans had been laid for a military Coup d’Etat, and that the American Embassy was directing and encouraging them in order to overthrow the government.¹³³

The memorandum later names Behbahani specifically as being solely responsible for the street demonstrations the day of the coup

¹³² CIA, “Zendeabad, Shah!” 63.

¹³³ British Foreign Office, “Persia: Political Review of the Recent Crisis,” September 2, 1953, Top Secret Report, 2.

by saying that: “only the commanders of regiments, the Chief of Police, and Ayatullah BIHBIHANI, who was responsible for organizing demonstrations, knew of the plan, and the Tudeh had therefore no chance of discovering the plot beforehand.”¹³⁴ This single document has confirmed what has long been assumed and pieced together by scholars: that certain members of Iran’s religious leadership, were without a doubt working hand in hand with the US Central Intelligence Agency to take out their democratically elected Prime Minister, in exchange for money and the possibility of positions of political power. It must be made clear however, that the complicity of the Ulama in the 1953 coup was not widespread and was limited to a few key members. The Iranian Ulama have a long history of anti-interventionist activity at multiple points throughout Iranian history. One prominent example was the actions taken by members of the Ulama in the successful protest and boycott of the creation of a British monopoly on Iranian tobacco in 1892 during the Tobacco Protest.¹³⁵

Conclusion

Iran’s religious clerics enjoy overwhelming power and influence over the majority of the Iranian population. This is the case for two reasons. The first being Islam is a politico-religious system that blends the realities of the secular world with the holy. The second reason is the traditional role of the religious community in Shia Islam who serve as interpreters of the Quran and *hadith* and perform essential services for the community. For many Iranian people, the word of their Ulama members is law and since there were a significant number of these religious elites who were involved in the coup, of which there may very well have been more than we have record of, their contributions towards the

¹³⁴ Ibid., 5.

¹³⁵ Michael Axworthy, "Iran: The Revolution That Shook the World," *America's Current Affairs & Politics Magazine*, February 13, 2019. Accessed April 05, 2019. <https://www.newstatesman.com/world/middle-east/2019/02/iran-revolution-shook-world>.

outcome is immeasurable. I therefore conclude that the 1953 Coup D'état in Iran would not have been possible without the direct participation and complicity of Iran's religious leaders backed by the leadership, guidance, finances, and organizing abilities of the United States Central Intelligence Agency. The CIA needed the Ulama, just as much, if not more than the Ulama needed the CIA. Were it not for the "grey" and "black" propaganda of the CIA, financial bribes offered by them, the fake phone calls to the clerics by the Tehran station, the destruction of certain Mosques, and the creation of street demonstrations, all involving and motivating the Ulama to act, the outcome in Iran may well have been a very different one. Had the CIA not had the direct or indirect cooperation of the Ulama in Iran, Mossadeq may have stayed in power, the Shah may have never had the chance to become a dictator much to the detriment of Iran's people for 26 years. It is then conceivable that the 1979 fundamentalist Iranian Revolution, headed by Ayatollah Khomeini, would have never gained traction or been necessary in the first place.

Perhaps the most valuable information that is provided from studying the 1953 Iranian coup is the blueprint created by the CIA and MI6 that would be replicated time and again the world over. The CIA would go on to create a pattern of covert regime change in countries all around the world. Starting in Guatemala only one year later in 1954, the CIA began an operation known as PBSUCCESS where they successfully removed the democratically elected President Juan Jacobo Árbenz Guzmán and installed military leadership which led to the deaths of over 100,000 Guatemalan citizens.¹³⁶ The CIA then moved on to the Congo in 1961 where they facilitated the removal of Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba and the implementation of a pro-US leader.¹³⁷ Then again where the CIA took part in creating the conditions which

¹³⁶ ColdWarWarriors, "Arbenz & the CIA, Guatemala 1950's," YouTube Video, 7:24, February 24, 2009. Accessed April 07, 2019.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rb7XaF1rs1E>.

¹³⁷ Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964–1968, Volume XXIII, Congo, 1960–1968, Office of the Historian. [History.state.gov](https://history.state.gov). Retrieved April 7, 2019.

lead to the 1973 Chilean coup which removed President Salvadore Allende and replaced him with the brutal dictator Augusto Pinochet.¹³⁸ Indeed, as of early 2019, all the signs and symptoms of US backed regime change are present yet once again in Venezuela. The US continues to use economic warfare through sanctions and by pressuring allies into not dealing with Venezuela in order to force their hand, seemingly, and once again, for an opportunity to control their most valuable resource: oil.

¹³⁸ CIA, "CIA Activities in Chile," June 19, 2013. Accessed April 7, 2019. <https://www.cia.gov/library/reports/general-reports-1/chile/index.html#1>.

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Author Bio

Anthony Lucey graduated from CSUSB in Spring 2018 with his BA in History, and is now a 7th Grade Teacher at ASA Charter School in San Bernardino. Anthony plans to continue his educational career by going to graduate school with the hopes of one day teaching at the community college level. His areas of interest include US Imperialism, Genocide, and the Middle East with a focus on Middle Eastern and US/Western relations and conflict.



History in the Making

The Soft Power Practices of the Ming Dynasty and Zheng He's First Voyage

By Peter Weisser

Abstract: This article will examine the soft power aspects of Zheng He's life as well as the soft power efforts of the People's Republic of China in the modern day, using Zheng He as an example to show the historical parallels between the two while examining the motivations of the PRC which is a search for legitimacy. This article will look into the parallels that exist between Zheng He and the soft power practiced in the fifteenth and twenty-first centuries within China. Furthermore, the perceptions and meanings of soft power in China may be different than that of other nations or other periods of time.¹

In the study of world politics today, there is a great deal of focus on the soft power aims of the People's Republic of China. Soft power is defined as a persuasive approach to world politics, usually accomplished through diplomacy, with influences both political and cultural in aim. Joseph S. Nye, the academic who first

¹ The following article contains text and excerpts from my longer scholarly work "The Admiral's Carrot and Stick" which was a long and complex study regarding the relationships between Soft Power as practiced by the Ming-era Admiral Zheng He and its relationship to the soft power practices of the modern PRC. This article is a shortened version which focuses exclusively on the first voyage of Zheng He and the soft power practices of the Ming Dynasty along with some modern-day examples of the PRC continuing a soft power policy that reaches all the way back to the early dynasties of China, with specific focus on the Ming.

coined the term, describes soft power as the “carrot and stick” approach to world politics.² There is, however, a very common misconception that the PRC’s push for soft power is a recent affair. Indeed, China has been seen as a rising power in the last few decades but has taken a unique view of its own power as non-hegemonic. From the point of view of the PRC, they are a non-hegemonic power and claim that the amount of soft power that the PRC has gained in the last few decades has been a result of China’s peaceful rise. The perception of what soft power is, however, may differ from that of western nations. For example, soft power from the perspective of Beijing may include force so long as it’s not military in nature. This is not to say however that “charm” does not have a role in Beijing’s usage of soft power; indeed the massive cultural influence that Beijing holds is quite considerable and is used in negotiations through cultural soft power.

In the last few years, the United States under the Trump administration has moved away from international cooperation and the possibility that Trump is ceding America’s global leadership role is becoming more apparent. As the United States seems to be pushing away from globalization, and as America has been willing to push away former allies and interests, China under President Xi Jinping has been more than willing to fill the void. Historically, China has long considered the nineteenth century as its “century of humiliation” when colonial powers forced a series of unequal treaties during the two Opium Wars with Great Britain. In the first years of the twentieth century the anti-foreign Boxer Uprising aftermath also forced humiliating concessions on the waning Qing Dynasty. In 1911 they would fall from power leaving space for the Republic of China to take over.

First, in 1927, the Nationalist movement arose, and later in 1948, Mao Zedong’s Communists came into power, making the twentieth century a moment of upheaval in China’s history.

² Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Soft Power, The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: PublicAffairs), 5.

Beijing's international relations today are often motivated by an urge to recapture the lost glory of the "Middle Kingdom" and through soft power methods China has found a way to accomplish this by finding ways to improve Beijing's international image. While some scholars would refer to "soft power" as a collective term for Beijing's motivations, there are problems with portraying these motivations as purely an issue of soft power versus hard power. What Beijing and the PRC's perception of soft power is can be very different from that of the United States and the European Union, for example. Beijing's perception of its soft power in some cases may blur the lines of the original concept of soft power as originally defined. In any case, it seems that the term soft power may be a problematic concept to give simple definitions to. It will be important to distinguish and unpack what soft power means, as well as discussing the problematic concept of soft power itself and critically examine if Beijing's diplomatic practices can be considered soft power at all.

The use of soft power in China's history has hardly been a recent development. During the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), Admiral Zheng He (1371-1433), a eunuch military commander and explorer, exercised soft power during the rule of Zhu Di, the Yongle Emperor (1402-1424) and third emperor of the Ming Dynasty. Zheng He traveled across the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean, along the way visiting numerous countries in an effort to show both the wealth and power of the Ming Dynasty, a charm offensive in its own right. In the modern day, author Joshua Kurlantzick noted that China's soft power resembles that of a "lion and not a mouse."³ This form of power may be different from traditional soft power in that it is used by authoritarian regimes as a form of coercing other countries viewpoints to the regimes point of view. According to The National Endowment for Democracy, a Washington based think-tank, this is defined as "sharp power."

³ Joshua Kurlantzick, *Charm Offensive: How China's Soft Power is Transforming the World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 6.

China has declared to the rest of the world on many occasions that it takes a path of peaceful development and is committed to upholding world peace and promoting common development and prosperity for all countries. At the beginning of the second decade of the twenty-first century and on the occasion of the ninetieth anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China (CPC), China declared solemnly again to the world that peaceful development is a strategic choice made by China to realize modernization, make itself strong and prosperous, and make more contributions to the progress of human civilization. Going forward, China will unswervingly follow the path of peaceful development.

This idea of cooperation and common development has been a crucial part of China's recent success in diplomacy within the last decade. Rather than seeing China as an antagonist on the world stage, the PRC has allowed a more benevolent and non-interventionist image of the country to be formed by its new state propaganda. This new view allows Beijing to wield its soft power in a way that creates an environment for former adversaries to become partners. Whether or not the Communist system of the PRC will survive going forward in its present form under the face of such pragmatism will also be something to consider in the coming decades.

The Emperor and the Admiral: The Life and Adventures of Zheng He and its Impact on Soft Power Relations

Before covering the specifics of Zheng He's life, it would be prudent to present a basic overview of the early history of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), its first two emperors, and the rise of Zhu Di, the third emperor of the Ming Dynasty and Zheng He's patron. By looking at these historical figures we will see the kind of world Zheng He lived in, and what the political realities were that he faced. The Ming Dynasty was the last ethnically Han dynasty in the history of China. The previous dynasty, the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368) founded by Kublai Khan (1215-1294) was

overthrown in 1368 by Zhu Yuanzhang, the leader of the rebellion against the Yuan, who would come to be known as Ming Taizu (r.1368-1398) first emperor of the Ming Dynasty. Like many founders of previous dynasties, Taizu was of humble birth, but he was able to rally support against the hated Mongols. He succeeded in his civil war despite the odds, against the more militarily powerful Yuan.⁴ Once the Yuan Dynasty fell in 1368, Zhu Yuanzhang began to consolidate power in his new capital of Nanjing (Nanking) and began to build a state infrastructure. The Confucian scholars benefited the most from this new arrangement of power while the court eunuchs felt a decrease in power due to Zhu Yuanzhang's distrust of them.⁵ Many of Zhu Yuanzhang's closest friends and allies took up the position of commanders of Ming's armies. But this arrangement would not last long. After the purges of 1380, many of the merit-based nobility in the empire were executed and Zhu Yuanzhang's sons would remain as the most powerful military commanders in the empire, commanding vast armies from their fiefs. Zhu Yuanzhang's government was, like many, autocratic and incredibly harsh in the face of rebellion. The Great Ming Code were the written laws of the Ming Dynasty and as seen from the following excerpt, the punishment for treason against the throne was harsh indeed, showing the considerable punishment any potential rebel would have:

Rebellion, (that is plotting against the dynasty) and lese-majeste (that is plotting to desecrate imperial ancestral altars, mausoleums, and palaces). All conspirators regardless of whether they are leaders or followers shall be executed by slicing. Their grandfathers, fathers, sons, grandsons, older brothers, younger brothers, and those who live with them regardless of surname differences; sons of

⁴ William Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom, *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, Vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 779.

⁵ Shin-Shan Henry Tsai, *Eunuchs of The Ming Dynasty* (Albany: State University of New York Press. 1996), 13.

paternal uncles and brothers regardless of whether they have the same registration; if they are sixteen years of age or over, regardless of serious or crippling disease, they shall be executed. Those fifteen or below, mothers, daughters, wives, and concubines older and younger sisters, sons' wives and concubines, shall be given as slaves to the households of titular nobility. Their property shall be confiscated by the government...⁶

The Origins of the Ming Dynasty

The rise to power of Zhu Yuanzhang demonstrates the interplay between hard and soft power. Zhu Yuanzhang used the power of charm and persuasion when he was a peasant soldier rebelling against the Yuan Dynasty. Once Zhu Yuanzhang came to power however, he used coercion and strict autocratic policies to cement his rule. This is a common strategy throughout history with autocratic rulers who often play the liberator at first but become the tyrant once their power is achieved. Zhu Yuanzhang was very conscious of how he was able to overthrow the Yuan through popular rebellion and became increasingly paranoid that the same might be done to him. In 1380, he executed Chancellor Hu Weiyong on charges of conspiracy and forming a faction (a capital crime) and thereafter abolished the chancellery.⁷ In the wake of this event, Zhu Yuanzhang established the Jinyiwei (Embroidered Uniform Guard) as his secret police and they would assist considerably in helping Zhu Yuanzhang in the purges during his later reign.

⁶ Da Ming Lu, "Great Ming Code," as cited in William Theodore de Barry and Irene Bloom, *Sources of Chinese Tradition, Vol. 1* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 784.

⁷ Edward L. Dryer, *Zheng He and the Oceans of the Early Ming Dynasty* (New York: Pearson Education), 17.

Zhu Yuanzhong fathered twenty-six sons and sixteen daughters through the empress Ma and his numerous concubines.⁸ One of these sons, Zhu Di (r.1402-1424) the future Yongle emperor, was born from Zhu Yuanzhang's lesser consorts. Zhu Di would eventually become the third emperor of the Ming Dynasty but not until after winning a successful civil war that would not end until 1402 against his nephew Zhu Yunwen (1377-1402) the future Jianwen emperor, who would rule as the second emperor of the dynasty.

The Early Life of Zheng He and Zhu Di's Ascension

In the aftermath of the toppling of the Yuan Dynasty in 1368, the Mongols and remnant Yuan forces retreated to Yunnan, with the newly created Ming Dynasty hot on their heels. In 1374, Zhu Yuanzhang demanded that the Mongols and their leader Basalawarmi submit to Ming rule and sent envoys to convey this message. The envoys were killed, and in response the Ming forces under General Fu Youde invaded Yunnan. Fu Youde's 300,000 strong army successfully invaded Yunnan and by 1382 had captured the provincial seat of Kunming after which the rebellion's leaders committed suicide to avoid capture. Fu Youde then began a reign of terror against the local population, killing hundreds of thousands of Miao and Yao tribesmen.⁹ Another common method used against the population was the kidnapping of young boys to serve as eunuchs in the imperial court. One of these boys was a young ten-year-old child by the name of Ma He. Ma He's surname Ma, according to Dryer, often but not always indicated Muslim faith.¹⁰ Also, according to Dryer, Ma He's grandfather and father both had the name Haji indicating they had completed the Hajj, a pilgrimage to Mecca. While Ma He's family were of Chinese

⁸ Hok Lam Chan, "Ming Taizu's Problem with His Sons: Prince Qin's Criminality and Early-Ming Politics," *Asia Major* 20, no.1 (2007): 45.

⁹ Louise Levathes, *When China Ruled the Seas: The Treasure Fleet of the Dragon Throne, 1405-1433* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994), 57.

¹⁰ Dryer, *Zheng He*, 22.

Muslim extraction, Ma He was known to mostly practice Buddhism in his religious life and took a Buddhist name.¹¹ The boy was taken by Fu Youde and was subjected to castration. According to Levathes, in China during this time period castration was accomplished by the quick stroke of a knife that cut off both the penis and testes of the victim with a plug left in the urethra.¹² After this brutal act, Ma He was put into the household of the Prince of Yan, Zhu Di.

Growing up in the Prince of Yan's court, Ma He rose through the ranks to become an able military commander, one of the commanders during the siege of Beijing in 1399.¹³ Early in his life at court, Ma He befriended Zhu Di, and the young prince and the eunuch had become very close friends. Ma He served as a boyhood companion and later in life as a rising military general. These early skirmishes in Mongolia were formative years for Ma He and were crucial for him to receive the necessary training for a military career. Most importantly, the campaigns and hard fighting forged an ever-closer bond between Zhu Di and Ma He. These campaigns would also give Zhu Di's troops an opportunity to "cut their teeth" in warfare. The veterans would prove crucial to the 1399-1402 Ming Civil War, especially the Mongol defectors of the Uriyangqad tribe who fought for Zhu Di in the civil war. In particular, a Mongol leader by the name of Nagahachu who surrendered to Zhu Di during his campaign against Inner Mongolia. Zhu Di treated Nagahachu and his men like honored guests and soon convinced them to join his forces. These expert horse-archers would prove to be a strategic asset in the civil war.¹⁴ This consolidation of forces and military power showed that Zhu Di was thinking in the long term, indeed his chances of success in the beginning of the war was nowhere near as dramatic and climactic as the final siege of Nanjing in January 1402.

¹¹ Ibid., 5.

¹² Levathes, *When China Ruled the Seas*, 57.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid., 124.

Zhu Di had left Beijing with his generals; among them were Ma He and Zhu Di's new Uriyangqad allies. With the help of two defected commanders who agreed to open the gates, Zhu Di, Ma He and the rebel army marched through Nanjing's Jinchuan gate on July 17, 1402. By the time Zhu Di had reached the Imperial palace, the Jianwen Emperor's last loyal servants and guards had set the Imperial Palace ablaze. A charred corpse was presented to Zhu Di as the corpse of his nephew, but the corpse was so badly burned it could not be identified. According to the *Comprehensive Mirror of the Ming Dynasty*, a work written by Chinese historian Xia Xie, the Jianwen Emperor Zhu Yunwen very likely died in the conflagration, although there were rumors he had escaped, most famously as a monk, as cited by Leavthes.¹⁵

Despite these rumors Zhu Di ascended to the Dragon Throne on the 17th of July as the Yongle (perpetual happiness) Emperor. Zhu Di, being an usurper was quick to find ways to give himself legitimacy and prove that the Mandate of Heaven had indeed been granted to him. However, the rumors of his nephew's survival haunted him and so he almost immediately started financing searches for his possible whereabouts or conclusive evidence of his death. Zhu Di's eunuch general Ma He for his part also rose in stature due to his invaluable generalship during this campaign. Ma He was elevated by Zhu Di to the position of Taijian (Grand Director) of the Directorate of Palace Servants, one of the highest-ranking positions a Palace Eunuch could attain. This also allowed Ma He the right to wear the red robes of a high-ranking Eunuch of the court, a symbol of his new status. In 1404 on New Year's Day in commemoration of Ma He's defense of the Zheng Village Dike during the civil war, Zhu Di conferred upon Ma He the name of Zheng in honor of his role in this battle.

The Practice of Ming Soft Power on Zheng He's First Voyage

¹⁵ Xia Xie, *Comprehensive Mirror of the Ming Dynasty* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), Chapter 14.

While Zhu Di now had full and absolute power as emperor, he was still in a very tenuous position. First of all, Zhu Di and the entire empire were painfully aware that he was an usurper. This was nothing new in the history of China, indeed the concept of the Mandate of Heaven, an ideal similar to the European “Divine Right of Kings” seemed to support it. The Mandate of Heaven was a concept started in the Zhou Dynasty (1046 BC–256 BC) that justified a ruler’s divine right of rule and the right of rebellion against an unjust ruler who would have lost the mandate in the eyes of the divine. The tricky part in this case was that the loss of the Mandate of Heaven usually applied to one dynasty overthrowing another, rather than a usurpation of the same dynasty, although Zhu Di was hardly alone in being the usurper of the same dynasty. The Mandate of Heaven in a more modern interpretation can be seen as analogous to popular public support of the ruling dynasty, the fact that the heavens had shown support by allowing the new Emperor to be victorious in a sense proved his legitimacy in the eyes of the people. Nevertheless, the possible survival of Zhu Yunwen, the Jianwen Emperor, disturbed and worried Zhu Di greatly. Not only were there rumors that he had escaped disguised as a monk, but there were other rumors that Zhu Yunwen had escaped overseas, plotting his return to China.¹⁶ Regardless of whether this was true or not, Zhu Di was in desperate need to prove his rule as legitimate and there was no better way to gain legitimacy than to have it acknowledged by rulers of China’s neighbors.

In 1403, still new on the throne, Zhu Di ordered the construction of the Treasure Fleet, a vast armada of war and trade ships that would sail around the Indian Ocean and collect tribute and acknowledgement of the Ming Dynasty’s superiority from China’s neighbors.¹⁷ The military usage of this fleet and the threat of force in a hard power sense could not be denied, but Zhu Di’s plans intended a more diplomatic, soft power tone. These ships

¹⁶ Levathes, *When China Ruled the Seas*, 88.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 98.

would display the vast wealth and power of the Ming and its new emperor, showing the benefits of token submission under the tribute trade system. The rumors of the Jianwen's survival overseas indeed may have been a motivation for these journeys although according to Yang Wei, that was very unlikely as the cost of launching seven voyages because of a mere rumor would not have been very feasible.¹⁸

In autumn 1405, after over a year of planning and construction Zheng He's grand armada sailed out of Longjiang towards the state of Champa (Vietnam). While in Champa, Zheng He traded in Ming porcelain and silks. Moving on from Champa, the armada made its way to the island of Java. The Chinese and Javanese had endured difficult relations in the past, culminating in the 1377 execution of several Chinese envoys—sent by China in order to force the recognition of the state Palembang, a rival of the Javanese—by Javanese King Hayam Wuruk.¹⁹ This was, of course, an affront to the Dragon Throne, and trade as a result had dwindled to nothing; Zheng He was determined to reverse this.

On his way to Java and Sumatra, Zheng He had avoided the state of Palembang, which out of all the city states was the wealthiest.²⁰ Their wealth came as a result of a war between the Javanese city states who had claimed Palembang as their own and had installed a Javanese controlled puppet government in the city. The inhabitants of Palembang had thrown out the Javanese but during this time of upheaval, the notorious Chinese pirate Chen Zuyi took control of the city and made Palembang a stronghold of piracy and lawlessness, similar to the "Pirate Republic" of Nassau in the early eighteenth century during British rule in the Bahamas. On his return to China, Zheng He would deal with Chen Zuyi but the time was not quite right for a full military engagement, especially when Zheng He was trying to repair relations with the

¹⁸ Yang Wei, "Admiral Zheng He's Voyages to the 'West Oceans,'" *Education about Asia* 19, no. 2 (Fall 2014): 1.

¹⁹ Levathes, *When China Ruled the Seas*, 98.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 98.

Javanese, showing that at least for now, soft power diplomacy would win the day.²¹

After spending some time in Java and Sumatra trading, the fleet moved on to the kingdom of Ceylon (Sri Lanka), where Zheng He met with a much different reception than he did in Java, which was rather positive compared to that of Ceylon. Zheng He noted that the ruler of Ceylon, as cited by Dryer and Levathes, had treated him and the emperor's emissaries badly and had proved "arrogant and disrespectful and wanted to harm Zheng He."²² Zheng He decided it would be best to leave Ceylon for the time being but made note of Ceylon's military defenses and vast wealth in precious gemstones.

According to Ma Huan, a Chinese Muslim scholar who participated in the voyages and a contemporary of both Zheng He and Fei Xin, Zheng He and the fleet made haste to their original destination of Calicut which the Chinese regarded as "The Great Country of the Western Ocean" showing the amount of prestige and admiration the Chinese held for this West Indian city state. Ma Huan described the people there as being "honest and trustworthy." According to Levathes, Zheng He stayed in Calicut from December 1406 to April 1407.²³ The unusual extended duration of this trade mission was due to the rituals and bargaining that was a standard part of an official trade mission sent by the emperor. Zheng He's experience in Calicut was peaceful and he knew that by following a soft power policy he could gain a favorable trade relationship with Calicut, one of the busiest ports in all of Asia. From this port flowed goods from all over Asia, Europe and the Middle East. He also took great care to show respect to the Zamurín, the title of the ruler of Calicut.²⁴

In April the fleet began its return journey to China. Coming along with Zheng He were ambassadors from Calicut, Java and Sumatra who were to be taken to the imperial court to submit

²¹ Wei, "Admiral Zheng He," 28.

²² Levathes, *When China Ruled the Seas*, 100.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid., 100-101.

themselves to Zhu Di, a time-honored ritual in Imperial China. Emissaries would prostrate themselves before the emperor in submission, and in return the emperor would reward them with rich gifts and treat them as guests of extreme honor. But there was one further amount of business that had to be taken care of—the pirate Chen Zuyi. Here Zheng He abandoned his soft power policy and turned the wrath of the Ming Navy onto Chen Zuyi. Zheng He utterly destroyed the pirates and burned their hideout in Palembang, both freeing the people of Palembang from Chen Zuyi's rule and capturing alive the pirate. Chen Zuyi was bound in chains and was to be taken with Zheng He to Nanjing to face execution for his crimes.²⁵ Fei Xin one of Zheng He's officers also gives a firsthand account on the capture of the infamous pirate:

In the third year of Yung-lo (1405) when Emperor Tai-tsung Wen huang-ti (Zhu Di) of our present dynasty ordered the principal envoy, the Grand Eunuch Cheng Ho, and others to take supreme command of a fleet and to precede to all the foreign countries, the pirate Chen Tsu-I and his followers met in the country of Srivijaya where they plundered foreign merchants and even attacked our ships. [But] they became victims of a secret plan on the part of our principal envoy, and like brutes caught in a net, they were exterminated, their leaders being captured alive and sent as prisoners to the imperial palace. After this the seas were restored to imperial peace and order.²⁶

The capture of the pirate Chen, as shown in this excerpt, demonstrates that while Zheng He was willing to mostly focus on a soft power strategy, he was not afraid to use hard power while carrying out Zhu DI's foreign policy objectives. From a soft power

²⁵ Wei, "Admiral Zheng He," 28.

²⁶ Fei Xin, *The Overall Survey of the Star Raft*, trans. J.V.G. Mills (Otto Harrassowitz, 1996), 53.

standpoint, this approach also worked by emptying the sea territory of Chinese pirates; a considerable boon to China's neighbors, not to mention a removing the significant embarrassment to the Ming Dynasty that these pirates were.

In the summer of 1407, the fleet had returned to China and Zheng He returned to a very pleased emperor. Although distraught that no word had been heard about his predecessor, Zhu Di was still very pleased that the legitimacy of his rule had been recognized by many rulers in southeast Asia and India. Overall, this first expedition had shown that Zheng He had a great grasp on both soft power and hard power. He re-established trade relationships using the awe and majesty of the Treasure Fleet, relationships that were in great disrepair for over thirty years. He also made quick work of a notorious Chinese pirate that was affecting trade relationships around the area. Ceylon had proved to be problematic in establishing relations, but they could be dealt with in the future, as Zheng He would later prove.

Zheng He and the Modern Day

The journeys to Java and Calicut have had lasting impacts on the relations between China, India and Java today. A crucial part of China's soft power is using its past to establish that China's relations were peaceful and prosperous with its neighbors for centuries, especially when it comes to Zheng He, who has served as a useful bit of propaganda in the last few decades. In May 2005, the Nanjing Museum and many numerous cities in China, Java and India celebrated Zheng He's sexcentenary, celebrating 600 years since the first voyage of the admiral. The China Heritage Quarterly gives a brief summarization of the celebrations:

This tribute to Zheng He, master mariner of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), is merely one frisson in the flurry of activities organized for the sexcentenary. Stamped with patriotism, most events are designed to appeal to Chinese who hail from the

various hometowns and localities in China associated with Zheng He, or who now live in the areas of Southeast and South Asia, as well as the Middle East and even East Africa, once visited by Zheng He's fleets. Although Zheng He came to be deified and included in local Chinese pantheons in Tian Hou temples, he was in fact a Muslim, a fact not overlooked in the present celebrations.²⁷

Beijing has found a great propaganda spokesman in the Ming admiral. The PRC has recently been using Zheng He in its relations with the Javanese and India as a way to promote the “peaceful co-existence” between nations that have had long standing relations with China. However, there have been some pitfalls in the relationship between the PRC and Java. In Tuban, a part of East Java, a 30.4-meter-tall statue of Guan Yu a famous Chinese general of the Three Kingdoms Era (220-280 BC) who was later deified was unveiled, sparking massive controversy with a fundamentalist minority of Tuban’s Muslim population. In the *Straits Times* the events and controversy are summarized:

Indonesia has urged officials to stand up to mob pressure after Muslim and nationalist protesters called for a 30 m-tall statue of a Chinese deity erected in a temple complex in an East Java town to be torn down. The brightly painted statue of Guan Yu, a general who is worshipped by some Chinese people, was inaugurated last month in a temple complex in the fishing town of Tuban, and is claimed to be South-east Asia's tallest representation of the deity. The statue in Tuban,

²⁷ China Heritage Project, “Shipping News: Zheng He’s Sexcentenary,” China Heritage Quarterly no. 2 (June 2005), http://www.chinaheritagequarterly.org/articles.php?searchterm=002_zhenghe.in.c&issue=002.

about 100 km west of the city of Surabaya, has been partially covered up after the protests, provoking both praise and ridicule on social media in the world's most populous Muslim-majority country. Teten Masduki, chief of staff to President Joko Widodo, told reporters: "If they ask for the statue to be torn down, the authorities cannot bow to such pressure. "Protesters demonstrated this week outside Surabaya's Parliament against the statue, some wearing paramilitary-style outfits and waving placards that read "Demolish it" and "We are not worshippers of idols". Allowing a depiction of a foreign general was "a symbol of treason to this nation", an unnamed protester said in a video of the rally on news portal Kompas.com. Officials of the Kwan Sing Bio Temple in Tuban declined to comment, but the media have quoted residents as saying the statue was good for tourism.²⁸

While China's perception of its soft power is a perception that celebrates peaceful exploration and relations, that perception may not always be shared with the nations China is attempting to woo. In the example shown in East Java concerning the Guan Yu statue, what China may see as sharing its culture, some Javanese natives may see as China's perception of its own soft power as being a kind of cultural imperialism. There is also a perception by an extreme religious minority that the statue serves as an insult to the Muslim populations' religious beliefs tinged with Indonesian nationalism clashing with Chinese nationalism. When it comes to Zheng He, there is perhaps a bit of irony in this point of view seeing that Zheng He was born to a Muslim father and there is considerable evidence he may have shared his father's beliefs at least on a cultural level. The overall point that is being established

²⁸ "Tension in East Java over statue of deity," *Straits Times*, August 12, 2017, <http://www.straitstimes.com/asia/se-asia/tension-in-east-java-over-statue-of-deity>.

here however, is that China's own perceptions of its history and soft power may at many times clash with what other nations and peoples consider Chinese soft (and hard) power to be. Quite likely in the case of the Guan Yu statue, religious belief may be used as an excuse and the real problem lies with nationalism, as implied in the article.

A large component of Chinese soft power practices is the idea of "legitimacy," the legitimacy that is perceived by members of the PRC government to have been lost in the nineteenth century and has only started to be regained in the waning years of the twentieth century. One of the main ideas of this paper is also that there is an explicit link between the ideas of Ming glory, non-hegemonic expansion and the Confucius Institute. A common claim made by the PRC regarding the foreign policy of China is that both historically and today China remains a non-hegemonic power with the peacefulness of its rise being touted by its leadership, which makes an implied claim that China's rivals—like the United States—do not follow a similar policy.

The distrust of China's motivations has also been a source of contention when it comes to national territory as well. The Senkaku and Diaoyu islands, dispute between China, Japan and Korea has shown that China is willing to forego soft power diplomacy when it comes to territorial integrity. From the forward to a white paper published by the PRC State Council in 2012, we can see how seriously China considers territorial integrity to be to its foreign policy.

Diaoyu Dao and its affiliated islands are an inseparable part of the Chinese territory. Diaoyu Dao is China's inherent territory in all historical, geographical and legal terms, and China enjoys indisputable sovereignty over Diaoyu Dao. Japan's occupation of Diaoyu Dao during the Sino-Japanese War in 1895 is illegal and invalid. After World War II, Diaoyu Dao was returned to China in accordance with such international legal documents as the Cairo Declaration and the Potsdam Proclamation. No matter what unilateral step Japan takes over Diaoyu Dao, it will not change the fact that Diaoyu Dao belongs to China. For quite some time, Japan

has repeatedly stirred up troubles on the issue of Diaoyu Dao. On September 10, 2012, the Japanese government announced the "purchase" of Diaoyu Dao and its affiliated Nanxiao Dao and Beixiao Dao and the implementation of the so-called "nationalization". This is a move that grossly violates China's territorial sovereignty and international jurisprudence.

China is firmly opposed to Japan's violation of China's sovereignty over Diaoyu Dao in whatever form and has taken resolute measures to curb any such act. China's position on the issue of Diaoyu Dao is clear-cut and consistent. China's will to defend national sovereignty and territorial integrity is firm and its resolve to uphold the outcomes of the World Anti-Fascist War will not be shaken by any force.²⁹

Notice the terms “inseparable” and “inherent territory” in the language of this white paper. These concepts lend credence to the idea that past humiliations in losing territory to European powers in the nineteenth century shape China’s national and foreign policy. The idea of China being “inseparable” has long been a roadblock in finalizing territorial borders between China and her neighbors. Therefore, the concerns of nationalists in Indonesia doesn’t necessarily come from nowhere, or out of just pure nationalism and jingoism. There is a perceived fear of losing territory and cultural influence though both traditional and cultural imperialism, either from the aspect of territory as can be seen in the Senkaku island dispute or through cultural imperialism as seen through the incident involving the Guan Yu statue. As China’s soft power increases, there will be blowback about what is seen as China encroaching on the culture of others. This is something which can fuel conspiracy theories like one popular one amongst

²⁹ PRC Government, PRC State Council, “Diaoyu Dao 钓鱼岛, An Inherent Territory of China,” (Beijing: PRC State Council Information Office, 2012), 1.

certain nationalists in Indonesia, claiming that China's government is secretly in control of the entire Indonesian government, and that these soft power efforts are examples of China imposing its culture on an unwilling population, threatening cultural sovereignty.

The United States Congressional Research Service published a white paper in December 2015 summarizing many of these issues of sovereignty and territory. Titled "Maritime Territorial and Exclusive Economic Zone Disputes Involving China" the white paper asserts that China is using the so-called "nine-dash line," a vaguely located line of demarcation that the PRC asserts marks its territorial waters.³⁰ The white paper asserts that China is using a "'salami-slicing' strategy that employs a series of incremental actions, none of which by itself is a *casus belli*, to gradually change the status quo in China's favor" in the words of the report. China in many of these contexts may not even be following a full soft power strategy but may in some instances be following a "Sharp Power" strategy. Sharp power is distinct from soft power in that it focuses on distraction and manipulation. Christopher Walker and Jessica Ludwig writing for *Foreign Affairs* gives a concise definition of the term:

Contrary to some of the prevailing analysis, the influence wielded by Beijing and Moscow through initiatives in the spheres of media, culture, think tanks, and academia is not a "charm offensive," as the author Joshua Kurlantzick termed it in his book *Charm Offensive: How China's Soft Power is Defining the World*. Nor is it an effort to "share alternative ideas" or "broaden the debate," as the editorial leadership at the Russian and Chinese state information outlets suggest about themselves. It is not principally about attraction or even persuasion; instead, it centers on distraction and manipulation.

³⁰ Ronald O' Rourke, *Maritime Territorial and Exclusive Economic Zone Disputes Involving China* (Washington DC: United States Congressional Research Service, 2015), 1.

These powerful and ambitious authoritarian regimes, which systematically suppress political pluralism and free expression to maintain power at home, are increasingly applying the same principles internationally.³¹

This new display of “sharp power” may add a third dynamic to international power play. Since it is neither hard nor soft power, sharp power is hard to give a concise category to, but with recent electoral events in the United States and elsewhere in the last few years it cannot be denied that creating manipulation and causing divisiveness in a country’s population has been an effective strategy. If China is indeed being more aggressive in its territorial ambitions, this may give credence to the “sharp power” theory in that while China is using soft power to increase its territorial sovereignty, it is still using elements of coercion and flexing of military muscle to achieve that end.

³¹ Christopher Walker and Jessica Lang, “The Meaning of Sharp Power,” *Foreign Policy*, November 16, 2017.

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Author Bio

Peter Weisser is a MA graduate from California State University, San Bernardino. He attended the University of Redlands as an undergraduate and graduated with BA in History. Weisser then attended CSUSB for his Master's degree being awarded a degree in Social Science and Globalization in 2018, after writing his thesis "The Admiral's Carrot and Stick" which discusses the travels of Ming admiral Zheng He and his treasure voyages (1405-1433) as well as the soft power policies of China during the Ming Dynasty and the present day.



History in the Making

Comanche Resistance against Colonialism

By Tyler Amoy

Abstract: Of all the indigenous tribes in North America, none stood stronger than the Comanche. This Great Plains tribe is considered to be one of the strongest and most warlike of the indigenous tribes and can even be compared to the Greek Spartans of old. This empire ruled for hundreds of years, overtaking and enveloping other tribes and nations in this area, however, this success would not last forever. In three steady waves, the invasions by Spain, Mexico, and the United States would crash upon this nation like a wave on the shoreline. Unlike many other native nations, the Comanche initially stood strong against these colonial powers through the adoption of their technologies and strategies, which they used against the invaders. This warlike society's ability to adopt their enemy's strategies, hit-and-run tactics, attempt at diplomacy, and all out warfare allowed the Comanche to stand stronger and longer than other indigenous tribes during this time. The Comanche tribe invoked a fierce bellicose nature that was second to none in eighteenth century North America, which allowed it to defend itself against the colonial powers of Spain, Mexico, and the United States with relative success.

Before the influence of the Spanish touched the Great Plains of America in the sixteenth century, the Comanche Indians survived as a small hunter-gatherer society.¹ During the Comanche's early days in contemporary Wyoming, this group illustrated traditional

¹ Pekka Hamalainen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 1.

hunter-gather practices, where men of the tribe hunted the buffalo of the plains, while the women prepared the hides and meals and gathered whatever supplies were necessary for the daily functions of the tribe. As with many of the plains tribes, the buffalo was pivotal for survival. To the early Comanche, the buffalo provided food, shelter from the elements in the forms of furs and hides, bone for tools and weapons, and was incorporated into every aspect of daily life. It is due to the necessity of the buffalo in Comanche society that this tribe began its primary migratory patterns, which resulted in a nomadic lifestyle.² These teepee dwelling nomads followed the seasonal migratory patterns of the buffalo, which meant that they never resided in one area for long. This constant pursuit of the buffalo eventually led the Comanche to their first contact and conflict with the Spaniards who traveled north into the contemporary American Southwest. Their seasonal migration, which initially began in a search for food, led the Comanche further into the contemporary American Southwest.³ The Comanche thus dwelled most commonly within New Mexico and Texas, which eventually put them into direct contact with the Spanish.

While this migration south initially resulted out of the necessity of following the bison, it quickly evolved into a desire for horses. It was this adoption of horses into Comanche society that encouraged further southern migration in North America.⁴ Wherever there were horses to be tamed, the Comanche would follow. Horses, which were primarily introduced into North America by the Spanish in 1680, were adopted and widely used by the Comanche for waging war and producing meat.⁵ This initial interaction began the prosperous future of Comanche cavalry

² Gerald Betty, *Comanche Society: Before the Reservation* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2005), 66.

³ Ibid., 53.

⁴ Ibid., 55.

⁵ R.E. Moore, "The Texas Comanches," *Texas Indians*, 2012, <http://www.texasindians.com/comanche.html>.

conquest. By observing how the Spaniards hunted buffalo on horseback, the Comanche adopted similar techniques and methods for their own.⁶ The establishment of light cavalry gave the Comanche a distinct advantage in hunting, as they were able to match the speed of the bison. In addition to hunting, horses gave the Comanche a superior advantage over neighboring tribes, who were seldom at peace with one another. As they migrated south, it was common for the Comanche to encounter other tribes that had already inhabited these areas, such as the Apache and Pueblo.⁷ The Comanche efficiently conquered or drove out every indigenous nation they encountered, including the Apache, who were known for their brutal close combat skirmishes and stealth tactics. This extensive mastery of the art of warfare placed the Comanche on equal footing against the Spanish in the conflicts to come, as they could match the speed and prowess of this previously superior force.

In addition to the catalyst provided by horses, the Comanche were a tribe that exhibited an aggressive and violent nature. This nature was driven by two aspects of their society: an aggressive need to survive, and a religious experience of kinship. Life in the Great Plains of America was often tedious and difficult, as survival depended on the cooperation of nature and very limited resources. It was through this necessity that the Comanche formed its society around its warrior class, as they deemed it better to resort to violence against foreign peoples rather than face starvation.⁸ It was through this that they displayed the survival of the fittest mentality, as their warriors were prepared to take what they needed to survive. This mentality was honed long before any engagements with the Spanish, and revealed itself with vigor as it faced this great opponent. Even beyond survival, the aggressive nature of this tribe was a direct result of their kinship with one another. The warrior class of the Comanche experienced and savored many religious practices within their ranks, which in turn

⁶ Betty, *Comanche Society*, 83.

⁷ Moore, "Texas Comanches."

⁸ Betty, *Comanche Society*, 125.

formed a tight bond between the men.⁹ When a brother in arms was killed or dishonored by another tribe's warrior, it was common practice for the Comanche to rise up in arms to avenge their tribesman. The tight-knit nature of this nation served as a shield against the colonial powers to come. Instead of succumbing to loss and despair, the Comanche's resolve only strengthened in the face of the future confrontations.

It was through this military success that the Comanche built an empire of their own, as defeated tribes were either forced to bend a knee to the Comanche, or were permanently removed from the plains. This empire grew rapidly, but not in a manner similar to that of European conquest. The Comanche simply had the desire to "coexist, control, and exploit," and did not seek to expand their territory or claim new lands unlike the European colonizers.¹⁰ This fairly rapid rise in power occurred in the early 1700s, and was a result of the gradual adoption of Spanish culture, strategy, and technology including: horseback riding, cavalry, farming, steel weaponry, and gunpowder.¹¹ It was the combination of this adaptive flexibility, technological advancements, and military prowess that set the Comanche apart from the other indigenous nations in the resistance and rejection of foreign colonialism within the Americas.

As the Comanche Empire grew, its encounters with the Spanish became more frequent in the early eighteenth century. Initially, the interactions between the tribe's people and the Spaniards were peaceful. The Comanche and Spanish primarily built their relationship on trade, which the Comanche took great advantage of. Upon first encountering the Comanche tribe, the Spanish were very open to working with these indigenous people. The Spanish saw these tribesmen as educated in trade, well dressed, and even fluent in several languages, one of which

⁹ Ibid., 126.

¹⁰ Hamalainen, *Comanche Empire*, 4.

¹¹ John Tutino, "Globalizing the Comanche Empire," *History and Theory* 52, no. 1 (2013): 70.

included Spanish.¹² It was through these positive first experiences that the Spanish were fairly unprepared for the drastic change of relationship that would follow. The Comanche had closely studied these intruding European white men, as they not only adopted and perfected riding on horseback, but also acquired metal weapons and tools, firearms and ammunition, woven cloth, and farming techniques.¹³ The Comanche's study and development of Spanish tactics and culture helped grow this nation into a powerful empire in the Great Plains of America, which was paramount in the resistance against technologically superior invading nations. It was through this meticulous study of the Spanish and adoption of their strategies that gave the Comanche the upper hand when their peaceful relationship with the Spanish turned sour.

Throughout the mid-eighteenth century, the Spanish explorers and Comanche warriors alternated between periods of war and peace.¹⁴ The Spanish continued their quest for riches and silver, and the Comanche consistently invaded and attacked the Spanish in a series of small, quick raids. While the Spanish had the initial advantage, the Comanche came out on top as they studied the invaders and adopted their superior technologies and battle strategies. The one advantage that the Comanche could not overcome, however, was the disease the Spaniards brought from Europe.¹⁵ The most aggressive disease the Spaniards brought was smallpox, which ravaged the Comanche tribe and the other nations under its empire. While this disease decimated the entire population of the Great Plains, it struck an acute blow against the Comanche, as it affected their horses as well. Despite the major loss in population and livestock, smallpox was not enough to completely destroy the Comanche Empire.

As time went on, the Comanche transitioned into a fairly docile role within the Great Plains, as they patiently waited for the proper time to strike the Spanish Empire. While they waited for

¹² Moore, "Texas Comanches."

¹³ Tutino, "Globalizing the Comanche Empire," 73.

¹⁴ Betty, *Comanche Society*, 24.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 29.

their moment, they continued to trade with the Spaniards, and gained further resources and strategies. As Spain widened its reach on the Americas, a fracture began to emerge. As Napoleon and his massive French army wreaked havoc in Europe and Spain, resources and military power that were needed for the conquest of the New World were required elsewhere. While this released some of the pressure on the indigenous tribes, it also revealed an opportunity for the Mexican natives to gain independence. Spanish citizens who resided in Mexico often questioned the motives of the Crown, as they were forced to financially participate in a war that they believed held no influence over their lives. This led to strife and eventually a full revolution, which declared Mexico as an independent nation in 1821, one that was no longer under the control of the Spanish Empire. It was in this moment that the Comanche Empire struck.¹⁶ Whatever hold the Spanish Empire had on North America was weak and distant, as it faced conflict in both Mexico and its homeland in western Europe. The Comanche used this weakness as an opportunity to completely push the Spanish out of Texas, thus throwing off the shackles of influence this first colonizer placed upon them.¹⁷ The Spanish were shocked to see just how much the Comanche had developed since their first encounter with the nation, and this underestimation of the Comanche cost them their place within North America. As Spain's hold over the Americas weakened, a new power emerged under the control of the Mexican government. Mexico fought to declare itself as a sovereign nation, and Spain's presence in the Mexican Northwest receded. The Comanche saw this as an opportunity; they filled the newly formed void and placed their permanent foundation within Texas and New Mexico.¹⁸ In these areas, the Comanche thrived. These borderlands presented new opportunities for the Comanche that were previously denied to

¹⁶ Tutino, "Globalizing the Comanche Empire," 67.

¹⁷ Moore, "Texas Comanches."

¹⁸ Tutino, "Globalizing the Comanche Empire," 72.

them.¹⁹ These fugitive landscapes²⁰ allowed the Comanche to maintain their traditional activities: they hunted bison, migrated their communities, and gathered food from the land. However, they also developed new factors of trade and resources to raid that the developing nation of Mexico provided. The primary resource that Mexico offered to the Comanche was an abundance of horses. These horses, left when the Spanish Empire was thrown out of Mexico, were a necessary resource for the Comanche, and as illustrated through their migratory patterns, the Comanche would go wherever the horses would lead them. As Mexico grew in power and its presence in North America became noticed, the powerful Comanche Empire descended upon this nation like a predator upon infant prey.

Unlike the Spanish, the interactions between the Comanche and Mexico began in a somewhat violent nature. The Comanche viewed any Mexican efforts to migrate north as raiding opportunities. As a result, a new era of terror and hatred began, as the bellicose Comanche began a steady stream of raids upon these areas throughout the 1830s and 1840s.²¹ This period of strife halted Mexico's northern expansion, as the Comanche presented far greater resistance and military threat than was expected. The Comanche's ferocity and tactical expertise caught Mexico by surprise, as an empire this established was not foreseen to exist within this region. Despite the Mexican perception of the Comanche as barbarians and savages, the Mexican government sought to make peace, and presented an olive branch to this nomadic tribe.²² The Comanche, who saw this possible peace as an opportunity for trade, accepted the offer and treaties between these two nations were made. While the leaders of the Comanche upheld these treaties, the younger warriors continued to raid the Mexican

¹⁹ Brian DeLay, *War of a Thousand Deserts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 87.

²⁰ Samuel Truett, *Fugitive Landscapes: The Forgotten History of the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 44.

²¹ DeLay, *War of a Thousand Deserts*, 15.

²² *Ibid.*, 18.

borderland cities. This created an “uneasy calm” between the two powers, and tensions once again began to rise.²³ Similar to their relationship with Spain, the peace between the Comanche and Mexico did not last for long.

When the majority of the Comanche refused to end the raids along the borderlands, the Mexican government broke the fractured treaty and retaliated against the tribe.²⁴ While these encounters did not manifest in the form of total war, constant conflict took place. Most of these instances involved small encounters, however large battles between the Mexican military and Comanche warriors sometimes occurred, like the confrontation between Bustamante and the Comanche in 1826.²⁵ This conflict was Mexico’s retaliation to the previous years of raiding and attacks from the Comanche upon Mexican border settlements. Bustamante gathered a large band of Mexican soldiers, and took the fight to the Comanche villages. This offensive attack was poised to show the Comanche what a raid upon their homes was like. After the primary battle was completed, both sides came to a tentative peace agreement as an armistice was signed by Comanche representatives. Despite the efforts of the Mexican government, the Comanche could never truly be the focus of their forces, as confrontations with the United States arose for the first time during the early nineteenth century. This two-front war was the undoing of the Mexican government, as the full force of its military was necessary to stem the tide of the Comanche.

As this struggle ensued, the United States made its presence known across the entirety of North America. Through its justification of expansion in Manifest Destiny, the United States pushed west like never before. This expansion caused conflict with Mexico, as areas that were regarded as Mexican territories were invaded by United States forces. Similar to their response to the

²³ Brian DeLay, “The Wider World of the Handsome Man: Southern Plains Indians invade Mexico, 1830-1848,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 27, no. 1 (Spring 2007), 87.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 90.

²⁵ DeLay, *War of a Thousand Deserts*, 19.

struggle between Spain and Mexico, the Comanche took advantage of this new conflict, and continued to raid the smaller, more vulnerable towns within Texas and New Mexico.²⁶ Mexico, which quickly realized the larger of the two threats resided within the United States, lessened its attempts to bring the Comanche to heel. This struggle ever increased within the favor of the Comanche, until finally the last strand of Mexico's attempt to fight this tribe collapsed when the Mexican Northwest, which included Texas, was taken by the United States in 1848.²⁷ Suddenly, the Comanche no longer posed the same threat to Mexico as it had previously, as the lands that were under attack by this nation were no longer under the control of the Mexican government. The thorn that was lodged in Mexico's side was now removed and placed within the side of the United States, and the United States responded as it knew best.

As the Civil War ended in 1865, the United States had an army of idle, eager soldiers and a desire to expand its borders. This inevitably led to the massive westward expansion illustrated by this young nation. In addition to the desire for expansion, discovery of gold in western America drew in many Americans who hoped to strike it rich. Initially, this expansion faced relatively little resistance, however, the Comanche in Texas were the first major roadblock for the United States' expansion of its Manifest Destiny. As with the initial relations with Spain, the relationship between the Comanche and the United States began peacefully in the form of trade.²⁸ This trade was very similar to that of Spain, as the Comanche were able to acquire the newest technologies presented by a foreign nation, especially weapons and ammunition. For a period of time, there was relative peace between these two nations, but if the two previous instances of foreign relations revealed anything, this was not to last.

As relations between these two nations continued, the initial wariness worn by the Comanche wore off, and they began to

²⁶ Tutino, "Globalizing the Comanche Empire," 73.

²⁷ DeLay, "Wider World," 99.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 95.

resume their normal raiding rotations. Not wanting to engage in all-out war with this nation, it was common for local United States settlements to broker treaties with the Comanche chiefs in the area. One such instance took place in Austin, Texas on May 20th, 1840. The *Austin City Gazette Newspaper*—a Texas based newspaper—published an article overviewing a recent treaty between several of the Comanche chieftains and local government officials. This treaty sought to broker peace between the local Comanche population and the citizens of Austin, Texas. The officials in Austin viewed this as a ploy by the Comanche to scout the city and acquire more technology and goods through trade. As a result, they presented the sole condition to this agreement as an immediate release of any United States prisoners under Comanche control.²⁹ The Comanche reluctantly agreed to these terms, and a tentative peace treaty on this front was established.

The Comanche, who were very set in their traditions, refused to curb their raiding practices. Meanwhile the United States refused to let another nation stand in the way of its expansion of Manifest Destiny. The United States, however, tried a new approach to handling this indigenous tribe. As with many of the Native American tribes, the United States offered peace in the form of reservations to the Comanche people. Initially, the leaders of this Empire were furious, however, they reluctantly accepted this proposal. This acceptance came largely due to the parameters of the treaty, as the Comanche were forced from their previously occupied areas onto the reservation grounds, but in turn they were allowed to resume their traditional practices and activities.³⁰ This allowed the Comanche to have a seemingly secure region of their own, where they were left alone by the United States forces, and were still allowed to leave the reservation to hunt bison and perform their religious and traditional activities. Initially, this treaty seemed to hold, but it eventually collapsed as the Comanche realized they had received the short end of the stick and the United

²⁹ G.K. Teulon, "The Comanche Treaty," *Austin City Gazette*, May 20, 1840, 2.

³⁰ Hamalainen, *Comanche Empire*, 323.

States broke its agreements. The United States began to place further restrictions on the Comanche, some of which no longer allowed them to leave the reservation to gather food or hunt.³¹ It became common for the United States government to treat the Comanche—and other indigenous nations' members—as United States citizens should they leave their established reservations. It was decreed in a Dallas newspaper articles that “Indians would have no voice in Congress but accept the law as enacted and the interpretation thereof by the proper officials.”³² The Comanche, facing starvation and betrayal, resumed their traditional methods of hunting and raiding. This caused the United States to declare war against this tribal empire, and the war between “tradition and capitalist expansion” ensued.³³

The betrayal by the United States and the war that followed ignited systematic hate and prejudice between the Comanche and the United States citizens. To the United States, this tribe was simply another roadblock on the road to westward expansion. The United States featured a military power that was unparalleled in these lands, and it used this knowledge to its advantage. This military run, industrial capitalist machine refused to stop for tradition or already existing claims to land. Instead, it viewed all of the new world as a ripe prize to be taken. This arrogant attitude greatly clashed with the bold nature of the Comanche, which valued war and brotherhood above all else. While the United States boasted a superior military, the Comanche had the home field advantage and the experience of conflict with the colonial powers of Spain and Mexico. The Comanche and United States military traded atrocious war practices, such as the scalping and torturing of prisoners, and viewed each other as little more than vermin. This resentment of the Americans even entered the Comanche's religious practices, as they practiced a new, specific form of burial for their warriors. This practice included the fallen warrior being

³¹ Ibid., 325.

³² W.T. Sherman, “The Indian Question,” *Daily Dallas Herald* 1, no. 67, April 29, 1873, 1.

³³ Ibid., 333.

buried with his weapons and even his horses, with his head facing towards the west. The Texas Ranger Nelson Lee—who was taken prisoner by the Comanches—wrote about this practice in his book that documented his experiences with these people: “They are buried to with their heads to the west, because they believe at the resurrection, they will arise and march eastward, again to take possession of all the country from which the accursed white man has driven them and their fathers”.³⁴ This example shows how the Comanche spirit was presented, which greatly explains their unwillingness to end their resistance against a far superior foe. The tenacity of the Comanche was a frustrating hinderance for the United States, as the threat of superiority and terror tactics proved to be unsuccessful against this indigenous nation.

As the war continued, the Comanche did all that was within their power to resist the forces of the United States. When they realized they were at a disadvantage, the Comanche even reached out to previously hostile tribes and created a “Great Peace” as they aligned themselves with the Kiowa, Cheyenne, and Arapaho indigenous tribes.³⁵ The United States—who had the far superior force—were surprised by the vigor with which this empire resisted its military might. The United States saw the Comanche and their allies as a great military threat and were forced to expand their battle strategies beyond pure violence on the battlefield. The United States understood the tribes of the plains better than the Comanche understood its invader, and this advantage quickly came to light throughout the war. The United States sought to kill two birds with one stone, and it began a slaughter of the buffalo within central and southern America.³⁶ Through near extinction of the buffalo, the United States bolstered its small goods market while it systematically destroyed the foundation of the Comanche lifestyle. Without the buffalo, the Comanche lost its source of food, shelter, trade, and basis of society. Without the foundation of the plains

³⁴ Nelson Lee, *Three Years Among the Comanches: The Narrative of Nelson Lee, the Texas Ranger* (Santa Barbara: Narrative Press, 2001), 124.

³⁵ DeLay, “Wide World,” 106.

³⁶ Hamalainen, *Comanche Empire*, 336.

lifestyle, the Comanche faced a bleak reality. Even the exemplar horsemanship, warrior class, and modern technology and weaponry of this empire could not impede its downfall. Eventually, the Comanche were forced to return to their reservations, defeated and starving, never to leave again.³⁷ This permanently ended the Comanche military resistance against the colonial powers of the United States. Had the buffalo herds not been eradicated, the Comanche would have forced the war with the United States to continue for many more years, and may have even resulted in victory.

Despite the ultimate collapse of the Comanche empire, this great nation showed a resistance to superior power that was second to none. Other than the Comanche, it was rare for the Native American tribes to resist with even a fraction of the force and tenacity of the Comanche. Many tribes, like the Tohono O'odham, often sought to accommodate the United States as much as possible, primarily in the form of assimilation.³⁸ The Comanche hardly showed this appeasing nature, instead they chose to rise up against their adversaries, and they agreed to treaties only when it was beneficial for them. Several other indigenous nations, such as the Kickapoo and the Yaquis, simply "watched their rights to migrate steadily erode."³⁹ These two nations decided it would be in their best interest to peacefully submit to the power of the United States and life on the reservations, instead of engaging in violent confrontation. Unlike these two tribes, the Comanche did not sit idly by as their rights and traditions were stripped from them. Instead, this nation fought vigorously until the day it was defeated.

The Comanche upheld their bellicose resistance against the hungry conquests of Spain, Mexico, and the United States until their eventual downfall as the nineteenth century ended. As a

³⁷ Ibid., 341.

³⁸ Jeffrey M. Schulze, *Are We Not Foreigners Here? Indigenous Nationalism in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 135.

³⁹ Ibid., 110.

young, nomadic tribe, the warrior society of the Comanche adapted to their surroundings and grew into an empire that conquered much of the American Southwest and Midwest. When initially faced by the Spanish Empire, the Comanche resisted with such resolve that they outlived the Spanish presence in the Americas, and in turn grew into the greatest warrior class of the indigenous nations. In the wake of Spanish defeat, Mexico rose up and sought to spread its influence further north into the American Southwest. This expansion came to a halt as it crashed upon the Comanche Empire. During this conflict, the superior military power of the United States pushed ever westward, seeking to claim the lands of both Mexico and the Comanche. Despite showing tremendous strength and resistance, the Comanche eventually fell beneath the treads of the military capitalist power of the United States, thus they faced an existence within the bars of the reservation life. Despite the Comanche being far more successful in their resistance of these colonial powers than any bordering tribes, they eventually fell like every other indigenous nation. This cursed the Comanche to not only lose their land, but also their traditions, as they were scattered and detained in lands they could no longer claim as their own. In the late nineteenth century, Comanche chief Ten Bears said, “I was born upon the prairie, where the wind blew free, and there was nothing to break the light of the sun. I was born where there were no enclosures, and where everything drew a free breath...I know every stream and every wood between the Rio Grande and the Arkansas. I have hunted over that country. I lived like my fathers before me, and like them, I lived happily.”⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Kathy Weiser, “Great Words from Great Americans,” *Legends of America*. 2018. <https://www.legendsofamerica.com/na-quotes/2/>.

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Author Bio

Tyler Amoy is currently a junior at CSUSB working to complete his Bachelor's degree in History. He currently holds two Associate's degrees, one in History and one in Humanities, from Mount San Jacinto College. Outside of the classroom setting, Tyler runs his own commission paint business and tries to maintain a healthy and active lifestyle. Ever since he was young, history has been paramount to his learning and development. Thusly, he truly believes that history is the most important aspect of any education, and that a focus on past events will lead to a greater understanding of those to come.



History in the Making

Racial Ambiguity in the Borderlands: New Mexico's African American Soldiers, 1860-1922

By Jacquelyne Anton

Abstract: In the nineteenth century United States, African Americans faced severe forms of racism that manifested through institutions of slavery, segregation and discrimination. Antebellum and Civil War historians focus on African American resistance to white supremacy and oppression through various forms of resistance, some of which include violent revolts and the search for freedom in the North. With that being said, however, many historians seem to ignore the role of the US-Mexico borderlands in African Americans' contestation of the racist laws of the American North and South. This article examines African Americans' experiences in the US-Mexico borderlands of New Mexico during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to illustrate how they used the borderlands as a tactic to escape and negotiate the racism, segregation, and discrimination they encountered in the North and South. The racial ambiguity of the US-Mexico borderlands created a space where African Americans, through their military service, negotiated the white supremacy in the US.

The racial ambiguity in the US-Mexico borderlands is not a contemporary creation. Historically, the US-Mexico borderlands have been characterized by racial ambiguity, however, during the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, the borderlands underwent dynamic political, social and economic transformations that affected the treatment of African Americans. The US-Mexico borderlands are a transregional territory where “the Mexican North

and the American South collided, conflicted, fused, confused and...offered a glimpse of new alternatives.”¹ In the nineteenth century, white American male notions of Manifest Destiny encouraged the spread of the American polity into Mexican territories and what would become the American West; this engendered the proliferation of white supremacy into borderland regions. Furthermore, the modernization endeavors undertaken by Porfirio Diaz and his *Científicos* brought racial ideologies—constructed by the Mexican elite—into the borderland region. Thus, the transnationalism of the US-Mexico borderlands transformed the region into a place where Mexican and American notions of race met and proliferated the fluidity of racial ideologies.²

The ideologies of Mexican President Porfirio Diaz (1876-1911), dominated the political, social, economic, and racial climate of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Mexico. In his attempts to bring Mexico into the world of modernity, Diaz formed a brain trust through the creation of the *Científicos*, who advised Diaz on governmental and political decisions. The *Científicos* were a group of intellectuals that advocated for the application of scientific methods to governmental problems. Their desire to modernize Mexico, through the increased employment of skilled workers, was rooted in racialized ideas in which they linked Mexico’s progress to notions of “whiteness.” Diaz and his *Científicos* believed that the addition of skilled workers would enable Mexico to undergo modernizing efforts through the creation of railroads, public transportation, and other industrial efforts that would increase Mexico’s economic standing. The *Científicos*—and by proxy Diaz—sought to improve the racial stock of Mexico through the addition of Europeans because they appraised them as a superior race and as skilled workers due to

¹ Karl Jacoby, “Between North and South: The Alternative Borderlands of William H. Ellis and the African American Colony of 1895,” in *Continental Crossroads: Remapping U.S.-Mexico Borderlands History*, 209-240 (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 231.

² Ibid.

their links to the American work ethic.³ The *Científicos* soon realized that Europeans preferred to settle in the American East, thus, they turned their modernizing sights on African Americans. They saw the lucrative cotton business in America as an example of African Americans' skilled labor. This led to their desire to have African Americans join the Mexican work force because they believed that African Americans were responsible for the economic success of the cotton industry. They viewed African Americans as American, rather than as African or black due to their perceived promise of capital gain for Mexico. The *Científicos* surmised that African Americans had been assimilated into the American capitalist society and American work ethic through their unwilling participation in slave labor. The creation of racial ambiguity rooted in notions of whiteness and "Americanization," while beneficial for African Americans, allowed for the creation of perceptions of indigenous and Mexican laborers as unskilled workers; this engendered the devaluation of their labor and their subsequent racialization as an inferior group by the *Científicos*. These notions empowered racial ambiguity to overtake the borderlands and provided a region in which African Americans could escape the racist laws of the Jim Crow South.

Simultaneously, in the American Southwest—formerly the Mexican Northwest—racial ideologies surrounding Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants were constructed.⁴ The rapid increase of the Mexican population in the American Southwest led to the creation of negative racial ideologies regarding the Mexican people. Between the years of 1880-1900, the Mexican-born population of the border states increased from 66,312 to 99,969.⁵

³ According to Diaz and his *Científicos*, Europeans had participated in the American work ethic due to their shared racial background.

⁴ I do not include Texas in my discussion of the American Southwest. Texas is home to a specific racial hierarchy separate from the rest of the region. Many of the injustices against African Americans that were absent in the American Southwest were, in fact, present in Texas.

⁵ Samuel Bryan, "Samuel Bryan Analyzes Increases in Mexican Immigration, 1912," *The Survey*, September 1912.

The presence of a large Mexican population, most of whom were considered “white” due to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), necessitated the creation of racial ideologies that allowed for the subjugation of the Mexican population.⁶ In order to oppress these “white” Mexicans, Anglo colonialist settlers in the American Southwest reconstructed perceptions of race based on white Anglo-Saxon visions of “optimal land use.”⁷ Yvette Saavedra argues that white Anglos used visions of optimal land use—one’s ability to utilize the land to “successfully produce wealth and accumulate goods representative of that wealth”—to dispossess indigenous and Chicano/a peoples of their land and effectively reduce their class status since they deemed people of Mexican descent incapable of optimal land use.⁸ White Americans sought to dispossess Mexican and indigenous peoples of their land since they considered those who previously worked the land incapable of taming these “fugitive landscapes.”⁹ Anglo settlers deemed the agricultural methods employed by the Spanish imperial and Mexican colonial conquests, along with the indigenous population, as insufficient and incompatible with the concept of optimal land use.¹⁰

Once the people of Mexican descent lost their standing in the American classist hierarchy, “the decline in their status left them susceptible to the racial prejudice encountered by their lower-

⁶ Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, U.S. Congress, Senate Executive Documents, 30th Cong., 1st Sess., 1847, no. 52. The Treaty allowed any Mexican citizen, on what was now American territory, to become American citizens. Due to the Naturalization Act of 1790, which restricted citizenship to “any alien, being a free white person” who had been in the U.S. for two years, Mexicans who accepted American citizenship were not considered legally white.

⁷ Yvette J. Saavedra, *Pasadena Before the Roses: Race, Identity, and Land Use in Southern California, 1771-1890* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2018).

⁸ *Ibid.*, 123, 126.

⁹ Samuel Truett, *Fugitive Landscapes: The Forgotten History of the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006). This term was used in relation to the cycles of conquest—first by the Spanish, then the Mexican government, and ultimately by the US—which never fully succeeded.

¹⁰ Imperial power refers to the Spanish imperial conquest of the Americas and colonial conquest refers to the Mexican colonial conquest of northern Mexico and the contemporary American Southwest.

class counterparts.”¹¹ In *Black and Brown: African Americans and the Mexican Revolution*, Gerald Horne argues that, “the intermediate position of blacks in the [Southwest], between the white majority and the other ethnic minority [Mexicans] who were of even lower status than the blacks, is one of the special characteristics of the [Southwest] black experience”; due to the fact that African Americans occupied a higher position in the racial hierarchy in the American Southwest, they faced fewer obstacles of racial prejudice.¹² The construction of racial ideologies focused on the subjugation and oppression of those of Mexican descent, their active participation in winning the West, the suppression of indigenous resistance, and the policing of the southern border of America, enabled African Americans’ to utilize the racial ambiguity in the American Southwest.

In New Mexico, specifically, the simultaneous creation of two contradictory racial identities—Mexican American and African American—accentuated the complexities and contradictions within white supremacy.¹³ Furthermore, the inability of the Mexican and American governments to enforce their rigid racial systems in their countries’ interior and borderlands permitted African Americans’ manipulation of race in the borderlands. The political reach of the respective nation-states’ governmental policies—in this case, the laws set in place for the enforcement of the rigid racial hierarchy—dwindled in the borderlands. Unlike political policies, ideologies—in this case notions of race—transcended borders and boundaries and infiltrated the borderlands of neighboring nation-states. Concurrently, the similarities between the Mexican and American systems of oppression—the

¹¹ Truett, *Fugitive Landscapes*, 142. “Lower-class counterparts” refers to peoples of Mexican descent that tended to be of a darker complexion and could not claim to be racially or politically “white.”

¹² Gerald Horne, *Black and Brown: African Americans and the Mexican Revolution, 1910-1920* (New York: New York University Press, 2005), 51.

¹³ Laura E. Gómez, *Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican American Race* (New York: New York University Press, 2017), 5. For more information on the creation of these racial ideologies, see *Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican American Race*.

devaluation of Mexican and indigenous labor—facilitated African Americans in asserting their claims to whiteness in New Mexico which enabled the destabilization of the foundations of white supremacy. This highlighted the fluidity of race in the borderland regions by emphasizing the flexibility and inclusivity of racial ideologies by providing African Americans a chance to “become white” since “here, ‘white’ usually meant ‘American’ and ‘American’ came to mean ‘white.’”¹⁴ Gerald Horne argues that the borderlands, “contained a diverse ‘racial’ and ethnic mixture, far distant from the ‘black-white’ dyad that defined a good deal of the United States” that offered African Americans opportunities for a better life through their military service in New Mexico.¹⁵

The Negotiation of Racism and Discrimination in New Mexico

In the post-Civil War years, military service provided African Americans a chance of economic stability in a society that did not recognize them as social or political equals. The deep-seated racism in the American South, coupled with America’s desire to “secure the West” engendered the movement of black regiments to the American West and Southwest. The absence of intolerant notions of race in the American Southwest provided African American soldiers a chance for improved economic, political, and social circumstances. Ultimately, the intensity of white supremacy in the American North and South coupled with the need for troops in the West, assisted their relocation to the borderlands where they worked as the defenders of Manifest Destiny and redefined whiteness.

During the years following the end of the Civil War, the army regiments stationed in New Mexico consisted of multiple companies of black soldiers, which included: The Ninth Cavalry Regiments, Twenty-fourth Infantry, Fifty-seventh Infantry, One Hundred Twenty-fifth Infantry, and the Thirty-eighth Infantry

¹⁴ Horne, *Black and Brown*, 50.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 51.

Regiments.¹⁶ These regiments came to be known as the Buffalo Soldiers due to the likeness of their hair to the hair of a buffalo; while problematic, the term “Buffalo Soldier” is speculated to have originated from indigenous groups’ first encounters with black men.¹⁷ In the post-Civil War years, black soldiers constituted approximately one-tenth of the army’s effective strength; there were roughly 3,600 black soldiers in the New Mexico Territory between 1866 and 1900.¹⁸ In late 1917, five years after New Mexico’s annexation into the US as the 47th state, nearly 1,170 black soldiers were stationed at Camp Furlong in New Mexico. In 1920, there were 3,599 black soldiers and one black officer in Columbus, New Mexico alone.¹⁹ These regiments were stationed in New Mexico in order to fight off the raids of the indigenous tribes in the region and “protect” the white settlers from these perceived threats. Their agency in the enforcement of white supremacy throughout the Southwest derived from their active participation in the removal of indigenous people in the borderlands. This simultaneously enabled the African American soldiers to capitalize on notions of whiteness through the subjugation of other “inferior” non-white groups. In *Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican American Race*, Laura Gomez states that in order for non-white groups to solidify their classification as white, they had to “act like whites, especially with respect to [other] non-white groups.”²⁰ This destabilized the racial hierarchy and allowed non-white groups—in this case African

¹⁶ Monroe Billington, *New Mexico's Buffalo Soldiers, 1866-1900* (Colorado: University of Colorado Press, 1991), 4.

¹⁷ Due to the negative racial connotations of the term “Buffalo Soldier,” I will refrain from using the term and will refer to these soldiers as African American soldiers.

¹⁸ Martin Hardwick Hall, “African Americans with Confederate Troops in West Texas and New Mexico,” in *African American History in New Mexico: Portraits from Five Hundred Years*, ed. by Bruce A. Glasrud, 86-100 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013), 86.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 102.

²⁰ Gomez, *Manifest Destinies*, 115.

Americans—to negotiate and transform their status within that hierarchy.²¹

As a means to defend white settlers from the raids of indigenous tribes, African American soldiers utilized and exploited the subjugation of indigenous groups to further their claims to whiteness. Despite the fact that many indigenous tribes resided in the contemporary American Midwest, African American soldiers stationed in the American Southwest were dispatched to combat the raids.²² Nonetheless, the American Southwest experienced raids throughout the nineteenth century. In the summer of 1869, the Ninth Cavalry embarked on a 42 day, 600 mile pursuit of the Kiowa and Comanche who had attacked ranches across Texas and New Mexico.²³ The expedition resulted in the hindrance of further raids; however, they were unsuccessful in their ventures to eliminate the threat of raids completely. In 1875, Lieutenant Colonel William Shafter, a white commander of the Twenty-fourth Infantry, led the Twenty-fourth Infantry, Twenty-fifth Infantry, and 220 officers from the Tenth Cavalry on a six-month mission across the more than 2,500 miles between Texas and New Mexico in order to destroy the Comanchero, Apache, and Comanche camps in the region.²⁴ The *Las Vegas Gazette*, a New Mexico newspaper, published an article in 1877 that detailed the ventures of the Ninth Cavalry in their suppression of Apache raids on the Hot Springs reservation. The article looked favorably upon the Ninth Cavalry and believed “equal success will attend them” in their future endeavors to fight the raids.²⁵

²¹ Ibid.

²² The states in the American Midwest were known as “Indian Territory.” These states include Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, Colorado, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Wyoming.

²³ Quintard Taylor, *In Search of the Racial Frontier: African Americans in the American West, 1528-1990* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1998), 170.

²⁴ Ibid., 171.

²⁵ *Las Vegas Gazette*, May 12, 1877.

In 1885, the citizens of New Mexico took to their local newspaper to petition for the removal of Indian reservations in their territory:

The Chiricahua and Water Spring Apache Indians have once again broke off of their reservations and are again upon the annual raid through the territories of New Mexico and Arizona, carrying death and destruction in their paths, paralyzing the industries of the country, trading the development of its resources...Therefore, the people of New Mexico in mass petition the government of the United States to abolish those reservations so conveniently situated for the purpose of murder, robbery, and rapine, and remove the occupants thereof to Indian Territory or some other safe place which the government may deem proper.²⁶

It is unclear whether the people of New Mexico were successful in their petition. Nevertheless, the newspaper article represented the contempt people of the American Southwest held for indigenous groups. The white settlers fostered detestation for the indigenous groups because of their incessant raids and incapability of optimal land use. This hailed the African American soldiers as the protectors of the American Southwest. While the soldiers faced criticisms discussed later, they also secured a position of relative standing in the racial hierarchy of New Mexico.

African American soldiers in the borderlands negotiated the rigid structure of the racial hierarchy—rooted in concepts of white supremacy—through their military service and interactions with the civilian population in New Mexico. Occasionally, newspapers in New Mexico voiced their support for black soldiers. In 1877, after New Mexico's African American soldiers spent five weeks fending off Indian raids, a local newspaper editor from Mesilla,

²⁶ James K. Metcalf, *Sierra County Advocate*, June 27, 1885.

New Mexico praised the soldiers for having earned “an enviable reputation wherever stationed” because they were under “perfect discipline” and always “quiet, sober, polite, and unobtrusive.”²⁷ This article emphasized New Mexico’s acceptance of African American soldiers, and countered Southern perceptions of African American soldiers which posited that they were unruly and incapable of the discipline necessary of a soldier. After an intense battle between the US army and Victorio, chief of an Apache band, Major Albert Morrow praised his men whom “all behaved gallantly through the entire campaign.”²⁸ He singled out five black soldiers in particular: Sergeants Thomas Fredericks and David Badie, Corporal Charles Parker, and Privates Isaac Holbrook and William Jones.²⁹

In 1881, shortly after their departure from Fort Selden in New Mexico, a Las Cruces newspaper published an article that expressed their disappointment at the withdrawal of the African American troops. The newspaper stated that, “this part of the country has lost rather than gained by the change of troops.”³⁰ Moreover, in 1884, railroad workers went on strike which prompted the US Army to send black soldiers to Raton, New Mexico to work on the railroads alongside the white and Mexican railroad workers who did not participate in the strike. Bruce Glasrud argues that while people along the northern track in New Mexico—mostly Mexican and white Anglo men—regarded the deployment of African Americans as an insult, they “addressed no adverse remarks to the soldiers themselves.”³¹ The absence of outright protest to the employment of African American troops demonstrated that while racism still existed in the Southwest, it

²⁷ “Post Returns, Fort Bayard.” *Mesilla Independent*, August 25, 1877.

²⁸ Billington, *Buffalo Soldiers*, 93.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ *Rio Grande Republican*, October 19, 1881.

³¹ Monroe Billington, “Civilians and Black Soldiers in New Mexico Territory, 1866-1900: A Cross-Cultural Experience,” in *African American History in New Mexico: Portraits from Five Hundred Years*, ed. by Bruce Glasrud, 101-110 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013), 103.

was not volatile; white men could work alongside African American men without conflict. Once the situation in northern New Mexico was contained and the soldiers were ordered back to their post, the city mayor, the chief of police, and other prominent officials and citizens sent letters to Fort Bayard commenting on the “exceptional and highly commendable conduct of the black enlisted men.”³²

After the Civil War, many discharged African American soldiers were denied their pensions; either a portion of the money was withheld, or they were denied their money entirely. In 1891, the *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican* newspaper published an article that detailed the efforts of the Grand Army on behalf of discharged African American soldiers who were denied their pensions.³³ The article states:

The Grand Army is evidently not going to permit the color line to interfere with the flourishing condition of that popular and worthy organization. The honorably discharged colored soldier is entitled to quite as much consideration as his brave white comrade. The recent national encampment did well in settling down that southern proposition to create a new department for ex-soldiers of the colored race.³⁴

Within the discussion of the treatment of African American soldiers, the southern states advocated for the segregation and discrimination of said soldiers, however, those in New Mexico

³² Zenas R. Bliss to Adjutant General, “Letters Sent by Fort Bayard,” September 6, 1894. In *Department of Colorado*. See also, *Ibid.*, 83.

³³ The Grand Army was a fraternal organization composed of veterans of the Union Army, Union Navy, Marines, and the U.S. Revenue Cutter Service who served in the American Civil War. They had a department stationed in New Mexico that attempted to secure pensions on behalf of discharged African American soldiers who were denied their pensions.

³⁴ *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, August 12, 1891.

avored the soldiers and advocated for their equality in treatment and payment. The soldiers' protection of the settlers and the region's racial ambiguity that contested the traditional concepts of white supremacy facilitated the New Mexican settler's supportive attitudes towards African Americans.

In 1894, Colonel Zenas R. Bliss—a white commander of the Twenty-fourth Infantry—commented on the exceptional conduct of his men: “I take pleasure in testifying to the excellence and satisfactory conduct and performance of duty by both officers and enlisted men of my command.”³⁵ In New Mexico, both the community and the superior officer commended African American soldiers for their hard work. During a time when the ideologies of white supremacy deeply entrenched much of the American continent, the lack of objection against the presence and enlistment of black soldiers supports the argument of a loose racial hierarchy in the borderland of New Mexico and its lack of racial prejudice toward African Americans. Throughout the late nineteenth century, eighteen African American soldiers received Congressional Medals of Honor—eleven of whom were from the Ninth Cavalry and eight of whom performed their “deeds of valor” in New Mexico—for their feats of heroism during the Indian Wars, in which they survived some of the most grueling ordeals in the history of these wars.³⁶ In comparison to the treatment of African American soldiers in the South, the treatment of African American soldiers in the Southwest was monumentally different. African American soldiers in the South faced blatant forms of racism and discrimination whereas African American soldiers in the Southwest were treated fairly well. In the late nineteenth century in the southern and northern states, African American soldiers encountered severe manifestations of racism within the army and from the civilians of nearby regions. White officers commanded the majority of all southern black troops and expressed intense distaste towards their assigned posts.³⁷

³⁵ Bliss, “Letters.”

³⁶ Billington, *Buffalo Soldiers*, 108.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, xiv.

The Bedford Gazette, a Pennsylvania newspaper, published an article in 1867 titled “A Talk with a Soldier” in which an unnamed man has a conversation with an unnamed discharged soldier. When they broached the topic of the participation of African American troops in the Civil War, the men stated:

“Did you go to war to free the negroes?”

“No, sir – we went to fight for our flag.”

“Could you have conquered without the aid of negro troops?”

“Do you mean to ask me if white men of the North are inferior to the black men of the South? Do you mean to insult me – to insult the army?”³⁸

The article goes on to state:

“Which did the most service in the army, the niggers or the mules?”

“A mule is worth a dozen niggers, and is good for something now when the war is over, and a nigger is not. The mule can pay his way, the nigger can’t.”³⁹

While Pennsylvania was a part of the Union and fought against the Confederates in the Civil War, those in the North were not ready to accept African American equality. Additionally, those in the North still held contempt for African Americans; they dehumanized and viewed them as a race lower than animals. In the North, African American soldiers confronted harsher and more intense racism and discrimination than those stationed in the Southwest.

Furthermore, in 1876, a South Carolinian newspaper published a detailed testimony of General Ord, a white commanding officer of an African American regiment, in the

³⁸ “A Talk with a Soldier,” *The Bedford Gazette*, April 26, 1867.

³⁹ Ibid.

Yorkville Enquirer, “The testimony of Gen. Ord...as to the character of the colored troops, is understood to express the opinion of army officers almost without exception.”⁴⁰ It continues to contend that, “Gen. Ord stated that the negro troops under his command cannot be depended upon, that their officers are unable to control them, and that white officers dare not leave their wives alone for fear of insult...Nothing could be more acceptable to the officers of the army than to have the colored troops disbanded.”⁴¹ This newspaper article exemplifies the racist sentiments that circulated around the South during the late nineteenth century: African Americans were unfit to be troops and threatened the safety of white women. Focusing on their role as soldiers, the newspaper article emphasizes the belief that African Americans were unruly and could not be taught discipline. Sentiments such as these permeated newspapers in the North and South, however, were less frequent in the American Southwest.

While stationed at Fort Union, New Mexico, the Ninth Cavalry Regiment’s musical band, invited by Santa Fe’s music committee, performed at the city’s 1876 Fourth of July celebration. The band accepted the invitation and, after performing, impressed the residents of Santa Fe. The residents requested the relocation of the band to nearby Fort Marcy in order for them to be more readily available.⁴² While the army did not grant the request, the city’s outright appreciation for the Ninth Cavalry Regiment band reflected the positive relationships between the African American bandsmen and Santa Fe residents. Prior to their performance in Santa Fe, the Ninth Cavalry’s band performed in Las Vegas, New Mexico. The *Las Vegas Gazette* published an article that praised the Ninth Cavalry’s performance: “The band of the Ninth Cavalry (Colored) favored the citizens of Las Vegas with excellent music last Wednesday evening. They were en route from Fort Union to Santa Fe, to participate in the 4th of July celebration in the latter

⁴⁰ *Yorkville Enquirer*, March 2, 1876.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Dale Frederick Giese, *Soldiers at Play: A History of Social Life at Fort Union, New Mexico, 1851–1891* (University of New Mexico, 1969), 38.

city. They are provided with number one instruments and are well trained musicians.”⁴³ Further indications of the positive race relations in New Mexico are represented by the Ninth Cavalry Regiment bands’ performance for President Rutherford B. Hayes during the 1880 presidential reception party as a part of his Great Western Tour. After their participation in the welcoming ceremonies and the reception party itself, the *Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican* newspaper promulgated that the band rendered “beautiful and appropriate selections with taste.”⁴⁴

The Twenty-fourth Infantry’s musical band further contributed to the contestation of the vestiges of white supremacy in New Mexico. Although stationed in Columbus, New Mexico from 1916-1922, the band frequently traveled to perform at different events. Glasrud contends that their performances at integrated events “helped foster harmonious race relations and the spirit of community while providing blacks with a sense of pride and vibrant social life.”⁴⁵ In 1889, a citizen in Silver City, New Mexico expressed his discontent of the employment of the Twenty-fourth Infantry band in political events since he believed that it competed with local bands, however, other residents ignored his complaints and continued to invite the band to perform.⁴⁶ In a newspaper advertisement, the editor described the Twenty-fourth Infantry band as “one of the largest and best in service. The musicians are all colored.”⁴⁷ It can be suggested that the editor simply praised the bandsmen to encourage local resident’s attendance, however, it nonetheless reflected the absence of uncompromising notions of white supremacy within New Mexico. In April 1891, the band marched to and from Deming, New Mexico and performed for President Benjamin Harrison who

⁴³ *Las Vegas Gazette*, July 1876.

⁴⁴ *Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican*, November 1, 1880.

⁴⁵ Billington, “Civilians and Black Soldiers,” 102.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 83. See also, “Complaint of James A. Smith.” *Z. R. Bliss*. January 23, 1889.

⁴⁷ Bliss, “Letters.”

toured the area during his presidential campaign.⁴⁸ While there are no recorded responses by the president about the band's performance, the performance of the band—comprised of African American bandsmen—for the President of the United States is emblematic of the tolerant racial climate of the Southwest.

In June of 1917, the Twenty-fourth Infantry band performed at a dance hosted by the Red Cross to help raise funds to support the war effort for World War I. An article from a local newspaper, the *Columbus Courier*, stated that: “[t]his was the first time this band had been heard for a local affair and the music made by our colored boys was highly enjoyed by all.”⁴⁹ While negative racial ideologies of African Americans pervaded the general public's perceptions of their abilities, the slight praise given to the Twenty-fourth Infantry band demonstrated the consequences of the region's racial ambiguity. The Columbus Theater Orchestra formed in 1920 and consisted of African American servicemen from the Twenty-fourth Infantry Band, as well as members of the Columbus community. This indicates the exceptional racial tolerance of New Mexico; the citizens of New Mexico were willing and unphased by the racial integration of their community band. On September 17, 1920, the Columbus Theater Orchestra played at the rally for the Luna County Democratic Party in New Mexico. While information is unavailable on the Luna County Democratic Party's political stance on issues of race, the performance of the Twenty-fourth Infantry band at such an event symbolizes the loose racial ideologies that surrounded African Americans in the Southwestern borderlands. Regardless of the political stance of the Luna County Democratic political party, the performance of African American bandsmen at an important political event signified, at the very least, the acceptance of racial integration and African Americans, themselves.

In contrast to the welcoming nature of the Luna County Democratic Party, the Democratic parties of the American South

⁴⁸ Glasrud, *African American History in New Mexico: Portraits from Five Hundred Years*, 157.

⁴⁹ *Columbus Courier*, June 22, 1917.

expressed great discontent with the impending equality of African Americans. In 1891, *The Opelousas Courier*, a Louisiana based newspaper, published an article that detailed the laws of segregation passed by Texas and Arkansas which required that there be separate railroad cars for white and black citizens. The newspaper states that, “there seems to be no reason to doubt that all other States of the South will pass a similar law, and that the railroads this side of ‘the line’ will be compelled to provide separate accommodations for the races.”⁵⁰ It continues to state that, “the whites are unanimous and recognize the importance, and, indeed, the necessity for the law... The whites are willing to grant the negro all his legal and political rights, but they will not live on terms of equality with him and desire to be thrown with him as little as possible.”⁵¹ Unlike the Luna Democratic Party who willingly invited African Americans to be a part of their campaign and, more importantly, invited them into a “white” space, the Democratic party of the South actively worked to restrict the equality of African Americans across the United States. The southern Democratic Party’s claim to grant African Americans all of their “legal and political rights” was a mere façade, since they actively segregated and discriminated against African Americans.

From 1916 to 1922, the Twenty-fourth Infantry Band performed at numerous events—both segregated and integrated—and symbolized a racial cooperation and understanding unique to New Mexico during a time shrouded in racial bias. Unfortunately, the increased positive diplomatic relations between the US and Mexico led to the withdrawal of multiple armed forces in New Mexico and, consequently, the Twenty-fourth Infantry band.

Despite their discharge from military service, many of the African American soldiers remained in New Mexico; economic advancements offered by agricultural jobs encouraged the soldiers to remain in the region.⁵² The relatively lax racial climate advanced their access to jobs and improved their economic

⁵⁰ *The Opelousas Courier*, March 7, 1891.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Billington, “Civilians and Black Soldiers,” 84.

stability which encouraged their settlement in New Mexico. Moreover, it provided them with job opportunities in agriculture in a region characterized by a multiracial environment. There were 333 “non-white” stock raisers, herders, and drovers recorded in the 1890 New Mexico census. In 1910, there were six African American stock raisers and twenty-one stock herders and drovers recorded in the US Bureau of the Census.⁵³ Moreover, in 1900 there were fourteen African American owned farms in New Mexico and by 1910, there were forty-eight.⁵⁴ The sheer number of African American owned farms in New Mexico demonstrated the improved quality of life that the Southwest granted African Americans.

While the number of African American owned farms in New Mexico is noteworthy, it is also important to note that this number could be far greater, however, the dry and arid landscape that characterized the geographic climate of New Mexico did not allow for such expansion, thus there were few farms. Unlike in the North and South, where the racial climate did not allow for many African American owned farms, in the American Southwest, it was not the racial climate that did not allow for an increase in African American owned farms, rather, the geographic climate. As a matter of fact, African American’s negotiations of white supremacy within the region resulted in fewer racial tensions and created a space where the soldiers had an impact on the society of New Mexico through their interactions with the civilian population. The positive opinions towards African Americans fostered by the New Mexico residents permitted the soldiers to negotiate notions of white supremacy and the racial ideologies that supported the discrimination of African Americans throughout the US.

Simultaneously during the early twentieth century, many southern white sharecroppers and landowners took advantage of

⁵³ Taylor, *Racial Frontier*, 157. It is important to note that Chinese, Japanese, and Indians were included in these numbers; U.S. Bureau of the Census, “Population of the United States, 1890, Part III” (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1897).

⁵⁴ U.S. Bureau of the Census, “Part III.”

African American agricultural workers. Due to the implementation of the Black Codes in the South, white landowners required African Americans to sign annual labor contracts. If they refused, they were arrested and hired out for work; this modern form of slavery served to reinforce the suppression of African Americans. Moreover, African American agricultural workers gave a portion of their crop to landowners as rent payment. African Americans faced a strict legal system that not only stripped them of most of their fundamental rights, but also restricted the few rights they were given. In addition to threats against their legal equality, African Americans endured threats to their lives. Over four thousand lynchings occurred in the United States from 1882-1968; African Americans accounted for 72.2 percent of the people lynched.⁵⁵ Nearly 79 percent of the lynchings happened in the South, however, the North witnessed and actively participated in lynchings as well.⁵⁶ The prevalence of lynchings in these areas is emblematic of the strict racial hierarchy in place in regions of the American North and South. While lynchings did occur in New Mexico, they predominantly targeted people of Mexican descent, not African Americans.

In the North, “self-righteous white racism, rapacious economic greed, and [a] deep-seated, irrational fear of blackness” permeated the region.⁵⁷ After the demise of chattel slavery, new legal and extralegal barriers to black equality began to take shape in the North through a system of Jim Crow laws.⁵⁸ In Philadelphia alone, African Americans were excluded from concert halls, public transportation, schools, churches, orphanages, and other public places.⁵⁹ Additionally, white Americans who sought employment, forced out skilled African American workers from their jobs.

⁵⁵ “History of Lynchings.” *NAACP*, www.naACP.org/history-of-lynchings/.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Vincent Harding, *There Is a River: The Black Struggle for Freedom in America* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1981), 117.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ “Race-based Legislation in the North.” PBS. Accessed March 24, 2019. <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part4/4p2957.html>.

Vincent Harding, author of *There is a River: The Black Struggle for Freedom in America*, argues “white artisans and laborers usually guarded their realms of work against black applicants with a grim fury.”⁶⁰ Furthermore, African Americans often faced mob violence in the Northern states at the hands of both northern and southern white Americans.⁶¹

In August of 1869, *The Evening Telegraph*, a Pennsylvanian newspaper, reported the lynching of two African American men for “commit[ing] an outrage on a young white woman.”⁶² The report details that a mob of white men surrounded a local jail that held the accused men, locked up the jailor, and kidnapped and murdered the two African American men. While I do not wish to discount the legitimacy of the woman’s report, white men often exploited the accusation of rape to validate the lynching of African American men in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. White Americans perpetuated the belief that African American men threatened white women’s purity and, subsequently, the authority of white men.⁶³ This fear resembled the testimony by General Ord in which he expressed his fear of leaving his wife alone around African American soldiers. Additionally, the mob of white men were neither questioned nor punished for their crimes. Not only were the African American men not granted trial, but the men who murdered them were never brought to justice. The mistreatment and lack of concern for the unlawful murder of the African American men emphasizes the mistreatment of African Americans in the North.

In New York in 1872, Howard, an African American man, was arrested and charged for the murder of a young unnamed

⁶⁰ Harding, *There is a River*, 118. White Southerners travelled into the Northern states to participate in mob violence against free or escaped African Americans.

⁶¹ “Race-based Legislation in the North.” PBS.

⁶² “Particulars of the Lynching of Two Negroes - Horrible Details of the Affair - The Transfer of Bonds,” *The Evening Telegraph*, August 21, 1869.

⁶³ William Carrigan and Clive Webb, “The Lynching of Persons of Mexican Origin or Descent in the United States, 1848 to 1928,” *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 2 (Winter 2003): 411–38.

white girl. Upon his arrest, a mob of white men surrounded the jail and attempted to lynch Howard, however, the Sheriff and military prevented them from doing so. The mob went on a violent rampage and “punish[ed] all of the colored persons they met.”⁶⁴ The mob returned to the jail later that night and a fight broke out between the mob and the military which resulted in the death of two members of the mob. The same article published by *The New York Herald* sympathizes with the mob: “This is a sad story altogether – the death of the child and the subsequent killing of her would-be avengers.”⁶⁵ These instances of mob violence represented the treatment of African Americans in the North; they were subjected to exclusionary and discriminatory laws and confronted the threat of mob violence daily. The sentiments of white superiority continuously disenfranchised the African American population in the southern and northern states. In contrast, in the American Southwest—and New Mexico specifically—African Americans experienced few barriers to racial equality.

In 1859, New Mexico enacted a Slave Code which restricted slave travel and limited the owners’ right to arm slaves. Ironically, New Mexico intended to use this code to preserve indigenous labor as the major group of enslaved workers rather than to oppress African Americans. Furthermore, there is little evidence to suggest that the utilization of the Slave Code actively disenfranchised African Americans. Population statistics from New Mexico in 1860 suggest that they were lax in enforcing the Slave Code:

The federal census of 1860 for New Mexico Territory shows fifty-three black inhabitants and eighty-two mulattoes. A contemporary extract from that census numbered ninety persons as “negros,” and...gives a figure of eighty-five blacks in New Mexico Territory in 1860... Slaves in the territory

⁶⁴ *The New York Herald*, January 3, 1872.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

ranged from less than ten to a high of fifty, with most members of Congress in their speeches estimating the number of slaves in the territory from ten to twenty-five.⁶⁶

Moreover, these figures indicate that most black residents in New Mexico were not slaves, rather, they were free people of color. Unlike the Slave Codes of the North and South, which served as a form of systematic slavery, the Slave Code of New Mexico attested their desire to subdue indigenous populations and their relative indifference with the racial status of African Americans. According to Slave Codes in the American North and South, slaves were not allowed to own property of their own, assemble without the presence of a white person, slaves that lived off the plantation were subjected to special curfews, no testimony could be made by a slave against a white person, and it was illegal to teach a slave to read or write.⁶⁷ The Northern and Southern Slave Codes worked far more towards the legal enslavement of African Americans than those in New Mexico which were hardly enforced. New Mexico's reluctance to fully enforce the Slave Codes—which only operated for three years—represented the malleable racial hierarchy that African American soldiers experienced in the American Southwest.

The racial diversity comprised of African Americans, Anglo Americans, and Mexicans, coupled with the racial ambiguity of the borderlands, constructed a space where African Americans could escape the racial injustice of the American North and South. While the borderlands provided a significantly better experience for African Americans, they were not exempt from white supremacy. Although the civilian populations of New Mexico largely accepted the presence of African American soldiers, they were not boisterous about their support of the troops.

⁶⁶ Glasrud, *African American History*, 48. These figures do not include African American soldiers stationed in the region.

⁶⁷ "Slave Codes." *Ushistory.org*, Independence Hall Association, www.ushistory.org/us/6f.asp.

Additionally, African American soldiers stationed in New Mexico experienced the negative consequences of white supremacy.

Even though the African American soldiers fought off Indian raiders and protected the white settlers, they were still widely considered a peacetime army because the United States was not engaged in international or domestic war. Their designation as a peacetime army caused hostility between the population of New Mexico and the African American soldiers. Even when the army successfully prevented an Indian raid or protected the Anglo population, the settlers' notions of race clouded their judgment; the soldiers were penalized for being a peacetime army and for being black. While some newspapers praised the African American soldiers, some also criticized the soldiers for their perceived insufficiency. The newspapers criticized the soldiers for arriving "too late" or not performing effectively enough, even if they operated as well as the predominantly white regiments.⁶⁸ In 1870, a local newspaper criticized the Ninth Cavalry of African American soldiers for their poor performance when they squashed an Indian raid:

The experiences through which the people of Southern New Mexico have passed during the past two months are sufficient to convince any sane man that the portion of the United States Army known as the Ninth Cavalry is totally unfit to fight Indians. . . . We simply state the concrete fact that negro companies in Southern New Mexico have been whipped every time they have met Indians, except when the instinct of self-preservation has caused them to run away just in time to keep from being whipped.⁶⁹

⁶⁸Glasrud, *African American History*, 78.

⁶⁹"Thirty-Four," (Las Cruces, NM), November 12, 1879. See also, Billington, "Civilians and Black Soldiers," 80.

An unnamed white officer from the Ninth Regiment visited the newspaper editor and reprimanded him for his unfair critique of the Ninth Cavalry's performance, which prompted the editor's admittance that the black soldiers had "done better than we had been led to believe."⁷⁰ An article published a few months later from the same newspaper, however, stated that African American men lacked "the ambition necessary to the making of a good soldier" and were unable to "endure the hardships of mountain warfare."⁷¹ The criticisms given by the newspaper editor reflected the racist notions of the nineteenth century that plagued much of the United States. In 1880, a cavalry detachment encountered a band of Indians who killed two captured privates. The commanding sergeant of the cavalry sent an African American private to the main company with a dispatch about the encounter. During his journey, a white rancher refused to lend the soldier a saddle for his mule. Monroe Billington states that this is an example of the open and latent racism of the late nineteenth century which had "curious ways of expressing itself."⁷² While there was a destabilization in the notions of white superiority in New Mexico, the negative consequences of the perceived racial inferiority of non-white groups persisted.⁷³

The latter portion of the nineteenth century witnessed the end of the Indian Wars that prompted the removal of the African American soldiers from New Mexico. Twelve of New Mexico's sixteen forts were abandoned between 1868 and 1891. In 1894, Fort Marcy was decommissioned and then in 1896, Fort Stanton was deserted. Throughout the years of 1900-1912, only two forts remained in New Mexico, both under the charge of African American soldiers.⁷⁴ The abandonment of these forts indicated an

⁷⁰ Billington, "Civilians and Black Soldiers," 81.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ For more information on African American soldier's resistance to notions of white superiority, see Monroe Billington, *New Mexico's Buffalo Soldiers, 1866-1900* (Colorado: University of Colorado Press, 1991).

⁷⁴ Billington, *Buffalo Soldiers*, 180.

end to the era of the black soldiers in New Mexico. While their presence did not radically alter the social and political climate of the region, the presence of black soldiers in New Mexico debased the constructed ideas of race and white supremacy. The racial ambiguity of New Mexico allowed the soldiers to enter this region and escape the violent forms of racism rampant in the North and South. In addition, it fostered African Americans' ability to claim whiteness, and in turn, the subjugation of other non-white groups which allowed them to benefit from the flexibility and inclusivity of racial ideologies of the Southwest that destabilized the very foundations of white supremacy.

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Author Bio

Jacqulyne Anton is a student at CSUSB. She will graduate in 2019 with a Bachelor's degree in History, with a concentration in US History, as well as with a minor in Political Science. Upon graduation, Jacqulyne intends to pursue a Master's degree in the field of History in order to become a college professor. She plans to continue her education and receive her doctorate in History, as well. Jacqulyne is a feminist activist who is passionate about issues such as gender equality, LGBTQ rights, interpersonal violence, mental health, and racial disparities. During her free time, Jacqulyne can be found traveling around the world with her close friend.



History in the Making

The Origins of Classic Hollywood's Male Gaze

By Federico Guevara

Abstract: Male dominance of Hollywood productions solidified inadvertently in the 1930s through the implementation of Catholic morality on screen, which precipitously narrowed the scope of experiences and desires of women depicted in entertainment media for the ensuing decades. Tracing back the behind-the-scenes origins and development of Hollywood's persistent male gaze, it becomes clear that women in the entertainment industry had some real agency and power in the 1920s, prior to the Catholic Legion of Decency's interference in movie making. These censorship rules, which became known as the Hays Code and were argued to be good for the whole of society, consequently institutionalized a male gaze in films and went on to influence perceptions of women for entire generations—which are being challenged in part by the Me Too Movement today. The chain of events that explains how women on screen in the 1940s and 1950s were pressured to fit narrow standards considered pleasing to men, shows how Hollywood shifted from a once relatively equitable industry in the twenties and thirties, to a male dominated one due in large part to outside religious influences.

The enforcement of early censorship codes happened primarily in response to threats to studios' revenue during the Great Depression. Catholic leaders organized church members to boycott or threaten to boycott motion pictures they deemed scandalous.¹

¹ Thomas Doherty, *Pre-Code Hollywood: Sex, Immorality, and Insurrection in American Cinema 1930-1934*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 321.

They published statements across the country to create a bad reputation for the producers of those movies, and the powerful sensationalist William Randolph Hearst fanned the flames of outrage, as well as alleged conflicts behind the scenes.² This pressure is how religiously-driven censorship rules in the mid-1930s unwittingly narrowed Hollywood studios' broad representation of women and their experiences and expressions, and the Catholic patriarchy drove creative women out of the industry.

Women navigating within the male dominated Hollywood of the forties, including Rita Hayworth and Judy Garland, experienced pressures from studio executives which drastically altered their identity. The subsequent advent of the WWII bombshell sex symbol and then the drastic shift to the housewife as the universal woman in the 1950s, stemmed mostly from the bureaucratized male gaze which cemented itself through the religious interference in movie productions decades prior. The pressures women entertainers faced harmed the actresses, and to a large extent influenced the ideal of womanhood for entire generations after the censorship codes were adopted. As these negative influences are being publicly fought today, the idea that women are incapable of having authority within Hollywood can be entirely shattered, especially with the understanding of how they had their power precipitously stripped in this industry eight decades ago.

The concept of the male gaze in movies at its core describes who has the power to control the camera, to show the audience things from their own perspective. The male gaze is not simply a term to explain how characters who are male within a story consciously view characters who are women from their male character's perspective, the audience is usually well aware of the male lead's particular point of view. Under the context of its influence through the twentieth century in regard to how it shaped

² Gerald Gardner, *The Censorship Papers: Movie Censorship Letters from the Hays Office, 1934 to 1968* (New York: Dodd, Mead Company, 1987), 17.

audiences' expectations and views on women, the male gaze can be simply described as the way in which cinematographers film women.³ It is how producers assume heterosexual audiences want to see women depicted, it is ultimately the power men have to characterize women as a thing to be looked at. Simply put, in the context of film, the male gaze is how women characters are shown to an audience and it tends to be an interpretation of women under a shallow male's opinion.

The male gaze is not necessarily always about women being overtly sexual, it is also the way writers portray women characters' ways of thinking and motives in their stories as well. It is a particular way that women are displayed to viewers through how they behave and what their motivations and goals are. It became the reason that made women characters simple, one-dimensional, and usually naïve in contrast to their male counterparts. It is what makes women in movies not only a thing to be looked at, often a thing to be dominated, but also a thing that rarely speaks. It is crucial to realize the male gaze is men controlling the camera as well as the minds of the women characters they create, and can be done when men are the ones with the power of production. By extension, it is what has kept women in the entertainment industry from having the same wide range of role choices as actors who are men.

The recent outing of abusers in Hollywood might be a sign the trend may change from what was unfortunately the norm, yet the male gaze will still take some time to disappear entirely after its rise to dominance in the middle of the twentieth century worked to reinforce gender roles in mainstream American culture. It is impossible to determine its longer lasting effects on audiences given the power of other entertainment media, and the fact the male gaze has shifted to video games.⁴ Nevertheless, the Me Too

³ Gabriele Griffin, *A Dictionary of Gender Studies* (Oxford University Press, 2017).

⁴ Nicholas Johnson, "Misogyny in Virtual Space: Exploring Representations of Women In Popular Video Games," (MA Thesis, Middle Tennessee State University, 2015).

Movement has extended beyond the glamor and wealth of Hollywood to encourage all women around the globe to speak up about their experiences with sexual misconduct and to bring about real change, as in the case of US gymnastics which had been for too long ignored.⁵ The world outside of Hollywood also grapples with the success of feminism, as some world leaders proudly call themselves feminists, to the horror of contemporary confused and misinformed anti-feminists.⁶

Nearly a hundred years ago, movies which exhibited strong female leads, where women characters were often in the same level of men, included dialogue and images that upset conservative religious groups in the 1920s. In the contemporaneous spirit of suffragists, women characters on film were sharp, talked back, and freed themselves from domineering men, as with 1933's *Female*. This film demonstrated women were tough and in charge, even depicted as CEOs with male subordinates who fall in love with them, and had to be turned away.⁷ These early Classic Hollywood depictions of women showed they knew what they wanted; and while in the dominant culture it was still taboo, women in movies freely expressed their sexuality, including participating in happy polyamorous relationships and lesbian relationships without negative consequences. With women writing, producing, and directing other women, this era had a relatively balanced representation of genders compared to what was to come.

Movies like the original 1933's *Baby Face* would have never made it past the code which was ultimately enforced in 1934. It told the story of a girl pimped by her father in a brothel that housed at least one black woman. Eventually the young girl rebels when she grows up and tells her father that, of all the men she has known, he is the dirtiest. Using her street smarts, she acquires

⁵ Carla Correa, "The #MeToo Moment: For U.S. Gymnasts, Why Did Justice Take So Long?" *New York Times*, January 25, 2018.

⁶ Ishaan Tharoor, "How Anti-feminism is Shaping World Politics." *The Washington Post*, January 30, 2018.

⁷ Jennifer Tang, "The Forgotten Women of Pre-Code: An Annotated Filmography and Bibliography," *Feminist Teacher* 20, no. 3 (2010): 238.

wealth and a position in a bank where she gets revenge on the scoundrels who abused her.⁸ As female sexuality is overtly exploited in this film, portions of the dialogue were censored upon its release by the first production code enforcers in Hollywood. What they failed to note in censoring such films is that films portraying lower class situations worked as social criticisms, condemning a society in which a woman is forced to use her physical charms to survive. Another example of women who asserted themselves was also widely released the year before the Hays Code enforced censorship, 1933's *Queen Christina*. Hollywood's leading lady that year played a lesbian queen and kissed her lover on camera. In the film she also disguises herself as a man, and when she goes down to a bar where men discuss how many lovers the queen had, she reveals herself and says "twelve, just this year."⁹ This shows how women before the Code were independent in contrast to the silent, objectified bombshells of the forties, and the dutiful domesticated housewives of the fifties.

Will H. Hays, a Republican, Presbyterian Church elder, promised in 1930 to regulate the content of movies after he was appointed to lead the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America.¹⁰ Though much maligned by Hollywood executives, Hays essentially worked as a middleman who tried to appease highly organized and influential Catholic groups as well as Protestants, who wanted the imposition of moral order and proposed a Motion Picture Production Code to the major Hollywood studios.¹¹ Though the code itself was written by a Catholic publisher and a Jesuit priest, and then enforced by a prominent Catholic layman appointed by Hays, it would become known as The Hays Code because he was head of the MPPDA association during its start.

Among many acts regulated or forbidden in the list titled "The Production Code," its Catholic authors included: sexual

⁸ Ibid., 238.

⁹ Ibid., 240.

¹⁰ Mark A. Vieira, *Sin in Soft Focus* (New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc. 1999), 7.

¹¹ Ibid., 17.

hygiene, excessive and lustful kissing, interracial relationships, ridicule of clergy, offence to the nation, men and women in a bed together, and childbirth.¹² Women's bodies, and their activities outside of a marriage, were effectively censored through Hays' Code, which impacted all of Hollywood. Many other items on the list could be open to interpretation, but they essentially banned fluid sexuality and relationships, and depictions of nudity or sex of any kind.¹³ Along with the code, church leadership published essays with their reasons for supporting the Code.¹⁴

With heavy regulation and the narrowing of women's personalities and desires on screen, creative women behind the scenes were also discouraged. As a patriarchal institution, the Catholic Church to this day does not approve of women in leadership positions or with any form of power over men in the church.¹⁵ Catholics' sacred scriptures are replete with instances of women explicitly being told to be silent and submit to men.¹⁶ In what can be understood to be an ancient version of the male gaze, the creation story which Catholic censors in the thirties adhered to, had a woman driving humanity towards original sin and away from God and eternal life. There is an unfortunate irony in censors being able to interpret sacred tales with a moral message in the end, and yet not being able to understand how art in their own time could also send an ethical message using metaphors as well. The films made before the Code often critiqued society as a whole, from what some women had to do to survive, to how the downtrodden were exploited. The movies produced in the decade prior to the code did not always encourage what was perceived as immoral behavior, but rather lamented it as an effect of unfair and rigid

¹² Leonard Leff and Jerold L. Simmons, *The Dame in the Kimono: Hollywood, Censorship, and the Production Code* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 286-300.

¹³ Gardner, *Censorship Papers*, 213-214.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 215.

¹⁵ Margery Eagan, "Why don't Women have a Role in the Catholic Church?" *Boston Globe*, August 23, 2018.

¹⁶ Holy Bible, King James Version, Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1984, 1 Timothy 2:12.

social structures, and they were in essence not much different from moralistic tales of old. This was lost to the censors, who could easily understand the morals in Biblical tales despite talking donkeys and men living inside of fish. Despite all the violence and bizarre norms found in these ancient written stories, Catholic men rationalized them as an inspiration and guide for how everyone should live their life, yet movies appeared to be far too complex for them. Not much has changed since then, as opposition by some within the church against this ingrained misogyny results in their excommunication.¹⁷ In 1930s Hollywood, opposition to this worldview came to mean fines and unemployment.

As women's roles became limited and women behind the scenes had no power, by the 1940s men has almost entirely taken over Hollywood's productions. The amalgamation of major studios kept men in charge, who abided by the code, and they depicted women from their point of view only. Actresses were directly told to be thin no matter what it took. They gradually became expected to dumb themselves down relative to previous roles, and become even more white-washed; something which would be more evident later when the Code lost its power, but male domination remained. Compared to the women of the 20s and early 30s, Hollywood's own version of the *separate spheres* manifested itself as a shrinking one for women, while men occupied any sphere they wanted, or rather women had none to fit into. Women characters who were shown to be older and independent on screen were usually the villains, or were for men to tame. Producers who had made their niche portraying powerful women or who felt they had to challenge expectations and continue to make 20s female characters, no longer had a career.

Catholic censors may not have sought this turn of events, yet with limited options and every aspect of the industry under male control, women on screen ironically became overly sexualized objects of desire for men in succeeding years after the

¹⁷ John Hooper, "Catholics Angry as Church Puts Female Ordination On Par with Sex Abuse," *The Guardian*, July 15, 2010.

Code's enforcement waned. The shallow and submissive representations of women in movies in the ensuing decades stemmed from male executives and producers who would fund movies which males wrote and directed, and who they assumed would have large male audiences. Unintended or not, it is from this religiously inspired reform to movie topics and movie making in the mid-thirties that created the intensification of the male gaze in Hollywood.

The changing perception of women caused by the takeover by religious men and the exodus of women from behind the scenes of 1930s Hollywood, was further reinforced by major world events. In World War II, military pilots sought out caricatured images of sexually appealing women to paint on their planes, and adopted the slang word *bombshell* to mean an alluring woman. These idealized bombshells were equated with weapons of mass destruction during this time because of the perceived devastating and explosive power of women's sexuality. Like the atomic bomb, women's sexuality was thought of as a destructive force to be tamed, and later to be domesticated and contained like a sexual pet in the Playboy bunny style. Hollywood's most popular red-headed bombshell at the time was Rita Hayworth, and indeed her sexuality was seen as dangerous; in her movies she could ruin men with it.¹⁸ Hayworth's natural beauty was not potent enough to fit into the parameters established by the male gaze.¹⁹ Her real name, Margarita Carmen Cansino, was changed by Columbia Studios, her famous red hair was naturally black, and her manager pushed her to have extensive plastic surgery to make herself appear even whiter.²⁰

To be sure, there is nothing wrong with a woman having plastic surgery of her own free will, changing her name or hair

¹⁸ Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 2008), 62.

¹⁹ Priscilla Peña Ovalle, *Dance and the Hollywood Latina: Race, Sex, and Stardom* (NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2011), 71.

²⁰ Karen Burroughs Hannsberry, *Femme Noir: Bad Girls of Film* (North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 1998), 253-255.

color, but Hayworth was made to do it by Hollywood studios. That was the problem with the absolute male control of Hollywood after the Hays Code suppressed women's power in the industry. Men now controlled every part of an actress' image, and the actress herself lost agency. Beyond controlling their appearance, male-managed studios controlled their actresses' personal life as well. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Studios forced Judy Garland of *Wizard of Oz* fame, to have multiple abortions in order to maintain her persona of a young girl on camera well into her adulthood.²¹ As a teenager, she was given drugs by the male heads of the studio to force her to keep up with her demanding schedule, something she would reveal later in her life.²² Her addiction to these very drugs is what eventually killed her.

Displaying intelligence on or off the screen was not appreciated or respected, as Hedy Lamarr found out in the forties. While being considered one of the most beautiful women in the world, in her personal life the leading lady devoted her time to being an inventor, and she developed technology for a secret communication system that was so advanced for its time that it took decades to develop and put to use.²³ It is still being used today by Navy satellite systems and Bluetooth communications. Today the actress' inventions are worth billions, but Lamarr was only encouraged to act docily and be in front of a camera; she never received compensation for her work, as her patent allegedly expired before anyone reported having put her ideas to use. It was not until the 1990s that scientific organizations like the Electronic Frontier Foundation and others began to recognize and award her posthumously.²⁴

²¹ Marcie Bianco, "Classic Hollywood's Secret: Studios Wanted Their Stars to Have Abortions," *Vanity Fair*. July 15, 2016.

²² Richard A. Lertzman, *The Life and Times of Mickey Rooney* (New York: Gallery Books, 2015), 155.

²³ Ruth Barton, *Hedy Lamarr: The Most Beautiful Woman in Film* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2010), 122.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 226.

In 1950s Hollywood, white women were preferred above any ethnicity to the point that white women were expected to be even whiter than they already were. Marilyn Monroe, the epitome of the blond bombshell, was not a real blond. She also had plastic surgeries, among them one to make her nose smaller, and changed what was thought of as her bland, real name, at the behest of male managers.²⁵ Americans putting white women on a pedestal was rooted in the spread of irrational fears Southerners had about freed black males after the Civil War, fears also shown in the earliest films ever made, as with the ravaging brutes in *Birth of a Nation*. Under the male gaze, Hollywood actresses like Monroe also continuously played dumb helpless sexual objects, who either needed men to guide them or were a dangerous temptation for husbands.

Catholic groups may not have deliberately meant for any of this to happen. Their censorship rules might not have had the goal of turning women solely into objects of desire for men. Yet by bringing their personal morality into the film industry they forged a path that led to the subjugation of creative women entertainers and their loss of power. This had a lasting effect on media for at least two decades before the radical sixties. They took away the power women producers had to depict women like themselves in positions of power, and as women in control of their sexuality.

Other significant world events following WWII further solidified the male gaze in the media, though the push to re-domesticate women in the decade of the 1950s shifted their depictions from sexual objects to conservative housewives. The Cold War saw the United States position itself as the side that championed democracy and freedom—without a sense of irony and by ignoring millions of its minoritized and disenfranchised citizens—and this was expressed in the form of consumerism.²⁶ Recurring advertisements geared towards women reminded them they belonged in their kitchen and raising children. Advertisers fed

²⁵ Paul Donnelley, *Marilyn Monroe* (London: Pocket Essentials, 2000), 11.

²⁶ May, *Homeward Bound*, 162.

into the hegemonic patriarchy of suburbia, and television made it all the easier. Television and the expansion of mass media also made the Hays Code more difficult to enforce, and by the end of the fifties it began to lose its power, being replaced in the sixties with today's voluntary movie rating system from the Motion Picture Association of America.²⁷

For the sake of fairness, some arguments could be looked at which challenge the notion of the intensification of the Hollywood male gaze in the decades following the Hays Code. An excellent example may be the enormously popular TV show of the 1950s, *I Love Lucy*, which seemed to defy domesticity on a weekly basis for all of suburban America who watched television. In every episode, Lucy made attempts at some semblance of independence, as she defied her husband and secretly ventured into the working world. The truth is that Lucy always ended up crying at the end of every such episode and realized her place was in the kitchen. Through comedy she portrayed *the problem that has no name*, the frustrations of suburban housewives of post-WWII middle class America. Yet the moral of the show was that chaos ensued once a housewife veered too far from her traditional sphere and gender role.

Furthermore, and most importantly, Lucy did it for laughs and all within the code. She disobeyed her husband, and went into the workforce for comedy's sake, and it was all filmed by following the code which among other things kept their beds separate. She was silly for dreaming or attempting to do anything outside of the domestic sphere, and it always backfired on her when she tried. Additionally, Lucy had a level of personal freedom due to her being white, relatively well-off, thin, and could have easily been regarded as a breathtaking beauty of her time even when she chose to be a clown. It must be noted as well that Lucy undermined the authority of a husband who was a minority. Ricky was not a white American, and very often his Spanish dialogue was a joke itself. It is not too far-fetched of an assumption to

²⁷ Doherty, *Pre-Code Hollywood*, 345.

realize a real-life Lucy would have never stood up to her husband had he been a John Wayne, and him merely speaking his English language would not have been treated as a joke.

A notable exception that may run counter to the argument that beautiful women needed to fit a very narrow standard which included being white, is the fame achieved by Lena Horne, who was the first African American actress to sign a contract with MGM in 1942.²⁸ It must be noted however, Horne had a very short film career and was often passed over for roles that were given to white actresses. What producers deemed acceptable about her was that she was extremely thin, had straightened hair, a very small nose, and very light skin because she was multiracial. Both of her parents and all four of her grandparents were also light-skinned and multiracial. She was just acceptable enough in the North, but in the South her parts were easily cut out of movies because she did not have starring roles in major films, and was always some club performer for white folks in the movies in which she appeared. Most importantly, the Hays Code forbid interracial relationships, and being that all leading men were white, she was never allowed to be a leading lady because of this code.²⁹

Another counter argument could dispute the fact that women are the only ones in front of the camera who are faced with prevailing pressures to fit into narrow expectations of beauty. Perhaps male actors also feel pressures to fulfill some physical expectations on the big screen. To the extent that they must not be feminine, yes, that may be the case. Yet that is generally where the pressure stops for men, and of course it is more revealing of prevailing gendered prejudices than of anything else. Yes, men who freely choose to be in action movies may have to work hard to stay in excellent shape; but by comparison to women, they can have longer careers once they are completely out of shape or bald, and still be revered and awarded for their skills and craft, usually

²⁸ Rudolph P. Byrd, *Generations in Black and White* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1993), 88.

²⁹ Megan E. Williams, "Lena Not the Only One," *American Studies* 51, no. 2 (Summer 2010): 59.

portraying more complex characters as well. The hyper violent masculine superstar, Sylvester Stallone, only had plastic surgery by choice and because of an injury he sustained the day of his birth. He gained weight for a role in a single movie, *Cop Land*, after decades of cementing his look as an incredibly athletic superhuman, and still he was a hero in that story. By contrast, when the personified ideal of a Hollywood beauty like Charlize Theron gains weight and makes herself look plain, it is only to play a serial killer, as in *Monster*. When it comes to women characters, being ugly or simply average means being a villain; or at the very least it means being the lonely girl in school who does not receive the attention of a man.

The consequence of having men decide how everyone looks at women is that it robs women of their power to identify and present themselves as they see fit, in accordance with their own varied life experiences and their own desires. The lasting impact of Hays' Code is that intentionally or not, it reinforced the ideals of a patriarchal society. The assumption made by male movie producers after the code—that most men preferred to gawk at beautiful women—may have been based on primal instincts going back before the invention of movies and they had profits in mind. Yet the figurative shrinking of women's separate sphere on camera limited the role models that younger generations were exposed to and could emulate. Young girls may not become what they cannot see, and our generation seems to be more aware of that, as more women are shown on camera in recent decades to be heroes or to be as complex as men, and not always overtly sexualized. Movies with nontraditional depictions of women create huge profits for studios, and there is a clear reversal to the repression begun in the middle 1930s. Religious moral tales were understood by proponents of the censorship code, but movies which critiqued society's ills by showing decadence and corruption were not given the same credit, not interpreted as they should have been, and misunderstood. The Code was an outside influence that led to an absolute patriarchal Hollywood, which today is being challenged from the inside, especially with the Me Too Movement. Because of

Classic Hollywood's Male Gaze

the current movement encouraging and empowering actresses, it is likely the male dominance of Hollywood will continue to shift towards an overdue balanced environment, and productions will reflect this.

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Author Bio

Federico Guevara is an undergraduate History major at CSUSB, and his primary academic focus is American history through the Cold War. He has been a Supplemental Instruction leader for various World History courses at CSUSB, and holds several Associate's degrees in the Social Sciences. After graduating, he hopes to teach history while also in pursuit of a Master's degree and PhD in History. He would like to thank the journal editors for their excellent work, the faculty of the CSUSB History Department, and his family for their encouragement.



History in the Making

Hyperdemocracy: Euroscepticism and Elections in the United Kingdom

By Edward Reminiskey

Abstract: In the early hours of June 24th, 2016, the results of a referendum asking the United Kingdom to determine its membership status in the European Union were made official. Decided by a slim majority, the decision was made by the electorate to leave the European Union. To characterize this moment as being uncertain would be an understatement. It stood as a major turning point in twenty-first century politics, and presents an opportunity to explore the recent phenomenon affecting liberal democracy. "Brexit," as it would be referred to, instigated scholars to ask important questions about the contemporary state of liberal democracy. What happens when a liberal democracy undermines itself? How can scholars characterize the latest trends in liberal democracy? This paper attempts to answer these types of questions by viewing recent developments in the United Kingdom, utilizing the lens of hyperdemocracy theory, and applying it to elections and political media analysis.

Initial scholarly work done on hyperdemocracy is significant, but application of such an underdeveloped theory requires additional discussion. In continuing that discussion, this paper will review the precise definition of hyperdemocracy and demonstrate how it is applicable to a specific event like the Brexit referendum. The

reason hyperdemocracy can be used to analyze Brexit, has much to do with the politics leading to the 2016 vote. While the politics are important, this paper additionally focuses on the behavior of the traditional media in the referendum campaign, supporting the main argument that hyperdemocracy was encouraged by the traditional media. Instead of turning to traditional media, the British people took advantage of the social media phenomenon, an imperative of hyperdemocracy and the information age.

Hyperdemocracy

The term hyperdemocracy has appeared in the lexicon of political science at various instances. In *Hyperdemocracy*, written by political theorist Stephen Welch, he discusses in his prelude that the term hyperdemocracy has only been used in specific frameworks, or has been tossed around without much care on the internet.¹ Most notably, the term was used by Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset in his book, *Revolt of the Masses*, to describe a state where the “masses” obtain political power by undermining the rule of law and exerting its will through “material pressure.” Welch and his seemingly overlooked body of work, offers an important discussion on the political-theoretical definition of hyperdemocracy that transcends many preceding explanations.²

As the prefix would suggest, a literal definition of hyperdemocracy may cause one to assume that it is simply an excess of democratic zeal. Welch contends that while being important in medical terminology, hyper- cannot be applied in an explanation of democracy.³ Welch argues that democracy cannot

¹ Stephen Welch, *Hyperdemocracy* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013), 1.

² I came across this theory in my research endeavors. I was trying to articulate a term to describe the state of politics that preceded Brexit. With accurate precision, Welch theorizes the conditions that arguably made Brexit, as well as other seismic events like the Trump presidency, possible. His conclusions from the time *Hyperdemocracy* was published coincidentally aligned with my preconceived thoughts on what is being discussed here and in my other research.

³ Welch, *Hyperdemocracy*, 2.

be *precisely* measured in terms of numerical value or quantity. For example, doctors can measure the severity of hyperthermia by taking a patient's temperature. However, a doctor cannot use those numbers alone to diagnose; further examination of reliable symptomatic indicators is needed to treat the patient.

Hyperdemocracy, as a theoretical framework, uses this kind of qualitative and theoretical analysis; it looks at the symptoms beyond the numbers. It is important to note that this is not to dismiss the quantitative work of political scientists. However, for the purposes of this paper, hyperdemocracy as a theory is being used to historically analyze a specific moment in British politics.

Welch ultimately concludes that the best definition of hyperdemocracy can simply be described as the *intensification* of democracy.⁴ But what does this intensification *mean*? The kind of pluralism that should exist in a healthy democratic system bleeds uncontrollably into all levels of society, from the actual political arena into the media, workplace, schools, families, and so on. Welch makes the important statement that the "constitutive" elements that make up democracy are democratized themselves.⁵ Thus, there is an undermining effect, where the intensification of democracy makes democracy a less viable system of governance.

There is much to add to Welch's theory. Borrowing from another hyper-ism prominent in social and cultural criticism, hyperdemocracy may additionally be characterized by the same inversion or distortion found in hypermodernity. Hypermodernity, as put best by French social theorist Gilles Lipovetsky, is the phase succeeding postmodernism, and is defined by hyperconsumption and hypermodern individuals wherein a society's quick progression becomes the norm, and the sense of time becomes alien. His ideas on hypermodernity were originally applied to consumerist societies, but are easily relatable to Welch's theory of hyperdemocracy:

⁴ Ibid., 3.

⁵ Ibid., 4.

The first version of modernity was extreme in ideological and political terms; the new modernity is extreme in a way that goes beyond the political – extreme in terms of technologies, media, economics, town planning, consumption, and individual pathology. Pretty much everywhere, hyperbolic and sub-political processes now comprise the new face of liberal democracies. Not everything is dancing to the tune of excess, but nothing is safe, one way or another, from the logic of the extreme.⁶

Nevertheless, hypermodernity is not completely divorced from the political discussion on hyperdemocracy. The bleeding effect described by Welch is not without merit; it is grounded in larger themes about technological and societal progress. Research on this topic synthesizes these concepts and theories and applies them to a specific and unique moment in British politics, beginning an important discussion on the most compelling features that define twenty-first-century liberal democracy.

A Summary of Euroscepticism in British Elections

While hyperdemocracy does not necessarily translate into “more elections,” a thorough analysis of the EU issue cannot ignore the electoral history of the United Kingdom that preceded Brexit. While the referendum campaign officially started on April 15, 2016, the demand for a referendum and the issue itself predates this by many years. The issue did not come to the forefront electorally until after the 2008 global financial crisis. However, it would be a mistake to suggest that the issue originated in the global financial crisis. Ironically, the argument to leave

⁶ Gilles Lipovetsky, “Time Against Time, or The Hypermodern Society,” in *Supplanting the Postmodern: An Anthology of Writings on the Arts and Culture of the Early 21st Century*, eds. David Rudrum and Nicholas Stavris, 156-171 (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015).

conceivably began immediately after the referendum campaign to join the EU in 1973. Neither can one leave out Margaret Thatcher's departure from British politics. Her decision to step down from her tenure as leader of the Conservatives in the early 1990s was largely due to her opposition of any further European integration. Her own party was committed to supporting the newly ratified Treaty of Maastricht, which laid the foundation for a political and monetary union.⁷ When the United Kingdom attempted to join the Exchange Rate Mechanism, a currency valuation scheme for European currencies wishing to join the Euro, it quickly had to retract its ambition to join the common currency in the fiasco known as Black Wednesday. Nevertheless, the European issue would never reach the levels of intensity it has seen in the twenty-first century. Therefore, the following section will summarize the key people and events that encouraged the British government to throw the European issue to the public in a referendum, thus initiating the conditions necessary for hyperdemocracy.

The Treaty of Lisbon ratified in 2009 is perhaps the key turning point in the story of how the United Kingdom came to leave the EU. The most powerful harbingers of Euroscepticism came from the Conservatives, who at this time were the national opposition in the UK Parliament, but had gained a plurality of seats from the United Kingdom in the 2009 European Parliament elections. In response to the ongoing negotiation and ratification of Lisbon by the majority Labour government headed by Prime Minister Gordon Brown, the Conservatives significantly changed their tune regarding European politics. Due to their dissatisfaction with provisions in the Treaty of Lisbon, the Conservatives left the major center-right European People's Party, and formed their own party known as the Alliance of European Conservatives and Reformists.⁸ This was party leader David Cameron's appeasement to Eurosceptics in his own party, and was used to temporarily quell

⁷ Frederick Pajnton, "It Is Time to Go," *Time* 136, no. 24 (1990): 60-65.

⁸ "Conservative MEPs Form New Group," *BBC News*, last modified June 22, 2009, accessnews.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/8112581.stm.

the rise of the UK Independence Party led by Nigel Farage, a populist juggernaut of anti-EU politics:

We believe Britain's interests are best served by membership of a European Union that is an association of its Member States. We will never allow Britain to slide into a federal Europe. Labour's ratification of the Lisbon Treaty without the consent of the British people has been a betrayal of this country's democratic traditions. In government, we will put in place a number of measures to make sure this shameful episode can never happen again.⁹

The UK Independence Party (UKIP) is a "rejectionist-Eurosceptic" party, as opposed to, generally speaking, "reformist-Eurosceptic" Conservatives, who advocate for the complete withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the EU.¹⁰ The party began in the 1990s in response to the passage of the Treaty of Maastricht. The party was a small, irrelevant force until the 2000s, when Conservatives and Labour both alienated their traditional bases. Growth of a democratic deficit and low turnout in European elections in addition to dissatisfaction with national politics led to higher

⁹ "Invitation to Join the Government of Britain: The Conservative Manifesto," *Conservative Party*, April 2010, 113.

¹⁰ Euroscepticism is a difficult term to properly define because it includes a broad range of perspectives on European integration. It could simply mean skepticism of European institutions, but can also include criticism or reformism. Skepticism or criticism doesn't necessarily mean opposition to the EU either. Perspectives can be from the right or the left of the political spectrum. Some Eurosceptics might prioritize criticizing specific problems with the EU over others, such as strong desires for economic cooperation and trade but limits on migration and immigration. Some want reform, while others want disposal of the entire project. UKIP is an outright rejectionist political force, while the Conservatives are nuanced and more willing to negotiate membership terms with the EU.

returns for UKIP.¹¹ UKIP placed second to the Conservatives in the 2009 European Parliament elections. The man that arguably defined the party and led it to national prominence, Nigel Farage, shifted the party strategy from policy advocacy to heavy competition for seats in national and local elections.¹² The key moment in this strategy came in 2013, when UKIP had a net gain of 139 seats in local councils.¹³ Many saw this as a form of backlash from mainly Conservative voters, who were disillusioned by Prime Minister David Cameron and his coalition government with Nick Clegg and the Liberal Democrats. David Cameron's earlier attempts to regain his base, which were those voters more sensitive to migration issues and the European Union, had failed spectacularly. 2013 was incredibly important for the push of a referendum, because it forced David Cameron to cater to his party's Members of Parliament, whose seats were threatened by diminishing support and the increased vote returns for UKIP. The trend of voter defections would continue into 2014, when elections to the European Parliament would be held.

The 2014 European Parliament elections were a significant turning point in British and European politics. Firstly, political parties viewed them as a prelude to what was going to come in the 2015 general election, where any number of outcomes could take place. The coalition government between the Conservatives and

¹¹ Robert Ford, Matthew J. Goodwin, and David Cutts. "Strategic Eurosceptics and Polite Xenophobes: Support for the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) in the 2009 European Parliament Elections." *European Journal of Political Research* 51, no. 2 (2012): 208.

¹² Robert Ford and Matthew Goodwin, *Revolt on the Right: Explaining Support for the Radical Right in Britain* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 241-242.

¹³ Christopher Hope, "Local elections 2013: Nigel Farage's Ukip surges to best ever showing, winning 150 seats," *The Daily Telegraph*, last modified May 3, 2013, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10036463/Local-elections-2013-Nigel-Farages-Ukip-surges-to-best-ever-showing-winning-150-seats.html>

Liberal Democrats was incredibly unpopular.¹⁴ The European Parliament elections traditionally served as opportunities for parties to express policy positions not just on the EU, but also on domestic issues. The BBC and LBC debates that took place between UKIP leader Nigel Farage and Deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg, were quite symbolic and representative of this phenomenon. It must be first stated that these debates were far removed from “normal,” the debates were not about who should represent the United Kingdom in the European Parliament, rather they took the role of determining if the country should be in the EU at all.¹⁵ This was a profound moment in British politics, and supports the point about inversion within the theory of hyperdemocracy. Secondly, the 2014 elections resulted in UKIP winning a plurality of seats, the first party to do so since Labour in the early twentieth century. Research has shown that this election was ripe for “strategic voting.”¹⁶

Using the two individuals who participated in the aforementioned debates helps shed light on why this was the case. Farage, a supposed political outsider due to his inability to be elected to Westminster, embodied the kind of monkey wrench that many disaffected members of the British electorate craved. They did not need to agree with all he said, his command of populist rhetoric, combined with his uncensored and charismatic personality, were what they craved. European elections, marred by consistently low turnout in the twenty-first century, bestowed an opportunity for the electorate to vote for a party who could shake the political system in Brussels, while keeping domestic politics relatively untouched. UKIP held no seats in Westminster until several defections later that year. Clegg had much more on the

¹⁴ David Cutts and Andrew Russell, “From Coalition to Catastrophe: The Electoral Meltdown of the Liberal Democrats,” *Parliamentary Affairs* 68, no. 1 (2015): 70–87.

¹⁵ It should also be noted that UKIP and other rejectionist-Eurosceptics in the European Parliament are quite fascinating because they are elected to sit in the very institution they want to disrupt, leave, or dismantle entirely.

¹⁶ Ford, Goodwin, and Cutts. “Strategic Eurosceptics,” 208.

line, not only defending the United Kingdom's membership in the EU, but also his party's electability in the general elections of the following year. The amount of political capital he had to lose far exceeded the amount Farage had at all. Thus, he could not make any serious mistakes. Unfortunately for him, by the end of the two debates Farage appeared to hold a better position, and one could easily predict the severity of the Liberal Democrats' losses, both in the 2014 European Parliament election and in the 2015 general election.¹⁷ The performance of both candidates in these debates foreshadowed the electoral picture that would emerge in British politics over the next few years. The most significant development from this election is that all over Europe, many Eurosceptic parties' vote shares considerably increased.

The 2015 general election displayed a continuation of the trends that had been sweeping British politics. The Conservatives were expected to lose to Labour according to the polls, but sometimes the pollsters do not have a finger on the pulse of the election. Similar to the debates from 2014, the persona of the leaders meant more than their positions. Nigel Farage paid attention to leadership favorability ratings, and quite brilliantly hit all the right marks in describing the negative leadership qualities of David Cameron, Nick Clegg, and Ed Miliband. According to Farage, these men embodied the Blairite politicking of New Labour, focusing on and representing the young, university educated, middle class city dwellers. Nigel Farage capitalized on these characteristics and spoke to the left-behind, or old Labour, which represented the older, white working-class who were already Eurosceptic, and had strong feelings about immigration, free trade agreements and traditional British culture. However, due to the election system and constituency boundaries, UKIP did not manage to win any new seats despite having double digit support nationwide. Additionally, the Conservatives won because UKIP was not just eating into their vote share, but UKIP also ate slightly

¹⁷ Typically, junior coalition partners suffer heavy losses in elections after entering government. From the BBC debate, Farage won according to a YouGov poll with 57%. See results: <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-26737934>

into the vote share of people who traditionally voted Labour. The Conservatives emerged from this election with a majority government and an opportunity to conduct the referendum on European Union membership that David Cameron had promised at his famous Bloomberg speech in 2013.¹⁸

The Brexit referendum has been characterized as the third gamble Prime Minister David Cameron made in his string of gambles with referenda.¹⁹ He had emerged politically victorious by the end of his coalition government with the Liberal Democrats. Two referendums, the 2011 Alternative Vote Referendum and the 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum, had both worked to his favor by failing to pass.²⁰ Cameron was going to use the momentum he had gained from the referendums, and the 2015 general election to make the case for supporting the United Kingdom remaining in the EU. Unfortunately for him, this momentum did not match the intensity of the EU issue that predated his tenure as leader of the Conservatives and his recent electoral victories.

Welch focuses on the cognitive dimension of democracy to explain hyperdemocracy. Brexit did not happen in a vacuum. There were several factors driving the vote to leave.²¹ The zeitgeist of the moment pointed toward a result that directed the United Kingdom to leave the EU. Immigration and issues of sovereignty defined the campaign. For example, the concurrent European Migrant-Refugee Crisis only *intensified* the already divisive immigration issue. Even though the United Kingdom was not part

¹⁸ David Cameron, "EU speech at Bloomberg," *Government of the United Kingdom* (speech, Prime Minister's Office, 2013).

<https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/eu-speech-at-bloomberg>.

¹⁹ Harold D. Clarke, Matthew J. Goodwin, and Paul Whiteley. *Brexit: Why Britain Voted to Leave the European Union*, (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 2-3.

²⁰ The Alternative Vote referendum was conducted as part of the agreement made for the coalition government with the Liberal Democrats. It would change the electoral system for electing Parliament from the first-past-the-post system to an instant-runoff system.

²¹ Clarke, Goodwin, and Whiteley, *Brexit*, 153-170.

of the Schengen Area, media portrayal of migrants and refugees had an impact on the campaign. As an institution founded on the freedom of movement, the EU's perceived inability to control external borders was attacked by the Leave campaign. Any observer of the campaign cannot forget the controversial 'Breaking Point' poster launched by UKIP.²²

Adding more analysis to the cognitive element promoted by Welch, the Brexit referendum occurred at such a specific moment in British politics and history of Europe, that it is quite conceivable that the concentration and *meshing* of the conversation in elections between 2014 and 2016 engendered an eternal campaign. A campaign that never ends with complex baggage unable to be dropped by a single vote or referendum. There is not much tangible evidence to support this claim, but theoretically in a hyperdemocracy the political campaign never ends, nor does the intensity or risk. Perhaps this might be due to the media's role as a permanent institution of democracy, and that only in a hyperdemocracy would such an eternal campaign exist.

The Media: A New Constituency?

Inversion and distortion are significant traits of hyperdemocracy. Welch refers to several areas of liberal democracy where this appears to be the case. The most notable feature of a healthy liberal democracy is an objective and honest media culture.²³ There appears to be a crisis of objectivity in the British media. Welch used the controversy of the MMR vaccine in the 1990s to support his case.²⁴ The intersection of science, politics, and media stimulated a hyperdemocratic moment. The media's involvement in the controversy chipped away not only at their own objectivity,

²² Josh Lowe, "Brexit: UKIP Launches 'Breaking Point' Immigration Poster," *Newsweek*, last modified June 16, 2016.

²³ Pippa Norris, *A Virtuous Circle: Political Communications in Postindustrial Societies* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 22-35.

²⁴ Welch, *Hyperdemocracy*, 124-130.

but also the objectivity of medical science. The distortion from this controversy came from the inability to distinguish between honestly reported facts and mere sensationalism. Journalists do not all have the privilege of being qualified judges of scientific fact. Conversely, one scientist or even a tiny cabal of scientists, are not the sole arbiters of truth. The politicization of science is a key indicator of hyperdemocracy. The role the media played in the referendum campaign on EU membership mimicked the role it played in the interference of scientific inquiry.

The media played a large role in the Brexit referendum. It is quite common, but problematic in terms of objectivity, for editorial boards of newspapers and publications to endorse politicians or political parties in elections. This trend took on a unique role in the 2016 referendum where endorsement was for bigger and riskier implications, namely the fate of the country itself. Statements such as, “The Guardian will make no apology, between now and 23 June, for making the case for Britain in Europe as clearly, as honestly and as insistently as possible,”²⁵ and, “In supporting a vote to leave, we [The Daily Telegraph] are not harking back to a Britannic golden age lost in the mists of time but looking forward to a new beginning for our country. We are told it is a choice between fear and hope. If that is the case, then we choose hope,”²⁶ serve as examples of the media bias taking place at the time.

Media outlets for either side of the referendum campaign sought to persuade as many as they could. Instead of endorsing a party in a “normal” election, the media endorsed a specific action or inaction with large consequences to follow, regardless of the outcome. While the referendum on EU membership was

²⁵ “The Guardian view on the EU debate: David Cameron makes a serious case,” *The Guardian*, last modified May 9, 2016.

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/may/09/the-guardian-view-on-the-eu-debate-david-cameron-makes-a-serious-case>

²⁶ “Vote leave to benefit from a world of opportunity,” *The Daily Telegraph*, last modified June 20, 2016. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/opinion/2016/06/20/vote-leave-to-benefit-from-a-world-of-opportunity/>

unbinding, it answered an important question about the British electorate's willingness to divorce from the EU. The media participated in the referendum campaign not as objective correspondents, but as disguised intermediaries of divergent opinions. In this respect, the media mirrored and fed into the divided electorate. The democratic process infiltrated the British media and *intensified* the referendum campaign.²⁷

Social Media and Hyperdemocracy

It would be a disservice to the theory of hyperdemocracy to not include analysis of the social media phenomenon. While it might be useful in political science-oriented research to conduct content analysis or surveys on internet behaviors, this research explores the implications of social media. The internet is a treasure trove of evidence for historians and social scientists alike. However, instead of finding the hypothetical needle(s) in the haystack that would provide insight on the specific issue in this paper, it is more conducive to analyze the meaning of the haystack itself.

In many respects, social media has replaced much of the political discussion that used to take place in "traditional forums." This has occurred in such a significant manner that it has almost become the new norm in political communication. Social media allows for the average person with an internet connection, almost always within arms-reach with the prevalence of cellphones, to be instantly and simultaneously informed at the same time as the rest of their fellow citizens about anything of interest or concern. Manuel Castells theorized this new information age with networks, stating that "a network-based social structure is a highly dynamic, open system, susceptible to innovating without threatening its balance. Networks are appropriate instruments... for a polity geared

²⁷ Banks, businesses, international organizations, public figures, etc. joined in on the endorsement front of the campaign – further intensifying the campaign and heightening the *risk* factor. Boris Johnson dubbed the scaremongering and large swath of endorsements on the 'Remain' side as "Project Fear," borrowing the term from the 2014 Scottish independence referendum campaign.

toward the instant processing of new values and public moods.”²⁸ Social media matured in the mid-2010s, and took on a life of its own. The Brexit referendum had a serious social media element as nearly anyone could disseminate their own political opinions and reactions to the day-to-day politics of the campaign. The concept of “following” someone on a social media platform was built into a stream of information customized to confirm each person’s own biases.²⁹ An individual on these platforms is instantaneously and *intensely* informed about politics. As a consequence, social media allows a person to perceive themselves as empowered within the democratic process.

Conclusion

This paper has applied a specific theory about the state of liberal democracy to a specific instance in British political history. While the theory of hyperdemocracy can be applied in practical forms, such as in the study of quick and successive elections or pressure from radical movements like UKIP on established political parties. In this environment of political accelerationism, it has become apparent that the traditional media establishment has done their best to polarize themselves and mirror the divided electorate they fail to objectively inform. The collapse in trust of traditional media allowed the vacuum to be filled by social media, where reliable reporting is hard to come by as tailored information is rapidly presented and recycled by users, and political identities can easily be advertised.

²⁸ Manuel Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society*, 2nd ed. (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1996).

²⁹ Perhaps the darker side of social media revealed after Brexit was the unveiling of foreign interference on social media platforms. Bots and hackers can manipulate the algorithmic inner workings of a social media platform to commit malicious, opinion-modifying campaigns. Whether or not these “troll” campaigns are effective is not the issue, but the mere fact that these platforms are being targeted by foreign entities poses a challenge for governments and tech companies.

However, where does liberal democracy in the United Kingdom go from here? The British government thus far has proved incapable of delivering a promise that it did not support itself, but half its voting population did. The 2017 general election saw the Conservatives and the fresh leadership of Theresa May lose a majority government, despite explicitly promising to implement Brexit. The inclusion of the so-called “Irish backstop,” or an indefinite soft border between Northern Ireland and Ireland, has particularly complicated the negotiations to leave. A deal that can satisfy a majority in Parliament and be received well among the public remains to be seen. The uncompromising negotiation style of the European Union has shown itself to be an issue once again, with precedent from the painful Greek bailout setting an example. Surely by the time this piece is published a clearer picture will have emerged, but for the long-term health of British politics, the damage has already been done. The political realignment that has been occurring for the better part of a decade will not only have to find the right footing in a post-EU United Kingdom, it will also have to reconcile the two halves of society that voted differently in the 2016 referendum. Perhaps this will be a test for the Union itself, an issue with the potential to be even larger than Brexit.

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Author Bio

Edward Reminiskey is a graduate student in the CSUSB Social Sciences and Globalization MA program. He received a BA in History from CSUSB in 2016. His research interests concentrate on the history and politics of European integration with an emphasis on Euroscepticism and European political parties. Following the completion of his MA in 2019, he will continue to write and focus on his studies in pursuit of a PhD. He would like to thank his family for their encouragement and extend a special thanks to Dr. Timothy Pytell for his guidance over the years.

History in the Making

In Memoriam

The Life and Legacy of George H.W. Bush

By Fernando Sanchez

How do we remember our recently deceased presidents? With the passing of George H. W. Bush and the multitude of obituaries coming out of major American news media, the answer becomes remarkably clear. We remember them through rose-tinted glasses. Virtually all retrospectives on George H. W. Bush, no matter their author's political predilection, sanctify him. This is certainly nothing new: the American media tends to concentrate on the positive aspects of recently deceased politicians rather than on their negative ones. However, this should not be the norm, especially in the case of a man who held many high-ranking government positions like George H. W. Bush.

Obituaries are particularly powerful last comments on a person's life. Sean Switzer, in his retrospective analysis on the life of former Israeli Prime Minister, Ariel Sharon, argues that an obituary, unlike a biography or memoir, is directly accessible to a broad audience. It encapsulates the entirety of someone's life in one short and direct statement. The events included or omitted, the way they are presented, and the words used to describe them, can either sanctify or vilify an individual.¹ When obituaries are written from opposing viewpoints, readers are able to examine the same

¹ Sean Switzer, "Obituaries, Subjectivities, and Perceptions of Ariel Sharon," *History in the Making* 7 (2014): 171-172.

historical figure from different perspectives and hopefully see the value, truth, and bias in both representations.² However, if most obituaries are written from one perspective, then a person's life can be misrepresented. The complexities inherent in humans and history are lost, and their life and legacy become simplistic to the point of falsehood. George H. W. Bush was a complex man, but most obituaries do not portray him as such.

Most obituaries of Bush nostalgically paint him as the last great bipartisan president, a man of morals and principles who put country above party. There is also a large effort to sentimentalize him. An example of this is the considerable amount of coverage given to his service dog Sully, and how he mourns the loss of his owner.³ Even some of his critics, such as current President Donald Trump, took the time to publicly praise him. Trump said, "Through his essential authenticity, disarming wit, and unwavering commitment to faith, family, and country, President Bush inspired generations of his fellow Americans to public service — to be, in his words, 'a thousand points of light' illuminating the greatness, hope, and opportunity of America to the world."⁴ These narratives present a simple and acceptable man, driven by faith, a sense of service, and a commitment to peace. While this is not the entire story, these are the only aspects of Bush that are given any attention. In an effort to respect the dead, these retrospectives ignore some important, yet unfavorable, components of Bush and

² Ibid.

³ Upon Bush's death, a multitude of stories regarding his friendship with his service dog, Sully, were released. These stories served to soften his image by portraying Bush as a kind-hearted animal lover. Some examples of these are "George HW Bush's service dog Sully pays touching last tribute" from *BBC News* and "'Mission Complete' For Sully, George H.W. Bush's Service Dog" from *Huffington Post*.

⁴ Donald Trump and Melania Trump, "Statement from President Donald J. Trump and First Lady Melania Trump on the Passing of Former President George H.W. Bush," *The White House*, December 01, 2018, accessed March 04, 2019. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/statement-president-donald-j-trump-first-lady-melania-trump-passing-former-president-george-h-w-bush/>.

his legacy. As David Greenberg proclaims, “Respect for the dead must coexist with respect for historical record.”⁵

It is understandable to want to remember our former leaders in the best possible light, although it is a mistake to do so. For many Americans, all they will learn or remember about a president is written in their obituary. These short summaries will inform millions of people. Focusing on the positive aspects of a president while ignoring their failings serves only to present a false, idealized version of them and, by extension, the United States.⁶ Their legacy ultimately becomes America’s legacy. While everyone might not be satisfied with the outcome, the American people, together, elect one person to represent and lead the United States. Their actions reflect our society and values, and it is impossible to learn from past mistakes if we simply pretend they do not exist. Thus, it is undeniably important to critically analyze a president’s life without glossing over their follies or ignoring their poor decisions. Therefore, this “In Memoriam” seeks to remove the rose-colored glasses in the hopes that readers will obtain a better understanding of a profoundly historical individual. It does not intend to sanctify nor vilify, but to analyze the complexities of the life of George Herbert Walker Bush, the forty-first president of the United States of America.

George Herbert Walker Bush: 1924-2018

George Herbert Walker Bush passed away November 30th, 2018 at the age of ninety-four. After several trips to the hospital, the former commander-in-chief finally succumbed to old age. Following his death, several former presidents including Bill

⁵ David Greenberg, “Is History Being Too Kind to George H. W. Bush?” *Politico*, December 1st, 2018, accessed December 13, 2018, <https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2018/12/01/george-hw-bush-legacy-222730>.

⁶ The American voting system is not a direct democracy but a representative democracy that employs an electoral college to represent the populace by voting in presidential elections.

Clinton, George W. Bush, and Barack Obama, as well as the current President Donald Trump, offered their condolences to his family. Bush held various governmental positions: two terms in the House of Representatives, UN Ambassador, CIA Director, and Vice President, however, his single term as president is considered the most significant in terms of American Diplomacy.⁷ During Bush's single term as president, the Berlin Wall fell, the Soviet Union collapsed, and the United States entered the first in a string of conflicts in the Middle East.

George Herbert Walker Bush was born on June 12th, 1924, in Milton, Massachusetts. His parents, Prescott Bush, a successful investment banker and United States Senator, and Dorothy Walker Bush, were part of the elite upper class whose wealth came from old money. Their ancestors worked alongside notable business families such as the Rockefellers and Harrimans.⁸ During his teenage years, George H. W. Bush attended Phillips Academy, one of the top preparatory schools in the nation, where he prepared for life as a businessman and politician. However, Bush did not immediately go on to college after graduation.

The United States entered World War II while Bush attended Phillips Academy. Graduating in 1942, he opted to join the Navy rather than attend college, and became the youngest Naval Airman up to that point.⁹ During the war, Bush flew fifty-eight combat missions in the Pacific theater, including one where he was shot down. He received three medals for his service, including the Distinguished Flying Cross.¹⁰ Upon the conclusion of the war, Bush left the Navy and attended Yale University in 1946, graduating in 1948.

⁷ Jeffery A. Engel, "A Better World... but Don't Get Carried Away: The Foreign Policy of George H. W. Bush Twenty Years On," *Diplomatic History* 34, no. 1 (2010): 25-46.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Greenberg, "Is History Being Too Kind."

¹⁰ The Distinguished Flying Cross was established on January 28, 1927. The medal recognizes United States Military personnel for heroism or extraordinary achievement during an aerial flight.

Bush's political career started after he moved from his home in Connecticut to Texas. In 1964, after successfully establishing an oil company, he ran for Senate. During this time, the political parties began to transform. The Democratic party, through the actions of Presidents Kennedy and later Johnson, began to establish itself as the party of civil rights. The Republican Party, in turn, began the process of reconstituting itself as a staunch supporter of the American South.¹¹ In his Senate campaign, Bush demonstrated his willingness to put aside political principles for political gain.

Prior to his Senate run, Bush appeared to be in favor of the burgeoning civil rights movement. As a student at Yale, he held a fundraiser for the United Negro College Fund. After his move to Texas, Bush invited several members of the local NAACP to his house for dinner. Bush's father, Prescott Bush, sponsored legislation to desegregate schools and protect voters' rights.¹² Nevertheless, after adopting the Republican Party's new Southern Strategy, as well as satisfying the more nativist voters, Bush criticized the landmark Civil Rights Act.¹³ He stated that, "The new Civil-Rights Act was passed to protect 14 percent of the people. I'm also worried about the other 86 percent."¹⁴ Unfortunately, this was not the last time Bush abandoned principle to advance his political career.

Despite his failed bid for the Senate, Bush began to move through the ranks of the Republican Party. He was elected to the Texas House of Representatives, where he remained from 1967 to 1971. As a Representative, he occupied a string of high-profile positions. Bush was appointed as the US United Nations

¹¹Franklin Foer, "The Last WASP President," *Atlantic*, December 2nd, 2018, accessed December 13, 2018, <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2018/12/george-hw-bush-last-wasp-president/577156/>.

¹² Foer, "The Last WASP President."

¹³ Greenberg, "Is History Being Too Kind."

¹⁴ Foer, "The Last WASP President."

Ambassador in 1971.¹⁵ From there, he went on to become the Chair of the Republican National Committee, and was then appointed as the CIA Director in 1976, where he remained until he was removed by President Jimmy Carter in 1977.¹⁶

After he left the CIA, George H. W. Bush launched his first bid for the presidency in 1980, but lost the Republican primaries to Ronald Reagan, who ultimately chose Bush as his running mate. Prior to becoming Reagan's running mate, Bush was critical of supply-side economics and famously decried it as "voodoo economics."¹⁷ He also did not take an outright stance against abortion. Prescott Bush, Bush's father, was an early supporter of Planned Parenthood and Bush himself supported family planning as a congressman.¹⁸ However, these beliefs did not align with Reagan's platform. Reagan embraced supply-side economics as a key component of his economic policy and was staunchly pro-life. Christian voters were immensely important to the success of the Republican Party. After the landmark court case, *Roe V. Wade* (1973), abortion became a central issue for the Republican Party.¹⁹ After his appointment as Reagan's running mate, Bush recanted these long-held beliefs in order to more closely fit the mold of the Republican Party and to align with Reagan's stance on the issues of abortion and supply-side economics.²⁰ Thus, Bush embraced supply-side economics, and became an outspoken critic of abortion.²¹ He served as vice president for both of Ronald

¹⁵ Michael Nelson and Barbara A. Perry, *41: Inside the Presidency of George H. W. Bush* (Cornell University Press, 2014), xvii-xviii.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ "Voodoo Economics," *NBC Nightly News*, New York, NY: NBC Universal, 02/10/1982, Accessed February 27, 2019 from NBC Learn: <https://archives.nbclearn.com/portal/site/k-12/browse/?cuecard=33292>.

¹⁸ Sarah Mcammon, "Looking Back On President George H.W. Bush's Legacy On Abortion," Interview by Mary Louise Kelly, *All Things Considered*, *NPR*, December 4th, 2018, <https://www.npr.org/2018/12/04/673398023/looking-back-on-president-george-h-w-bushs-legacy-on-abortion>.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Greenberg, "Is History Being Too Kind."

²¹ Ibid.

Reagan's terms, after which Bush launched a second bid for the presidency.

In the 1988 presidential election, George H. W. Bush ran against Michael Dukakis, Democratic Governor of Massachusetts. During the campaign, Bush was criticized for the controversial Willie Horton ad. The ad painted Dukakis as soft on crime and stoked racial fears by overhyping the story of Horton's crime. While on his state authorized furlough, Willie Horton, a convicted felon serving life without the possibility of parole, broke into Angela and Clifford Barnes' home, assaulted them both, and raped Angela.²² While some dismissed the ad as the work of Lee Atwater, future Chair of the Republican National Committee and architect of Bush's campaign, it still remains a controversial aspect of Bush's campaign, and another instance of his hypocritical attitude towards civil rights.²³ Bush's selection of Dan Quayle as his running mate caused further controversy, especially among his staff, who were not notified, nor did they approve of his choice.²⁴ Quayle, a hawkish Indiana senator, frequently opposed new civil rights measures.²⁵ Despite these controversies, Bush won the election and became the forty-first President of the United States. During his presidency, George H. W. Bush's administration faced many international challenges, including the fall of the USSR, the reunification of Germany, and Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, which prompted the first Gulf War. The Bush administration may not be entirely responsible for these global events, especially the collapse of the Soviet Union. There is debate as to whether Ronald Reagan is the true catalyst for the United States victory in the Cold War.²⁶ However, Bush is highly regarded for his foreign policy achievements.

²² Robin Tone, "Prison Furloughs in Massachusetts Threaten Dukakis Record on Crime," *Los Angeles Times*, July 5th, 1988.

²³ Foer, "The Last WASP President."

²⁴ Nelson and Perry, 41, xvii.

²⁵ Foer, "The Last WASP President."

²⁶ Engel, "A Better World," 27.

Bush is lauded both for intervening in world affairs and for knowing when to back off.²⁷ In May of 1989, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, he pushed for peaceful East-West negotiations and anticipated that these talks were capable of producing a slow and steady strategic transformation and integration of the Soviet Bloc into the global system. He hoped that a nonviolent approach would “dramatically increase stability on the continent” and “set out a new vision for Europe at the end of this century.”²⁸ Furthermore, Bush did not prolong the Gulf War: after successfully destroying Iraq’s air defenses and crippling their infrastructure, the US did not occupy Iraq.²⁹

From a military perspective, Bush executed the war excellently. He brought together a team of advisors, one being General Colin Powell, that helped in planning the Gulf War. Bush insisted that Powell, Chair of the Joint Chief of Staff, be a part of his team of advisors. Powell provided a military perspective in the cabinet, which helped end the war quickly and efficiently.³⁰ Operation Desert Storm began on January 16th, 1991 and consisted of a coalition constructed of several different nations including the United States, France, Saudi Arabia, Russia, and Turkey.³¹ This coalition fielded around 500,000 troops, aided by a significant bombing campaign, ready to attack Iraqi forces.³² In order to avoid mission creep,³³ which would lead to incalculable human and political cost, Operation Desert Storm had a clear end goal and viable exit strategy: the liberation of Kuwait.³⁴ Bush’s objective

²⁷ Nelson and Perry, 41, 81.

²⁸ Engel, “A Better World,” 32.

²⁹ Nelson and Perry, 41, 82.

³⁰ Patrick J. Dobel, “Prudence and Presidential Ethics: The Decisions on Iraq of the Two Presidents Bush,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 40, no. 1 (2010): 64.

³¹ Ibid., 69. It is important to note that these were not the only countries to participate. The allied coalition consisted of thirty-nine countries.

³² Ibid.

³³ Mission Creep is a term used to describe a gradual shift in objectives during a military campaign. This shift often results in unplanned, costly, long term military commitments.

³⁴ Dobel, “Prudence and Presidential Ethics,” 69.

was not the dispossession of Saddam Hussein.³⁵ In a little over a month, the coalition defeated Iraq, however, despite the success of Operation Desert Storm and the defeat of the Iraqi military, the Gulf War should not be considered a great victory.

Iraq's military might can be attributed to the United States' prior involvement. During the Iran-Iraq War (1980-8), several years prior to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, the US supplied Iraq with military equipment. This occurred when George H. W. Bush was vice president to Ronald Reagan. There is no evidence to indicate that Bush had knowledge about arms sales, however, Senior White House officials claim Bush advocated for favorable policies towards Iraq.³⁶ Once he became president, he attempted to strengthen business, diplomatic, and intelligence ties between the US and Iraq.³⁷ John Hubert Kelly, Bush's Assistant Secretary to Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, stated, "Iraq is an important state with great potential. We want to deepen and broaden our relationship."³⁸ Nonetheless, this did not affect public opinion about the Gulf War.

The Gulf War was not unpopular among the American public or media. In fact, the completion of the war boosted George Bush's approval ratings. Notwithstanding his popularity, at the time, some questioned the purpose of the war, and feared the potential blowback that could result from a US led attack in the Middle East. In spite of their rhetoric, the Bush administration had a clear preference for global interventions based upon geo-political

³⁵ Steven Hurst, "The Rhetorical Strategy of George H. W. Bush during the Persian Gulf Crisis 1990-91: How to Help Lose a War You Won," *Political Studies*, 52, no. 2 (2004): 377, accessed December 16, 2018, https://csusb-primo.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/primoexplore/fulldisplay?docid=TN_sage_s10_1111_j_1467_9248_2004_00485_x&context=U&vid=01CALS_USB&lang=en US.

³⁶ Murray Waas, "What Washington Gave Saddam Hussein for Christmas," in *The Gulf War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions*, ed. Micah L. Sifry and Christopher Cerf, (New York: Times Books, 1991), 85.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid, 95.

stability rather than upon human rights.³⁹ Thomas L. Friedman, a New York Times journalist, stated that the Gulf War had less to do with democracy and human rights, and more to do with protecting government loyalty to the US.⁴⁰ Patrick Buchanan wrote, “Given U.S. Air and Naval Power, and the might of U.S. ground forces, eventually the U.S. could smash Iraq... declaw Hussein, if not bring him down. But, [who] would rise from the ruin? Who would fill the power vacuum?”⁴¹ These fears turned out to be well-founded. Although Bush did not occupy Iraq after expelling its forces from Kuwait, the crippling sanctions imposed on Iraq after the war caused the country to descend into chaos. This disorder helped set the stage for the rise of radical Islamic terrorist groups in Iraq. Feisal Istrabadi, Iraq's former UN Ambassador, stated in an interview on NPR, “[The United States] allowed, also, 13 years of sanctions, which destroyed the Iraqi middle class and allowed the rise of the power of the religious parties in Iraq.”⁴² Not only did the Gulf War result in the devastation of Iraq's economy, but, towards the end of the war Bush made a statement that led to the deaths of thousands of Iraqi people.

One of the major missteps in the Gulf War was Bush's insinuation that the Shiites and Kurds of Iraq should attempt to overthrow Saddam Hussein. In a speech on February 15th, 1991, at the Raytheon Company, Bush stated, “There's another way for the bloodshed to stop, and that is for the Iraqi military and the Iraqi people to take matters into their own hands to force Saddam

³⁹ Engel, “A Better World,” 45.

⁴⁰ Thomas L. Friedman, “Washington's Vital Interest,” in *The Gulf War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions*, ed. by Micah L. Sifry and Christopher Cerf, (New York: Times Books, 1991), 203.

⁴¹ Patrick Buchanan, “Have The Neocons Thought This Through?” in *The Gulf War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions*, ed. Micah L. Sifry and Christopher Cerf, (New York: Times Books, 1991), 214.

⁴² Feisal Istrabadi, “Examining Former President George H.W. Bush's Legacy in Iraq,” Interview by Rachel Martin, Morning Edition, *NPR*, December 7, 2018, <https://www.npr.org/2018/12/07/674467932/iraqs-former-ambassador-to-the-u-n-shares-george-h-w-bushs-role-in-iraq>.

Hussein, the dictator, to step aside.”⁴³ Many Shiites and Kurds took this as encouragement from a United States President to rebel. Feisal Istrabadi, in the same interview with NPR, stated, “when the rebellion began, no one imagined that with a half-million men and women and air superiority that the United States would stand by... and allow Saddam Hussein to use helicopter gunships to slaughter men, women and children civilians—well over 100,000—from the air.”⁴⁴ Bush’s senior advisors were unwilling to respond to the violent rebellion, since intervention, commending or condemning the act, meant further war with Iraq. The Shiites and Kurds did not receive US military aid and as the result, thousands from both groups were killed in the ensuing violence.⁴⁵ The Gulf War was extremely costly, in terms of human lives. The war was executed quickly and efficiently, and Bush’s decision not to invade and occupy Iraq is commendable, especially considering his son’s 2003 Invasion of Iraq. However, his insinuation that the Shiites and Kurds should rebel against Hussein proved to be a costly mistake. His promise for “a kinder gentler nation” would not transpire.

After the Gulf War, Bush’s popularity grew among the American people. His approval ratings reached as high as roughly 88 percent. Nevertheless, the faltering economy contributed to his ultimate defeat. His campaign promise of “Read my lips: no new taxes” would ultimately come back to haunt him. In 1990, amid climbing deficits, Bush signed a tax bill that added several new taxes the American people were be obligated to pay.⁴⁶ In 1992, a year after he was praised for the success of the Gulf War, Bush barely won the Republican presidential primary.⁴⁷ His inability to follow through with his main campaign promise led him to lose the

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Greenberg, “Is History Being Too Kind.”

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Adam Nagourney, “George Bush, Who Steered Nation in Tumultuous Times, Is Dead at 94,” *New York Times*, November 30, 2018, accessed December 16, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/30/us/politics/george-hw-bush-dies.html>.

presidency to Bill Clinton. Towards the end of his presidency, Bush pardoned several officials implicated in the Iran-Contra scandal.⁴⁸ This drew controversy because one of the men he pardoned, former Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger, could have implicated Bush in the scandal.⁴⁹

After he left the White House, Bush remained publicly active. He, along with his former political rival, Bill Clinton, participated in fundraising for disaster relief. Together, they toured tsunami devastated areas of Southeast Asia, and parts of the US East Coast destroyed by Hurricane Katrina. In response to the wreckage of Katrina, they established the Bush-Clinton Katrina Fund.⁵⁰ Bush's two sons followed in his footsteps and ventured into politics. George W. Bush was elected to two terms as president and Jeb Bush was elected as Governor of Florida.⁵¹ Undeterred by his failing health, Bush remained active until he contracted an infection following the death of his wife, Barbara Bush (April 17, 2018). Five months later, on November 30th, 2018, George H. W. Bush passed away at the age of 94. He is survived by his four sons, one daughter, and grandchildren.

Conclusion

How do we remember our recently deceased presidents? We should remember them as they were, without glorification. It is understandable, even commendable, that the American media looks fondly on former politicians, especially presidents. Particularly at a time when the nation is deeply divided, it can be cathartic to collectively grieve and nostalgically remember a former leader. Additionally, it is important to allow the family of

⁴⁸ The Iran Contra Scandal took place from 1985 through 1987 and involved the United States selling arms to Iran in order to support rebel fighters in Nicaragua. The selling of weapons to Iran was illegal at the time owing to Iran being on the "Nations that support Terrorism list."

⁴⁹ Nagourney, "George Bush."

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

the deceased time to grieve without critical disruption. Given the effect presidents have on history, and the lasting-power of obituaries, it is a mistake not to be critical of former presidents. The American media can respect the dead, while simultaneously acknowledging the legacy, both positive and negative, of a president.

George H. W. Bush was a complex man with a complex legacy. He led the nation during turbulent times, and his actions had far reaching consequences that changed not only America, but the world. He lived most of his adult life in service to the United States, however, like all people, he made mistakes, some of which had disastrous consequences. Bush was willing to abandon the cause of Civil Rights, in order to advance his political career. He, like many other presidents, was more inclined to intervene in global affairs for geopolitical advantages, rather than for human rights or the spread of democracy. The Gulf War, considered the greatest accomplishment of his presidency, was fought not for humanitarian reasons, but to secure loyal regimes in the Middle East. These failings need to be acknowledged, considering George Herbert Walker Bush's legacy ultimately becomes the legacy of the United States. It is time we stop idealizing that legacy.

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Author Bio

Fernando Allen Sanchez is currently an undergraduate History major at CSUSB. His primary academic focus is Middle Eastern studies, but he also plans to earn a minor in Arabic studies. Along with his academic endeavors, he is a Supplemental Instruction Leader for several history courses at CSUSB. After graduating, he hopes to teach history at the secondary level while also pursuing a Master's degree and PhD in Middle Eastern studies.



History in the Making

Remembering Aiko Herzig-Yoshinaga

By James Martin, Kassandra Gutierrez, and Nathanael Gonzalez

Aiko Herzig-Yoshinaga—political activist, Japanese American detainee during WWII, and renowned archivist, died on July 18, 2018 at the age of 93. Herzig-Yoshinaga was instrumental in discovering research that would overrule landmark Supreme Court rulings like *Korematsu v. United States*, while providing evidence-based claims that backed racism as the driving force behind the enactment and enforcement of Executive Order 9066. This child of respectable, hard-working parents would become one of the approximately 110,000 targets of forced relocation to camps like the one in Manzanar, California.¹

Early Life and Childhood

Born Aiko Louise Yoshinaga on August 5, 1924 in Sacramento, California, Aiko was the daughter of Japanese immigrants from the island of Kyushu. Herzig-Yoshinaga describes her childhood as a “protected” one, yet she still felt she was better off than most other Japanese families around her.² Her father worked at a vegetable and fruit stand while her mother’s main focus was raising six children and maintaining a household, often sewing clothes together for her children from hand-me-downs. Perhaps the most luxurious aspect of Aiko’s childhood came from her parents allowing her to take up tap dancing and ballet lessons—which she

¹ Thomas Y. Fujita-Rony, “‘Destructive Force’: Aiko Herzig-Yoshinaga’s Gendered Labor in the Japanese American Redress Movement,” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 24, no. 1 (2003): 40.

² Emiko Omori and Chizuko Omori, “Aiko Herzig-Yoshinaga, Interview by Emiko and Chizuko Omori,” March 20, 1994. Segment 1.

greatly enjoyed. As her time in the classes progressed, a young Herzig-Yoshinaga discovered that even though her parents were struggling to make their rent payments, they allowed her to continue on with mastering her craft, she expressed that she felt “privileged and spoiled.”³ The encouragement for her artistic undertakings came from her parents – whom she noted as also very musical and talented – and she continued to venture into new areas of the arts, like learning the piano.

Before her internment in the Japanese camps, Aiko Herzig-Yoshinaga aspired to be a professional tap-dancer. Living in an era of racial prejudice, her six years of training did not matter as she felt she could not fulfill the image of an American tap-dancer, sharing that she felt she could not be a “Betty Grable” and said she “kidded myself to think if I was good enough a dancer, all those other physical attributes won’t keep me back.”⁴ In 1933, Aiko and her family moved from Sacramento to Los Angeles, where she attended grammar school, middle school, and high school. Herzig-Yoshinaga recalls being at a party in high school when she heard that Pearl Harbor had been bombed.⁵

World War II and Pearl Harbor

On December 7, 1941, Pearl Harbor in Hawaii was bombed by Japanese forces, ushering the United States into World War II. Herzig-Yoshinaga describes the prejudice she and other Japanese American were now subjected to, along with German Americans and Italian Americans during this wartime frenzy. In 1942, Japanese immigrants were not allowed to apply for citizenship while the United States was at war with the Empire of Japan; this law was in effect until 1952. Japanese, German, and Italian immigrants were now classified as “enemy aliens,” though many of them had American-born children that were supposed to be protected under the rights of the United States Constitution.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., Segment 2.

⁵ Ibid., Segment 3.

Ideally, high school entails the coming-of-age for youth, when a young girl like Aiko Yoshinaga should only be worried about picking out a dress for her senior prom. On February 19, 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066 which ordered the mass migration of Japanese Americans to internment camps in order to protect “against espionage and against sabotage to national-defense material...”⁶ As World War II waged on, Herzig-Yoshinaga describes growing up with a certain amount of self-hate because she was not a “blonde Betty Grable.”⁷ Adding insult to injury, her high school principal revoked fifteen high school diplomas from students of Japanese ancestry, including Aiko. Aiko and her fellow classmates were being castigated as a result of racial prejudice during a period of wartime paranoia and hysteria. High school for Herzig-Yoshinaga, and students like her, became a warzone away from the battlefield—Japanese Americans were now fighting a domestic war on the grounds of constitutional infringement.

Life in the Internment Camps

As the executive order was passed, things were only bound to be worse. However, love found a way to prevail through the havoc of anti-Japanese sentiment dominating American society in the early 1940s. Aiko and her boyfriend were to be sent to different camps upon their forced relocation, so they chose to elope and be placed in the same camp as husband and wife. Aiko and her first husband were relocated to Manzanar while the rest of her family was sent to the Santa Anita racetrack. The decision to be sent away with her husband resulted in her estrangement from her father, wherein he “basically disowned me,” Herzig-Yoshinaga said.⁸ When Aiko arrived in Manzanar things were as one would expect of a concentration camp in a desolate location; Aiko describes Manzanar as hot and dusty. The beginnings of her life in the camp

⁶ Exec. Order No. 9066, 3 C.F.R. 1 (1942).

⁷ Emiko and Chizuko, “Aiko Herzig-Yoshinaga,” Segment 6.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Segment 7.

were horrendous, with barely livable conditions which included a mattress made from hay to having minimal water in the barracks, which she describes as hardest on the infants.⁹

Aiko had trouble getting supplies such as toilet paper due to not having money, and the bathrooms in the camps were not private.¹⁰ Her life became one where basic human rights were stripped from her and other detainees; a life where she was living separated from her family and barely getting by. Young love continued to express itself as the detained seventeen-year-old wife became an eighteen-year-old mother the following year, after having to experience her teenage pregnancy in an internment camp. The conditions in the camp combined with her pregnancy made raising her infant difficult. Aiko had a daughter who was born with an allergy to the milk that was given to her at the camp, which resulted in her daughter having stomach defects and failing to thrive. This condition would affect her daughter later in her life.¹¹

Circumstances grew worse as Aiko was in a hot, dusty location without the means to provide for her daughter. Aiko and other parents struggled to find adequate supplies for their children; mail ordering from the likes of Sears-Roebuck and Montgomery Ward was impossible at a time when all workers at the camp were only paid sixteen dollars a month. Aiko recalls the sacrifice with the mail-order system, becoming frustrated with the price of diapers being three dollars at a time when her family was making sixteen dollars monthly at the camp. Disposable diapers were not available, Aiko explains, whereas reusable diapers had to be washed on washboards and hung out to dry, which brought its own set of problems being located in a desert environment plagued with dust storms. Aiko reminds her interviewer of the long-lasting impact of the camp, where “the deprivation of the niceties of life

⁹ Ibid., Segment 8.

¹⁰ Ibid., Segment 14.

¹¹ Ibid., Segment 10.

was something that most of us who had to go through that don't forget."¹²

Aiko did, eventually, find peace with her father right before he died from being ill in a camp in Arkansas—Aiko requested transfer to the Arkansas camp and left with her daughter after her husband was denied a transfer. Shortly after meeting his granddaughter for the first time, Aiko's father passed away and the family was now faced with planning a funeral in an internment camp.¹³ After all the hardships Aiko suffered, from being forcibly removed from her home to her daughter suffering from defects, Aiko was able to persevere and tried to make the most of it as it was all she could do. Life in Manzanar was one of struggle and deprivation, providing little hope for the future.

Political Activism

Aiko Herzig-Yoshinaga's young life filled her with motivation to continue striving for social justice for Japanese Americans. The United States government had put her and her family into internment camps. Not only would she get justice for herself but for all the Japanese Americans that had been taken from their homes and placed into camps. Japan bombed Hawaii's Pearl Harbor which forced the US into World War II; therefore, the US blamed the Japanese Americans and placed them in internment camps. She would eventually find a gap of evidence that showed the abuse of power at every level branch of government because doing so violated individual rights under the Constitution.¹⁴ Herzig-Yoshinaga was determined to prove that the US had racial motives for placing Japanese Americans into internment camps.

With her new husband, Jack Herzig, the couple dove into the archives to continue to find ways to subside Washington, D.C. Herzig-Yoshinaga was not an experienced archivist, but her intent was to find proof of misconduct by authorities. She discovered that

¹² Ibid., Segment 11.

¹³ Ibid., Segment 12

¹⁴ Fujita-Rony, "Destructive Force," 46.

the FBI's and other records were restricted, so she went to the National Archives to see what the government had collected during the war and information on her and her family.¹⁵ Herzig-Yoshinaga found that they had kept all school, dental, and medical records of all Japanese Americans placed in the internment camps.¹⁶ Herzig-Yoshinaga applied for a position as a researcher on the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians since she was well versed in the subject matter already. Some documents that Herzig-Yoshinaga found were used in the class-action lawsuit, *NCJAR, William Hohri v. United States*.¹⁷ From that moment on she advocated for redress campaigns; Herzig-Yoshinaga had a hard time finding evidence which implicated the government in wrongdoing, but she persevered.

Executive Order 9066 signed by President Roosevelt due to military decisions aided no justice in the three Supreme Court cases that legitimized the government's right to exclude and incarcerate.¹⁸ Through the writ of *coram nobis*, which allows a person already tried and convicted of a crime to appeal and allow the court to correct based on new evidence and new laws, Herzig-Yoshinaga used a report of the army's racist justification for exclusion and incarceration as basis for filing suit. Eventually, the redress bill did get signed by the House, but at the time the Supreme Court had not concluded on *Hohri* and President Reagan signed the Civil Liberties Act in August 1988.¹⁹ The goals of the *Hohri v. United States* case were to not only seek financial compensation but to define all the rights that were denied Japanese Americans.

The legacy left behind by Mrs. Herzig-Yoshinaga is one that exudes an unwavering determination to fight for one's beliefs.

¹⁵ Ibid., 44.

¹⁶ Larry Hashima and Glen Kitayama, "Aiko Herzig-Yoshinaga, Interview by Larry Hashima and Glen Kitayama," *Densho*, University of California, Los Angeles, September 11, 1997, Segment 4.

¹⁷ Ibid., Segment 5.

¹⁸ Fujita-Rony, "Destructive Force," 51.

¹⁹ Hashima and Kitayama, "Aiko Herzig-Yoshinaga," Segment 6.

Through the ballet recitals, young motherhood, internment, and political activism, Aiko Herzig-Yoshinaga cemented her place in history by fighting for a cause that was bigger than herself—one that attempts to right the malfeasance of Executive Order 9066. There is no question of the heroism that lived within Aiko's soul; spending a life working to better others is one worth remembering and celebrating.

Annually, CSUSB's History Club and Phi Alpha Theta host an "alternative spring break" in which students and faculty make the journey to the Manzanar National Historic Site. The group walks the very camp that Aiko Herzig-Yoshinaga and many others traveled through 75 years ago, in an effort to preserve memory and further cement the stories of America's past.

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Author Bio

James Martin is an undergraduate history major at CSUSB, completing his junior year. James' areas of interest include twentieth century America, San Bernardino history, the Armenian Genocide, and studying how racism and masculinity intertwine in the US South after the Civil War. After graduating, James plans to teach history at the high school level and eventually earn his PhD in History. He would like to thank his students and coworkers at Pacific High, the CSUSB History Club, his parents and siblings, his best friend Adriana, and his friends Cris, Cindy, and Matt for their never-ending support and encouragement in his field.

Currently a student at CSUSB, Kassandra Gutierrez will graduate in the spring of 2019 with a Bachelor of Arts in History, with a concentration in US History. She plans to get her teaching credential and become a high school teacher. Eventually she plans to get her Master's degree in Academic Counseling and become an academic advisor at a college. In her free time, she enjoys traveling and camping with family and friends. She would like to thank her professors Dr. Justin Soapes, Dr. Kate Liszka, and Dr. Yvette Saavedra for their contributions to her education.

Nathanael Gonzalez is a senior at CSUSB. He is a History major and his plans after college are to teach English in Japan for a year before attending seminary for his Master's in Biblical Studies. His interests and hobbies include Brazilian Jiu Jitsu, Muay Thai, and wrestling. (Martin: left, Gutierrez: center, Gonzalez: right)



History in the Making

Stan Lee: In Memoriam

By Galilea Navarro

It is unarguable that Stan Lee transformed the comic book landscape into what it was, what it is, and what it will be for years to come. As one of the most important and influential figures in American pop culture, he revolutionized the idea, the notion, of what it means to be a hero. Lee was a relentless spirit with a work ethic to match, who used his impoverished upbringing to pull himself from the shadows of an uncertain future to become the man he is remembered as today. And though he did achieve exactly that, it was not without the help of a collective of brilliant minds from writers to artists that helped Marvel's "Method Man" establish his legacy. It is difficult to think of a world without Stan Lee, as his knack for spotting—and oftentimes exploiting—talent gave the world some of its most beloved characters, and his cameos in the films have endeared him to fans all over the world. His influence and celebrity are as vast as his controversies, from copyright lawsuits to allegations of sexual harassment; still, he managed to forge a history and status based on his mystique and opportunistic, if creative, nature. Gifted as he was, Lee's strength lay in his ability to see an opportunity and seize it, which often created friction between him and the same minds who would help him build his empire, his fortune, and ultimately, his ego.

The Art of the Word

Stanley Martin Lieber loved words: books, newspapers, ketchup bottles, anything. He looked for anything he could get his hands on to read in an effort to escape his otherwise dreary existence during the Great Depression, which severely impacted his childhood at the age of seven. Despite this, Stanley had a dream that no depression

could keep him from: he would be the one to write the next “Great American Novel.” That dream kept him going through the highs and lows of his early life and into adulthood. He immersed himself in the works of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Edgar Rice Burroughs, and Mark Twain, but had a special affinity for William Shakespeare, who he began reading before the age of ten. “I didn’t understand a lot of it in those days, but I loved the words. I loved the rhythm of the words.”¹ This interest would help in his work later in life, from the philosophical voice of the Silver Surfer, to the Elizabethan dialogue of the mighty Thor. His favorite possession as a child was a gift his mother gave him—a small wooden stand that he used to prop his books up as he ate at the table. When there was nothing to read, Lee would write and illustrate stories to amuse himself, unknowingly creating the first comic book strips that would ultimately become his life and legacy.

He was born to Jewish-Romanian parents Celia and Jack Lieber in their small Manhattan apartment on December 22, 1922 and by the time Stan was in his youth, he had moved several times due to money, or rather, the scarcity of it. His mother was never far from the kitchen, where she was found cooking or cleaning, and his father was a dress cutter who only worked intermittently after the Depression. The memory of his father sitting at their small table reading the “want ads” looking for something, anything, to help his family, is an image Lee remembered almost too vividly. Watching him go out in search of work and coming home hours later, only to walk in with the same disheartened look on his face every time was almost too much for Lee to bear, “I can imagine the depression he felt. Forced idleness is a terrible thing.”² Lee knew what it meant to be hungry and cold, he understood what it meant to be poor, and he demonstrated an appreciation and care for his family from a young age:

¹ Jordan Raphael and Tom Spurgeon, *Stan Lee and the Rise and Fall of the American Comic Book* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2004), 4.

² Stan Lee and George Mair, *Excelsior! The Amazing Life of Stan Lee* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002), 8.

My brother and I always regretted that fate had not been kinder to them and that they couldn't have had happier lives. They [parents] must have loved each other when they married, but my earliest recollections were of the two of them arguing, quarrelling incessantly. Almost always it was over money, or the lack of it. I realized at an early age how the specter of poverty, the never-ending worry about not having enough money to buy groceries or to pay rent can cast a cloud over a marriage. I'll always regret the fact that, by the time I was earning enough to make things easier for them, it was too late.³

This was the condition of life during the Depression, and a condition that resonates in many households today. His impoverished life helped build his underdog origin story, that of the man who came from nothing and became something.

Celia and Jack had differing ways to raise Stan and his brother; Jack could be calculating and strict, while Celia would fill her children, particularly Stan, with her own hopes and dreams, and supported her son in everything. Stan surrounded himself in his mother's love amidst his father's demanding nature.

Lee graduated early from DeWitt Clinton High School, at sixteen and a half, recalling how his mother wanted him to finish school as soon as possible to get a job to help support his family. He claimed that as how he had a strong work ethic drummed into him early. In his spare time after classes he began working at a series of part-time jobs, including writing obituary notices. Though the job paid well, Lee eventually left because he thought writing about people in the past tense was too depressing. He also wrote publications for a hospital, delivered sandwiches and was even an usher at a movie theater where he said he had an encounter with

³ Ibid., 7.

the then First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, where he tripped in front of her while helping her to her seat and she picked him up. He was happy to work in a place where people came to escape, as movies and books offered relief from the Depression, and Stan was greatly influenced himself by the films he saw, particularly those of Errol Flynn. Though he did not remember much from his time in school, Lee did remember his favorite teacher, Leon B. Ginsberg Jr., who made him realize that humor was the best way to reach people, hold their attention, and get your point across. It is a lesson he tried to apply to everything he did later in life.

Perhaps one of the most significant moments in his life was when, at the age of fifteen, he participated in a contest held by The New York Herald Tribune where in 500 words or less participants had to write what they believed was "The Biggest News of the Week" for cash prizes. Lee won the contest three straight weeks, and after the third week he received a letter from the editor asking him to let someone else have a chance. The editor wrote to Lee that he should consider writing for a living, words of advice that would change his life, and though it seems like a story worth adding to his "underdog origins," the anecdote is if nothing else, greatly exaggerated. There are no records of a Stanley Lieber ever winning the top prize for those contests. He placed seventh the first week, but not the second. The third week he was one of one hundred who received an honorable mention for his work, and then his name disappeared from further competitions. This is only one of many instances where Stan used his power as a compelling storyteller to further his persona; not that many people seemed to mind anyway, since this was very much in alignment with the "Stan will be Stan" personality many came to know him for, the same personality that helped him begin his path at Timely Comics.

Making Marvel

In 1939, Timely Comics opened its doors and among its new employees was Stanley Lieber, nineteen and ready to conquer the world. The publisher of Timely Comics, Martin Goodman, was

related to Lee through his wife, who happened to be Lee's cousin. Stan almost immediately began to build his extensive resume, reputation, and history within the walls of Timely. Once he was hired into the department that would change his life, Joe Simon, a future comic book legend, took Lee on as his assistant. Lee's job was to fill ink wells, proofread, and bring lunch to Simon and his partner, Jack Kirby, who himself would become an influential comic book writer and artist. Lee admired Jack's and Joe's talents and professionalism, likening it to "working for two idols", and stated working for them "was an education" for him.⁴ He stated:

We never became very friendly at the time because they never thought of me as a peer, and there's no reason why they should have. I had started as an inexperienced apprentice, and it's hard to live that first impression down. Anyway, I didn't work with them long enough for our relationship to change significantly—or for them to learn the sheer wonderfulness of me.⁵

Lee made his comic book debut when Joe asked him to write the filler text on *Captain America* issue no. 3, "Captain America Foils the Traitor's Revenge," published in May 1941. In it, Stanley Lieber first used the pseudonym that would become his legacy: Stan Lee. He observed how Jack and Joe were able to work around the clock without letting egos get in the way. Back in the day, artists would sell their work, often by the pound, without concern for enhancing their portfolios. Stan Lee on the other hand, began to write his name on everything, regardless of whether or not he had any part of it. Jack Kirby and Joe Simon left Timely Comics shortly after Lee began working there, while Lee remained there for years despite rumors the two were fired because of him, rumors he adamantly stated were false. After the duo split up in 1956,

⁴ Ibid., 29.

⁵ Ibid., 29.

Kirby returned to Timely to work alongside Lee in their most productive period between 1961 and 1972. With the departure of Kirby and Simon, Martin Goodman appointed a then nineteen year-old Stan Lee as interim editor until he found someone more qualified. When Goodman stopped looking, possibly due to the fact that he may have forgotten, Lee seized the opportunity to get his work out. Lee was in a safe space, a haven for creativity, but right outside Timely's front door was their business, and it was losing interest in comic books due to their lack of originality. Lee recalled, "While I really enjoyed my job and the stories I was writing, there was one thing that both irritated and frustrated me. It was the fact that nobody, outside of our own little circle, had a good word to say about comic books. To the public at large, comics were at the very bottom of the cultural totem pole."⁶

A Timely Change

Lee volunteered for the army during World War II shortly after being appointed interim editor, and was stationed stateside with the Signal Corps, where he was given the title of "playwright," which, according to Lee, "was only held by nine other men in the army".⁷ While he wrote manuscripts, training films and slogans for the war, he continued to send work to Timely Comics; he was never one to miss a deadline. The day he was discharged from duty, Lee wasted no time getting back to work and drove straight in without taking a break that same day. Lee gave himself the name and position of "Supreme Editor" wherein when Goodman did not want to deal with a situation or make a decision, he would send in Lee to clear it up or clean it up, making him the middleman between the writers and artists and the head of Timely. Lee even had his own office where he managed the comic book assembly line and wrote scripts for the Captain America comics. As a writer, he always seemed more enthusiastic about writing than his peers; Dave Gautz, a

⁶ Ibid., 56-57.

⁷ Jeff McLoughlin, *Stan Lee: Conversations* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2007), 59.

comic artist who worked with Lee, said in an interview, Lee was like “the Orson Welles of comics.”⁸

The year was 1961, Lee was in his forties, and still nowhere near to writing his novel. It was around this time he decided he was going to quit Timely Comics. That was until DC Comics re-invented the superhero archetype and Goodman tasked him with creating something akin to the Justice League.

Before Lee modernized Marvel in the 1960's, most comic book heroes wouldn't have been much fun at a cocktail party. Their dialogue was as wooden as the pulp they were printed on, and their personalities ran all the way from A, a crime has been committed, to B, we must catch this ne'er-do-well before he strikes again.⁹

Taking his wife's advice, Lee went straight to work creating heroes that he was passionate about, heroes who were more human. And so, the First Family was born. The Fantastic Four was the first group Lee created, though there would be debate with Jack Kirby years later on the matter. So began the creation of comic book characters who were normal people who happened to protect the Earth; Lee put the "human" in "superhuman." With Jack Kirby at his side, Lee created heroes like the Hulk, Iron Man, and Thor. With Steve Ditko, he created Dr. Strange, and, one of the most memorable and iconic characters, Marvel's friendly neighborhood Spider-Man.

In the aftermath of the war, the economy began to flourish, and with it, the comic book industry. Lee remembers feeling the excitement and high energy in the company because there were no

⁸ Bob Batchelor, *Stan Lee: The Man Behind Marvel*, (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 31.

⁹ Peter Larsen, “How Stan Lee changed pop culture, comic books and movies forever,” *Daily News*, November 12, 2018, <https://www.dailynews.com/2018/11/12/how-stan-lee-changed-pop-culture-comic-books-and-movies-forever/>

more paper shortages; this meant there was no longer a limit to the amount of issues one could publish. The public was ready and willing to pay for entertainment after years of being rationed and kept in a constant state of hardship.

In 1972, Lee stopped writing and became publisher and the eventual face of Marvel comics when he succeeded Goodman. When this occurred, Lee started making changes at Timely that would push the company into a new era of entertainment. As editor, Lee introduced a new system of credit, one where not only were the writer and the artist given credit in the issues, but so were the penciller and the letterer. It was said by many that he was a brilliant editor with a razor sharp skill for talent scouting; after all, many of the artists that worked with Lee did their best work there. Gautz recognized Lee's knack as publisher, saying he was quick to notice a trend and had artists do the same thing on their comic books. Lee also attempted to expand the comic book market to appeal to girls, and said he never understood why everyone thought they were primarily for boys. However, during his time as publisher and editor, it seemed Lee hardly flourished creatively, and chose an imitative strategy that appeared to be more driven by greed than an appreciation for art. This seemed to follow what Goodman did in his time, where Timely was labeled as "an opportunistic follower of popular trend."¹⁰ Though Lee did give himself inflated amounts of credit, he made sure that the artists were given a spotlight as well.

The Marvel Method

The Marvel Method was a different approach to writing and drawing comic books, and was employed and later perfected at Marvel Comics, wherein Lee gave artists ideas or pieces of an idea, for comic books instead of full scripts, and allowed the writers and artists free range to decide what happened on the page. After Lee left the plotting to the writers and artists, he would add

¹⁰ Raphael and Spurgeon, *Rise and Fall*, 37.

the text or elaborate on artist notes, thus giving him the "writing credit" he is known for. Comic historian Peter Sanderson said it best: "Marvel was pioneering new methods of comics storytelling and characterization, addressing more serious themes, and in the process keeping and attracting readers in their teens and beyond."¹¹ Stan revitalized the comic book industry with his collaborations with Jack Kirby and Steve Ditko, and created the shared universe the characters live in and that audiences love. Lee published "The Secrets Behind the Comics" a while later, where he dispelled all the behind-the-scenes secrets of the comic book industry and promoted it with the grandiose flair he is known for. In the comics, Lee also wrote a monthly column where he addressed issues of discrimination and prejudice, and used the platform to fight against injustice.

One of Us

The X-Men are a prime example of how Lee used his platform to fight injustice and prejudice. These comics were praised for their diversity and how its portrayal of mutant oppression mirrored that of the Civil Rights movement. The Fantastic Four was about a family with superhero powers who fought over human issues amongst each other; they were the characters Lee always wanted to write about. They were relatable to the people, who loved the new approach of showing deep human flaws that demonstrated tolerance and humanity among people who were less than perfect. Ultimately, the Fantastic Four and the X-Men "were outsiders who fought for a better society"¹² and this message echoes across time into today's day and age.

Lee wrote columns in the back of Marvel issues beginning in 1967 called "Stan's Soapbox" where he talked about anything

¹¹ *Marvel Saga, Volume I.*

¹² Ken Paulson, "Superhero Stan Lee fought for justice and diversity with relatable comic book characters," *USA Today*, November 12, 2018, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2018/11/12/stan-lee-comic-books-superheroes-justice-diversity-good-hero-column/1981744002/>.

worth informing readers about. Of these columns, the two most arguably famous ones were his "Racism Essay" from 1968, which condemns racism and promotes humanity, and his "Politics in Comic-Books Essay" where Lee tackles some reader's criticism that comic books should not have lessons because they are supposed to be a form of escapism. In the 1960s, children read about powered humans who felt a sense of responsibility to the people, and characters such as Hawkeye, Dr. Strange and Professor X, heroes with disabilities, became some of earth's mightiest defenders despite all odds. Black Panther, created by Kirby and Lee in the 1960s, gave the world its first black superhero who didn't adhere to stereotypes; the king of the most technologically advanced country in the world, the fictional nation of Wakanda. The recently adapted film of the same name, *Black Panther*, is one of Marvel's most successful films at the box office, and gave Marvel Studios its first three Oscars at the 91st Academy Awards. *Black Panther*, whose cast is predominately black, was praised for providing the representation many black audiences had been wanting to see in an industry where there has never been many films of its kind. From a child seeing what they could grow up to be, to women's skin tones and hair being celebrated on screen, *Black Panther* became an icon many could relate to, admire, and even become. And even though minority representation is still long overdue in other arenas, creators like Lee, Kirby and Ditko were doing it long before superhero films took over the big screen.

All Around

The Marvel Cinematic Universe has been dominating the domestic and overseas box offices for over a decade, and has generated over \$19 billion with its twenty-two films, shattering box office records in the process. *Avengers: Endgame* made over \$1 billion in its first opening weekend, a feat that had never before been accomplished and is quickly on its way to surpassing *Avatar* as the film with the highest worldwide box office gross of all time. All this was in part due to Lee, who, in the 1980s, left his position of publisher with

Marvel and moved to Hollywood with his wife in order to help develop Marvel's film and television properties. A decade later, he entered a purely symbolic position in the company as "Chairman Emeritus."¹³ This meant he was not involved in the day-to-day affairs of the company, but held an executive producer credit on all Marvel properties, nonetheless.

Though it would be difficult to imagine a world without Lee's impact, many of his works with Kirby have since been expanded on, giving more depth to the characters they created long ago. In doing so, talented artists helped further Lee's legacy as a creative genius. Even though the X-Men were created by Kirby and Lee, it took a man like Chris Claremont to come on board decades later and breathe new life into the characters, with a more diverse cast who were even more relatable than the originals. A man like Walt Simonson delved more deeply into the mythical side of Thor, helping shape the god of thunder into who he is today; and Christopher Priest elevated the king of Wakanda by showcasing the struggles of an African king who also doubled as a superhero. Frank Miller came in and re-imagined the "tortured ninja" that is Daredevil and essentially re-created blind lawyer-turned-vigilante, Matt Murdock. Lee's co-creations have inspired many people, like Kevin Eastman and Peter Laird, creators of the Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles, who were inspired by Daredevil and became pop culture icons in their own right. The truth is that the power of Stan Lee lies in that many stories would not exist without his groundwork, regardless of whether he created them. He made readers, the true believers, feel like they were part of a community through his constant communication and interaction with them, cementing a bond between comic creator and comic reader.

Complex Controversy

Though Stan Lee may just be a persona for Stanley Lieber, a character he played for so long he inevitably became him, it should

¹³ Batchelor, *The Man Behind Marvel*, 190.

not be forgotten that he had a grandiose sense of self, and a massive ego that reflected on everything he did. In his self-named "bio-autography" *Excelsior! The Amazing Life of Stan Lee*, he begins the book with not so subtle brags and flattery, even if he doesn't mean to present himself that way. Steve Ditko, in a now historic comic book interview in the 1990's, stated that Lee had the "bare bones" idea for Spider-Man and it was really he who made Spider-Man what he is today. Until his death in 1994, Jack Kirby claimed that Lee was a fraud and it was he who had the ideas for all of their so-called "co-creations" including The Incredible Hulk, Thor and Iron Man. Lee spent the second half of his life engulfed in lawsuits, one of which was his internet-based superhero studio Stan Lee Media, which filed for bankruptcy a little over two years after its initial founding. Under Lee, Marvel capitalized on the universes its characters lived in and found ways to link them together for crossover potential in an effort to expand their profits through films and television, echoing the earlier sentiment of Lee being interested in money and not the art of the comics. Similarly, in a 2010 trial between him and Jack Kirby's estate, they argued that the Fantastic Four were actually singularly the creation of Kirby, his execution of the characters made them what they are today. Lee refutes this, claiming the Fantastic Four were his creation: he wrote the outline and then handed it to Kirby for the artistic concept. John Romita Jr., who worked with Lee on Daredevil, called him a con man, but admitted that he did deliver; Lee never shied away from this statement either, as he was always more than happy to take credit for himself, and more than often forgetting to mention his collaborators. It was for these reasons, along with lack of payment, that Steve Ditko and Jack Kirby left Marvel, and had nothing good to say about Lee until the day they died. An instance of the unequal divide Lee had created as a result of his self-promotion was when he received a five year contract and pay raise, while Kirby received a loan from Marvel's parent company with 6 percent interest. Steve Ditko said in an interview, "The implication is that only Lee has 'ideas.' Only Lee did anything purposefully. The rest of us artists, well, let's face it, we're just

'lucky.'"¹⁴ In that same token, Ditko argued that Lee did not even dialogue their work, claiming Lee would get someone in the office to do it and write his name on it as if he had done the work. In this way, not only did he collect editor's pay, but writer's pay as well. Ditko stated he did not think Lee had a bad head for business, but he did believe that Lee took advantage of the people who worked for him.

Endless lawsuits and discrediting interviews were not the only thing Lee contended with, as a nursing company hired to take care of him accused Lee of sexually assaulting every nurse who went to his home. The company later received a "cease and desist" letter from Tom Lallas, Lee's attorney, stating "Lee had done nothing wrong, and would not be extorted or blackmailed."¹⁵ Lee argues that nothing good in the world would be the way it is without him, and he may not be wrong. However, his success would never have happened without the people that he erased and sometimes exploited to get where he was. It is important to remember the people who helped him create the empire that will forever bear his name.

Carry On

Lee believed in the power of comics to not only be able to reflect aspects of society, but to illuminate the future. When the Black Lives Matter movement began clashing with the police, Lee created a pin with two hands of different color shaking hands with the word "respect" because he believed in the inherent goodness of man, and hoped the pin would remind people that despite race or religion, we are all still people, and we should treat each other as such. It is lessons like these that echo in the depths of Marvel's

¹⁴ Rosie Knight, "The Tangled Web of Stan Lee's Legacy," *Esquire*, November 15, 2018, <https://www.esquire.com/entertainment/movies/a25096722/stan-lee-death-legacy-controversy-lawsuits-sexual-harassment/>.

¹⁵ Angelina Walker, "Nurses Accuse Hollywood Icon Stan Lee of Sexual Harassment," January 10, 2018, nurse.org/articles/nurses-accuse-stan-lee-of-sexual-harrassment/.

comics and create a positive environment for children who need subtlety like that to slowly begin to understand all the complexities of the modern world. Although Lee never got to write his "Great American Novel," he came to a conclusion later on in life:

I used to be embarrassed because I was just a comic-book writer while other people were building bridges or going on to medical careers. And then I began to realize: entertainment is one of the most important things in people's lives. Without it, they might go off the deep end. I feel that if you're able to entertain, you're doing a good thing.¹⁶

Stanley Martin Lieber, lover of words, of books, of movies, of people. It does not have to be said that there will never be another man like him; that is an unequivocal certainty. He saw the good in humanity even though he grew up with every reason not to; an important lesson to learn today in a time when there are so many who are growing up as impoverished as he was. But he is also the light at the end of the tunnel, the proof that there is a way out. His relentless spirit made him a force to be reckoned with, and even though it got him in trouble more often than not, he did everything in his power to cement himself in the history books. No one can take away what Stan created, the legacy he left behind. His work is carried on by those who love and believe not just in comic book stories, but in the lessons they learned. Whether it was all an exaggeration to further his origin or the true tale of a man who came from nothing, he will be forever be remembered as a man who gave us everything.

¹⁶ Batchelor, *Stan Lee*, 190.

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Author Bio

Galilea Navarro would like to thank the editorial board and Dr. Murray for the opportunity to put her insomnia to good use. It has been an honor and a privilege writing for a group of hardworking people. She wants to dedicate this In Memoriam to the comic-book buffs, the movie buffs, the realists, the dreamers, the optimists, the pessimists, and everyone in between.



History in the Making

Travels Through History

This is Jamaica

By Margarita Navarette

Coming from a small town in San Bernardino County, California, most of my teachers advised me to study abroad and gain a world perspective when I attended university as it may be one of the only opportunities that would come my way. Not witnessing the world's beauty and to remain in the same town all my life, scared me. At the end of my second year, I felt stuck and like my window of opportunity closing on me. I felt like one of my mother's birds; trapped in a cage, dependent and unable to take care of myself. Often, I question my dependency on my parents, the difficulty for my parents and the struggles I would face if I did not live in the cage they built me.

During this time in my life, a string of accidents happened that left me with a totaled truck which resulted in an influx of cash. This lump sum of cash made my dreams of studying abroad finally become a reality. This trip offered me a chance to catch up on the necessary graduation requirements I needed to complete for my double major.

Upon visiting the study abroad office, my two main objectives were to take two general requirement courses and choose the cheapest program, and Jamaica was on the top of the list. I decided to do a little research on Jamaica, in order to keep my expectations low. To not create an idealistic version of the island based on Google Images, where the waters glistened, and tourists tanned sitting by the beach or laying poolside, only for

reality to hit the minute I set my eyes on the land and to be stuck there for the duration of the trip. This unappealing scenario kept running through my mind. I did not want my experience to be tainted by the gaze supported in advertisements and other social media websites. All things considered, I decided to take the essentials and go in with few preconceived notions. I prepared for the weather, mosquitoes—although later I found out not enough—and some of the day outings.

The first thing I noticed from the airplane window was the beautiful greenery from all the local flora on the island. Dark green rolling hills getting larger and multiplying brought me so much excitement I could barely contain myself in my seat. I wanted to scream and dance for joy. I was in Jamaica, the beautiful green island of Jamaica. I was overjoyed because it was the first time I had seen anything like this. Being a California native, I have for the most part only been exposed to nothing but barren land with dry brown grass and shrubs. The only time Southern California has greenery is when it rains two weeks out of the year. Seeing the abundance of life and the different hues of green on the island filled my heart with joy, so much it felt as if it would explode. The immense trees and bush along with the crystal clear ocean surrounding Jamaica was something I have only seen in movies. Pictures and video recordings do not do it justice. There is no camera that perfectly captures the natural setting of the island. I felt as if I found a missing piece of my life.

Trelawny is the parish the study abroad program is located in for the majority of the trip, near the main city of Falmouth. In the town square, the locals sell everything from clothes to produce on small wooden stands at the weekly markets. The town of Falmouth had one of the busiest ports during the transatlantic slave trade, with almost one hundred active sugar and rum plantations. Most of these plantations were destroyed and burned to the ground, only leaving the “kind” and most ruthless slave master plantations untouched. The city had running water before New York City, this was in part by the wealthy merchants and businesses in the area contributing to the community. The masons, carpenters, tavern-

keepers, and mariners had bustling businesses in town, benefiting from the construction of plantations. Since the start of Jamaica's emancipation from the British Empire in the 1840s, the town did not experience much economic and infrastructural advancement. The interactions I had with Jamaican people were for the most part very positive. I was welcomed and had meaningful conversations with the people I met, and I walked away appreciative of the human interaction. I was a part of a community, a familiar sentiment usually experienced around family and those close but not strangers. A few women I met walking down the street would offer to put aloe vera on the many mosquito bites I was sporting on my legs. Although it was incredibly sweet, I felt as though it was on the verge of becoming uncomfortably sweet.

An excerpt from *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and His Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World* sparked in-class discussions of the Mammy who took care of the slave master's children better than she took care of her own, while in Jamaica, "Contemporaries thought slave women ... neglected their children and were cruel to them."¹ Further explaining, few female slaves gained the trust of their masters enough to attain responsibility around the household for additional benefits.² This leads readers of Thistlewood's journals to think slave women do not care for their own children, but will care for others' for a more selfish personal gain. By taking on household responsibilities, often lighter and less exhaustive work, the women saved themselves from the gruesome daily work under the blazing sun all other slaves endured. The house mothers, the wonderful women who cleaned and cooked for me and my villa mates, reminded me of the Mammy archetype. After conversing with them, we discovered that they did more than regular chores if the guests requested it. They went above and beyond cleaning and cooking, but usually people who stayed at the villas did not adequately tip

¹ Trevor Burnard, *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and His Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World* (University of North Carolina Press 2004): 221.

² Ibid., 214.

them for their services. I asked myself why would they do such admirable job if they were underpaid? A line from the book, *Freedom's Children: The 1983 Labor Rebellion and the Birth of Modern Jamaica* by Colin A. Palmer, presented a plausible answer, “it is pride in a job well done... (55).”³ The women and men working in the houses have too much pride in their work ethic to do an unacceptable job. I wondered if this was the reason they did their job superbly, or if they did not have any other option. The documentary *Life and Debt* discusses the difficulties Jamaica faced after gaining its independence from England in 1962. The main focus of the film is on the financial crisis they experienced after becoming a free country. The film also examines the horrible working conditions of its citizens and the agricultural deficit farmers encounter in the country.⁴ Speaking with the locals about their jobs and their earnings, I learned the extent of the country’s unfair wages. I would like to think I am relatively in touch with current world news. In high school, my French teacher encouraged us to travel and be more aware of the world around us. From a freshman in high school to a junior in college, I have learned about the different events in other countries, and the exploitation of third world countries by other developed nations. Citizens are used as modern slaves, receiving meager pay and working in undesirable conditions. Slave labor is still in existence and people around the world unknowingly support the cruelty with products they purchase and companies they support.

Many foreign companies that have investments in Jamaica, whether it is a business or factory, abuse the minimal labor laws that protect employees. One person I met while in Jamaica works at a hotel as a pastry chef—considered to be a good job—who gets paid 375 Jamaican dollars an hour, the rough equivalent of three American dollars. However, he does not get paid for the overtime he works almost every day. He creates hundreds of small pastries

³ Colin A. Palmer, *Freedom's Children: The 1983 Labor Rebellion and the Birth of Modern Jamaica* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014): 55.

⁴ *Life and Debt*, directed by Stephanie Black, written by Jamacia Kincaid (New Yorker Films, 2001).

for five different buffets on the hotel property, and runs around constantly trying to keep up with the demand. This information combined with the information of knowing that most of the people on the island do not eat meat or vegetables—depending on their geographic location—on a regular basis because they cannot afford it, puts things into perspective. Many people living in Jamaica do not have enough funds to buy basic necessities, items that should not be considered luxury items. Meat in general is expensive and fresh vegetables were priced higher the deeper into the city you went. To save on buying produce, the Jamaican people eat from the fruit trees scattered all over the island. They, too, are a remnant of the transatlantic slave trade, imported from tropical climates to be planted on the land for the slaves to eat from while working. The country is used for its natural resources, but the foreign companies who have locations in Jamaica do not bother to properly compensate their employees for their hard work.

It is to no surprise that some people turn to the life of crime. On the island there is a high crime rate: scams, theft, stolen identity, etc. While talking to Buds, a bar owner at Fisherman's Beach—a beach outside the gated community the Jamaica program stays at—he explained the different ways in which you can be burglarized and ways to prevent it. The study abroad group worried about the ATMs in the surrounding area, the safety of the machines was discussed nearly every week when someone ran low on cash. The high crime rate is due to ATM fraud being one of the easiest ways a criminal can get fast cash. One can sit on a comfy chair of privilege, then judge and shame a person for participating in crime but the reality of their life must be taken into consideration. The poverty people live in, the daily financial struggle they face, is enough for people to act on inconceivable thoughts, thoughts only people who have “angry madness” can act upon.⁵ There are other crimes that are worse than identity theft that happen on the island, such as rape and murder. Some not directly

⁵ Marlon James, *A Brief History of Seven Killings* (London: Overhead, 2016), 10.

related to money, some having no explanation at all but “every crime makes sense to someone.”⁶ These words were repeated on the days the class discussed *A Brief History of Seven Killings*, the book by Marlon James. Rape and murder are to most a brutal act only madmen can perform but, as the class discovered through the book’s character Bam-Bam, sometimes environment clouds judgement. The actions are not right or excusable, but they cannot be seen as black and white when the conditions they are placed in create a perfect storm of confusion and anger.

During the three short weeks I spent in Jamaica, I was surrounded by the island’s natural beauty and hospitable locals. The information I gained from the Jamaican people, the class readings, and class discussions are going to stay with me for the rest of my life. I left the island with a greater understanding of people in difficult situations and I will try to continue to understand people placed in difficult situations. The positive interactions I had will influence decisions I will make in my lifetime, continuing to study abroad, learning about different cultures, and making connections with people across the globe. This experience has greatly impacted my decision to live in as many countries as I possibly can. I need to continue to broaden my horizons and take advantage of the many opportunities life has to offer me.

⁶ Ibid.

Travels through History



Side of the highway near Kingston



Streets of Kingston

History in the Making



Picture of a shortcut to the main road in Lilliput.



Travels through History



Various marketplaces in Kingston

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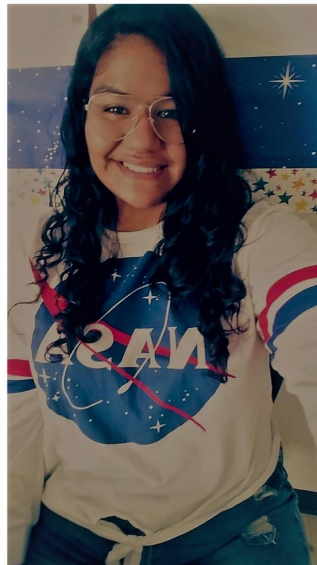
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Author Bio

Margarita Navarrete is currently an undergraduate student in Studio Art and Biology with an emphasis on ecology and evolution. Her interests include travel, global education, and how it ties in with art and religion. She works as a tutor for the Tutoring Center at CSUSB as well as two other organizations working with K-12 students. She hopes to teach science or art abroad for K-12 students after graduation, influencing a young generation of STEM students. She also hopes to accomplish her goal of opening her own art studio or gallery in a different country. After some time off school, she intends to pursue a Master's degree in Fine Arts and use the knowledge, experience, and influence gained throughout life to work her way into politics and make a difference in our communities.



History in the Making

Notes from the Archives

Confucius' Timeless Analects

By Federico Guevara

Employing thousands of performers, the elaborate opening ceremony of the 2008 Olympic games in Beijing paid homage to the major events, people, and inventions that have played important roles throughout Chinese history. During a portion of this ceremony, one important figure was honored as hundreds of men performed a song and dance dressed as ancient Chinese officials. They represented Master Kong, known by his Latinized name as Confucius, an ancient philosopher who helped shape Asian culture. The performers carried with them a book called *The Lun Yu*, or *The Analects*, which is a compilation of the teachings of Confucius and is central to Confucianism. *The Analects* primarily discusses Confucius' thoughts on government, education, and ethics, and is based on the conversations and debates Confucius had during his lifetime, over 2,500 years ago. Though some of it may appear outdated, the most essential goals of *The Analects* as outlined by Confucius himself are as relevant as ever. This primary source interpretation will use two approaches to arrive at the heart of Confucius' comprehensive humanist philosophy.

There are two straightforward ways to read *The Analects* which facilitates their understanding. *The Analects* can be considered a political treatise, providing his ideas on improving government leadership, formed from Confucius' observations and personal experiences with officials. *The Analects* can also be considered a book of etiquette, concerned with describing what Confucius saw as proper conduct and the interactions he deemed necessary to create and maintain a harmonious society. The key concepts and lessons Confucius insisted his followers grasp are

universal as they concern matters beyond China, and are timeless as they deal with enduring social relations.

Because Confucius has had enormous impact in Asia, and especially in China, it made perfect sense to revere him in the Beijing ceremony as an icon of Chinese culture. Lyrics from one of the songs sung by the performers who depicted Confucius in the Olympic ceremony appropriately declared, “We are so delighted to see friends from faraway lands!” These same words are found in the first passage of the first chapter of *The Analects*, and proved fitting for a ceremony which welcomed the entire world.¹ The performers carried what appeared to be wooden accordions, representing the original form of Chinese books. These are assembled from flat sticks, often bamboo, on which people carved script, which were held together by leather strips. Constructed in various sizes, people could roll them up and carry them with ease. Indeed, they were eventually carried out of China when *The Analects* along with other Confucian writings were banned and ordered burned by Qin Shi Huang, the first emperor of China.² The ban proved the first emperor was well aware of what *The Analects* contained; it caused the ruthless Qin emperor to question whether he was the type of leader Confucius advocated for, particularly the Confucian ideal of a benevolent leader.

The philosopher illustrated his intense emphasis on correct leadership through a seemingly simple interaction with a disciple, which truly speaks volumes. When asked for his thoughts on government by Kung Tsze, a student, Confucius focused on who should manage it; beginning his answer by stating that the requisites of government are that there be sufficiency of food, sufficient military equipment, and confidence of the people in their ruler. When Kung Tsze asked which of the three should be relinquished first if it cannot be helped, Confucius answered that it was military equipment. When Kung Tsze asked again which of

¹ Confucius, “Confucian Analects,” in *The Art of War and Other Classics of Eastern Philosophy* (San Diego, CA: Canterbury Classics, 2016), 239.

² Jennifer Oldstone-Moore, *Confucianism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 15.

the remaining two should be dispensed with if needed, Confucius concluded they should part with the food as death is inescapable to all who have lived, “but if the people have no faith in their rulers, there is no standing for the state.”³ Confidence and admiration for a leader by his subjects is the chief component in government, according to Confucius.

When Confucius described the type of leaders who should lead, he fixated on their personal character above all. Emphasizing that if a leader should lead by example, then they would be respected and cherished. He said, “when a prince’s personal conduct is correct, his government is effective without the issuing of orders. If his personal conduct is not correct, he may issue orders, but they will not be followed.”⁴ Confucius’ disdain for the severe penalization of a country’s subjects along with his faith in the inherently upright nature of the populace, may be interpreted as naïve. However, he was realistic enough to know that positive changes in a society would not happen overnight. He said change in culture as a whole would come “if good men were to govern a country in succession for a hundred years, it would become possible to transform the violently cruel, and do away with capital punishments.”⁵ Even so, Confucius understood succeeding generations of exemplary leaders would be fruitless if their subjects are not educated.

Understanding that an arrogant, uncaring, and ignorant leader would drag a nation down from greatness may seem like common sense to modern knowledgeable citizens, but during Confucius’ time, it needed to be said. Confucius was born at a time when the land known today as China was splintered. The once prolific and strong Zhou Dynasty had split apart, and new

³ Arthur Waley, *The Analects of Confucius* (New York: Random House, 1989), 164.

⁴ Ezra Pound, *Confucius: Unwobbling Pivot, The Great Digest, The Analects* (New York: New Directions, 1951), 250.

⁵ Confucius, “Confucian Analects,” 303.

kingdoms were constantly at war.⁶ As young Confucius grew, he observed that whoever had the greatest military strength dictated the rules, be they qualified and legitimate or not. Confucius became convinced that order would come, in part, when benevolent as well as educated people learned from the past and rose to the top.⁷ While education alone does not guarantee integrity in a person, Confucius' beliefs can be proven true today, as a highly educated and cultured leader can be more effective and diplomatic in a more sophisticated and globalized world. It may be self-evident that it is beneficial to society when a leader is someone to emulate because they are virtuous, but it is also a choice which today may be taken for granted.

Confucius also emphasized the importance of learning, which he believed was the key to improving oneself and society. Leaders, according to Confucius, were supposed to be the brightest and most educated people in society; they were to be kind and considerate, and above all they had to be exemplary so that everyone would seek to emulate them. When referring to the masses, Confucius was pragmatic and hopeful that through an educated public, society as a whole would benefit. He was a revolutionary for his time, saying, "in education there should be no class distinction."⁸ The core of his message is concerned with everyone being properly educated, whether ruler or subject, and becoming a considerate and respectable person who leads by example and learns from the past.

There is a strong humanist thread that binds together the majority of what Confucius discusses with his disciples. The philosophy in *The Analects* is not overly complex; he does not spend too much time on metaphysics or theoretical questions about the meaning of life. In what sounds like pure secular humanism, Confucius upset the Daoists of his time by telling his disciples, "It is man who can make The Way great, and not The Way that can

⁶ Louise Slavicek, *Religions of the World: Confucianism* (San Diego, CA: Lucent Books, 2002), 19.

⁷ Oldstone-Moore, *Confucianism*, 44.

⁸ Pound, *Confucius*, 269.

make man great.”⁹ Nevertheless, his practical political and social philosophy is slightly integrated with traditional Chinese cosmology, his ideal society was said to be inspired by a perfect order found only in an ethereal paradise. Disregarding supernatural concepts of his time even further, Confucius added, “I spent a whole day without food and a whole night without sleep in order to meditate. It was no use. The better plan is to learn.”¹⁰ Confucius simply had no interest in what he thought to be unknowable.

This practical approach is what differentiates Confucius from most others who are considered founders of world religions. When one of his disciples, Chi Lu, asked of Confucius, “how should we serve the spirits of the dead?” Confucius answered, “while we are not yet able to serve men, how can we serve spiritual beings?”¹¹ Throughout *The Analects*, Confucius is clearly interested in talking about the tangible and functional. Though much of what he espouses is rooted in Chinese traditions, especially a deep and ritualistic reverence for ancestors, it is clear that government, education, and etiquette generally have precedence over the mystical in his conversations, and admittedly in his mind. As Chi Lu pressed Confucius about the afterlife, he sought clarification stating, “I venture to ask about death,” and Confucius again sought to shift the focus of his disciple to matters of the world, saying, “if we do not yet know about life, how can we know about death?”¹² Confucius was able to speak on ethics and advocated people be considerate of one another without invoking any supernatural rewards or threats. This is why Confucianism can still resonate with anyone in any part of the world today.

To be sure, Confucius never rejected the claim that there was a supernatural creator being, and he is not known to have been an agnostic atheist. Yet his approach to society's ills is predominantly secular and therefore far more applicable and

⁹ Waley, *Analects*, 199.

¹⁰ Confucius, “Confucian Analects,” 321.

¹¹ Pound, *Confucius*, 239.

¹² Ibid.

approachable in today's pluralistic democracies. Because we live in an increasingly interconnected and secular world, people from all ideologies and walks of life are able to communicate and work together towards similar interests like never before, connecting despite their varied sacred worldviews.¹³ The last American president, a Christian family man, had his own personal morals, yet accepted and understood our diverse world could benefit from a humanist perspective and ethics, just as Confucius espoused. President Barack Obama exemplified this understanding in his profound 2006 speech addressing faith and politics:

Democracy demands that the religiously motivated translate their concerns into universal, rather than religion-specific, values. It requires that their proposals be subject to argument, and amenable to reason. I may be opposed to abortion for religious reasons, but if I seek to pass a law banning the practice, I cannot simply point to the teachings of my church or evoke God's will. I have to explain why abortion violates some principle that is accessible to people of all faiths, including those with no faith at all.¹⁴

If Confucius were alive today, he would have delighted in the opportunity to witness the rise to leadership a people who understood his humanist approach to improving society.

The most democratically developed countries in the world where people enjoy the most freedoms and rights, have almost fully non-religious government practices and laws meant to apply to everyone equally, while those that base their civic institutions on

¹³ Gabe Bullard, "The World's Newest Major Religion: No Religion," *National Geographic*, April 22, 2016, news.nationalgeographic.com/2016/04/160422-atheism-agnostic-secular-nones-rising-religion/

¹⁴ Barack Obama, "Faith and Politics Speech. Building a Covenant for a New America Conference," *New York Times*, June 28, 2006, nytimes.com/2006/06/28/us/politics/2006obamaspeech.html.

local supernatural beliefs and dogmatism tend to stagnate human rights and are generally isolationist. A student living in the most diverse part of one of the most diverse states of the most diverse country, will not have an easy time trying to explain why others should live a certain way by offering their own religion as the reason. Confucius understood this over 2,500 years ago, seeing that it is better to find common ground in what can be known, than to let the unknowable divide the people.

Confucius came to his conclusions by observing the world around him, understanding how men had shaped it, and in turn understanding that people could also change it. He taught this without claiming to be divine or the descendant of a deity, and despite being considered the founder of a religion, his teachings can certainly resonate with a nonreligious society. In countries enjoying the most freedoms, the majority of laws are based on what is better for the greatest number of people regardless of a certain group's opinion on the supernatural. This world view is applicable today more than ever, and reading Confucius should not intimidate or cause discomfort to even the most pious westerner.

Approaching *The Analects* from an angle that sees Confucius concerned with morals, interactions between people, and proper conduct as opposed to managing governments, Confucius' philosophy becomes more intimate. The essence of Confucius' teachings on ethics, that is to say, his social philosophy, is illuminated by analyzing the more personal conversations he had with his disciples, while serving as their moral guide. There are instances when the humanist teacher encourages his followers to see and treat any and all people as they would their own family. He comforts a worried Szema Niu, who has lost friends and feels alone, by telling him that if any man has been "respectful to others and observant of propriety, then all within the four seas will be his brothers. What has the superior man to do with being distressed because he has no brothers?"¹⁵

¹⁵ Confucius, "Confucian Analects," 296.

Stemming from this concept of kindness towards others, numerous passages in *The Analects* allude to the Golden Rule; which simply states one should treat others as they themselves would like to be treated. Nearly every major religion, culture, government, and even secular groups have held this as a fundamental factor of their ethical code throughout the history of the globe, and Confucianism is no exception. When discussing with his disciple, Tzu Kung, that taking good care of others is what makes a man complete, Confucius urges Tzu Kung improve himself in order to then be able to also improve others, because, “in fact, the ability to take one’s own feelings as a guide -that is the sort of thing that lies in the direction of Goodness.”¹⁶ This is where we can find the root of the Golden Rule, in use 2,500 years ago.

While various other passages indicate how much importance Confucius placed on the Golden Rule, in other speeches and debates he noted that there is a more important, though similar, philosophy to live by. Tzu Kung asked his master a question hardly anyone would be able to answer in their lifetime, which was whether there was a single saying that could serve as the guiding principle for conduct throughout life. Confucius answered, “sympathy, what you do not want done to yourself, do not inflict on others.”¹⁷ This negative form of the Golden Rule has greater significance for Confucius himself, as this was his answer to his student’s poignant question, and is often repeated by Confucius in other variations throughout *The Analects*.

Because no one person can know what is best for all others due to their own individual experiences, or fathom what all others desire based on their own personal taste, this restrained, and more altruistic form of the Golden Rule as Confucius emphasizes it is far more applicable to many more situations than the original. The original form of the Golden Rule does not take into account diversity; it projects onto others our own individual preferences. A simple example is when meeting someone for the first time, a

¹⁶ Waley, *Analects*, 122.

¹⁷ Pound, *Confucius*, 266.

person may want to shake hands, while the other may be accustomed to kissing, or one may want to bow while another might prefer a hug. In that moment, any of these actions may appear disrespectful towards the other person if intentions are misinterpreted. Though this is a basic example, assuming that everyone likes the same things consistently, could lead to aggravation or hostile confrontation in greater and more crucial situations.

Confucius was a keen observer and deep thinker who regularly reached the same conclusions as deified figures of world religions, but his conclusions could nevertheless be archaic by today's standards. As perceptive and sharp as Confucius' viewpoints on ethics and government appear to be, other social values and moralistic teachings by him seem sexist and outdated at first glance. Confucius' belief that every person must have ethical duties to fulfil developed into the idea that everyone has a specific role to follow in relation to others' roles. From the whole of Confucian literature emerged the Five Constant Relationships, which are believed to bring order to society. Subjects are to be loyal to rulers, children are to be obedient to parents, wives are to be understanding of their husbands, younger siblings are to be respectful of their older ones, and younger friends must be reverential to their older friends. While these relationships seem unfair, sexist, and outdated in contemporary society, Confucius should not shoulder the blame; the Five Constant Relationships were compiled centuries after his death by Mencius, Confucius' own version of Plato, and other neo-Confucian leaders.¹⁸

Furthermore, these are not relationships where only a single side benefits; one must earn their place of superiority by being a worthy mentor in the life of another. In order for the inferior to be respectful at all, the superior must love, care for, guide, and set a good example for them; Confucius is clear about this throughout

¹⁸ Thomas Hoobler, *Confucianism* (New York: Facts On File, 1993), 77.

many of his lessons.¹⁹ A position of leadership in any relationship must be acquired through merit, and comes with its own set of duties as well. Rulers should be benevolent, parents are to be loving, husbands must do good and be fair, the elder sibling is to be kind, and older friends are to be considerate. The position of superiority in each of these five relationships is held based on worth and ability and carries its own obligations, otherwise the entire relationship ceases to exist.²⁰

Another criticism can be directed against Confucius' concept of the superior man, which he repeatedly mentions. His ideal exemplary gentleman, or *Chuntzu*, which literally translates to the son of a lord or nobleman, a term fundamentally sexist, may imply women cannot lead or be exemplary. However, while the term *Chuntzu* is technically a political status for gentlemen, Confucius continually uses the term to indicate a cultivated person in whom all virtues are developed, and who can be a guide and an example of integrity to others. Confucius, perhaps unintentionally, transforms the narrow term. He repeatedly uses the term, not to denote a specific political status of men, but instead to designate a moral reputation to be desired, removing gender from the word. Therefore, women, too, can be exemplary and superior leaders—by following the teachings of Confucius, of course.

Throughout *The Analects*, Confucius may be old fashioned at times, a man of his time and a true conservative. However, Confucius himself tells his trusted disciples what is of most importance to him: people of integrity should lead, and lead with kindness, and everyone should value education and practice empathy toward each other. That is the essence and goal of his life's work and message found in *The Analects*, which is universal and timeless still. Waiting for powerful people to adopt this mindset may lead someone to grow old and quite frustrated in a

¹⁹ Tim Murphy and Ralph Weber, "Confucianizing Socrates and Socratizing Confucius: on Comparing Analects 13:18 and the Authyphro," *Philosophy East & West* 60, no. 2 (April 1, 2010): 193.

²⁰ Will Buckingham, *The Philosophy Book: Big Ideas Simply Explained* (London: DK Publishing, 2011), 38.

corrupt society just as Confucius did. Nevertheless, they are honorable objectives which should never be abandoned if we value civilization.

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Author Bio

Federico Guevara is an undergraduate History major at CSUSB, and his primary academic focus is American history through the Cold War. He has been a Supplemental Instruction leader for various World History courses at CSUSB, and holds several Associate's degrees in the Social Sciences. After graduating, he hopes to teach history while also in pursuit of a Master's degree and PhD in History. He would like to thank the journal editors for their excellent work, the faculty of the CSUSB History Department, and his family for their encouragement.

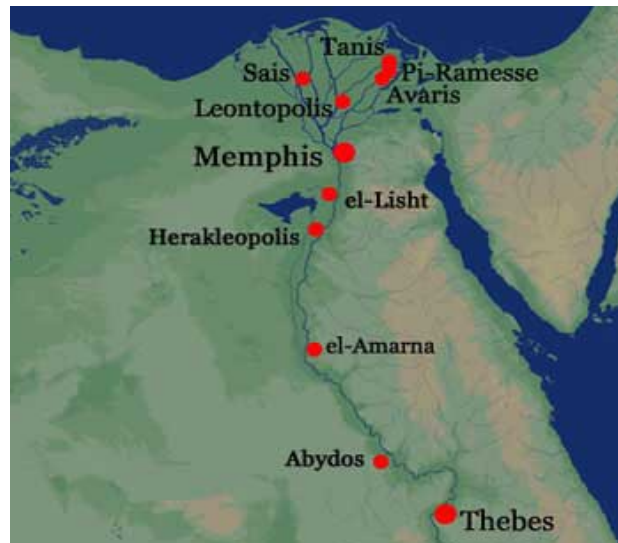


History in the Making

Vision of a Visionary: Summoning the Aten into a Physical Space Through the Use of Architecture

By Alma Lilia Jimenez

From Admired Revolutionary to Misunderstood Visionary



Few great cult leaders are born into greatness, even fewer are born into royalty and ascend to a throne. In Akhenaten's case, all it took was the death of his brother Thutmose to propel him to the position of crown prince and later pharaoh during the 18th Dynasty. According to Michael Mallison, Akhenaten was the second son of Amenhotep III (one of the more successful Egyptian kings) and his main wife, Queen Tiye. While he may not have been the intended heir, he was nonetheless crowned Amenhotep IV and reigned over

Egypt during a time of peace. Expectations were high for Amenhotep IV, given his father's accomplishments and reputation for using his "extensive building program to elevate his position in the divine order and to reformulate worship within the city" of Thebes.¹ Amenhotep III's building program undoubtedly influenced his son's future goals, namely Akhenaten's visions of the sun-disk Aten, which encouraged him to dream higher, expand his horizons and spread the one true faith of the Aten.²

The concept of the Aten was not a new one, and other pharaohs made references to him during their kingships. Hatshepsut and Thutmose IV both acknowledged the Aten as a means of enhancing their legitimacy as rulers. Thutmose IV battled "with the Aten before him" and campaigned to convert foreigners into servants of the sun-disk.³ Hatshepsut proudly declared that she was "(also) the Aten who procreated the beings, who bound up the earth and finished its shapes."⁴ Even Amenhotep III promoted the sun deity: his boat's name was the "Radiance of the Aten," which he sailed during the opening of Birket Habu.⁵

Norman Davies drew examples to explain the parallels found between the religious practices of the sun-deities of Amun-Ra and the Aten. In some cases, the names could have been used interchangeably until Akhenaten chose to create a solid distinction between the two. In elevating this lesser god, he also chose to promote the idea of monotheism by shutting down sun temples in Thebes. He chose to change his name from Amenhotep IV to Akhenaten, then chose to replace the traditional concept of an

¹ Michael Mallinson, "The Sacred Landscape," in *Pharaohs of the Sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamun*, ed. Rita E. Freed, Sue D'Auria, and Yvonne J. Markowitz (Boston: Bulfinch Press, 1999), 72.

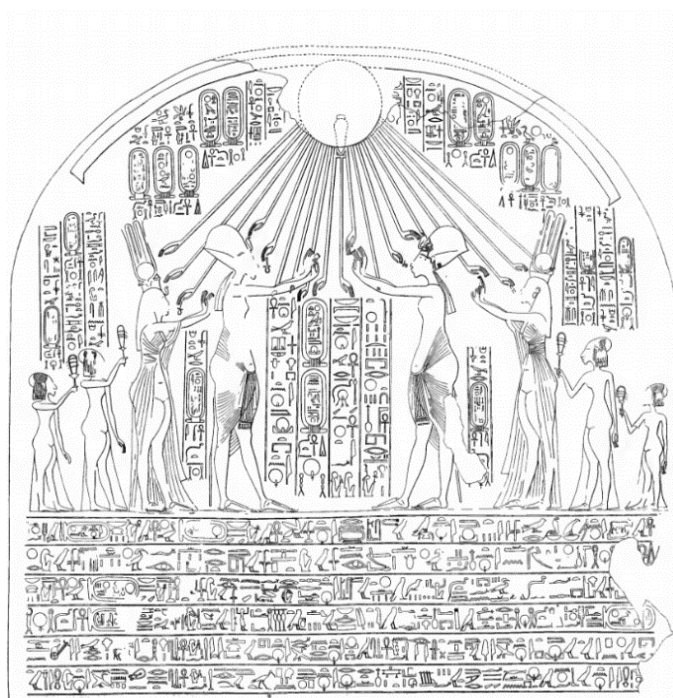
² *Ibid.*, 74.

³ Alexander Badawy, "The Symbolism of the Temple at 'Amarna'," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 87 no. 1, (1962): 79.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Mallinson, "The Sacred Landscape," 74.

anthropomorphic representation for a god with a simplified image of a sun-disk with rays reaching out.⁶



Constructing a Dream into Reality

Barry Kemp, who wrote extensively on Amarna, described how the city of Thebes was built on the east bank of the Nile River. The main temple in Karnak (which was dedicated to Amun-Ra) faced the river and ran southeast; Amarna followed a similar design in its layout. In the central city of Amarna, the three places that used the most architectural stone and ran parallel to the river were the Great

⁶ Norma De Garis Davis, "The Rock Cut Tombs of El Amarna: Part I. The Tomb of Meryra," in *Archaeological Survey of Egypt*, ed. Egypt Exploration Society (London: The Office of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1903), 44-45.

Palace, the Great Temple of the Aten and the Small Temple of the Aten.⁷ Evidence of an early attempt to build the Great Aten Temple can be found in the hasty construction of the Small Aten Temple. Karnak already had examples of temples being constructed or indications of having been built in the Atenist style by the time Amarna began to take shape, but Akhenaten found even the great constructions at Karnak unsuitable for the expansion of Atenism.⁸

According to Davies, the location of Amarna (which Akhenaten named Akhetaten) was essential to establishing the Cult of Aten, so much so that the new pharaoh was willing to relocate the religious and administrative capital of Egypt there. Akhenaten wanted to make Amarna the “soil where the worship of Aten could flourish in purity, uncontaminated by older traditions and without being overshadowed by a more imposing cult.”⁹ His preliminary building trials at Karnak in Thebes were unsuccessful despite his best attempts; Ra’s influence proved too great to overcome. Upon finding his suitably virgin land, Akhenaten had a series of fourteen stelaes engraved and placed around the invisible bounds of the city instead of enclosing it within a wall like other religious cities.¹⁰ Within one of the first boundary stelaes he proclaimed, “I will make Akhetaten for the Aten my father in this place.”¹¹

Davies further states that the construction of the city began almost immediately. In under two years Akhenaten was able to relocate the capital and its people from Thebes to Amarna, even though the city was still incomplete.¹² Tombs were constructed first, bearing images of his idealized vision for the city. While the

⁷ Barry Kemp, “The City of the Sun-God,” in *The City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti: Amarna and Its People* (London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd., 2012), 79.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 84.

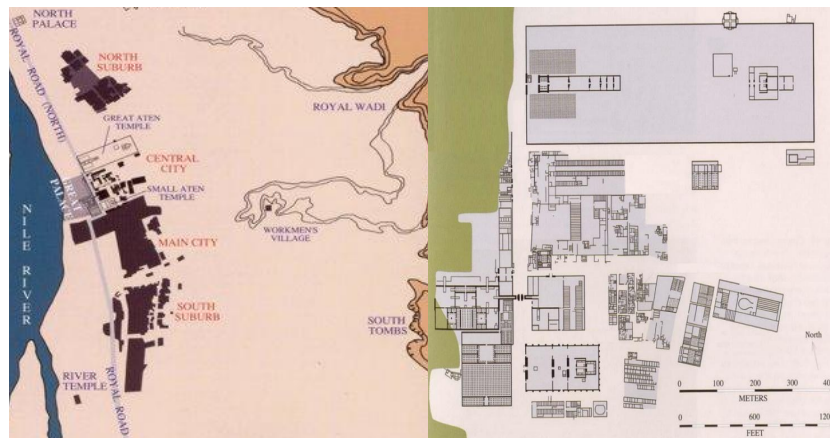
⁹ Norma De Garis Davis, “The Rock Cut Tombs of El Amarna: Part V. Smaller Tombs and Boundary Stelaes,” in *Archaeological Survey of Egypt*, ed. Egypt Exploration Society (London: The Office of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1908), 20.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹² *Ibid.*, 20.

new city did share some similarities with the art conceptualization found in the tombs, it was not an exact reproduction. Even so, it demonstrates the level of direct decision-making that Akhenaten had in the construction of his new monument to the Aten. “I will make Akhetaten for the Aten my Father upon the Orient side of Akhetaten, the place which he did enclose for his own self with cliff.”¹³ From the grounds of this new location, when looking towards the eastern mountains, the sun would rise above the horizon line of the desert cliffs.¹⁴ Aten’s special place, according to Kemp, was the desert, especially at the point of sunrise in the eastern mountains.¹⁵ Given this knowledge, one could see why Akhenaten would have considered Amarna the ideal location to create his monument to the Aten.



The central city of Amarna was influenced by the south/north orientation of the temples found in Thebes. To the east, there were desert cliffs which contained the royal and private tombs built prior to completion of the central city. By the end of the king’s fourth

¹³ Ibid., 30.

¹⁴ Kemp, “The City of the Sun-God,” 82.

¹⁵ Ibid., 94.

year as pharaoh, the city contained multiple temples and palaces in addition to the royal and private tombs.¹⁶ The Great Palace, the Great Aten Temple and the Small Aten Temple were along the Royal Road and within a short distance of the Nile River's east bank. Within the Great Aten Temple, the Long Temple and a field of offering-tables were at the western end while the Sanctuary was on the eastern side and centered on a longitudinal axis.¹⁷ According to Ian Shaw the construction "of ramps and steps [...] leading to the alters surrounded by parapets" was a distinctive feature of temples to the Aten.¹⁸

Of the two Aten temples, the smaller one appears to be constructed as temporary rather than permanent and is not fully and clearly acknowledged in tomb pictures. Kemp explains that the alternative names of the Great Temple of the Aten can actually be applied to both the small and larger temples. "The Great Aten Temple to the north is the 'House of the Aten' while the one Small Aten Temple to the south could be the 'Mansion of the Aten.'"¹⁹ He supports this claim by pointing out that royal mortuary temples in Thebes generally pointed to the royal tomb. The Small Temple seems to fulfill the function of a mortuary temple since it points to the entrance of the Royal Wadi and Akhenaten's tomb. "The idea of two temples was thus in the king's mind from the outset" even if an explanation has not been found as to why the tomb pictures illustrate only one "idealized Aten temple in use."²⁰

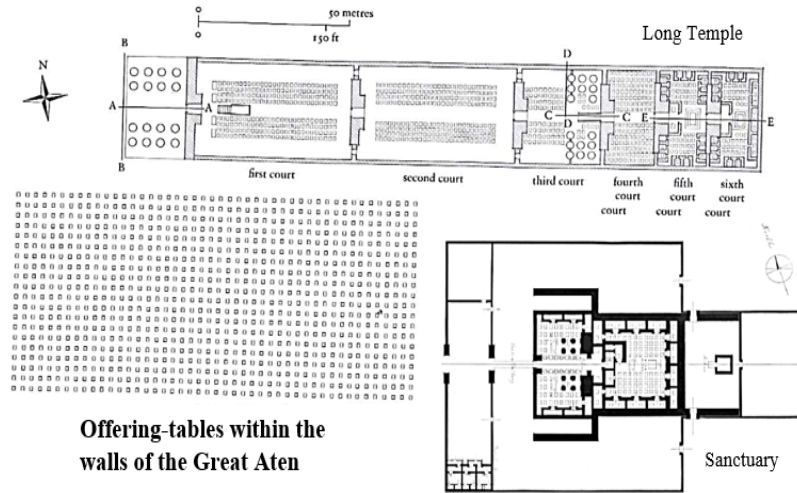
¹⁶ De Garis Davis, "Part V," 20.

¹⁷ Badawy, "The Symbolism of the Temple at 'Amarna'," 80.

¹⁸ Ian Shaw, "Balustrades, Stairs and Alters in the Cult of the Aten at el-Amarna," in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 80 no. 1 (1994): 112.

¹⁹ Kemp, "The City of the Sun-God," 84.

²⁰ Ibid.



Uniqueness: The Great Temple of the Aten

The Great Temple was one of the earliest buildings constructed at Amarna, consisting of three main structures: The Long Temple, the field of offering-tables and the Sanctuary. The Great Aten Temple was composed of a mud-brick wall measuring 800 by 300 meters that enclosed a nearly empty area. The main entrance was centered on the west side of the structure and flanked by a pair of enormous pylons that measured 22 meters by 5 meters.²¹ Excavations done at the Great Temple suggest that all the temples there were open to the sky.²² The tomb scenes support the archaeological findings and confirm the sun-disk temples had that characteristic.²³ The Sanctuary may have contained the *benben*, even though the tomb art does not support that notion.²⁴ Pictures of the temple do display a round-topped stela, accompanied by a statue of the king sitting

²¹ Ibid., 87.

²² Ibid., 96.

²³ Badawy, "The Symbolism of the Temple at 'Amarna'," 80.

²⁴ The *benben* is the representative of the primordial mound that arose from the waters of creation in Egyptian myth.

next to it.²⁵ The Sanctuary also had “arms” coming out of either side at the front of the Sanctuary. It was features like these that Badawy calls “new unknown elements [that] appear for the first time and will never occur again.”²⁶

Another unique aspect of the Great Temple was the use of land within its walls; it had “a huge central space almost devoid of features.”²⁷ No evidence was found to suggest that this area had been intended for gardening or that it served as tree plantation considering there were no “traces of irrigation installations.”²⁸ Compared to the inside of the Long Temple and the Sanctuary, or other buildings dedicated to sun-god worship, all of which had numerous architectural features, the center of the Great Temple is architecturally deserted. According to Badawy, there were 365 offering-tables within the Long Temple, a little over 900 in the field south of it and 52 inside the Sanctuary.²⁹

Overall, Kemp estimates that there may have been as many as 1,700 offering-tables within the Great Temple.³⁰ Based on claims made by excavators in the 1930s, there may have been another set of offering-tables to the north of the Long Temple, but Kemp argues there is not sufficient information to determine that. Further excavation in that part of the temple is difficult due to a modern Muslim cemetery currently located there.³¹ The Long Temple consists of even more offering tables with the second court, serving as the site for important religious function for the Royal Family.³²

²⁵ Kemp, “The City of the Sun-God,” 83.

²⁶ Badawy, “The Symbolism of the Temple at ‘Amarna’,” 79.

²⁷ Kemp, “The City of the Sun-God,” 93.

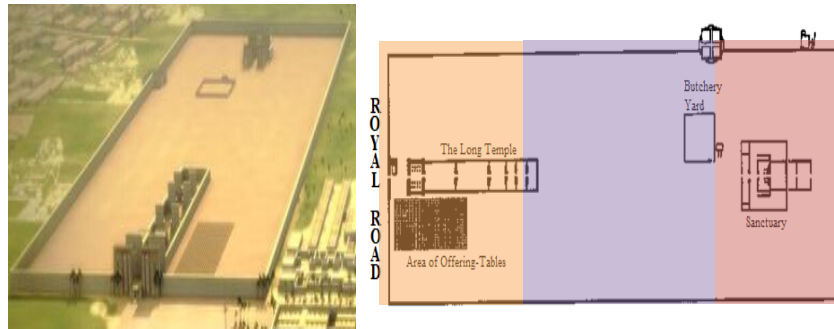
²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Badawy, “The Symbolism of the Temple at ‘Amarna’,” 82-86.

³⁰ Kemp, “The City of the Sun-God,” 92.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid., 81.



Thesis: Coexistence with the Aten

Kemp argued that “conventional temples were designed to sweep the imagination into a straight line from the river frontage to the concealed sanctuary at the back of the temple.”³³ Akhenaten, in his attempts towards making the faith appealing to the people, gave them a direction to focus their acts of devotion towards.³⁴ The Small Temple and the Sanctuary within it, called the Mansion of the Aten, had a role similar to the royal mortuary temples at Thebes.³⁵ At the spring equinox, the Small Temple would point to the sunrise and the Royal Tomb at the same time.³⁶ The general “intention to direct prayers and offerings to the sun was sufficient and outweighed the need for the considerable extra labour required to orient a tomb at other than right-angles.”³⁷

Akhenaten went to great lengths, both metaphorically and physically, to create a proper monument to the sun-disk Aten. While Amarna as the religious and administrative capital of Egypt may have been short lived, it was Akhenaten’s direct authority over the planning and construction of the city that demonstrates the power he invoked to support his religious beliefs. The tomb art

³³ Ibid., 80.

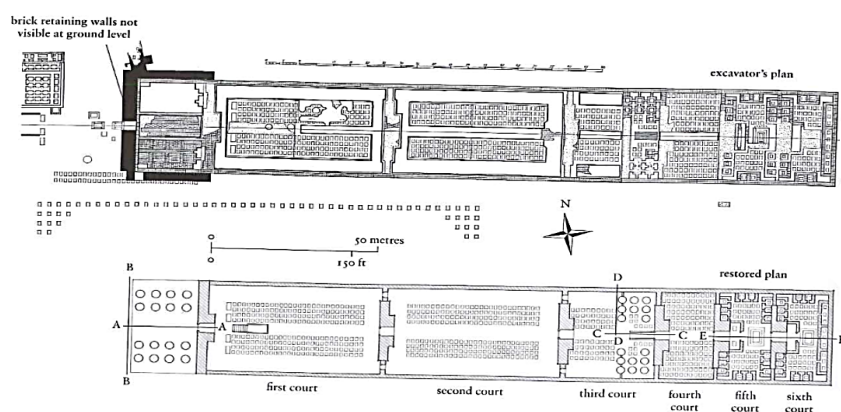
³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid., 84.

³⁶ Ibid., 82.

³⁷ Ibid.

shows a connection between the physical realm and the godly one through the use of offering-tables and offerings to the Aten. To what extent did the architecture of the central city, but more specifically the architecture of the Great Temple of the Aten present the idea that it was the place of the Aten? In other words, given the Amarna architectural style that emerged almost as swiftly as it vanished, was the Great Temple able to summon the Aten from the divine realm and bring him into a sanctified place?



Architecture for the Royals: Leading a Cult by Example

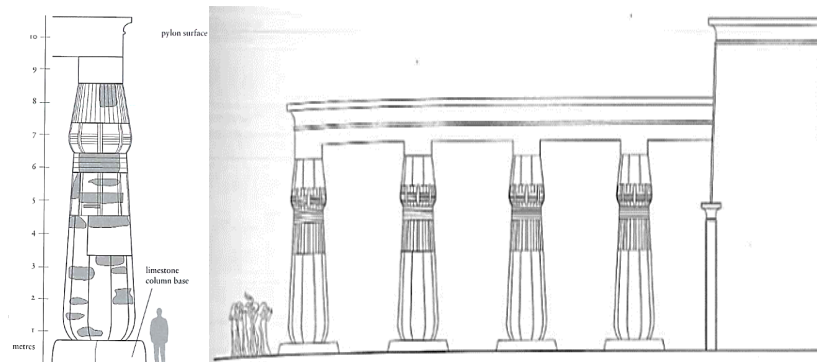
The abundance of offering scenes featuring the Royal Family were unlike the depictions previously found with other pharaohs. According to Kemp, Akhenaten and his kin would stand in front of the offering tables, always facing the Aten yet never looking directly at the sun-disk.³⁸ In the art, archeologists found a depiction of Akhenaten and Nefertiti standing on top of a platform in front of offering tables. A structure similar to these two tables can be found within the second court of the Long Temple.³⁹ Worshippers present received the honor of being able to witness the royal family performing rituals at the center of their faith. Their art not only invoked ritual magic by physically inscribing it, but inscribing in

³⁸ Ibid., 81.

³⁹ Ibid., 91.

stone symbolically made it stronger through permanence. After such a divergence from religious tradition, from many gods to only one, one might wonder to what extent the rituals, practices and faith surrounding Aten's worship involved the populace?

Kemp argues that while there are two contradicting theories regarding the inclusiveness of the faith, the idea of a private practice by an exclusive elite seems to be the more realistic assumption.⁴⁰ The idea of an exclusive religion is further supported by evidence found outside the central city of Amarna and in the suburbs. Serving as a minor comparison, the "private chapels at the Workmen's Village probably served 'ancestor cults'" instead of the Aten's.⁴¹ Excavations within the Amarna suburbs did yield evidence that the larger population still clung to their polytheistic ideology.⁴² The considerable number of offering-tables that were found in the outer court of the Long Temple were likely reserved for privileged citizens of Amarna. It was at the offering-tables outside the second court where Akhenaten's supporters could receive their own offerings.⁴³



⁴⁰ Ibid., 105.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Anne Stevens, "The Private Religion at Amarna: The Material Evidence," (Oxford, England: British Museum of Archaeological Reports, 2006), 294.

⁴³ Badawy, "The Symbolism of the Temple at 'Amarna'," 84.

Architecture for the Masses: Following a Cult Via Example

The Sanctuaries found at the Great Temple and Small Temple of the Aten are replicas of one another.⁴⁴ Due to their height, the pylons found at the Small Aten Temple Sanctuary resembled mountainous landmarks when viewed from the ground and from far away.⁴⁵ These pylons likely served as a deeper connection to the simplified symbolism that Akhenaten endorsed. Kemp suggests that “the Sanctuary stood for the Horizon of the Aten” and from a ground perspective it elevated the eastern cliffs.⁴⁶ Therefore, the Sanctuary’s location, to the east side of the Long Temple and the field of offering-tables, was enhanced during the celebration of the progression of the sun.⁴⁷

Offering-tables were a reoccurring scene in all sacred places associated with the Cult of the Aten. In examining written material, pictures and reconstructions of buildings, there is always one reoccurring question: why were there so many offering tables situated inside and outside the structures of the Great Temple? Perhaps the quantities of tables inside the Long Temple are linked to a solar calendar associated with the bissextile year. If so, as Badawy points out, the Egyptian texts make no mention of any association.⁴⁸ Kemp, however, offers a more reasonable interpretation which makes sense when considering Akhenaten’s attempts at simplifying the worship of the Aten:

All temple income was classed as ‘offerings’, but only a token was ever presented before the gods. Akhenaten seems to have been following a more literal interpretation of the practice, setting out quantifies that might have approached a more

⁴⁴ Kemp, “The City of the Sun-God,” 94.

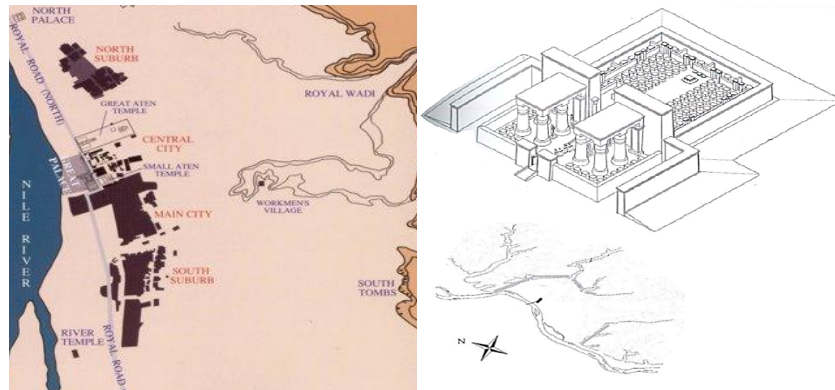
⁴⁵ Ibid., 86.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 94.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Badawy, “The Symbolism of the Temple at ‘Amarna’,” 82.

realistic representation of the full temple income.
What you saw was what existed.⁴⁹



Architecture for the Divine: The Horizon of the Aten

The use of symbolism and the performance of magic was essential to religious ideology before, during and after the Amarna period. Badawy believed that the back of the Sanctuary being 1354 cubits may have represented “1354 years of the Gods before the foundation of Memphis.”⁵⁰ Or, Akhenaten may have wanted to portray a feeling of “increased optimism corresponds to the advance of humanitarian sentiment.”⁵¹ A reflection of this idea can be found in the openness and lack of roofing within the temples, and the lack of a city boundary or defensive wall. Davis noted that the Cult of Aten treated the sun-disk as a visible orb, whose nightly journey was not supposed to influence the lives of mortals. It was through this practicality of worship that the “destructive and oppressive action of the sun” was not taken into consideration and the Aten was a presence of benevolence, not fear.⁵² There was a

⁴⁹ Kemp, “The City of the Sun-God,” 93.

⁵⁰ Badawy, “The Symbolism of the Temple at ‘Amarna’,” 84.

⁵¹ De Garis Davis, “Part I,” 47.

⁵² Ibid.

sense of “gratitude and a sense of dependence [which] are regarded as the natural motives of piety.”⁵³

The walls of the Great Temple were not meant to exclude but instead to enclose and designate the area as a sacred place. The original name of the location, Akhetaten, was a clear indication of a link between the physical city and the divine. Mallison points out the composition of the name Akhetaten: it comes from the combination of “akhet” which meant horizon and “Aten” which is self-explanatory. The traditional image of this concept was “represented by an image of the sun cradled between two mountain peaks” much like the hieroglyph.⁵⁴ “Aten’s special place was the desert, especially his place of the sunrise in the eastern mountain” which the pylons of the Sanctuary could have represented.⁵⁵

With this knowledge in mind, the layout and architecture of the Great Temple can be understood as an ensemble made up of three sections, each meant to symbolize parts of the surrounding geography. The goal was to simplify how the sun-disk Aten was summoned to the terrestrial plane, which Akhenaten would then consecrate for his worshippers. Kemp supports this idea by stating that to the west, the temple and field of offering-tables represented the city where people would gather to celebrate the sunrise. The gradual incline found within the temples via the use of steps and ramps represented the ascending terrain as one approached the eastern cliffs. The openness of the center represented the desert, which was the Aten’s special place, and to the east the Sanctuary represented the eastern cliffs.⁵⁶ Thus, the arrangement and placement of the Great Temple is an example of a divine *mise en abyme*.⁵⁷ The architecture of the Great Temple is a microcosm of the geography which, itself, links the terrestrial to the divine.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Mallison, “The Sacred Landscape,” 75.

⁵⁵ Kemp, “The City of the Sun-God,” 94.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ The technique of placing a copy of an image within an image, similar to the effect of standing between two mirrors. Thus, Akhenaten has recreated the image of the world within the world.

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Author Bio

Alma Lilia Jiménez (commonly known as Soul) graduates from CSUSB in spring 2019, receiving her Bachelor's degree in Public and Oral History. She was Vice President of CSUSB's History Club (2018-2019) and a member of the Phi Alpha Theta Honor's Society. Her academic interests include architectural history, with an emphasis on religious architecture history, conservation, and collections management. Special thanks to Nicolas Roux for all his encouragement and support, without his infectious enthusiasm this paper may not have been completed. Additional thanks to James Martin and the rest of the Atenist group for making long hours of research fun.



Reviews

Review of *China Tripping: Encountering the Everyday in the People's Republic*

By Byron Williams

Researching China does not always mean that you have to visit the country, but in order to understand China and its culture in greater depth, visiting and earning personal experiences has a great impact on learning about the country. The China experts featured in *China Tripping* have had a lifelong passion and deep desire to travel to China, live there and conduct research there. These experts have studied China so deeply they have found a natural affinity for it, and for most it is a home away from home.

Weaving together the accounts and extended stays of China experts, mostly from America, these “trippings” can be funny, enlightening, puzzling, and even sad. The varied accounts that comprise *China Tripping* come from academics and journalists who have visited China before and published formal research. Their work over the past four decades has been influential, and has provided a source of encouragement and a path to follow, prompting other scholars to take China trips themselves. Whether this is one’s first or hundredth time visiting China, scholars always encounter something new and unexpected while wandering around the vast country and interacting with all sorts of different people and places. The title phrase, “China tripping” can have several different meanings. The first, and most obvious meaning is, “I recently went on a trip to China.” The other, less obvious meaning is explained in the first chapter: “I was in China

and I was constantly tripping over things that I hadn't seen before or expected." It is very important to note that even experts who have spent their entire lives studying China do not know everything about the daily life, culture, and diversity of China. This is understandable, as no amount of scholarly work on a society can compare with immersion into that society. To drive home this point, *China Tripping* consistently highlights the fact that this unexpected tripping and stumbling leads to big revelations, and is ultimately a learning experience. Furthermore, China scholars through their travels to China have not just witnessed history firsthand; they have been a part of it. In this volume, their personal experiences are featured centrally instead of their research (which is naturally the focus of all of their other writing), fascinating personal accounts that may have otherwise remained unknown.

The first episode in the volume involves a group of American graduate students who visited China in 1971 for the first time. This was before Nixon's 1972 visit, and it was one of the first American delegations to visit China since the Communist Revolution of 1949. In this episode, the author is Paul Pickowicz, a prominent historian of the People's Republic of China. During this visit, Pickowicz had started to hand wash his dirty clothes since he did not want to ask the hotel staff to wash his stinky socks and underwear (what kind of statement would that be for an American capitalist to have his clothes laundered?). But it was hot and humid, and as they traveled, his clothes didn't dry properly after he washed them. He would diligently hand wash his dirty socks and underwear along the way, but nothing would ever dry out, so he traveled with a bag of smelly laundry and he was quickly running out of clean clothes.

When Pickowicz's delegation arrived at their next stop, Xinqiao Hotel, his main goal was to get his laundry taken care of without his friends finding out about it. Among a group of radical young students, it would be too embarrassing if they did. Sneaking off to the fourth floor, at the end of the hall he discovered a room with the door open. He noticed that it was occupied by five or six

young women, whom he thought were hotel staff. He left his bag of dirty clothes, asking them politely in Chinese to wash them and return them to his room. That evening during dinner, one of the minders from the group named Li waved him over, apparently holding his sack of dirty clothes. Wondering why she was holding his clothes, Pickowicz quickly ran over, fearing utter embarrassment. Li asked him if he had left his clothes in a room on the fourth floor, and Pickowicz replied that he had, with a group of hotel staff members. Li proceeded to explain to him that the women were not staff members—they were a delegation of revolutionary fighters from the South Vietnam National Liberation Front!

In another memorable episode among the over fifty vignettes, Morris Rossabi, today a leading expert on Mongolian history, recounts an episode in which he served as a guide to a group of tourists in China in the early 1980s. Rossabi recalls traveling around China, having a pleasant time, until some members of the group noticed that a man within the group had a bad cough that appeared to be worsening. One of the members asked him if he was alright and if he needed to be seen at a clinic or hospital. The gentleman replied that he had the proper medication to take care of his illness. When they reached Shanghai he was in more distress than before. After dinner, the man expressed to Rossabi that he was now ready to go home. Rossabi explained that this was not possible since they were visiting China on a group visa, which meant that once they entered the country together, they would have to leave together. Still, Rossabi was determined to fulfill the man's wish and indeed did so by the end of the day, securing an individual visa for him. The man would take a flight to Shanghai and then to Guangzhou, which would eventually take him directly home.

The next morning after breakfast the assistant director of Shanghai's China Travel Service was at Rossabi's door, telling him to pack his things for Guangzhou to depart to the United States immediately. Rossabi learned that the sick man had not just had a bad cough, but that he had in fact died suddenly at the Guangzhou

airport an hour before his flight's departure. Chinese officials were concerned with the death of a tourist, and did not want to shoulder the blame for his demise. The Travel Service and the Party representative wanted Rossabi to approve of an autopsy, but he said that he would not allow it unless he received clearly stated consent from the family. Trying to reach the family, Rossabi called the man's wife, who was his listed emergency contact and explained the situation, but she had Alzheimer's and did not understand. Rossabi eventually found a new number to call and he reached the dead man's son, who gave his approval for the autopsy. At two o'clock the next morning officials knocked on Rossabi's door, angrily asking him why he had not told the authorities about the radioactive pellets (a treatment for cancer) that were found in the dead man's body. Rossabi realized that the deceased man was so desperate to visit China, that he had concealed his diagnosis of late-stage cancer, and had risked his life to undertake the journey. Rossabi tried to reach the man's son again to explain how he had died, but was unable to. As he was about to board a plane and travel back to the United States he was approached by a China Travel Service representative who handed him an urn with ashes. He delivered the urn right away to the travel agency in Los Angeles so that it could be transmitted to the family.

These lively vignettes by China experts represent, as the book's afterword describes, a "journey of discovery, cultural engagement, and political learning." The two trips noted here have long passed, but the journeys still continue today with experiences that are similar and different, and the volume includes episodes from the 1980s through today. The China scholars in this book seek to understand China better by seeing the country firsthand, but ultimately end up trying to make sense of themselves, their own biases and stumbling efforts, and their own cultures. Although this book does not present itself as a traditional scholarly volume, it ironically offers huge educational value, as it provides first-hand accounts of moments in cultural interaction that have been lost in the historical and collective memory of the post-Mao era. Most striking about these "aha moments" is the recurring theme of

erroneous assumptions and the lessons learned from them. The biggest impact of reading these narratives is that through the personal accounts of these China experts, we gain an intimately human encounter with a changing China.

I believe that Murray, Link, and Pickowicz have done an impressive job editing this book. Their ability to weave together the various vignettes they have selected pulls back the “bamboo curtain” on China, providing students and scholars a window into the everyday life and culture of the people there. Even though this book is not a traditional methodological research book, it is fascinating to see history come alive through the personal accounts of China experts who have visited China, and whose shared experiences allow us to know more. This book is very enriching, as it discusses not only the retelling of their personal experiences of these China “trippings,” but also what was immediately learned from it. I strongly recommend this book, as it provides a greater understanding of China and its endlessly changing culture.

Murray, Jeremy A., Perry Link, and Paul G. Pickowicz, eds. *China Tripping: Encountering the Everyday in the People's Republic*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2019. 168 Pages. \$25.00 (Paperback).

Author Bio

Byron Williams is currently an undergraduate History major at CSUSB and will be graduating in spring 2019. His academic interests and areas of focus are in US History and Military History. As of late, he has also found studying American Politics to be very enriching. After graduating, he hopes to continue his education and work towards earning a Master's degree in History and, eventually, a PhD. His future goal is to eventually become a professor of history at the university level. He would like to thank Dr. Ryan Keating, Dr. Jeremy Murray, and Dr. Cherstin Lyon for their guidance over the years and making his college experience fun and rewarding.



Review of *Shades of Green: Irish Regiments, American Soldiers, and Local Communities in the Civil War Era*

By Andrew Richter

Ryan W. Keating argues in *Shades of Green: Irish Regiments, American Soldiers, and Local Communities in the Civil War Era* that despite common threads, the experiences of the Irish during the Civil War era were not uniform. This work was clearly inspired by *Freedom for Themselves* by Richard M. Reid, which is itself a classic of the ethnic regimental history genre. Reid contends that analyzing only famous Irish regiments, such as the Sixty-ninth New York, fails to provide a holistic account of Irish experiences during the Civil War. Keating encapsulates this thesis by stating that the Irish in the mid-nineteenth century lived in “Irish Americas,” in which local communities were central to Irish identity, more than any other factor. Therefore, Irish immigrants did not see themselves as part of a national community of immigrants, but rather as residents of their city or state, which was typical of Americans at the time. He supports his thesis by demonstrating the variety of Irish experiences from the Twenty-third Illinois, the Ninth Connecticut, and the Seventeenth Wisconsin Regiments, some of which defy the typical narrative used for Irish-American history. Keating’s history of these regiments runs the gamut of wartime themes, including instances of gallantry, honor, misconduct, treason, success, and defeat. He uses these specific units as the basis for his research because they are often overlooked within the historiography of the Irish during the Civil War, and—as Keating argues—show the true complexity of studying ethnic regiments. His book primarily serves to repudiate the standard history of the Irish in the Civil War era, which has been based solely upon singular points such as the

Sixty-ninth New York Regiment, the Irish of Boston, and the New York City Draft Riots.

The first three chapters of *Shades of Green* share the identical structure and purpose of contextualizing the regions and the men from which the Twenty-third Illinois, Ninth Connecticut, and the Seventeenth Wisconsin emerged. Keating paints a vivid picture of the rapid growth of the Midwest and the increasing pace of Irish immigration in the decades before the Civil War. In particular, he focuses on the local cities in which these men lived: Chicago, La Salle, New Haven, Milwaukee, Madison, and Fond Du Lac. Keating additionally provides a fundamental understanding of how the Irish fit into American society as an “other” due to the nativism that developed from growing immigration. Their precarious position, in which their loyalty was questioned, and their rights were threatened, is the backdrop upon which Keating examines these men.

These chapters contain some of the most illuminating, yet heavy, statistical analysis. For example, Keating is able to plainly portray the economic differences between the men of the three regiments, indicating that different local communities held different opportunities for immigrants, and bolsters his claim of “Irish Americas.” The fact that these men were Irish did not wholly dictate their circumstances, however. His breakdown of their political, social, and economic standings is both a strength and a weakness. Their occupations, wealth, and family status, among other factors, are neatly and thoroughly laid out for the reader. The result is a litany of statistical data (such as percentages of men fitting into the aforementioned categories) presented on several consecutive pages, comprising roughly a third of each chapter. This sadly leaves the reader caught up in an overwhelming whirlwind of information as it is not distributed widely enough to be easily absorbed. This tendency does prove useful when Keating illustrates the problems associated with an ethnic regiment. By showing that only fifty percent of the men of the Twenty-third Illinois were Irish-born, and only seventy percent were of Irish descent in general, he displays that identities of ethnic units were

not as cleanly delineated as their names suggested. The soldiers from Milwaukee in the Seventeenth Wisconsin consisted of sixty-four men, of which a mere sixteen were Irish; there were more Germans from that city that enlisted in the regiment. Keating suggests that men were more interested in enlisting to save the Union and thus were less concerned with the identity of regiments, as many Irish joined standard units before Irish ones had a chance to form.

Although the fourth chapter is dedicated to the Irish soldiers' heroic combat, it does not solely focus on gallant tales of battle. Instead, he uses their combat record to demonstrate what "Irishness" meant in terms of the perception of these men. "Irish charges" and superb defenses, which were uniquely effective, are described in detail for those interested in their military history within the broader context of the Civil War. The language that surrounded their actions was filled with references to their Irish heritage, which indicated that they were incredible soldiers because of their ethnicity. Furthermore, many of these courageous efforts were accomplished while high percentages of the men were sick from diseases caught in camp or from the environment. Their successes, then, were extraordinary, but typical of Irish soldiers.

Perhaps the best example dealing with "Irishness" was Keating's inclusion of the early arrival of the Ninth Connecticut in New Orleans. In that city, these Union soldiers encountered many Irish immigrants who moved to the South. Yet despite their places on the opposing forces of the Civil War, these people from the same homeland embraced each other warmly. Although Keating does argue that many Irish immigrants already saw themselves as American, this instance illustrates that ethnic bonds ran deep. The only flaw in his narrative is Keating's repeated assertion that the outstanding service of these men endeared their respective states to these immigrant soldiers. Unfortunately, his supporting evidence is limited to citing positive newspaper reports, and thus is not substantial enough to make such a claim. Perhaps including instances of major public support, such as ceremonies or parades, would provide additional substantiation. Nevertheless, this

statement is also problematic due to the later discussion regarding the erosion of American acceptance and support for Irish immigrants in the wake of the Draft Riots and the resurgence of nativism.

Keating's discussion of disciplinary issues within the three Irish regiments studied is a thorough and nuanced one. His balanced approach to both honor and dishonor allows for a holistic account of these men, which is not always the case with either regimental or ethnic unit histories. As Keating aptly writes, "in sum, then, a large number of men were thrust together, away from the watching eyes of families and friends, with some money, a fair amount of free time, and a willingness to question orders." His discourse on this subject encompasses rivalries and friction between and within officers and enlisted men, drunkenness, and desertion. The disharmony between Irish soldiers in the Union army, Keating contends, illustrates that the ethnic bonds between these men were not absolute and thus were not always observed. His analysis regarding the reasons for misconduct are as simple as they effective: these men acted out when the opportunity arose. By reviewing disciplinary records, Keating shows that factors such as garrison duty, stationing in a city, and lack of combat enabled soldiers to misbehave; simply, these environments frequently granted the time and resources to get into mischief. He expertly establishes that the isolated and recurring incidents that occurred during the service of these Irish soldiers was tied less to their ethnicity and more so to their circumstances. The only shortcoming found in his examination of disciplinary problems is that Keating only briefly touches on the sociopolitical understandings that led these men to act out against authority. He suggests that republican and democratic virtues (not party affiliations, but rather, political notions) contributed heavily to misconduct. Keating believes that these men were too used to being independent and free of authority, and therefore chaffed strongly against the military hierarchy. However, this intriguing assertion requires more elaboration as well as analysis to warrant its inclusion, as these ideas were not explained enough for those unfamiliar with them.

Keating's approach to analyzing the New York City Draft Riots in 1863 is multilayered and thus may be difficult to discern initially. It is, nonetheless, meticulous and well argued. Although most of the chapter seems to deviate from the premise of the chapter itself as well as the book overall, his explanation for the Draft Riots is, perhaps, the best example of his refutation of the general historiography surrounding Irish immigrant history. Keating traces the socioeconomic circumstances of many Irish during the Civil War era and determines that their resentment towards the war effort was complex. The two main factors that drove the Irish of New York to riot were the possible economic competition posed by freed slaves and the hostility of Republicans towards Democrats, which many Irish were affiliated with. With this in mind, he argues that the Irish who instigated the Draft Riots simply felt that their place in American society was threatened, particularly after the major social gains made by their regiments on the battlefield. Keating contends that the Draft Riots were less about loyalty to the Union and more about socioeconomic security, in what he broadly terms "loyal dissent." But this valuable assertion is a nuanced one and it requires foreknowledge of the typical analysis of the Irish and the New York City Draft Riots. This "loyal dissent" was multifaceted as the Irish in the United States expressed it in a variety of ways. Even while these loyal Irish from the three regiments declared allegiance to the Union, some balked at emancipation, others protested expanding the war effort beyond maintaining the Union, and more were distrustful of Republican intentions. By showing this, Keating contests the usage of the New York City Draft Riots as the sole event to ascertain Irish loyalty during the Civil War.

The attention Keating places on the home front in Illinois, Connecticut, and Wisconsin is a superb addition to his social history of the three Irish regiments. Although the families these soldiers left at home did not participate in combat during the Civil War, the author elucidates the struggles that these families endured and why it mattered. Drawing on letters the soldiers sent back home, Keating reveals that the men were not emotionally separated

from the home front, but rather they were constantly contemplating the wellbeing of their families. Despite unreliable pay, welfare was still especially stigmatized in the nineteenth century due to fears that it would foster dependence and eventually create a class of people that permanently required it. Keating demonstrates how these anxieties and tensions over institutionalized support changed due to the nature of wartime circumstances. Through newspaper editorials, he displays how the public came to terms with the fact that support was, in this case, noble and just. However, many were unsure how to provide it and what the long-term implications would be. This concern was further exacerbated by the possibility of permanent injury or death on the battlefield; how would bounties and pay be dealt with? Keating does not ignore the home front in his narrative and *Shades of Green* is of a substantially higher quality as a result. Including the unseen and oft-forgotten difficulties endured by those at home allows for a more holistic and comprehensive understanding of American society during the Civil War era. The effects of the war effort were felt beyond the battlefield and Keating demonstrates how incredibly effectively.

The final chapter of *Shades of Green* analyzes the effects of the Civil War on the soldiers from the Twenty-third Illinois, Ninth Connecticut, and Seventeenth Wisconsin in the postwar period. Keating's examination of these soldiers after the Civil War is a profound aspect of his book. As he notes, the historiography of Civil War soldiers often fails to account for their lives in the postwar era. To address this gap in the literature, Keating delves into various records, such as letters and pension applications, to glean insight into how these Irish men fared after the Civil War. This thorough analysis ably presents the assertion that although we may see overall trends in the postwar period, Civil War service did not wholly define a soldier's endeavors. For example, Keating traces what type of injuries and wounds these soldiers received and how, or if, it affected their livelihoods after their mustering out. Some men were too disabled from their physical injuries to sustain themselves, while others found occupations that enabled them to work in a reduced, yet functional, capacity. While some veterans

were successful, others were not, despite the presence or absence of injuries. He also neatly ties westward expansion into this discussion by showing that men either moved to find employment compatible with their injuries or for the same reason as many other pioneers, which was the quest for opportunity.

Shades of Green constitutes a valuable contribution to the histories of both the Civil War and American immigration. Ryan W. Keating's simple change of focus away from traditional locales of Irish history like New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, towards Illinois, Connecticut, and Wisconsin illuminates his thesis thoroughly. By comparing and contrasting the two sets, Keating makes a compelling case that ethnic histories are not monolithic. His work demonstrates that Irish immigrants during the Civil War era were varied and certainly not a uniform group. This argument is best seen in his chapters on discipline and the Draft Riots. Although everyone Keating studied was Irish, the subjects of this study often defied typical narratives and regularly displayed their individual opinions towards the war. Not all Irish were brave, nor were they all rowdy and uncontrollable soldiers. Likewise, many Irish outside of New York reacted in ways more constructive than riotous. Keating successfully contends that a reexamination of Irish history on a broad scale is necessary in order to gain a more accurate understanding of their place in American society during the Civil War era.

Part of Keating's thesis is that his focus on local communities brings something new to the history of Irish immigrants. However, this local focus seems to only extend to the shift to Illinois, Connecticut, and Wisconsin and the cities therein relevant to the three regiments. His analysis simply focuses on different local communities than traditionally used rather than illustrating what made them particularly "local." Likewise, his concept of "Irish Americas" is not fully fleshed out. Although he argues against homogeneous ethnic history, he does not clarify or connect his assertions with this seemingly central concept. While this is not detrimental to the support for this thesis, it is a missed opportunity to make it clearer. Additionally, Keating presumes that

the reader is at least moderately familiar with the historiography of the Irish in America in the nineteenth century. As a result, some of his assertions will be unappreciated by casual readers or new students of history, who may not be familiar enough with the broader literature to recognize the significance of his contributions.

Nevertheless, *Shades of Green* is worthwhile for any reader. It successfully stands on its own by making a compelling argument for a change in how Irish history is interpreted. Ryan W. Keating includes every topic from the wide array found within regimental, ethnic, and Civil War histories. *Shades of Green* weaves together political, social, economic, and military histories into a holistic narrative. His book is comprehensive and thorough without being superfluous. It is likewise built upon a solid foundation of research, and the author supplements his findings with excellent secondary sources to reinforce broader themes. Keating does not neglect the history of the men he writes about despite also arguing in favor of more nuanced ethnic regimental histories; their stories are not sacrificed in the pursuit of the broader thesis. It is both a traditional regimental history as well as a repudiation of uniform ethnic regimental studies. He additionally contextualizes his microhistory well within the expansive field of the Civil War. Although the focus is on smaller subjects, Keating does not sacrifice the larger picture. This book effectively imparts vital knowledge of both Irish-American history as well as general Civil War history.

Keating, Ryan W. *Shades of Green: Irish Regiments, American Soldiers, and Local Communities in the Civil War Era*. NY: Fordham University Press, 2017, 320 Pages. \$40.00 (Paperback).

Author Bio

Andrew Richter is a CSUSB graduate who earned a BA in History (Summa Cum Laude) in June 2018, with a concentration in US History. Afterwards, he obtained a position as a Microcomputer Specialist II in the department of Accountability and Educational Technology within the San Bernardino City Unified School District. This position combines his affinity for technology as well as his desire to aid education, though he still hopes to become a history teacher someday. Andrew's favorite extracurricular activity is working with the youth group at his church, which has been and continues to be a highly enriching experience. He would like to thank Dr. Ryan Keating, Dr. Jeremy Murray, Dr. Stephanie Muravchik, and Dr. Kate Liszka for the memorable opportunities of study that they offered. Finally, Andrew would also like to thank Quewyn Wild, a good friend who has extended both solicited and unsolicited guidance over the course of many years.



History in the Making

Review of *Studio 54: The Documentary*

By Ryan Rodriguez

Synopsis

Ian Schrager and Steve Rubell embark on a business venture that would shape the culture of New York and America during the late 1970s. Two middle class college students that wanted nothing but to do better than their own parents, and to not have to live check to check. They wanted to make the most of the opportunity that their parents worked so hard to give them, come together in partnership, and work towards the dream of building something to stand on in a world with so much competition during an economically pressed America. When an enormous wave of success and fame washes over them, they get dragged into the abyss of excess. The American Dream quickly becomes a nightmare, and as the world begins to grow envious and hateful, they are left to fight for what they believe to be most important: Freedom.

Review

During the 1970s, the United States was a place that was searching for something to help them forget what awaited them the next day. A war in Vietnam, the fear of the Soviet Union, and the fuel crisis buried any hope for a better tomorrow. There was an influx of stressors that every American faced that weighed heavily on their consciousness. Gas shortages, a war in Vietnam, protests throughout the country, and presidents that many people viewed as untrustworthy were among the pressures the country dealt with. Because of this, there was a new drive for people to seek the relief that they needed from the daily troubles they faced, sometimes in drugs and alcohol. America was torn, but things would change

after Vietnam. There was a surge of music that focused on rhythm, and vocals that complimented and encouraged movement. It was a genre named Disco, and it grew strong roots in the country's underground scene.

Throughout the film, Ian Schrager, one of the founders of the nightclub Studio 54 said that, "the preference for Disco originated in Gay bars. Women who did not want to be approached by guys would go, and guys would go to meet the women. It was a blur of people, and they were all connected by the music." People wanted something to help them settle down and relax after being so serious during the first part of the 1970s. They began to go out and find places to have some fun; places like Discotheques.

This is where we find ourselves in the film *Studio 54*. Matt Tyrnauer brings his expertise in journalism to this documentary, as he leads the camera to report on the inside of a venue that only a few would ever see with their own eyes. Ian Schrager and Steve Rubell created a nightclub with the principle to do what no one else had done before. They were ambitious, reckless, and lucky. This could be seen in all of the testimonies that Matt Tyrnauer found to support the cultural phenomenon that was Studio 54. These range from employees, to celebrities, law enforcement and patrons from every background. From Michael Jackson and Liza Minnelli, to journalists, photographers, and the average patron, everyone shared in the experience as an equal.

Two young men from Brooklyn's middle class met in college, and pursued a dream together. They were Ian Schrager and Steve Rubell. Ian was a man who kept his head down and did well in his classes, while Steve was the man that was the go-to guy on the campus. If you wanted to know where the after party was, you spoke to Steve. These two met, and became very good friends, but went their separate ways after college to pursue their own dreams.

It would be 1977 when the two would meet again, but this time as business partners. They agreed to build a nightclub that could rival all the others in Manhattan. It is the core of the film, and shares the same name, Studio 54. Schrager and Rubell decide to build their club in an old NBC Studio, located on 54th and 8th

Street. It was a predominantly poor neighborhood, and building a club there seemed to be antithetical for a successful business. They built the inside to match their vision of what a club should be, something that hadn't been done before in the city. They used the lights and setup that had been in the studio beforehand, and did all the work with people that agreed to help them without permits. All of the ideas, material and accessories would equal an estimated cost of \$800,000 in 1977 dollar values. Adjusting for inflation, \$800,000 in 1977 is equivalent in purchasing power to \$3.3 million in 2018, a difference of \$2.5 million over 41 years. This was not just a business venture; it was a gamble that neither of these men could afford to lose on. Their dream of being the most acclaimed club owners in New York was contingent on getting people to come to the front door. However, the opening was a complete and overwhelming success, and Studio 54 was now the place to be in the disco world. The money rolled in, and the two men were on top of the world.

When I watch a documentary, I always look for the method that the movie uses to tell the story. What does the film believe to be the most important things to focus on, and how well does it dive into those details? Throughout the film, the viewer is treated to many eyewitness accounts of what happened behind the gold trimmed doors, as well as a plethora of photos and footage that would envelope the audience in the feeling and atmosphere of Studio 54. When the music and memories begin to flood the screen, and the bizarre and interesting characters and events introduce themselves to the viewer indirectly, the audience feels the same excitement and energy as the patrons of the club did.

The disco became a place that only allowed patrons in at Steve Rubell's discretion, and he chose to allow people from walks of life that were seen as outcasts by society into the club above others more socially respectable. These people would be members of the LGBTQ community, or other extravagant individuals; like a 70-year-old woman who was a lawyer by day and a disco dancer by the name of Disco Sally by night. The venue was exclusive to the excluded, and that is what made it a place people felt was a

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second home to them. Two of the patrons, a pair a drag queens, mentioned that they felt that the venue was special because they were accepted there. Out on the streets, they were ostracized and mocked for being who they felt they were. American streets were not inclusive of all Americans, just as the club and it's entry standards was only inclusive of people who suited the personality of the man who ran the show, Steve Rubell. There were plenty of straight patrons as well, but they matched the attitude and perspective that Rubell, as well as others society did not view as acceptable, had: they just wanted to have fun, and forget about the struggles that they had, for just one night.

Tyrnauer, Matt. *Studio 54: The Documentary*. Produced by Matt Tyrnauer, John Battsek, and Corey Reeser. 98 minutes. New York: Zeitgeist Films, 2018. Accessible via Netflix (with subscription) as of June 30, 2019.

Author Bio

Ryan Rodriguez is a student at CSUSB. He studies English in the Creative Writing track. He looks up to authors such as Stephen King, Raymond Carver, and James Brown as his mentors in writing. He spent most of his childhood life in Perris, CA, so he carries over most of his experiences of growing up in an expanding community. He wants to follow in the footsteps of his mentor, James Brown, and seek the position of a professor at a university. He wants to teach English writing as a craft to others, as he was taught by the great teachers and professors that he had.

History in the Making

Review of *The Favourite*

By Scott Romo

The *Favourite*, directed by Yorgos Lanthimos, is a historical dark comedy about Anne, Queen of Britain, and her private relationships with Abigail Masham, and Duchess of Marlborough, Sarah Churchill. Queen Anne, mostly remembered for being sickly, unassuming, and manipulatable, was known to have a close and suspicious friendship with Churchill. The film focuses on how individuals manipulate one another to raise their own status, and the futility of their attempts to climb these political hierarchies. Lanthimos provides a perspective of royalty which counteracts the representations of regal superiority provided by most period pieces for the sake of humanizing royal characters. He exaggerates and alters what is historically accurate in order to tell a story about hubris, manipulation, and classism. These characters constantly lie and trick each other to rise in status, but in the end, it is futile.

The story's plot revolves around a love triangle between two women with power and a new servant of the castle, Abigail Masham. In this movie, Churchill and Masham both compete for the Queen's attention sexually whilst manipulating her to reach their ulterior goals. Churchill tries to convince the Queen to continue the war with a rebel alliance, while Masham merely wants to rise in status out of her servant's role. The manipulative games escalate until Abigail Masham eventually non-fatally poisons Sarah Churchill, causing her to be absent for days and subsequently banished by the Queen. The film ends with Abigail, now a married lady, drunkenly stumbling into the Queen's room, followed by the Queen demanding her to get on her knees and massage her legs.

Lanthimos's goal is to humanize these characters to expose the imperfections beneath the facade of regality which populates

the common narrative of royalty. The film gives the audience a cynical, exaggerated representation of the less-than-noble actions of these famous high-class figures. Those who are near the top of the hierarchical status of this time period are shown to be cruel to those beneath them in the form of Harley, the opposition leader, pushing Abigail Masham down a steep hill for not directly obeying his orders, kitchen staff tricking her into sticking her hand in lye, and a startling scene of Tory parliament members pelting a naked man with rotten fruit. The Queen is terribly insecure and therefore easily manipulated with flattery. Abigail uses a constant flow of compliments to win Queen Anne's affections away from Duchess Churchill, who is very blunt and honest to a rude degree until she needs Queen Anne to take her side. Characters are constantly lying to one another to get what they want. Most of the characters handle matters of national importance in an entirely selfish way.

The selfishness is justified though, because we empathize with Abigail Masham's struggle with overcoming the oppression placed on her by being in a lower class than the other characters. In her first scene, she is packed in an cramped carriage with a man masturbating, then she is thrown out into the mud. In another early scene, she is tricked into dunking her hand in a bucket of lye by her coworkers. The audience is inclined to root for Abigail because of these scenes. We want to see Abigail rise out of her low-class difficult life to one of higher status. At this time, the power dynamics were very steep with royalty in supreme control of anyone in the lower classes. The struggle for status as a major theme of the film is also made clear by the screenplay's original title, "Balance of Power."¹

The need for the characters to maintain their status and power causes massive ripple effects down the hierarchy which Lanthimos directly chooses not to show. Throughout the film,

¹ Matt Grobar, "Screenwriters Deborah Davis & Tony McNamara Break Down Their Long, Gratifying Journeys With 'The Favourite'," *Deadline*, January 13, 2019, <https://deadline.com/2019/01/the-favourite-deborah-davis-tony-mcnamara-oscars-screenwriting-interview-1202520990/>.

Queen Anne must choose whether to end an unpopular war with France or double the taxes for more war funding. Robert Harley, a Tory member of Parliament portrayed by Nicholas Hoult, and Duchess Churchill are in direct conflict about whether or not to end the war, and they both manipulate the queen in order to get their way. It becomes increasingly clear that the decision of whether or not to continue the war rides solely on the interpersonal relationships of the characters, and the movie only focuses on what that choice means for those relations. The Queen herself is very easily swayed on the political decisions in the film, ultimately making her decisions based on her interpersonal relations and her public image. Out of an entirely personal need to rise out of her own personal status, Abigail Masham ends up tearing through the ranks of the royal hierarchy, and greatly altering the governing of an entire nation in order to rise in social status. The actual war decision is never resolved, and the war itself is not ever shown on screen. The war is just a plot device to set up the story the director wanted to tell.

The humor in this film comes from this dysphoria of nobility and irreverence. The characters are presented as vain, narcissistic, insecure, hedonistic, and manipulative. The film operates solely as a parody, insinuating these people are inherently all bad, but instead shows that these people are just human beings. The overblown egos make for a lot of humor, especially in scenes where certain characters show anger, as when Harley, fully adorned in heavy makeup and massive, powdery white wig, becomes furious after failing to convince the Queen to end the war. We are so used to seeing characters like this be restrained and regal, but their emotions would nevertheless still be human. Seeing aggressive anger expressed in a place where it is typically repressed makes a mockery of the British royal stereotype.

The last minute of the film has a very odd yet effective way of exposing the theme. In the last scene, The Queen calls Abigail Masham, now a married lady who spends her days drinking and partying, into her room. Abigail stumbles in and makes idle conversation with the Queen, then traps one of the Queen's rabbits

under her foot until it cries and tries to squirm away. Abigail has become heartless with her new power and takes pleasure in harming those beneath her, like the rabbits, who in an earlier scene she adored. The Queen sees this and becomes angry, as she realizes that Abigail had only been such a loving friend to rise in status. She demands Abigail rub her legs as an act of vengeance, but also as a reminder that even in the new position she occupies she is still a servant to her queen. As Abigail rubs Anne's legs, it cuts from her face to the face of the Queen, which is slightly disfigured from a recent stroke. Even the Queen is not above disease and disfigurement. The two faces begin to fade into one another along with footage of a mass of rabbits running around and between one another. These people might believe that their role in the hierarchy gives them some sort of objective value, but in reality, they are just animals living out their existence like any rabbit.

Lanthimos wants to show how the ego of royalty is a facade which is as dangerous as it is undeserved, but he does not necessarily want to mock them. These characters' egos are so overinflated they do terrible, regretful things in order to get what they believe they deserve. This is a timeless theme which exposes the powers-that-be in our time just as much the royalty of eighteenth century England. Typically, representations of royalty are refined and regal, but *The Favourite's* goal is to humiliate the characters for humility's sake. Our view of royalty is that they are somehow superior people, but Lanthimos is trying to show that they are just people too.

The film is more interested in telling an engaging story than portraying the history of the events accurately. Much of the picture has no actual basis in historical fact. The most obvious of these are the sexual acts portrayed. Ophelia Field, a biographer of Sarah Churchill says, "The evidence of Sarah Churchill's life suggests that the Queen did love her closest friend in a way that we would

classify as romantic, though perhaps not erotic.”² An even more drastic exaggeration is the completely fictitious part of the film where Abigail poisons Sarah.³ The amount of general secrecy and manipulation happening between the characters is not something that can ever be confirmed by historians, and, since these elements make a core part of the movie, the plot cannot be seen as an accurate historical representation. All of these elements are added as a way to flesh out the story. The relations between the real people were not as overtly sexual or violent, but there were elements of emotional manipulation taking place in the form of romance and flattery. The sex in the film acts as a way to visually represent the closeness of these people, and the physical attacks do the same for the likely non-physical confrontation which happened between characters. Harley never likely pushed Abigail Masham down a hill, but it acts as a good visual representation of the brutal heartlessness in British royalty.

The filmmakers might not have researched everything, but the number of elements which are accurate shows that there was a general understanding of this historical moment. Some factors are accurate, such as Queen Anne’s sickness. Queen Anne had terrible gout which caused her intense attacks of pain and kept her partially immobile.⁴ The first scene with Queen Anne has her on the floor wailing in pain from a gout attack. She also mainly gets around by being pushed in a wheelchair. Towards the end of the movie, Queen Anne loses control of half of her face. It is never said

² Ophelia Field, “Queen Anne’s Ladies,” *Gay & Lesbian Review Worldwide* 11 no. 3 (2004): 21–23. <http://libproxy.lib.csusb.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=12922384&site=ehost-live>.

³ Stephen Saunders Webb, “The Duke’s Decline,” in *Marlborough’s America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 212–26. <http://www.jstor.org.libproxy.lib.csusb.edu/stable/j.ctt32bg80.19>.

⁴ Henry L. Snyder, “The Last Days of Queen Anne: The Account of Sir John Evelyn Examined,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 34, no. 3 (1971). doi:10.2307/3816703.

directly in the film, but Queen Anne did suffer from frequent strokes, which was her actual cause of death.⁵

Queen Anne was also likely subject to manipulation by the people around her; especially the Duchess, who would often ridicule and embarrass her in order to influence her decisions. In a letter to Duke Marlborough written in 1709 she even admits to this subjugation, “I beleieve no body was ever soe used by a freind as I have bin by her ever since my coming to ye Crown. I desire nothings but that she would leave off teasing & tormenting me & behave herself with the desensy she ought both to her freind & Queen.”⁶ Queen Anne really did exile the Duke and Duchess. The film’s plot claims that Abigail manipulated Queen Anne into demanding the resignation of the Duke and Duchess, and while the exact details are imagined, it is believed that Harley and Abigail Masham did indeed somehow convince Queen Anne to make this decision. In the book, *Marlborough’s America*, Stephen Saunders Webb writes, “[Duke Marlborough’s military influence] was precisely the problem, both in Queen Anne’s eyes and of ‘those behind the curtain.’ Harley and [Masham] prompted Anne to curb her overmighty subject.”⁷

The film is very well-made on a technical level as well. Yorgos Lanthimos has become well-known for films with beautiful, memorable cinematography and very dark comedic tones. His last two works were *The Lobster* (2015) and *The Killing of a Sacred Deer* (2017) both of which were far more surreal and therefore less accessible. Nonetheless, the bleak yet humorous tone of his films continue, and he is finally acquiring recognition for his work. *The Favourite* was nominated for ten Academy Awards and rightfully won Best Actress for Olivia Colman. Lanthimos is likely on his way to becoming an internationally recognized director. While marginally based on historical knowledge, *The Favourite* stretches what is known in order to tell an impactful story with

⁵ Edward Gregg, *Queen Anne* (London, Boston and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980).

⁶ Ibid., 293-294.

⁷ Webb, “The Duke’s Decline,” 213.

human themes. Lanthimos is trying to tell a story that transcends historical fact to reach a human truth. Mankind tends to believe that those in power have an objective superiority. Lanthimos made this movie to try and alter this narrative, and bring royalty back down to the human level in the collective consciousness.

The Favourite. Directed by Yorgos Lanthimos. Hertfordshire, UK: Fox Searchlight Films, 2014. 120 minutes. Available digitally via Amazon Video, \$9.99.

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Author Bio

Scott Romo is an undergraduate Communications major concentrating on Media Studies at CSUSB. He is also a Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellow conducting research on digital right-wing radicalization. Mellon Mays is a research fellowship which gives undergraduate students the opportunities to get experience and assistance conducting research and preparing for graduate school. Scott plans to use these opportunities to enter a Media PhD. program to study media structure and its effects on culture, as well as pursuing his life-long interest in film and film analysis. He has written, produced, and directed short films since high school, assisted in local filmmaking efforts, served as president of the CSUSB Film Club, and runs a film and media review channel on YouTube called TheYoungPanda, in which he gives insights into different forms of media.



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