

# **HISTORY IN THE MAKING**

California State University,  
San Bernardino  
Journal of History

Volume Thirteen  
2020

**Alpha Delta Nu Chapter, Phi Alpha Theta National History  
Honor Society**

*History in the Making* is an annual publication of the California State University, San Bernardino (CSUSB) Alpha Delta Nu Chapter of the Phi Alpha Theta National History Honor Society and is sponsored by the History Department and the Instructionally Related Programs at CSUSB. Issues are published at the end of the spring quarter of each academic year.

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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Cover Photograph, Young Women with Signs Raised Behind Them at the March on Washington, August 28, 1963, by Marion S. Trikosko, © United States Library of Congress's Prints and Photographs division, LC-U9- 10344-18

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## Introduction

“I wish it need not have happened in my time,”  
said Frodo.

“So do I,” said Gandalf, “and so do all who live to  
see such times. But that is not for them to decide.  
All we have to decide is what to do with the time  
that is given us.”

– J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Fellowship of the Ring*,  
George Allen & Unwin, 1954

Welcome to California State University, San Bernardino’s annual journal of history. This year’s journal includes work not just from CSUSB students, but from interested and talented students from other institutions of learning. The topics range from privacy in ancient Egyptian cities, to the forgotten but no less important contributors of the LGBTQ+ movements. It also features a photo gallery of the 1918 Spanish flu pandemic combined with photos of the current COVID-19 pandemic, as well as several In Memoriam pieces, reviews, and History in the Makings. The editorial board believes that this edition demonstrates the skills and abilities of the authors as well as the diverse subjects that make history truly mesmerizing. Our hope is that this journal will both inform and entertain readers, as well as remind them of why history is important. We are currently living through a major historic event that will likely have long lasting ramifications. I cannot help but wonder what people will write about us. How have we been triumphant? How have we failed? What information can our lives give future generations, so they do not make the same mistakes we did? But that is the job of future students of history. I am profoundly grateful to all the editors, authors, and countless others who forged ahead during the uncertainty of the COVID-19 pandemic to help bring to life the thirteenth edition of California

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State University, San Bernardino's annual journal of history,  
*History in the Making*.

The first two articles look at how aspects of history can be forgotten or purposefully erased. "The Movement that Sinned Twice: The *Cristero* War & Mexican Collective Memory," by Consuelo S. Moreno, discusses the *Cristero* War and the social, civic, moral, and political factors that have led to the deliberate ostracization of the war's legacy in Mexican History. Finally, the second article, "A Different Kind of Closet: Queer Censorship in U.S. LGBTQ+ Movements since World War II," by James Martin, reflects on how the fight for LGBTQ+ rights has noticeably focused on "types" of queer people – mainly white, middle class, cisgender gays and lesbians. Martin analyzes the restrictions within LGBTQ+ communities that are placed on transpersons and gender nonconforming people before and after the Stonewall riots.

In our third article, "A War From Within: An Analysis of the Factors that Caused the Collapse of the Iroquois Confederacy," Jessica Howe discusses how and why the immensely powerful and long-lasting Iroquois Confederacy collapsed during the Revolutionary War. Howe analyzes factors such as the economy, diplomatic disunification, and deterioration of traditional religious beliefs through Christianity in order to present a complete picture of the end of the Native American Confederacy.

The next article focuses on aspects of the Holocaust. "Power of Propaganda: How Nazi Germany Convinced the Masses," by Tracey Martin, takes a look into how Nazi Germany used propaganda, both before and during World War II, to harness the power of hatred and racism in order to manipulate the populace into turning on what they believed was the true enemy, the Jew.

The fifth article focuses on the fireside chats of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. "Discovering a Purpose in a Listening Democracy: The People's Voice in 1930s/40s America," by Celeste Nunez, discusses how the people of the 1930s and 40s turned to radio as

their form of “escape,” allowing them to forget about the events happening around them, specifically the Great Depression and World War II. Franklin Delano Roosevelt utilized radio to reach out to the American people, as if he were talking to friends, and discussed the events occurring around the world.

Our final article moves us from World War II to the more recent conflict in the Middle East. “‘This is a Game’: A History of the Foreign Terrorist Organization and State Sponsors of Terrorism Lists and their Applications,” by Melissa Sanford, analyzes America’s use of State Sponsors of Terrorism and Foreign Terrorist Organization lists as geopolitical tools rather than a method of identifying and punishing terrorist organizations. Sanford uses a statement by Iranian Foreign Minister, Mohammad Javad Zarif, as a starting point in her discussion.

This year, the History in the Making section has two contributors. “Her-Story: The Forgotten Part of the Civil Rights Movement,” by Elizabeth Guzman, states that the Civil Rights Movement was partly a product of a socio-political struggle of black women to protect their bodies from abusive white men. “Bhindranwale: How One Controversial Religious Figure Threatened the Unity of India,” by Aditya Indla, focuses on the history and legacy of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, a controversial Sikh leader who died while barricaded in the holiest of Sikh shrines, the Golden Temple.

This year, the journal remembers three figures who have passed. First, George Zaragoza writes in remembrance of the great political journalist, Cokie Roberts. Next, Cindy Ortega discusses the life and career of the influential novelist of the black experience, Toni Morrison. Finally, Benjamin Shultz reflects on the life, career, and the sudden and tragic death of NBA star, Kobe Bryant.

The second entry for Notes from the Archives, along with the “Pandemic Photographic Essay,” is “Constructing Privacy: Spatial Structure and Social Status in Amarna’s Central City,” by James Martin, which compares the amount of space allocated in housing for the royals, servants, and various servicemen in the city of

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Amarna in order to understand how these groups accessed their personal lives and how that relates to their social status.

The last section in this edition is a collection of book and film reviews. The first review is of the three World War I films, *They Shall Not Grow Old*, *1917*, and *Tolkien*, by Sara Haden and Kenya Ortiz Carrillo. After this, we jump to the next World War, as Natassja Martin reviews the World War II film, *Midway*. Giovanni Gonzalez looks to the homefront of World War II in his review of *They Called Us Enemy*. Next, Sara Haden takes a critical look at the American adaptation of the Japanese anime, *Ghost in the Shell*. Andres Freeman looks at *Xinjiang and the Modern Chinese State*. Giovanni Gonzalez returns to review *The Shadow of Vesuvius: A Life of Pliny*. The final entry in this section is a field report on the Norton Simon Museum, by Megan Kyriss.

**Fernando Sanchez**  
**Co-Chief Editor**

## **Acknowledgements**

It was a running joke in the editorial room that we were working on “lucky number 13.” Little did we know that by the beginning of March the campus would be closed, and we would be on lockdown in our houses. Needless to say, this year’s edition presented a myriad of unique challenges. Despite this, the hard work of the editorial board, not to mention the relentless efforts of Dr. Jeremy Murray, our fearless faculty advisor, made this edition of *History in the Making* a pleasure to be part of. Dr. Murray’s constant emails of encouragement and reassurance did wonders to keep morale high. We would also like to thank Dr. Tiffany Jones, whose experience in the publishing process is indispensable. Eric Lowe, chief editor of last year’s edition, provided valuable advice and reassurance early in the editing process. Laura Sicklesteel in CSUSB Printing Services, and Pamela Crosson in the History Department, have also provided essential guidance and support. In cooperation with the chief editors, James Martin and Benjamin Shultz worked tirelessly in the final stages of editing to bring this issue to press. Next, the authors deserve special recognition. The journal would not be possible without their impressive work and dedication to history. Lastly, we want to thank the other faculty, students, administrative workers, and family members who also contributed in small or large ways to make the journal possible. This journal is the result of the collective efforts of all of you.

Thank you.

**Fernando Sanchez and Marmar Zakher  
Co-Chief Editors**

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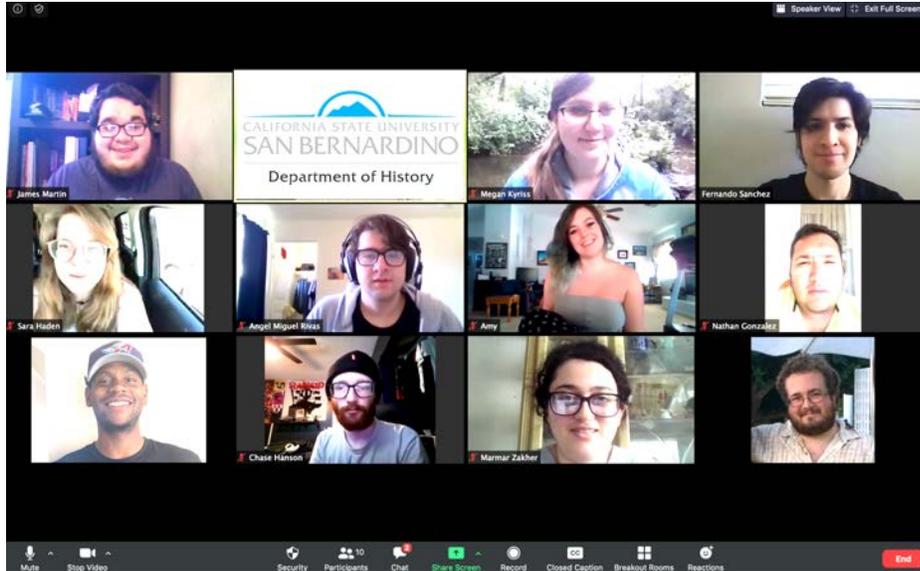
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**Back row from left:** James Martin, Megan Kyriss, Fernando Sanchez

**Middle row from left:** Sara Haden, Angel Rivas, Amelia Lindell, Nathanael Gonzalez

**Bottom row from left:** Myles Becnel, Chase Hanson, Marmar Zakher, Benjamin Shultz

**Not pictured:** Cameron Smith, Carter Dix, Efren Perez

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# Articles

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## **The Movement that Sinned Twice: The *Cristero* War and Mexican Collective Memory**

By Consuelo S. Moreno

*Abstract: Many scattered occurrences in Mexico bring to memory the 1926-1929 *Cristero* War, the contentious armed struggle between the revolutionary government and the Catholic Church. After the conflict ceased, the *Cristeros* and their legacy did not become part of Mexico's national identity. This article explores the factors why this war became a distant memory rather than a part of Mexico's history. Dissipation of *Cristero* groups and organizations, revolutionary social reforms in the 1930s, and the intricate relationship between the state and Church after 1929 promoted a silence surrounding this historical event. Decades later, a surge in *Cristero* literature led to the identification of notable *Cristero* figures in the 1990s and early 2000s. However, these occurrences continue to be scarce, and nonetheless, continue to create controversy in Mexican society.*

When the *Cristero* War began in 1926, six years after the most violent phase of the 1910 Revolution had ended, Mexico saw the blood of its citizens shed once again. In a conflict about religious liberties, *Cristeros*, faithful followers of the Roman Catholic Church, took arms against the government to defend their religious convictions. Three years later, the rebellion ended when the State

and Church came to a mutual accord. Yet, in a country in which more than two-thirds of the population practice Catholicism, and where the government's attitude towards the Catholic Church and religion is often the most important part of its program, this war is not identified as part of Mexico's history. Yet, even though the "...actions of the Church have been of greatest importance..."<sup>1</sup> social, civic, moral, and political factors have deliberately ostracized the *Cristero* legacy in the country.

The roots of the Church-State conflict dated back to the beginning of the colonial era and even caused a few violent outbreaks in the nineteenth century. In 1917, however, when the revolutionary forces provided the country with a new constitution, the contention between the two deepened. The Mexican Revolution that had begun in 1910, as an effort to topple President Porfirio Diaz's government, which had been in power for the last thirty years. After his resignation and several failed attempts to lead the country by various individuals, the armed struggle ended with a new constitution promulgated at Querétaro in 1917. This document contained a strong anticlerical component manifested in numerous provisions.<sup>2</sup> The new state hoped to imitate and reinstate the anticlerical ideals of the 1857 Constitution. This charter included provisos that permitted the state to take control over jurisdictional, financial, and educational matters that had been administered by the Church since colonial times and in the decades after independence.<sup>3</sup>

During the subsequent years, the strife between the State and Church intensified when several violent attempts and clashes erupted between both institutions. In February of 1921, a dynamite

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<sup>1</sup> Richard Blaine Mccornack, "Attitudes towards Religious Matters in Mexican School History Textbooks," *The Americas* 15 (January 1959): 235.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Lester Reich, *Mexico's Hidden Revolution: The Catholic Church in Law and Politics Since 1929* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), 11.

<sup>3</sup> Juan González Morfin, "Clericalismo y anticlericalismo en la Constitución de 1917: Un acercamiento al problema a través de los debates del constituyente," *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia* 27 (October 2018): 438.

explosion destroyed the front entrance of the Archbishop's palace in Mexico City. Four months later, the archiepiscopal residence in Guadalajara experienced a minor bomb attack, too. By November of that same year, an explosive device was placed by the image of the idolized Virgin of Guadalupe at the Basilica, damaging the altar, but not the idol. The Church believed such attacks were encouraged by the government and blamed Juan M. Esponda, a government employee, for the assault at the Basilica. Although Esponda was placed on trial, he did not face any charges due to lack of evidence.

Two years later, the dispute heightened when the Church consecrated a monument to Christ the King on a tall mountain-hill in the state of Guanajuato. According to the government, such action violated article 24, which condemned any outdoor public worship as an infringement to the constitution. Although the Church contended that it did not break the law, President Alvaro Obregón considered it a blatant provocation. Consequently, he expelled Archbishop and Apostolic Delegate Ernesto Filippi and deported any foreign clergymen who were involved. Obregón proceeded to file formal charges against several Mexican bishops and fired all government employees who had participated in the religious act.<sup>4</sup>

After these occurrences in July 1926, with the intent of regulating the Church's influence over the country, Plutarco Elías Calles, a deeply anticlerical president, stated that thirty-three articles of the 1917 Constitution relating to religion had to be fully observed. If not, violators—including civilians and officials who did not enforce the law—ran the risk of receiving severe state sanctions and even incarceration. Of the thirty-three, articles 3, 24, 27, and 130 proved most burdensome to the Catholic Church and created greater animosity between the State and clergy.<sup>5</sup> Article 3 forced all public and private schools to provide secular instruction. Article 24 forbade any religious practices or ceremonies in public

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<sup>4</sup> David C. Bailey, *¡Viva Cristo Rey!: The Cristero Rebellion and the Church-State Conflict in Mexico* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2001), 37-38.

<sup>5</sup> Lester, *Mexico's Hidden Revolution*, 12.

domains, outside of temples or homes. Lastly, articles 27 and 130 specifically targeted the Catholic Church; the first prohibited the Church to hold any property or organize charitable groups, and the second gave the state the right to decide on the number of priests each state had through a registration process. It also promoted the deportation of clergymen and nuns who appeared as a threat to the revolutionary government.<sup>6</sup>

On July 31, in response to these anticlerical articles and their enforcement, the Mexican clergy decided that the time had come to protest. Archbishop José Mora y del Rio, head of the Episcopal Committee in Mexico, with approval from Pope Pius XI, opted to cease all religious acts and close down temples across the country. The Church, he stated, could not "...function in accordance with the sacred canons."<sup>7</sup> The Episcopal Committee did not have the freedom to call to arms, and along with ecclesiastical and secular bureaucrats used "...surreptitious evasions and nonenforcement of the anticlerical laws and sometimes political statements..." to oppose the government's mandates.<sup>8</sup>

As a result, the Church benefited from lay organizations that had militant liberty to pursue their institutional goals. These objectives sought to substitute the political regime for one more lenient to the Church. Hence, when several of these groups, including the National League for the Defense of Religious Liberty (known as LNDR for its Spanish initials), the Association of Catholic Mexican Youth (ACJM), and the *Unión Popular* (UP) rebelled against the government, the Episcopal Committee did not halt such actions and insinuated that the bishops condoned the movement.<sup>9</sup> Along with other *Cristero* insurgents, these organizations established armed movements across the country. ACJM members began collecting ammunition, and the LNDR

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<sup>6</sup> Lester, *Mexico's Hidden Revolution*, 11-12.

<sup>7</sup> Bailey, *¡Viva Cristo Rey!*, 81. Pages 81-83 detailed the state's initial approach to the Church's protest.

<sup>8</sup> Lester, *Mexico's Hidden Revolution*, 5.

<sup>9</sup> Bailey, *¡Viva Cristo Rey!*, 98.

started to raise an army to fight the government's anticlericalism. On the other hand, the UP tried to abstain from any violent actions, but by the end of the year its president, Anacleto González Flores, opted to form an alliance with the LNDLR and support the armed movement.

Raising their voices to the cry of “¡Viva Cristo Rey!” (Long live Christ the King!), by late 1926 *Cristero* insurgents had appeared in rural areas in western-central Mexico, particularly in the states of Colima, Guanajuato, Guerrero, Jalisco, Michoacán, and Nayarit.<sup>10</sup> Then, after a bloody two-year struggle that resulted in 60,000 federal and 40,000 *Cristero* casualties, in 1929 government and clerical leaders “...agreed to a truce because they saw [that] the long-term institutional interests of Church and State... [laid]... in stability rather than in continued violence.”<sup>11</sup> The Church feared losing popular support if the war did not stop and if its religious services were not restored. Likewise, the government feared an internal political dispute because Calles and his successor, Emilio Portes Gil, had received pressure from the United States government to end the *Cristero* conflict. The U.S. worried about the economic interests that were threatened by the conflict, and urged by American oil companies, sent Ambassador Dwight Morrow to encourage and assist in the peace arrangements (*arreglos*). The *arreglos* transcended into a *Modus Vivendi*, a peaceful coexisting agreement between both institutions for decades to come. From this point on, the “...the national leaders of the Church and State showed moderation and restraint in their dealings with each other.”<sup>12</sup>

### **Creating a National Identity**

How can occurrences like the *Cristero* War become part of Mexico's national identity? Scholars agree that cultural artifacts

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<sup>10</sup> Jean A. Meyer, *The Cristero Rebellion: The Mexican People between Church and State, 1926-1929* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 71.

<sup>11</sup> Reich, *Mexico's Hidden Revolution*, 15.

<sup>12</sup> Lester, *Mexico's Hidden Revolution*, 17.

such as "...flags, songs, monuments, medallions and uniforms...[that] may surge from wars, foreign invasions, revolutions, or migrations..."<sup>13</sup> help build the nation's identity through intellectuals, artists, and politicians who promulgate these artifacts within the citizenry. Although the *Cristero* War gave rise to such articles, the impact of the war on Mexican identity and historical memory has been minimal when compared to other events that have taken place on Mexican soil.

Since the early 1800s, political elites as well as the general population have identified a number of cultural elements to boost the Mexican national character. For instance, during the thirty-five-year reign of Porfirio Díaz (1876-1911), high government officials established February 5 and May 5 as holidays; the former celebrated the proclamation of the 1857 Constitution, and the latter the Battle of Puebla, where rag-tag Mexican troops won a significant battle against the French invaders. Then, starting in 1883, Independence Day celebrations took a new appearance. It became the first national holiday attended by provincial citizens as a tourist event in Mexico City. These visitors, along with the city's inhabitants, had the opportunity to observe allegorical representations of the Mexican character through float parades that displayed historical instances like the discovery of Mexico by the Spanish, the country's Independence, and the enactment of 1857 Constitution. By 1905, this holiday's practices became a standard across the nation when workers, teachers, students, athletes, and other civilians participated in them.<sup>14</sup>

Intellectuals and artists also played a critical role in shaping Mexican identity and memory after the 1910 Revolution. They worked as state agents to help incorporate the revolution's ideals into historical memory. Pundits turned revolutionary figures, like Francisco I. Madero, Venustiano Carranza, Emiliano Zapata, and

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<sup>13</sup> Mary Kay Vaughan and Stephen E. Lewis, *The Eagle and the Virgin: Nation and Cultural Revolution in Mexico, 1920-1940* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 3.

<sup>14</sup> William H. Beezley, *Mexican National Identity: Memory, Innuendo and Popular Culture* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2008), 61-97.

Pancho Villa, became “...vehicles for reinforcing... [Mexican]...culture” into national heroes that conformed to the values of a society, like nationalism, masculinization, and patriarchal attitude, in a country that had been divided by the Revolutionary War.<sup>15</sup> The patriotic celebrations that define Mexican identity, like the combined September 2010 celebration of the Independence Day bicentennial and the Revolution’s centennial, continued to evoke these historical figures. In addition, other cultural artifacts that alluded to the Revolution, such as *corridos* (folkloric songs) and uniforms like those worn by *soldaderas* (the stereotypical revolutionary female soldiers) assisted in creating and promoting the Mexican character during these celebrations.<sup>16</sup>

Yet, just like the *Cristero* War, Mexican historical memory has pretty much ignored a number of events related to the country’s long-standing Church-State conflict, such as the 1857-1861 War of the Reform. This bloody conflict marked a turning point in Mexico’s history, as the country underwent a dramatic political and social transformation with the enactment of the 1857 constitution that separated Church and State. Even though liberal President Benito Juárez emerged as a distinguished patriotic hero from the struggle, the war itself lacks recognition.<sup>17</sup> As both wars face national neglect, further scholarly works are needed to understand what circumstances repress the historical memory of the War of Reform, the *Cristero* War, and other such occurrences.

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<sup>15</sup> Ilene V. O’Malley, *The Myth of the Revolution: Hero Cults and the Institutionalization of the Mexican State, 1920-1940* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1986), 113.

<sup>16</sup> Andrea Becerril, “Fiesta Efímera, el bicentenario de la Independencia,” *La Jornada*, September 18, 2010, <https://www.jornada.com.mx/2010/09/18/politica/013n1pol>.

<sup>17</sup> Erika Pani’s prologue in Pablo Mijangos y González, *La Reforma* (Mexico City: Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2018), 11.

### **Forgetting los *Cristeros***

Many noteworthy cultural elements such as leading figures, songs, and martyrs that could have left an imprint in Mexican historical memory emerged from the *Cristero* War. Yet, the war did not become a recognized national event by the State or its citizenry. Some of the underlying factors for this rejection included the disintegration of *Cristero* organizations, the enactment of revolutionary social reforms, Church-state relations after 1929, and the violent nature of the *Cristero* movement.

For instance, one such leading *Cristero* figure was Enrique Gorostieta, a presumed atheist general who had fought along General Victoriano Huerta during the Revolution. Although Gorostieta's recognition revolved in the belief that while being an agnostic (because of his peculiar request to receive a competitive pay and life insurance in case he perished in battle to lead the *Cristero* army), he had fought for the *Cristero* cause with his life. In 2011, however, his descendants publicized a series of letters he had written to his wife Gertrudis during the war in which he stated that although he was not a Catholic fanatic, he was in fact a believer.<sup>18</sup> At the height of the war, he worked closely with the LNDLR, and suggested that the armed struggle should continue even if the Church and State came to an agreement and public worship was restored. On June 2, 1929, he was killed by federal troops while he rested at a *hacienda* in Michoacán. After his death, the LNDLR praised him as hero who had conducted himself in a selfless manner during the rebellion,<sup>19</sup> and a *corrido* composed after his death captured his wartime audacity and further added to league's sentiment:

“With the ensuing peace and treaty  
Given under this General's hand.

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<sup>18</sup> Bertha Hernández, “Enrique Gorostieta: El ¿Ateo? Qué Se Convirtió en *Cristero*.” *La Crónica De Hoy*. February 28, 2016, <http://www.cronica.com.mx/notas/2016/947408.html>.

<sup>19</sup> Bailey, *¡Viva Cristo Rey!*, pages 263-265 described Gorostieta's last days.

He became a private and distinguished citizen  
Working for the nation's good.  
And as leader of the rebel forces  
Whose cry was 'Long live Christ the King!'  
With his valiant and dedicated soldiers [who]  
Demanded a reform to the law."<sup>20</sup>

The *corrido* portrayed the general as a guide to all the *Cristero* insurgents who fought against the government in the name of Christ. It also classified Gorostieta as an outstanding citizen who should be recognized among the Mexican population for his goodwill towards the nation and his effort to amend the Calles Law, but contrarily to the lyrics, Gorostieta never received such national recognition.

On the other hand, some *corridos* projected *Cristero* actions as shameful in a burlesque manner. Federal troops, for instance, "...extolled their own cause in lyrical verse, denouncing the religious crusaders as cruel, villainous miscreants..."<sup>21</sup> The "*Corrido de la Contestación a las Estupideces del Bandido Rito Betancourt*" (Ballad of Response to the Stupidities of the Bandit Rito Betancourt) is an answer to Bentacourt's 1927 *corrido*. In it, he called *Cristeros* fanatics and holy women (*beatas*) and questioned the *Cristeros*' masculinity, a characteristic highly esteemed by Mexican men.<sup>22</sup> To contest such allegations, the *Cristeros* responded by signing the following verse from the ballad:

"If true men you would be,  
and if valiant laddies,

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<sup>20</sup> Texas Politics - The Legislative Branch,  
<http://www.laits.utexas.edu/jaime/cwp5/crg/english/gorostieta/index.html>.

<sup>21</sup> Stephen Andes, "Singing for Cristo Rey: Masculinity, Piety, and Dissent in Mexico's *Cristero* Rebellion," In *Mexico in Verse: A History of Music, Rhyme, and Power*, edited by Stephen Nuefeld, Michael Matthews, and William H. Beezly. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2015), 183.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 182.

then come out to meet,  
who's really your daddies.”<sup>23</sup>

With the intent to defend their manhood and cause, a *Cristero* from Huejiquilla in the state of Jalisco wrote the *corrido*. Through the lyrics, they advised their opposers that if they were to come to their encounter, they will know who the real “daddy” is, affirming that in the question of masculinity and war-time courage, the rebels took the lead. Such ballad reflected the constant ideological battle that accompanied the war, when the *Cristeros* were not fighting with bullets and guns, they were fighting to present their movement in a compelling manner.

Despite being a prominent tool to spread the war's popular events or vent hatred among the Catholic rebels and Federal troops, *corridos* about the *Cristero* rebellion disappeared from Mexican memory for various decades. The state's efforts to instill a new secular culture that steered away from what it perceived as Catholic fanaticism helped root out these songs from the popular mainstream. During the early 1930s, for instance, the state instituted events that came to be known as cultural Sundays. In rural Sonora, citizens did not attend Sunday religious services anymore, but instead gathered in their town's square to view anticlerical plays such as “Death to Religion,” listen to speeches that denounced the Church as a problem, and sing state-promoted songs like the “Socialist Hymn” and the “Iconoclast Hymn.” As a result, *corridos* that exalted the *Cristeros* and the Catholic Church lost popularity to state hymns among the citizenry because “[a]nticlerical propaganda penetrated into the most remote backwaters...” of the country.<sup>24</sup>

Radio broadcasting proved to be a more powerful tool to promote the state's ideals and deny pro-*Cristero* *corridos* their part in Mexican national identity. The revolutionary government, aware of the influence that radio would have over Mexicans, worked

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<sup>23</sup> Andes, “Singing for Cristo Rey,” 183.

<sup>24</sup> Adrian A. Bantjes, *As If Jesus Walked on Earth: Cardenismo, Sonora, and the Mexican Revolution* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources Inc., 200), 16.

arduously to get this device into the hands of its citizens during the early 1920s. The Ministry of Public Education (SEP) broadcasted jazz, fox-trots, and popular Mexican music that correlated with the revolution's principles and not with any religious concepts. This programming touched on technological advances, the history of the revolution, the Spanish language, poetry, and hygiene in rural communities.<sup>25</sup> Radio, thus, became a tool for the government to continue its secularization campaign and eradicate religious fanaticism in the country.

While the state's effort to create a secular society resulted in the loss of *Cristero corridos* during the mid-twentieth century, in 1973 Mexico's National Institute of Anthropology and History began to search for those forgotten songs. The institute managed to recover nine *corridos* to record on vinyl "through the intrepid work of scholars who ventured into the sierra...[of Jalisco and Zacatecas]... to record local musicians playing songs unknown out of their immediate region."<sup>26</sup> Other *Cristero*-inspired *corridos* had to be recovered from cities in the U.S. like Los Angeles and San Antonio that had served as refuge for Mexicans who escaped the State-Church conflict in 1926-1929. While in exile, many of these emigrants sought the means to support the *Cristero* movement economically. These actions produced pro-*Cristero* print media, speeches, films, and photography, and *Cristero*-inspired *corridos* miles away from the heart of the conflict.<sup>27</sup>

As recollections of *Cristero* cultural elements like *corridos* had to be recovered decades after the war, leading figures that could have been identified as patriotic martyrs also failed to receive recognition in historical memory once the struggle ended. Jesuit priest Miguel Pro stands out among these individuals due to his controversial public execution on November 23, 1927, ten days

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<sup>25</sup> This paragraph is based on Justin J. Castro's, "Sounding the Mexican Nation: Intellectuals, Radio Broadcasting, and the Revolutionary State in the 1920s," *The Latin Americanist* 58 (September 2014): 3-30.

<sup>26</sup> Andes, "Singing for Cristo Rey," 186.

<sup>27</sup> Julia G. Young, *Mexican Exodus: Emigrants, Exiles, and Refugees of the Cristero War* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2019), 63-77.

after the failed assassination attempt of ex-President Alvaro Obregón. At the height of the conflict, Pro actively supported the *Cristero* cause by providing rebels with spiritual guidance, ammunition, and food, actions that turned him into an enemy of the state. After being arrested several times for subversion, Obregón's attempted murder marked a turning point for Pro when he was accused of the attack. Without a proper trial and a hurried police investigation, Pro and other men were found guilty of attempting to kill Obregón. A firing squad in Mexico City's central police station executed Pro and the others. Several important national newspapers published the execution's photographs, and they showed Pro in a Christ-like posture moments before being shot. *El Universal Grafico*, was one such newspaper. It printed a special edition ten days after the attempt, displaying several of these photographs and detailing the men's last minutes of life. It provided a detailed account of how the bodies had been impacted by the bullets and the order in which the men had been executed.<sup>28</sup>

The images of Pro caused an immediate uproar in Mexico and turned him into the symbol of the *Cristero* struggle across the country; his public death created a sense of empathy towards the Catholic militants who suffered under the anticlerical policies of the state. After the war ended, however, his legacy did not carry through. The government did not seek to clarify events that led to his execution during his funeral or the subsequent anniversaries of his death. In 1935 a rumor based on an article from New York's *Daily Eagle* newspaper spread in Mexico. The foreign newspaper recounted the story of a man who affirmed that Pro's remains had been exhumed during a secret midnight ceremony in one of Mexico city's hotels.

Decades later, the Jesuit society discredited the alleged clandestine gathering and exhumation. They declared that Pro's body had remained in the original place of burial until 1980, when

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<sup>28</sup> Mauricio Mejía Castillo, "Jugamos a los dados y me tocó matar a Obregón," *El Universal*, November 11, 2017, <https://www.eluniversal.com.mx/colaboracion/mochilazo-en-el-tiempo/nacion/sociedad/jugamos-los-dados-y-me-toco-matar-obregon>.

they decided to relocate the remains to the temple of *La Sagrada Familia*. Fifteen years after the *Daily Eagle*'s publication, Jesuit leaders sought to revive Pro's memory during the 1950s by turning him into a martyr. The Church, however, rejected the petition because Pro had resorted to violent means to defend Catholicism. To contest the Church's decision, the Jesuits gathered testimonies that depicted Pro as a pious man and a human rights activist who helped Catholics keep their faith during hardship and under great suffering. These efforts were ultimately successful, and Church officials finally recognized Pro as an activist for human rights and democracy during the late 1980s.

Despite this progress, Pro's identity shift reflected the country's resistance to accept *Cristeros* into national memory. His character as a human rights activist has been highlighted by the Church and through the establishment of charity houses and a human rights center bearing his name. Meanwhile, his career as a *Cristero* militant has been ignored by the Church and in national memory. Using this identity change too, the Jesuit Society achieved its goal and Pro was beatified in 1988. He became a Catholic martyr that November 10. Nineteen years later, in 2007, Pro's saintly image transcended into a Jesuit film production titled *Padre Pro: Father Miguel Pro, Martyr of the Lord*. The movie depicted Pro's endeavors and commitment to a pacifist orientation during the conflict, thus sustaining his integrity as a humanist and not as a *Cristero*.<sup>29</sup>

As the memory of leading *Cristero* figures, *corridos*, and martyrs disintegrated, the Church's actions as the conflict came to an end and thereafter further corroborated to the attenuation of the war's memory. First, the decision to end the war came from the Church's high clergy and state officials, neither of which took into consideration the *Cristero* rebels who "...organized and [continued to] carr[y] out the *Cristero* resistance movement..."<sup>30</sup> perceiving

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<sup>29</sup> My analysis of Father Pro is based on Marisol López-Menéndez, *Miguel Pro: Martyrdom, Politics, and Society in Twentieth-Century Mexico* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2016).

<sup>30</sup> Reich, *Mexico's Hidden Revolution*, 28.

the *arreglos* as betrayal. In 1930, for example, lay groups spread leaflets condoning violence as a method to defend the Catholic faith. This type of behavior jeopardized Church-State relations, and to avoid such actions clergymen advised Catholics to abstain from attending meetings in which the *arreglos* could be criticized in an effort to maintain amicable relations with the state.

Then, shortly after the *arreglos* were signed, the Church moved to decimate the LNDLR and restructure the ACJM to demonstrate a good-faith desire to cooperate with the government. The Church pressured ACJM members to restructure their organization and sought to end relations with the LNDLR. After clerical persuasion, the ACJM expelled its most extremist members and agreed to join *Acción Católica Mexicana* (ACM), a moderate lay Catholic organization founded by Father Miguel Darío Miranda in 1931. The LNDLR, on the other hand, changed its name to *Liga Defensora de la Libertad* (LNDL) to drop any religious connotation per Church demands. Nevertheless, it continued to be a threat to the *arreglos* because radical members like the league's president, Rafael Ceniceros y Villareal, could damage the integrity of the *arreglos* by continuing the call to arms. By 1932, through "...clever maneuvering, the episcopate...won a tangible victory..." when the LNDL suspended all activities. The Church and the "...Pope himself held the organization [LNDL] in very low esteem, [and] a last hope for legitimacy was scattered."<sup>31</sup>

As the Catholic lay organizations that had actively participated in the conflict disbanded, they lost their legitimacy and it became somewhat of a taboo in Mexican society to talk about them. As one historian put it, "...nobody wanted to talk about a movement that sinned twice, once for being defeated and again for being anti-revolutionary..."<sup>32</sup> The Church refused to deal with any controversial questions about the violent acts committed by *Cristeros* during the war, and Apostolic delegate Leopoldo Ruiz y

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<sup>31</sup> Miguel Palomar y Vizcarra, August 10, 1932, in *Lara y Torres, Documentos*, 774-75, quoted in Reich, *Mexico's Hidden Revolution*, 29.

<sup>32</sup> Matthew Butler, "Cristeros y agraristas en Jalisco," *Historia Mexicana* 52 (October 2002): 493. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25139443>.

Flores declined to aid the LNDL in raising funds to cover the war debt. Consequently, silence began to form around the conflict. Neither the LNDL leaders, the reorganized ACJM, or other organizations sympathetic to *Cristeros* had enough political or social clout to share their accounts of the conflict.<sup>33</sup>

Additional unsuccessful pleas from the *Cristeros* to the Church became another issue that contributed to the disintegration of the *Cristero* memory. Many *Cristeros*, like Colonel Jose Maria Gutierrez, lost their lives between 1929 and 1950 to government troops and anti-clerical individuals who sought revenge. On February 14, 1930, forty-one ex-*Cristeros* were executed at San Martín Bolaños, a city in the state of Jalisco. The fact that the majority of the assassinated individuals had held high positions in the LNDLR during the war, proved to be worrisome for the ex-rebels. Some of the organization's leaders refused to apply for the granted amnesty after the war and went into hiding instead. The LNDLR petitioned Ruiz, once more, to intervene and protect those *Cristeros* whose lives were in danger, but Ruiz, once again, declined the request. Execution of these men took place and both the State and Church "...showed little or no interest in investigating the problem."<sup>34</sup>

As many of the *Cristeros* lost credibility and their lives, politicians, intellectuals, and artists worked arduously to reprehend any religious customs during the 1930s and early 1940s. One of the most energetic such state-led campaigns proved to be the secular educational reform that the Church and *Cristeros* had longed to end in previous years. It had been launched during the 1920s by presidents Obregón and Calles, both of whom hoped to "...pragmatize Mexican culture along the lines of that of United States, [because] they regarded central and southern Mexico as the sick lethargic consequence of Spanish oppression and Catholic obscurantism."<sup>35</sup> The educational reforms intensified efforts in the

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<sup>33</sup> Reich, *Mexico's Hidden Revolution*, pages 17-53 detail post-*arreglos* activity among the lay organizations.

<sup>34</sup> Bailey, *¡Viva Cristo Rey!*, 294.

<sup>35</sup> Vaughan and Lewis, *The Eagle and the Virgin*, 11.

country's rural regions where indigenous communities adhered strongly to the Catholic faith.<sup>36</sup> The government sent trained teachers supplied with textbooks that diffused the Revolution's anticlerical ideals. In this manner, the state's intellectuals had the power to promote their goals in communities and leave out what proved challenging to the government, like the *Cristero* War.

By the end of the 1930s the educational endeavor had reached 720,000 students, and approximately 12,500 rural primary schools. The reform created a pantheon of patriotic heroes who had participated in the wars of Independence and had fought in the 1910 Revolution by incorporating them in primary and secondary education. To this day, historical figures like Miguel Hidalgo and José María Morelos, prominent figures in the independent movement, and key individuals from the Revolution like Villa and Zapata, are remembered in schools across Mexico. Meanwhile, neither the Church nor the State sought to integrate the leading figures of the *Cristero* rebellion into the national memory.<sup>37</sup>

Although the state's social revolution mainly targeted a change in the educational system, the government also launched a cultural revolution to root out fanaticism, thus eliminating any opportunity for *Cristero* memory to survive. In the early 1930s, Sonora, Tabasco, Veracruz, and Michoacán became known as the "laboratories of the revolution." A strong supporter of this crusade was Sonora's governor and son of President Calles, Rodolfo Elias Calles. Governor Calles, along with other revolutionaries, believed the clergy needed to be under the state's control, he only allowed thirteen priests to officiate in Sonora between 1931-1932. To ensure the success of the cultural revolution, Calles limited worship and destroyed religious symbols.<sup>38</sup> The state's iconoclastic

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<sup>36</sup> Mary Kay Vaughan, "Nationalizing the Countryside: Schools and Rural Communities in the 1930s," in *The Eagle and the Virgin*, 158.

<sup>37</sup> Pages 109-153 of Gilbert M. Joseph and Jürgen Buchenau, *Mexico's Once and Future Revolution: Social Upheaval and the Challenge of Rule since the Late Nineteenth Century* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013) detail the educational reforms undertaken by revolutionary leaders after the 1920s.

<sup>38</sup> Bantjes, *As If Jesus Walked*, 3-21.

cultural revolution's accomplishments manifested in states like Michoacán. In Ario de Rayon, a northern town in the state, revolutionary women's leagues formed in the mid-1930s to help women "...flex their intellectual muscles against Catholicism..."<sup>39</sup> These organizations aimed to reconstruct the role of women in small towns, and steer them away from church activities. During this time, religious icons like *La Purísima*—a women's special saint—were burned at the church altar. One night after the town's temple had been purged from its saints, revolutionaries experienced "...surroundings differently, men approached their wives and girlfriends and invited them to dance before the altar."<sup>40</sup> Although these types of anticlerical acts did not specifically target the repression of the *Cristero* memory, it did enforce a strong revolutionary sentiment in towns where Catholicism had once been the ruling party.

Artistic endeavors also accompanied the cultural revolution. Celebrated artists like Diego Rivera, José Clemente Orozco, David Alfaro Siqueiros, Frida Kahlo, and María Izquierdo used paint and brushes to boost this movement. Walls in national buildings, such as the *Escuela Nacional Preparatoria*, government offices, and universities were transformed into murals that embraced Mexican identity as defined by the state. These murals aimed to capture the attention of the people and sought to instruct literate and illiterate alike (in a nation where only 25 percent of the population could read).<sup>41</sup> Some artists, like Rivera, focused on social issues within the country in his paintings. He aimed to convey "...the religious passion of a secular annunciation of revolutionary brotherhood..."<sup>42</sup> and his work *Priest with the*

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<sup>39</sup> Marjorie Becker, *Setting the Virgin on Fire: Lázaro Cárdenas, Michoacán Peasants, and the Redemption of the Mexican Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 91.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>41</sup> Justin J. Castro, "Sounding the Mexican Nation," 6.

<sup>42</sup> Desmond Rochfort, "The Sickie, the Serpent and the Soil: History, Revolution, Nationhood, and Modernity in the Murals of Diego Rivera, Jose Clemente Orozco and David Alfaro Siqueiros" in *The Eagle and the Virgin*, 45.

*Exploiters* explicitly illustrated this sentiment as it portrayed colonial clergy plundering Native Americans. In other paintings, Rivera highlighted the Revolution's ideals. His *Liberation of the Peon* and *The New School* depicted *mestizo* Mexicans freed from exploitation and drudgery as they assumed new roles as educated citizens, who would gain knowledge of their culture and attain greater presence in the national political arena.<sup>43</sup>

The aggressive actions committed by *Cristeros* also ensured that the 1926-1929 rebellion would disappear from Mexican historical memory. One of the most controversial and violent acts committed during the war was the derailment of the La Barca passenger train. On April 21, 1927, a group of *Cristeros* led by Priest José Reyes Vega attacked that train in Jalisco. The attack caused much commotion in the country as *El Informador* (an independent newspaper based in that state) informed that approximately 450-500 *Cristero* rebels derailed the train. A three-hour shootout then followed, during which *Cristero* soldiers failed to distinguish between the boxcars that contained federal troops and those with passengers. After extracting the valuables from the train and leaving the injured inside, *Cristero* troops set the boxcars on fire. *El Informador* did not provide a total count of the dead but it did state that women and children perished in the attack.<sup>44</sup> The next day, General Joaquín Amaro, Minister of War, stated that not even the most disastrous events of the Revolution compared to the attack. As a result, the General affirmed that an energetic campaign against the rebels would be redirected towards the state of Jalisco.<sup>45</sup>

The following year, the assassination of president-elect Alvaro Obregón on July 17, 1928 shocked the nation. José de León Toral, a Catholic extremist, killed the president-elect during a garden banquet in Mexico City. Though it is questionable whether

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<sup>43</sup> Becker, *Setting the Virgin on Fire*, 9.

<sup>44</sup> "Fue Asaltado el Tren Directo Que Salió de Esta Ciudad para México" *El Informador*, April 21, 1927, <http://hemeroteca.informador.com.mx/>.

<sup>45</sup> "El Gral. J. Amaro se halla en Jalisco" *El Informador*, April 21, 1927, <http://hemeroteca.informador.com.mx/>.

Toral had any ties to the *Cristero* movement, he had worked closely with nun Concepción Acevedo de la Llata, popularly known as Madre Conchita. Acevedo de la Llata had allowed Toral and other Catholic militants into her home after the closure of temples in 1926, and suggested that the only way the Catholic Church could be freed from its difficulties would be with the death of Presidents Calles and Obregón.<sup>46</sup> The conspirators began to manufacture bombs and discuss plans to kill Obregón, and Toral decided to execute the task. The police apprehended Toral after Obregon's murder and he confessed to borrowing the weapon from one of Madre Conchita's friends. She and Toral were arrested, with Toral receiving the death sentence while Madre Conchita received a twenty-year prison punishment.

*Cristeros* also launched an aggressive campaign against the teachers sent by the SEP to the rural areas of the country. Abiding to their religious beliefs, they opposed the state's secular education by mutilating, raping, and killing these individuals.<sup>47</sup> These aggressions became more evident after the war, particularly between 1934 and 1938 when the *Cristeros* attempted to revive their movement in the so-called *La Segunda* (the Second) uprising. The rebels aimed to end the government's social reforms, including the secular education program, that had been enforced by then-President Lázaro Cárdenas. As a result, school attendance dramatically dropped when parish priests instructed parents to remove their children from school. In towns like Contepec, Michoacán, for example, *Cristeros* and their followers took the matter more seriously and lynched the teachers sent by the SEP.<sup>48</sup> On May 15, 1935, a few days after the national celebration of the day of teacher, President Cárdenas stood before the nation to honor

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<sup>46</sup> "La Inspección General de Policía de la Capital a Conocer Sus Investigaciones Sobre el Asesinato del Sr. Presidente Obregón" *El Informador*, July 31, 1928, <http://hemeroteca.informador.com.mx/>.

<sup>47</sup> Marjorie Becker, *Setting the Virgin on Fire*, 125.

<sup>48</sup> Enrique Manzo Guerra, "The Resistance of the Marginalized: Catholics in Eastern Michoacán and the Mexican State, 1920-40," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 6 (2008): 109-33. [www.jstor.org/stable/40056628](http://www.jstor.org/stable/40056628).

the fallen teachers. In his speech, he stated that fanaticism and ignorance had taken the lives of those teachers who wished to better the cultural and financial conditions of the Mexican people, but that their efforts were officially recognized and admired. He continued affirming the death of these individuals was going to become an important factor as he continued to fulfill the Revolution's responsibilities with the nation.<sup>49</sup> This type of violent attacks prevented the expansion of *Cristero* legacy throughout the country, because instead of halting the effort to spread secular ideals throughout the country, their actions created an impetus for the continuity of the revolution.

### **Cristero Resurgence**

While the *Cristero* War did not have much of an impact on Mexico's historical memory when the conflict ended, several motion pictures and works of literature had appeared by the late 1940s in an attempt to fill this void. These works, however, illustrate contradictory views about the *Cristero* War. The 1947 Mexican film *Sucedió en Jalisco* ("It Happened in Jalisco"), for instance, showcased one family's struggle during the *Cristero* rebellion. Two brothers, Felipe and Policarpo, the first a government official and the latter a *Cristero*, had to overcome their political differences to unite their family, which had been deeply affected and divided by the war.<sup>50</sup> Fourteen years later, Antonio Estrada's novel *Rescoldo* related the events he lived during *La Segunda*. The novel described the contentious sentiment that Mexicans had towards the war through the eyes of a child. The youngster hoped his *Cristero* father would overcome the federal

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<sup>49</sup> "Tuvo Especial Celebración en el País el Día del Maestro" *El Informador*, May 15, 1935, <http://www.hndm.unam.mx/consulta/publicacion/visualizar/558a34597d1ed64f16a42a48?anio=1935&mes=05&dia=16&tipo=pagina&palabras=maria+rodriguez+z+murillo>.

<sup>50</sup> *Sucedió en Jalisco*, YouTube video, 1:36:28, posted by "MrAngelo," May 16, 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hQW-QEuj8Kw>.

troop's aggressions while also shedding light on the transgressions committed by *Cristero* rebels.<sup>51</sup> Around the same time, starting in 1960, academic works about the *Cristero* War began to appear. Alicia Olivera's book, *Aspectos del Conflicto Religioso de 1926 a 1929: Sus Antecedentes y Consecuencias* analyzed the friction within the state's political leaders, Obregón and Calles, and between the Church and the LNDRL, but avoided an exploration of the war's origins.<sup>52</sup> Her work, however, served as the base for French historian Jean Meyer's *The Cristiada: The Mexican People's War for Religious Liberty*, an unprecedented analysis of conflict that showcased the *Cristeros* in a favorable light. Published in 1973, the book began as a doctoral thesis encouraged by a Jesuit priest who advised him to investigate a topic that had seldom been studied.<sup>53</sup> Meyer's work proved to be academic success at the time of its publishing and celebrated by Catholic readers. His achievement was credited to the research based on the country's rural sectors. Yet, scholars have repeatedly criticized *The Cristiada* for portraying the conflict "...100% in favor of the *Cristeros*."<sup>54</sup> Meyer's work did not assign responsibility to any clerical figures or institutions while portraying the government as a cruel oppressor that committed a political error by applying Calles' anticlerical laws, and underplayed the role of the LNDLR in the war.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Arias Urrutia and Ángel Rescoldo. "Los Últimos *Cristeros*: Una Novela Extraordinaria," *Revista Intercontinental de Psicología y Educación*, 62 (July-December 2010), 107.

<sup>52</sup> Damián López, "La Guerra *Cristera* (Mexico 1926-1929): Una Aproximación Historiográfica," *Historiografías* 6 (Spring 2011): 41.

<sup>53</sup> Luis Arturo, "Jean Meyer, la Cruzada por México: Los Católicos de Estados Unidos y la Cuestión Religiosa en México," *Estudios De Historia Moderna y Contemporánea De Mexico* 36 (December 2008): [www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci\\_arttext&pid=S0185-26202008000200011#notas](http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0185-26202008000200011#notas).

<sup>54</sup> Jean A. Meyer, *La Cristiada*, (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1973), 7, quoted in López, "La Guerra *Cristera*," 43.

<sup>55</sup> López, "La Guerra *Cristera*," 42.

The *Cristero* Rebellion had remained a controversial issue in Mexico. Few historians had attempted to seriously examine this event, and translating foreign academic works on this subject did not appeal to Mexican publishing houses.<sup>56</sup> By the 1990s, however, post-revisionist historians produced academic works that considered both the religious and political factors, and not just popular roots as Meyer and Olivera had. During this time, Jeannie Purnell and Matthew Butler challenged Meyer's findings, and proposed that the *Cristero* movement had not been a homogeneous endeavor. Rather, each participating locality had individual motives that moved them to engage in the rebellion. Purnell explained that trying to provide a structural analysis of the *Cristero* War could be problematic, while her field research in communities near Los Altos, Michoacán demonstrated that local history and its specific cultural background motivated *Cristero* rebels to join the movement without taking class, ethnicity, or level of religiosity into account.<sup>57</sup> Butler's findings, meanwhile, placed the religious context as the source of the *Cristeros*' impetus. He illustrated the Catholic faith as the result of social circumstances and interpreted the struggle as complex and problematic.<sup>58</sup> In 2001, Moisés Gonzales Navarro, a Mexican scholar, authored *Cristeros y Agraristas en Jalisco*. Although his work presented a deep social analysis of the war, it proved troublesome to categorize as a contribution to *Cristero* studies. The book, "despite its title...tells very little about *agraristas*, [and] much less about *Cristeros*."<sup>59</sup> Unlike Gonzalez, other historians began exploring the conflict in regions that had not received much attention from scholars like Campeche, Guerrero, Colima, and Hidalgo. One such historian was Julia Preciado Zamora, who in *Por las faldas del Volcán de Colima: Cristeros, Agraristas y Pacíficos* examined the

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<sup>56</sup> López, *Miguel Pro: Martyrdom, Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century Mexico*, xvii.

<sup>57</sup> Jennie Purnell, *Popular Movements and State Formation in Revolutionary Mexico* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 9-10.

<sup>58</sup> López, "La Guerra Cristera," 41-43.

<sup>59</sup> Matthew Butler, "Cristeros Y Agraristas En Jalisco," 494.

underestimated role of the population who remained neutral during the war in Colima in 2007. Julia G. Young also took up this task in her 2015 *Mexican Exodus; Emigrants, Exiles, and Refugees of the Cristero War*, by considering the impact of the *Cristero War* in the United States as many Mexicans fled the war's violent atmosphere to American cities.<sup>60</sup>

While historians revisited the *Cristero War*, a fashion dispute a few years earlier, in 2007, further demonstrated popular disapproval of the *Cristero* legacy. Designer María del Rayo Macías Díaz proposed a formal evening dress for Miss Mexico, Rosa María Ojeda, to wear in the Miss Universe beauty pageant. That dress depicted some of the war's violent scenes, the Virgin of Guadalupe, *Cristeros*, and some of the Catholic priests who had taken up arms. The dress caused an uproar in Mexican society. Some viewed it "as an anachronism,"<sup>61</sup> and stated that other cultural items that did not involve violence provided a better representation of Mexico to the world.<sup>62</sup> Although the designer declared that the dress did not intend to exalt the *Cristeros*, it was replaced in the official contest by one that illustrated typical Mexican fruits. The switch demonstrated the nation's unwillingness to integrate the *Cristero War* into Mexican historical memory in contemporary times.

In addition, and by the time the controversial Miss Universe dress had captured the public's attention, government officials had moved to foster the *Cristero* legacy. In the early 1990s, President Carlos Salinas de Gortari "...made common cause with the Catholic Church... [and] restored diplomatic

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<sup>60</sup> Young, *Mexican Exodus*, 186.

<sup>61</sup> Arturo Cruz Bárcenas, "Protesta Desafía a Pasarela de Concurstantes a Miss Universo," *La Jornada*, May 21, 2007, <https://www.jornada.com.mx/2007/05/21/index.php?section=espectaculos&article=a18n1esp>.

<sup>62</sup> F. Camacho, E. Montano, A. Jiménez, A. Vargas, and J. Balboa, "El Traje Cristero, Revanchismo de la Derecha, afirma Lorenzo Meyer," *La Jornada*, April 15, 2007 <https://www.jornada.com.mx/2007/04/15/index.php?section=espectaculos&article=a09n1esp>.

relations with the Vatican for the first time since the revolution.”<sup>63</sup> Then, in 2000, Vicente Fox became the first candidate from *Partido de Acción Nacional* (PAN, a Catholic-based political party that had existed since 1939) to win the presidential chair, and toward the end of his term, the Church sought to revive the *Cristeros*’ memory and turn it into a socially acceptable issue in Mexico. It converted renowned *Cristero* militants, like LNDLR leader Anacleto González Flores, to *beatos* on November 20, 2005 at the Jalisco Stadium in Guadalajara.

The beatification, however, proved controversial because it took place during the presidential term of a PAN official; one scholar has argued that the act, far from being a religious action, appeared to have been an effort to present the *Cristeros* as political saints, if not as martyrs.<sup>64</sup> The date chosen by the Church for this occasion—November 20—further corroborates this argument. That day marks the anniversary of the beginning of the 1910 Revolution. By commemorating and beatifying the Catholics who rebelled against the revolutionary government during the *Cristero* War on November 20, the Church attempted to substitute the remembrance of revolutionary heroes for religious icons.

Church officials have employed this tactic on other occasions, as illustrated by the immense popular devotion of the Virgin of Guadalupe, who replaced Tonantzin, the Nahuatl goddess of the Tepeyac, with the fervent following she currently enjoys. In 1531, Juan Diego, a presumed Indian in colonial New Spain, as Mexico was then known, claimed to have had a vision in which a virgin named Guadalupe told him to build her a temple in the same place where Tonantzin’s temple had once been. However, academic literature questions Juan Diego’s existence and the veracity of such events. The lack of primary sources narrating the events, and the ambiguity of those that do exist create an open

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<sup>63</sup> Joseph, Buchenau, *Mexico’s Once and Future Revolution*, 181. This paragraph recalls from pages 117-196 in which the authors recount the Revolution’s influence on society, politics, and economy from 1932 to 2000.

<sup>64</sup> La Redacción, “Beatos De Ultraderecha,” *Proceso*, September 05, 2004, <https://www.proceso.com.mx/193107/beatos-de-ultraderecha>.

argument when evaluating Juan Diego's experience.<sup>65</sup> By the eighteenth century, nonetheless, a successful evangelization effort to highlight the virgin's mestizo features had taken place. Consequently, the Church employed the Virgin of Guadalupe as a political saint and icon of transculturation between the natives and Spaniards to promote a popular religious belief.<sup>66</sup> When independence concerns began to arise in the Spanish colony in the late 1790s, the Virgin's alleged apparition in New Spain's soil inspired colonials, like fray Servando Teresa de Mier, to believe in Mexico's sovereignty not just in a political aspect, but on a religious level as well. In a 1794 sermon, Mier, stated that "...New World owed nothing to the Old, not even Christianity,"<sup>67</sup> and the Virgin's apparition reinforced his assumptions. When the Wars of Independence began, insurgent priest Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla used banners portraying the dark Virgin to announce the death of Spaniards and independence of Mexico, leading her to become an enduring national symbol for the ensuing centuries.

Seven years after the beatification of the thirteen *Cristeros*, an additional effort to renovate the *Cristero* War came from Hollywood. In 2012, *For Greater Glory* presented a romanticized view of Mexico during the 1920s through a one-sided narrative of the war in favor of the *Cristeros*. In the English-speaking film, Mexican producer Pablo José Barroso cast well-known Hollywood actors, like Andy Garcia to play General Gorostieta—who united and trained *Cristero* soldiers—Eva Longoria as Tulita, Gorostieta's faithful Catholic wife who encouraged him to take the lead of the *Cristero* army, and Peter O'Toole, as beatified priest Cristóbal Magallanes. While the film became a box-office hit in Mexico, after its release critics expressed their disappointment not only for the misrepresentation of Mexico's language and scenery, but for its

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<sup>65</sup> Stafford Poole, C.M., *Our Lady of Guadalupe: The Origins and Sources of a Mexican National Symbol*, (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1997), 1-14.

<sup>66</sup> Javier García González, "Guadalupe, Modelo Perfecto De Inculturación," *Preseitas* 2 (July 2014): 214.

<sup>67</sup> Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, 207.

failed attempt to historically recount the *Cristero* War. Jean Meyer declared that "...the Hollywood screenwriter totally deformed the facts and characters."<sup>68</sup> The struggle was depicted as a typical western drama, where Calles' disdain for the Catholic Church was amplified and he was characterized as a cruel oppressor. Meanwhile, *Cristero* figures were portrayed as sensitive, just, and celestial-like creatures. Overall, even though the film failed to accurately present the historical events of the war, it did succeed in reviving the *Cristero* memory outside the academic world. Generations of men, women, and kids that had not been exposed to war, had the opportunity to obtain a glimpse of the struggle.<sup>69</sup>

After the Revolution, the unstable relationship between the Church and State paved the way for the *Cristero* War, forming a critical event in Mexico's history that has been dismissed in national memory. Even though cultural artifacts that emerged from the war could have been appropriated and celebrated as national history, when the war broke out the *Cristeros* were not only defending their religious ideals, but their place in national memory. Aside from Hollywood's misconstrued effort to inform about the *Cristero* War, new generations of Mexicans who learn about this war have been informed by transitional family memories that "...hold a deep historical meaning for..." them.<sup>70</sup> Nonetheless, there is a part of society that does not count on family memories to remember this war, and the sources available in the country are scarce and many times distorted. Ninety-three years have not been enough for Mexican society to reconcile their loyalties with the State and Church to openly discuss this war. And, despite the recent efforts to ingrain the *Cristero* War as an integral part of Mexican identity, the conflict remains controversial and avoided.

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<sup>68</sup> Charles Homan, "Two Thumbs Up," *New Republic* 243 (March 2012): 6-8.

<sup>69</sup> Hugo Hernández, "Cristiada; Reseña de un Culebrón Hollywoodense," *Letras Libres*, April 19, 2012, <https://www.letraslibres.com/mexico-espana/cinetv/cristiada>.

<sup>70</sup> Young, *Mexican Exodus*, 175.

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*History in the Making*

## **A Different Kind of Closet: Queer Censorship in U.S. LGBTQ+ Movements since World War II**

By James Martin

*Abstract: Since World War II, there has been an increased visibility of LGBTQ+ communities in the United States; however, this visibility has noticeably focused on “types” of queer people – mainly white, middle class, cisgender gays and lesbians. History remembers the 1969 Stonewall Inn riots as the catalyst that launched the movement for gay rights and brought forth a new fight for civil and social justice. This paper analyzes the restrictions, within LGBTQ+ communities, that have been placed on transpersons and gender nonconforming people before and after Stonewall. While the riots at the Stonewall Inn were demonstrative of a fight ready to be fought, there were many factors that contributed to the push for gay rights. What this paper argues is that these factors were not always gay or white and did not always fit into a category; emphasis will be placed on queer leaders like Stormé DeLarverie, Sylvia Rivera, and the fearless ladies in San Francisco’s Tenderloin District.*

Movements for gay rights and social justice in the United States have come in many forms, stemming from early attempts in the hegemonic 1950s and continuing into the twenty-first century with the ongoing struggle for equality for trans people. Apart from the contemporary LGBTQ+ movement for trans rights, a noticeable trend in the history of queer activism has been the absence of

queerness<sup>1</sup> in historical memory. “Absence of queerness” in this sense includes the erasure of champion activists that were not gay white men, but trans women, butch lesbians, and queer of color. Notable LGBTQ+ movements did not break out until the end of World War II; however, this analysis will consider the decades after the Civil War, with the rising establishment of a gendered social order. In breaking down the social acceptance of homosexuality and queerness since the nineteenth century, movements and organizations for gender and sexuality will be examined to reveal censorship of sexual fluidity and transgenderism within LGBTQ+ communities, especially after World War II.

### **Separate Spheres and the Development of Homosexual Life**

“Separate Spheres” developed out of the nineteenth century and promoted a binary of gender standards that set men and women apart from each other in terms of expectations and public visibility.<sup>2</sup> The idea of separating men and women into “spheres” creates a set of positions in which the two genders must remain – with men public and visible and women private and invisible. The development of queer communities was also centered around an idea of “visibility,” which is deeply rooted in the spheres of a male public that does not allow the privacies of a female world to be adequately represented. Metaphorical spheres influenced the growth of queer community and sexual identity simply by allowing them to exist. However, these same spheres worked to suppress lesbian expression by promoting a male world of publicity – one where the gay male community could grow much easier.

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<sup>1</sup> “Queer” in this paper will refer to LGBTQ+ people that were not middle class, gay, white men – those of which historical memory has largely created these movements to be about. “Queer” will examine the historical contributions of trans women, drag queens, butch lesbians, and queer of color.

<sup>2</sup> John D’Emilio, “Capitalism and Gay Identity” in *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, ed. Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, & Sharan Thompson (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983), 105.

After the end of the Civil War and the fall of Reconstruction, America began to establish a gendered order, with the enforcement of a “Separate Spheres” mindset. Jim Crow and Separate Sphere ideologies were prevalent in this period to reinforce a patriarchal, white supremacist order that had been challenged by Reconstruction. Siobhan Somerville speaks heavily to the rise of ideas of race and sexuality coming through in the post-Civil War period. Somerville describes the application of Darwinian theories to reinforce sexual and racial prejudices, whereas, “analogies between gender and race structured the logic of hierarchical rankings of bodies.”<sup>3</sup> Race and gender were becoming tools used to reinforce and institutionalize an establishment of a white authority, which would carry over well into the next century. Sexuality was now being used to further install ideas of a more dominant race of whites that acted within its own sets of standardized sexuality that they insisted to be the norm. Social changes seemed to be too much, too soon for the white population – creating an urge for whites to strike back and suppress racial and sexual liberties.

Among these efforts to reestablish order and retaliate, science proved to be a proponent of the reinforcement of a white, heteronormative<sup>4</sup> hierarchy. Psychologists worked diligently to find a connection between race and sexual “inversion” – as seen in Margaret Otis’ 1913 study of an all-girl institution that witnessed same-sex acts of intimacy.<sup>5</sup> Otis problematically describes the relationship of two girls – one white, one black – wherein she expresses that in the relationship, the “colored girl she loved seemed the man.”<sup>6</sup> When considering that the white girl in the relationship describes her partner as “the man,” this speaks to the

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<sup>3</sup> Siobhan Somerville, *Queering the Color Line* (London: Duke University Press, 2000), 24.

<sup>4</sup> GLSEN defines “heteronormative” as the assumption that heterosexual identity is the norm in society. <https://www.glsen.org/taxonomy/term/35>.

<sup>5</sup> Somerville, “Scientific Racism and the Invention of the Homosexual Body,” 24.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

deep-rooted establishment of racial and gender orders that grew between the late-nineteenth century and the early-twentieth century. The already racially categorized girl is now being sexually categorized as “the man,” while the white girl maintains her femininity. In reassigning the African American girl’s gender identity, white America is redefining black queerness and assuming that she must take the role of the “man” in the relationship because of her skin color.

Pre-industrial relationships expressed a form of intimacy that has since been unmatched in America without the supposition of sexual contact. America moving into a more industrialized state did provide greater opportunities for people that needed solace away from home, where they were subject to familial traditions and age-old customs. Same-sex intimacy between men was being given a time limit, though, where it was only allowed to exist within one period of their lifetime and had to, somehow, manage to make itself disappear. E. Anthony Rotundo describes nineteenth century intimacies between men as understanding, compassionate supporters of one another. Rotundo insists these intimacies to be vital to men. They serve to ease the transition of boyhood to manhood – referring to the period of romantic friendship in men as “youth.”<sup>7</sup> Romantic friendships in men proved pivotal in helping them move through the life course, before they ultimately found marriage and an occupation, and had to abandon these homosocial relationships upon “manhood” – whatever point that was, was unclear. This is evident in the case of “James,” a Dartmouth student, who apologizes, in a letter describing a night with his partner, for crying – but does not apologize for his physical relationship with the other man.<sup>8</sup> The sphere for women, however, kept their lives away from the public eye – allowing different spaces in time for homosocial relationships to exist, while also closeting female sexuality.

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<sup>7</sup> E. Anthony Rotundo, “Romantic Friendship: Male Intimacy and Middle-Class Youth in the Northern United States, 1800-1900,” *Journal of Social History* 23, no. 1 (1989): 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

Romantic friendships in women proved more long-term and committal in this period of post-war America. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg and Karen Hansen work contrarily to Rotundo, depicting the continuity that existed within female romantic friendships. Hansen follows the love story of two African American women, Addie Brown and Rebecca Primus, that transcended class boundaries,<sup>9</sup> something that was unlike what Smith-Rosenberg was sharing. Smith-Rosenberg draws out the relationships between white women, the first of Sarah Butler Wister and Jeannie Field Musgrove<sup>10</sup> and the second of Molly and Helena.<sup>11</sup> Hansen's description follows with an unclear timeline for how Addie and Rebecca met, but pointed out that both women were from significantly different social classes.<sup>12</sup> Same-sex relationships between men were confined within class and social boundaries (unless in times of war), while same-sex relationships among women would cross those same barriers. Thus, the spheres in which men and women had traditionally existed had shaped the ways their relationships could take form and what boundaries they were able to cross in the process.

Another vital aspect to understanding the development of LGBTQ+ communities is the concept of space. During World War II, sexually segregated units would allow homosexuality to exist. Male relationships needed that privacy, because of this early onset of separate spheres after the Civil War. Race and sexuality during this time became mechanisms of categorization and oppression that were shaping America's political and social landscape for the oncoming twentieth century. Ideas of race prove to also establish ideas of power based on whiteness that will permeate into the lesbian and gay (LG) movements that grow out of the 1950s and

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<sup>9</sup> Karen V. Hansen, "'No Kisses Is Like Youres': An Erotic Friendship between Two African-American Women during the Mid-Nineteenth Century" *Gender & History* 7, no. 2 (1995): 156.

<sup>10</sup> Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America" *Signs* 1, no. 1 (1975): 4.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>12</sup> Hansen, "'No Kisses Is Like Youres,'" 155.

will create issues for trans people and queer of color trying to find their space. From this period onward comes a trend of backlash, where when the white patriarchal order is questioned, society must be snapped back into line – this came before and after Reconstruction and would continue before and after the 1920s and World War II.

Male queer communities were given an opportunity to thrive in twentieth century America, while men's and women's worlds were effectively kept separate, with one in the home and one outside of the home.<sup>13</sup> George Chauncey describes the surplus of visibility that was held by the gay male community in the YMCA, Bachelor Housing, and the growing middle class.<sup>14</sup> Gay men in the twentieth century were still subject to public scrutiny and police harassment but were able to convene in public places. As Chauncey describes, hotel clerks and security had “little interest in spending their time ferreting out homosexual activity...so long as the participants observed certain rules of decorum.”<sup>15</sup> Homosexual activity was being regulated by police, yet men taking part in these homosexual encounters were being kept safe – at least partially – by hotel clerks that had laid out a set of ground rules. Through these efforts, the male world was being kept public without creating a negative public image – if these supposed homosexuals acted in accordance to their hotel or eatery, they were not reported, arrested, or castigated. Gay men were being given space to exist publicly, if they remained in line and kept an orderly presentation.

The female world was also subject to its expected standards and norms of the America that was coming out of the Victorian Era. Female relationships of intimacy – whether they had been lesbian or not – were largely restricted to the confines of the home. Nan Alamilla Boyd describes the efforts of lesbian communities

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<sup>13</sup> Vicki L. Eaklor, *Queer America: A People's GLBT History of the United States* (New York: The New Press, 2008) 24.

<sup>14</sup> George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994).

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 157.

and their struggles for visibility, facing challenges of exoticization and commodification. Boyd goes as far as to say, “[t]ourists wanted to experience unfamiliar sexual worlds as much as lesbians wanted their lives reflected back at them.”<sup>16</sup> This desire for having a life “reflected” back speaks to a greater struggle for adequate lesbian representation in society at the time. While homosexuality in men was acknowledged, policed, and protected, homosexuality in women was only existing because it was marketable and could draw a crowd. While this idea of tourism did bring visibility to female queer communities, it brought it at a cost of lesbians being seen as “exotics,” therefore delegitimizing the upbringing of a solid lesbian community. The need for and lack of lesbian visibility exuded through the growing tourist industry of San Francisco, in which lesbian culture became more of a roadside attraction than it did a genuine way of life.

Commodification was not as heavily present in the world of queer males, but spectacle was a trait present in both spheres as they developed their sexual identities and communities. As Boyd expressed, there was a spectacle in the “exotics” that were lesbians – Eric Garber brings light to the spectacle of the Harlem Renaissance in its relation to the queer community. Specifically, Garber presents drag balls, where participants and the event itself were “legal for the evening”<sup>17</sup> – Garber addresses, though, the biggest part of what the balls lacked – privacy. A large portion of the ball’s attendees were spectators, coming to bask in the lavishness of the festivities and watch as contestants competed to be crowned queen.<sup>18</sup> The drag balls were men dressing as women, vying for the number one spot, in front of large crowds of spectators – again, bringing more visibility to the communities

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<sup>16</sup> Nan Alamilla Boyd, *Wide Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 75.

<sup>17</sup> Eric Garber, “A Spectacle in Color: The Lesbian and Gay Subculture in Jazz Age Harlem,” in *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past*, eds. Martin Duberman, Martha Vicinus, & George Chauncey, Jr. (London: Penguin, 1991), 325.

<sup>18</sup> Garber, “A Spectacle in Color,” 325.

being developed by men. The difference between the spectacles of the gay and lesbian communities was that drag queens were visibly taking part in a competition for entertainment, while lesbians were being spectated for simply living.

Previously established spheres that enforced a gender binary worked to create separate spheres in which the queer community could exist as well. An established tradition of male publicity made gay communities easier to maintain, where the privacy that was expected of a woman and her sexuality was meant to be kept that way and faced being labeled “exotic” had it escaped the barriers of the home. Gender identities were subject to the male/female binary, where sexual identities were facing another kind of binary in the gay/lesbian model, which in itself prevents the growth of queer communities of those not subject to the gay or lesbian label. This growing enforcement of each respective sphere would slightly relax through World War II and then rise again in the 1950s, working to suppress queer expression in forms of lesbian activism and trans visibility. The existence and growth of a male gay community will be juxtaposed to the lives of marginalized queer people and the power dynamics that exist to restrict sexual expression in LGBTQ+ communities – even to this day.

### **World War II and Queerness**

The war period was drastically instrumental in creating a negative public image of gay men in American society, even though gay life was almost flourishing within the military. After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the United States was forced to mobilize for another world war, sending men overseas and pushing women into the arena of industrial work. With over 16 million men at war and an additional 5 million women entering the workforce at home, the United States was gearing up for a monumental shift in

gender roles.<sup>19</sup> This shift would undoubtedly challenge the patriarchy, sexual freedom, and the separate spheres ideology that shaped American society from the fall of Reconstruction to the dawn of World War II. Consequently, in this development of sexual freedom for men in the military, there will come a view of homosexuality as a form of comedy and female servicemembers being sexualized in their search for wartime entertainment.

In the frenzy that ensued when the United States was faced with mobilizing their men, the United States military still took extra measures to perform psychiatric evaluations to prevent homosexuals from serving.<sup>20</sup> With preventive measures being taken so seriously, the United States government was taking a clear stance on homosexuality – it was an intolerable mental disorder. Ironically, even with the enforcement of these “psychiatric” examinations, once soldiers were interacting in their all-male units, there was remarkable space allotted for not just homosexual encounters but displays of queer men performing in drag. Traditional social and emotional standards and expectations of men were no longer so harshly adhered to once these draftees came together – without social pressures, men were more able to express their sexual identity. Serving in the military provided a confirmation of masculinity, where men now had the ability to channel an inner femininity if they so desired. This idea of a masculine confirmation goes back to the establishment of the Spheres – with the preservation of image (through military duty), the male sphere was not badly damaged. This inherently protects gay men and will assure the public that even if a man acted feminine, he was still a soldier and deserved respect, which will become even more apparent with the growth of drag in the military. Though this protects men in the military, it does not protect men at home – while they are expressing themselves more

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<sup>19</sup> Michael Bronski, *A Queer History of the United States* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2011), 154.

<sup>20</sup> Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire: A History of Gay Men and Women in World War II* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990) 10.

openly, the public is viewing homosexuality as an unfathomable joke.

Understandably, some soldiers lied upon coming into the service, denying their homosexuality so that they could still serve in the forces. During wartime leisure, some soldiers found solace in the performing arts – taking up theatre and musicals with an all-male cast that needed female performers. Allan Bérubé identifies the existence of drag in the military as “a temporary refuge where [gay male GIs] could let their hair down to entertain their fellows.”<sup>21</sup> This depiction of gay GIs being able to “let their hair down” creates a representation of how important the institution of drag was to the war and the soldiers – important in the same way that homosocial friendships worked for young men in the early 1900s during their transition to manhood. As seen earlier, young men were moving away from home and finding same-sex relationships that assisted in understanding life, women, intimacy, and adulthood. Much like what was happening in newly industrial America, the young men being drafted into World War II were being relocated and needed a support system and somewhere to experiment comfortably.

In 1942, the United States military opened a new drag theatrical production called *This is the Army*, which became internationally recognized as it was performed across Europe, North Africa, the Pacific, and the United States.<sup>22</sup> With the U.S. government having made its views on homosexuality clear through its painstakingly intricate screening process, the nation’s reporters took special care in making sure they protected the sexuality of the nation’s soldiers and curbed all insinuations of queerness. The job of the press was to ensure that the soldiers taking part in drag were being protected – their duty was to depict these performances as dutiful, masculine, and, above all, heterosexual. Bérubé cites several outlets that promoted *This is the Army* as the “best soldier show of all time,” being “smart good taste,” and “being as

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<sup>21</sup> Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire: A History of Gay Men and Women in World War II* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998) 68.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

American as hot dogs or the Bill of Rights.”<sup>23</sup> There was a growing normalcy being applied to male expressions of queer identity, allowing them to express themselves with little repercussions. This normalcy would not be granted to female enlistees and soldiers, reasserting the power dynamic of American society that continuously worked to limit queer expression of groups other than white men.

With more women entering the war, the argument for drag being the result of a lack of women in the military was becoming increasingly specious. As the Women’s Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) became more active and present, there came a stronger petition for WAAC to put on shows like *This is the Army*, with the hopes that they would be equally popular. While shows like *On the Double* undoubtedly became popular, their exposure created concerns for the military – concerns that prompted Colonel Oveta Culp Hobby, director of WAAC, to implement strict regulations on the performances. With rising concerns over the public image of WAAC, Col. Hobby denied the unit’s tour request on the grounds that the show had “become sexually titillating to men”<sup>24</sup>, even though *On the Double* was a noted comedy show like *This is the Army*.

Ultimately, what comes from the theatrical demonstrations in World War II is the enforcement of a gendered double standard, which originates in the nineteenth century. Men were given the liberty to demonstrate their masculinity in a feminine way, where they could maintain their perceived heterosexual image in a comedic light – because, surely, it was too ridiculous for two men to become sexually attracted to each other. Women were furtherly kept in their private sphere and when they attempted to express themselves in ways like men, they were immediately sexualized. Homosexuality was comedic and could not exist in a masculinist society where women were objectified, and same-sex intimacies were exiled. Though these encounters existed within the military,

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<sup>23</sup> Bérubé, 77.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

the U.S. government worked tirelessly to ensure they did not exist at home once the war ended.

### **Heteronormativity after the War**

The Homophile Movement<sup>25</sup> of the 1950s moved forward with a goal to assimilate into a heteronormative society that promoted a patriarchal order and suppressed expressions of sexuality. The issues with assimilation became apparent with the Homophile Movement's reluctance to acknowledge contributions by trans people and gay/lesbian people of color. By the late-1960s, a growing sense of self-awareness and consciousness that began to take shape in these communities that sought to overshadow the struggle of non-white, non-middle-class gay men and lesbian women. The Homophile Movement laid vital foundations for the importance of political and social mobilization in gay and lesbian communities; however, the late-1960s liberation movements proved to be more radical and fundamental in the wake of newfound consciousness among queer people of color.

With the Homophile Movement taking place as a movement depictive of formal gay men, the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB) emerged in the 1950s as an alternative to the lesbian bar scene – to give women a space to convene that was as social as it was political.<sup>26</sup> The Daughters of Bilitis were founded to provide a space for lesbian women to grow politically; however, it allowed only for a certain type of lesbian to become politically active, reinforcing an idea of assimilation. The Daughters of Bilitis publicly dissociated from “anyone who transgressed received notions of gender propriety, such as drag queens or even butch women”<sup>27</sup> – enforcing an expectation of which types of lesbians

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<sup>25</sup> “Homophile” translates to “loving the same” and was created in the 50s to combat the stigma that was carried with the term “homosexual” that was being criminalized in the age of the nuclear family.

<sup>26</sup> Annamarie Jagose, *Queer Theory: An Introduction* (New York: New York University Press, 1996) 26.

<sup>27</sup> Jagose, 27.

could be politically active in their communities. With DOB emerging as a way for women to find their political voice in a patriarchal world, there comes a displacement of power – the power being exercised on women by men was now being exerted by lesbians on butch women and trans women. The growing predicament that housed frustration until the post-Stonewall LGBT scene is the lack of representation for queer people – the ones that are not assimilationists.

Even with the growing visibility of lesbian and gay organizations like the Mattachine Society<sup>28</sup> and the Daughters of Bilitis, there were growing issues of power and equitable representation. The 1950s echoed the binaries and standards of pre-WWII America but implemented them elsewhere; these regulations of societal expectations were being used in marginalized groups to further push for a standardized American. What was once used by white Americans to separate men from women was now being used by the white, gay establishment to separate non-conforming queer people from the heteronormative culture. Reflecting back to the post-Civil War era, the United States established its “spheres” to permeate even deeper than just the superficial. The spheres invaded the lives of the oppressed who then managed to institutionalize separatism within their communities. The United States made it clear that there was little space for the existence of queer life, and the 1950s would prove instrumental in bringing this realization forward to trans women, butch lesbians, and the greater queer of color communities.

### **Ditching the 1950s and Fighting for Representation**

Moving out of the 1950s meant approaching the tipping point of centuries of oppression on sexual liberation, gender identity, and gender expression. Vicki Eaklor describes the early 1960s as leading up to this monumental change in the desire for civil rights.

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<sup>28</sup> Harry Hay formed the Mattachine Society in 1953 to protect Gays from being scapegoats for McCarthy-Era paranoia – he took inspiration from the success of Black organizations in the same period.

There was a growing awareness and spirit to fight injustice, where Eaklor credits Dr. King's speech in Washington as inspiring "Americans throughout the country to reject injustice...."<sup>29</sup> Eaklor applies Dr. King's questioning of the promises of democracy to all Americans, not just those fighting for the end of Jim Crow. This went far enough to inspire gay men and lesbian women to fight for their recognition and fair treatment in society. Though this monumental speech by Dr. King and the March on Washington seemed to have all of the answers to injustice, there was a growing internal injustice within the African American civil rights movement and the gay and lesbian homophile movement. Both movements promoted the fight against civil injustice but also paralleled in the regard of closeting members they did not feel accurately fit the "respectable" public image they wanted to uphold.

Though the early 1960s created space for organizations like the Mattachine Foundation and Mattachine Society to grow, these organizations were noticeably not public. The Mattachine Society of the early 1960s made the argument that sexuality did not matter, gay and lesbian people were the same as heterosexual people and ran very organized, well-dressed picket lines.<sup>30</sup> In creating this view of the well-dressed, formal "gay," the Mattachine Society and the greater Homophile Movement construct an image of what gay should be and how it should be presented to society. This portrayal of a specific image becomes problematic when activists that do not fit this role seek their justices and representation in society. Bayard Rustin faced a similar dissatisfaction with portrayals of standardization as a gay man within the African American civil rights movement. Rustin commanded that what needed to be done was to "control the extent to which people can publicly manifest antigay sentiment."<sup>31</sup> Rustin's approach is not assimilationist,

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<sup>29</sup> Eaklor, 108.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 109.

<sup>31</sup> Bayard Rustin, "From Montgomery to Stonewall" (speech, Philadelphia, 1986), *Brother Outside*, <http://rustin.org/wp->

rather he is requiring that those who publicly condemn gay people should be the ones assimilating, this stance being very opposing to that of the conservative picket methods.

Lesbian efforts to politically mobilize faced similar opposition from mainstream hetero culture, as seen through Betty Friedan's 1966 formation of the National Organization for Women. Friedan's movement was openly homophobic and unresponsive to the issues being faced by lesbian women, with Eaklor noting that "Friedan herself [referred] to them as the "lavender menace" and their issues as a "lavender herring" and a "diversion" from the real business of NOW."<sup>32</sup> There was a growing need for lesbian mobilization that was not being adequately represented through the fight for female equality – the National Organization for Women inherently becomes a national organization of straight women. This realization of misrepresentation, as Carl Wittman would state, was "tied up with both gay liberation and women's liberation."<sup>33</sup> The move toward lesbian consciousness was vital to freeing women from two levels of oppression: the one they faced for being women in a patriarchal society and the one they faced for being lesbians in a society that wanted heteronormativity. Lesbian feminism, then, constructs a promise that women have the choice to build their own self-identity, away from the patriarchal order in society and away from the power dynamics of the feminist movement under Betty Friedan and NOW.

Before the riots at the Stonewall Inn took the nation's queer scene by storm, a riot at Gene Compton's Cafeteria in San Francisco embodied the fight against systematic injustices that were representative of the 1960s. Much like the African American fight against institutionalized racism throughout the turbulent 1960s, trans women and drag queens were battling police brutality

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content/uploads/centennial/1986%20From%20Montgomery%20to%20Stonewall.pdf.

<sup>32</sup> Eaklor, 144.

<sup>33</sup> Carl Wittman, "Refugees from Amerika: A Gay Manifesto" (1970), *History is a Weapon*, <https://www.historyisaweapon.com/defcon1/wittmanmanifesto.html>.

and public harassment. Trans women, hustlers, and drag queens frequented the 24-hour eatery and used it as a social hotspot – even as management of the cafeteria was repeatedly calling the police to have queens removed for being too noisy and not spending enough money. Compton’s clientele was not unfamiliar with the police; however, August 1966 would prove to be the final straw, with a riot ensuing as police tried to remove a crowd of rowdy drag queens. One queen in particular fought back feverishly, she “threw her coffee in his face...plates, trays, cups, saucers, and silverware flew through the air at the startled police officers.”<sup>34</sup> Limits had been tested and boiling points reached – drag queens of San Francisco’s Tenderloin District were no longer going to sit idly by as their sisters were arrested and harassed by the police.

The riot at Compton’s Cafeteria signified a major paradigm shift in queer people’s tolerance of hate and discrimination. What ignited at Compton’s was the illumination of a need to be seen and heard – trans women were not invisible and were not going to be marginalized, as long as they had a say in the matter. Since the 1920s, drag was a spectacle and WWII promoted it as a comedy show – trans women were breaking the Separate Sphere mold and were bringing femininity into the public sphere. This ascension to recognition by trans women would also meet a contender, however, when gay communities would work to almost discredit trans representation by creating a generalized, white-washed gay movement out of the 1960s. The events leading up to Stonewall around the nation were far from middle-class gay or lesbian – in the case of Compton’s, these activists were white, Asian American, and Latina drag queens and trans women. Susan Stryker highlights the personal accounts of trans women that frequented Compton’s, like Aleisha Brevard, Suzan Cooke, Amanda St. Jaymes, Tamara Ching, and Felicia Elizondo.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Susan Stryker, *Transgender History: The Roots of Today’s Revolution* (New York: Seal Press, 2017), 86.

<sup>35</sup> *Screaming Queens*, directed by Susan Stryker (2005; San Francisco, CA: Frameline, 2016).

Lives for trans women were different than lives for gay men in the 1960s. While gay men and lesbian women had emerging social and political organizations to remain active in, trans women and drag queens were subject to the life that existed in areas like the Tenderloin. These nonconformist lives of those being accused to be “impersonators” or having an “indeterminate gender”<sup>36</sup> were subject to harassment, judgment, and unjustifiable murder. Leading up to Compton’s, there was virtually no place or structure for trans women to rally around – they had been excluded by the larger, developing LG community. Whether the women working the Tenderloin were transgender, transsexual, or drag queens, Ching describes the need for drugs to be able to go out every night, while St. Jaymes says the environment was one where “you had to be able to either kick ass or get your ass kicked.”<sup>37</sup> The only support for trans women came from a community they had to build from scratch. There was no politics or mass mobilization, yet these women with no safety net ignited the path for liberation for all sexual orientations, whereas gays and lesbians were not creating an inclusive movement.

### **Challenging Stonewall and Promoting Queerness**

The riot at Compton’s Cafeteria stands as the beginning of a movement for trans rights, but it is generally glossed over, and credit is given to the riots at a New York gay bar for ushering in this era of liberation. Historical memory and popular culture have worked to promote the exclusionary forces that were the Mattachine Society and Daughters of Bilitis – citing these organizations as “pioneers and heroes that risked so much to begin to create a safe space to be an openly gay man or lesbian.”<sup>38</sup> Undoubtedly, Mattachine and DOB were playing a risky game in promoting social and political activism of gays and lesbians;

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> *In the Life*, season 17, episode 1810. “Civil Disobedience,” aired July 2009, PBS.

however, this assumption avoids mentioning the exclusion of drag queens, trans women, and butch lesbians. What happens with this generalization of early LGBT organizations is the erasure of queer struggles, creating an image that ignores struggles unique to non-LG people. This tendency to group the gender spectrum under just lesbian and gay is evident in how Stonewall is represented and the misconceptions around exactly how the riots started. Accounts of who threw the first punch vary, with Stormé DeLarverie (a butch lesbian and drag king) saying she threw the first blow and Sylvia Rivera (a gender nonconforming person) saying she helped the fight continue. The question begs to be asked, then, of how much history has been rewritten to avoid saying gay liberation was either brought on by a drag king or a pioneer for trans visibility.

Accounts of the riots noted that the person throwing the first punch was a crossdresser, which fit the description of DeLarverie, considering she was a member of the Jewel Box Revue where she posed as a male singer on stage.<sup>39</sup> DeLarverie's account is that she was able to still walk out of the bar, with a bleeding eye, while the police officer she fought remained unconscious on the ground.<sup>40</sup> Rivera's take on what happened that night at Stonewall is more telling of the inequities that existed between gays, lesbians, and trans women. As the police marched into the gay bar, they separated the patrons into three categories – "faggots, dykes, and freaks."<sup>41</sup> "Freaks" meant transgender and gender variant people that did not match their assigned sex – including the likes of DeLarverie and Rivera. Whether the Stonewall riots truly were started by DeLarverie or not, what still rings true is the undeniable presence of queer and gender transgressive people in the gay rights movement that has been overlooked.

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<sup>39</sup> *In the Life*, season 9, episode 1010. "Movers & Shakers," aired July 2001, PBS.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> Jessi Gan, "'Still at the Back of the Bus': Sylvia Rivera's Struggle," *Centro Journal* 19, no. 1 (2007): 131.

Perhaps the biggest and most telling turning point of the transition from homophile assimilation to liberation radicalism was the presentation of the Stonewall riots and the misconstruing of what they represented. When considering Rustin's command to eliminate public antigay sentiment, there was a growing anti-trans sentiment within the movement for gay liberation. In constructing a movement of white gay males, there comes a denial of the political existence and visibility of trans women of color, like Sylvia Rivera. Sylvia came from a dysfunctional childhood, coping with being the victim of pedophilia and prostitution all by the age of ten.<sup>42</sup> This image that Rivera represented was deeply problematic and put the heterosocial aspects of the gay liberation movement at risk. With Rivera's troubled past, she was a risky candidate to represent sexual rights – in the same way that Bayard Rustin, as a gay man, was too risky to be one of the faces of the Civil Rights Movement. Jessi Gan illustrates this erasure of trans people of color simply as “[t]his formulation [...] consolidated gender-nonconforming people, poor people, and people of color under the identity category of ‘gay.’”<sup>43</sup> This “consolidation” stretches back to ideas of the Mattachine Society's push for conservative assimilationism, wherein there is an effort to quiet the contributions of those not fitting the standard image of “gay” that was going to be presented to the public.

In 1973, Sylvia Rivera spoke at the Christopher Street Liberation Day rally, but was treated as an intruder instead of an esteemed guest with years of experience as an advocate for homeless queer youth. Before Rivera began speaking, they were met with disgruntled boos from the crowd, then proceeded to slam the mainstream women's and gay movements for not being present enough for everyone's struggles. Along with queer rights pioneer, Marsha P. Johnson, Rivera founded the Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries (STAR) to advocate for all queer people, no matter their gender identity. Rivera expresses their discontent by stating,

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid, 129.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

“come and see the people at STAR House... the people who are trying to do something for all of us and not men and women that belong to a white middle-class.”<sup>44</sup> Rivera’s point to address the white middle class reveals the silencing and censorship of queer people of color that has been visible in the gay rights movement, even at its early peak in the 1970s. This call for action in 1973 constructs an image of an oppressed class of people in gay communities - a gay rights movement was just that, a movement for gays. Problematically, this movement was not just built by gays but was being built on the struggles of nonconforming queers that were not being heard.

The rise of consciousness and the realization of the importance of mobilization created more radical movements that strayed from the goal of the Homophile Movement. While the contributions of the earlier movement should not be discounted, what those movements and organizations did, as seen through the Mattachine reprisal and NOW, was exclude on the basis of not conforming to a public image. These groups pushed for assimilation and transferred the power that was once used to oppress them to now oppress transpersons, lesbians, and queer of color. Intersectionality of race, class, and gender worked as the base for the growth of the radicalism seen in the late-1960s and early-1970s after Stonewall and in the wake of trans rights and lesbian feminism.

### **Analysis and Conclusion**

Ultimately, what has transpired since the Civil War-era implementation of Separate Spheres has been the establishment and reinforcement of gender standards that oppress and refuse to bend with the gender spectrum. Historical pushes to commodify lesbians and to restrict the publicity of trans women and gay men

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<sup>44</sup> LoveTapesCollective. “L020A, Sylvia Rivera, ‘Y’all Better Quiet Down’ Original Authorized Video, 1973 Gay Pride Rally NYC.” Filmed 1973. YouTube video. Posted May 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jb-JIOWUw1o>.

have created a contemporary society that is still struggling to accept trans women into society. The Human Rights Campaign (HRC) has been tracking anti-trans violence rates for most of the 2010s, reporting that the years 2013-2015 demonstrated that 73.5 percent of transgender people murdered were black transwomen<sup>45</sup>. In their most recent report, 2019 saw 73.1 percent of murders being black transwomen<sup>46</sup> - it is astonishing that the two-year period first covered was only a fraction higher than the murders covered in just a twelve-month span. Susan Stryker tackles the present state of transgender America up to the ongoing presidency of billionaire businessman Donald J. Trump.

Under President Barack Obama, Stryker notes that the relationship between trans communities and the “LGBT coalition” had begun to mend after being strained for years.<sup>47</sup> Obama’s America had repealed President Clinton’s “Don’t Ask Don’t Tell” initiative and declared New York’s Stonewall Inn a historic monument - the first monument to ever recognize LGBT people. Trump’s America has made considerable strides to build a country that denounces the importance of trans equality, electing members to his administration who are publicly anti-LGBT and have advocated for conversion therapy.<sup>48</sup> As this paper has covered, the American public is largely influenced by what goes on in the White House and in the military. When drag shows were popular in the military, they became popular in American culture; however, when the military said gay was bad, the public agreed. President Trump, in 2016, denied all transgender people the right to serve in the military, only one year after the Pentagon lifted the ban, furtherly denying civil rights to transgender citizens.

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<sup>45</sup> Human Rights Campaign, *Addressing Anti-Transgender Violence: Exploring Realities, Challenges and Solutions for Policymakers and Community Advocates* (Washington, D.C.: Human Rights Campaign Foundation, 2015). This report covered the years between 2013-2015.

<sup>46</sup> Human Rights Campaign, *Violence Against the Transgender Community in 2019*. Accessed <https://www.hrc.org/resources/violence-against-the-transgender-community-in-2019>.

<sup>47</sup> Stryker, 224.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 230-231.

As the United States has grown in the past century and a half, there is a constant struggle and pushback over power, with a familiar presence taking the lead. Sketching a timeline from the Civil War to the Stonewall Riots is only a small look at the inequities that continue to exist within LGBTQ+ communities. Immediately after the Civil War, before terms like “LGBT” existed, there was an early reformation of what gender and sexuality were – this reformation would influence U.S. sexuality for decades. Race had become a common factor in exerting power over communities of color and was now being used to justify sexual abnormalities, implying that there was a “right” (or, white) way to conduct oneself. As homosexuality became more visible, gender variance became the abnormality, resulting in an internal struggle within LG movements for trans representation.

The decades traced herein have revealed the changing ways of how sexuality has been regulated and how power has been exerted on communities of color and then later utilized within lesbian and gay communities to suppress those that were non-conforming. What emerges from this trend of power is a growing theme of sexual repression and strides to be “normal” in an abnormal world. These strides for normalcy are not being made out of desires to fit in but are stemming from institutionalized preconceptions that being gay or lesbian was socially unacceptable. As homosexuality came to be more visible, there also came a standardization of the homosexual as being white and middle class, constituting an erasure of gender and sexual fluidity that was struggling to develop in the United States and, inarguably, is still struggling to develop today.

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James Martin will graduate from CSUSB with his B.A. in history in June 2020 and has enrolled at UC Riverside to pursue his M.Ed. and teaching credentials, in the summer. James studies San Bernardino history, LGBTQ+ history, Queer Theory, and social justice movements in the twentieth-century United States. James would like to thank Drs. Kate Liszka, Stephanie Muravchik, Jeremy Murray, and Yvette Saavedra for their contributions to his education. Lastly, James extends his deepest gratitude to his friends, family, and students – without their support, none of this would be possible.



## **A War From Within: An Analysis Of The Factors That Caused The Collapse Of The Iroquois Confederacy**

By Jessica Howe

*Abstract: This report hopes to answer the question, how and why one of the most powerful and long lasting Native American Confederacy collapsed during the Revolutionary War? This paper investigates how the economy, diplomatic disunification, and the deterioration of traditional religious beliefs through Christianity caused the Iroquois Confederacy to crumble. Although many others have attempted to answer this question, this research is different in that it relies heavily upon both historical and anthropological sources providing it with a unique interdisciplinary perspective. Furthermore, the specific context of this paper is also distinctive and is supported by primary and secondary sources. The narrow focus, the specific areas, and examples listed above are also independent. However, this is only one report and it is not nearly extensive enough to fully encompass every aspect of the Iroquois Confederacy. This report highlights the main factors that led to the collapse, but there are many other different or sub factors that caused change within the tribes, such as the introduction of alcohol and guns into the confederacy.*

The Iroquois Confederacy was one of the strongest Native American political forces in North America for over a century. The Confederacy, often referred to as the Six Nations, was actually five separate Iroquoian speaking tribes that later became a coalition of six tribes in the 1720s who lived in and around the New York and

Great Lakes region. This coalition proved to be one of the most influential Native American groups within the colonies. The Iroquois' ability not only to halt European expansion, but also to effectively maintain control over their land, is an achievement accomplished only by a select few. Despite their success, the Iroquois Confederacy fundamentally collapsed after the American Revolutionary War. Many have portrayed their demise as the result of a few successive, isolated decisions within a short period of time, but it is clear from textual and anthropological evidence that this theory is inaccurate. The true decline of the Iroquois Confederacy was the result of transformations in the economy through changing trade practice, as well as diplomatic disunification proliferated by outside influencers, and most importantly, the disintegration of traditional Iroquoian beliefs facilitated by the introduction of Christianity.



*Map of the Iroquois Confederacy, courtesy Wikimedia Commons.<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> Image made public domain, distributed under a CC0-1.0 license. Accessed: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Les\\_Cinq\\_Nations\\_iroquoises\\_\(1650\).svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Les_Cinq_Nations_iroquoises_(1650).svg).

Despite their influence, the history of the Iroquois Confederacy has been marginalized within the standard historical narrative of the United States. It has only been within the last thirty years that a flood of new research has been conducted on historical minority groups. A majority of the research, new and old, on Native American communities in the United States is Eurocentric, focused on ethnography and is predominantly framed around the same question: How did Europeans influence Native American societies? This framework, however, places an increased emphasis on European figures and events and strips the complexities of Native American communities. Native American historian, Richard White, beautifully illustrates this problem in *The Middle Ground*, stating, “The history of Indian white relations has not usually produced complex stories, Indians are the rock, European peoples are the sea, and history seems a constant storm. There have been two outcomes: The sea wears down and dissolves the rock, or the sea erodes the rock but cannot finally absorb its battered remnant, which endures.”<sup>2</sup> The oversimplification White highlights is the result of studying Native American groups only through their interactions with the Europeans.

White’s research on Native American communities has greatly contributed to the overall understanding of these groups, because as shown above, he understands the deficiencies of the previous historical research. As the title suggests, White studies these events and beliefs through the concept of the middle ground. The middle ground is the idea that two opposing cultures, the Europeans and the Native Americans, understood that assimilation within the others’ culture was necessary to an extent, in order to

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<sup>2</sup> Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), IX. *The Middle Ground* is a comprehensive study of the Native American communities in the Great Lakes region, with a substantial emphasis placed on the interactions between the Algonquian tribe and the French. The book chronicles how monumental events encouraged ideological transformation in the Native communities of the Great lakes.

further the needs and wants of both groups.<sup>3</sup> The overall argument he makes is that contact was the catalyst for societal change and that it was neither a one-sided exchange nor did societal transformation occur overnight. White's research primarily studies the relationship between the Algonquian tribes, the French, and the British. Although White does not specifically focus on the Iroquois Confederacy, the Algonquians provide a close cultural comparison. The Algonquian tribes are a collection of various tribes in the Great Lakes region, very similar to the Iroquois. White studies large changes to the Algonquian society overtime, which is beneficial for covering large amounts of data, but some intricacies and complexities within the individual tribes are overlooked.

Another prominent figure that has contributed considerably to the study of Native Americans is British American historian Collin Calloway. Calloway contends in his book, *The American Revolution in Indian Country*, that economic dependence, Christianization, and the integration of foreigners provoked a change in traditional tribal structures. Calloway mainly focuses on the manifestation of these changes in the years before, during, and directly after the Revolutionary War. He also extensively analyzes the influence of certain individuals, such as Joseph Brant and Samuel Kirkland, who carried out and propagated changes within the Confederacy. The specific events and figures the author included in the book clearly illustrate that he is not attempting to show how these factors transformed, but instead focusing on the products of societal changes that began materializing much earlier. The title, "...the impact of the revolution on Indian life"<sup>4</sup> clearly reflects this idea. Rather than disproving Calloway, highlighting how these factors developed over time and presenting more specific examples of these within the various Confederacy tribes will work to strengthen his argument. By studying these institutions and cultural practices outside the context of the

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Collin Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), Backfold.

revolution and solely focusing on the Iroquois Confederacy, this paper hopes to further the current understanding of the Iroquois.

Military Historians, James Kirby Martin and Joseph T. Glatthaar, have also advanced the study of the Iroquois Confederacy through their joint publication *Forgotten Allies: The Oneida Indians and The American Revolution*. Their book studies how and why the Oneida, an Iroquois tribe, joined the American Revolution and chose to fight alongside the colonists. Unlike the previously mentioned historians, Kirby and Glatthaar's book has a much more narrow focus, primarily studying only one tribe of the Confederacy, the Oneida. In this comprehensive study, the authors argue that the Oneida cultural change occurred over two centuries with the introduction of Europeans.<sup>5</sup> The authors do not research the Oneida only within the context of the revolution, providing a wealth of important theories and ideas about the other tribes of the Iroquois Confederacy, such as the Mohawk and the Seneca.

A fundamental basis of the scholarship of the Iroquois Confederacy is built upon archeological and anthropological research. A report that not only summarizes the vast amount of previously conducted archeological work, but also contributes new theories and perspectives, is *Iroquois archeology and the development of Iroquois social organization*,<sup>6</sup> written by William Noble. Despite being written in 1968, the information presented in this doctoral thesis is still largely accurate. The paper primarily concentrates on the cultural development of the Iroquois before 1650, discussing the transformation of the original ten Iroquois tribes into the founding of the Iroquois Confederacy's five tribes: the Mohawk, Onondaga, Oneida, Cayuga, and Seneca. Noble, however, does not write on the Tuscarora, the sixth tribe of the

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<sup>5</sup> Joseph T. Glatthaar and James K. Martin, *Forgotten Allies: The Oneida Indians and the American Revolution* (First ed. New York: Hill and Wang, 2006).

<sup>6</sup> William C. Noble, "Iroquois Archaeology and the Development of Iroquois Social Organization, 1000-1650 A.D.: A Study in Culture Change Based on Archaeology, Ethnohistory and Ethnology," Order No. NK02092, University of Calgary (Canada).

Confederacy, added in 1722. The ethnographic portion of Noble's report generally focuses on political structures, warfare, and religion.<sup>7</sup> However, the majority of the thesis is an archeological study of the lithics, pottery, analysis of both the settlements, and diets of the Iroquois.

A report that successfully interprets both archeological and anthropological data is *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: Change and Persistence on the Iroquois Frontier, 1609-1720*. In this doctoral thesis, Daniel Richter creates complex theories through his thorough analysis of primary source documents and anthropological data. His paper is a case study of the Six Nations of the Iroquois that showcases the social changes of Native American Communities in the early American frontier.<sup>8</sup> The report highlights "Five avenues of intercultural exchange: trade, disease, warfare, religion, and diplomacy."<sup>9</sup> Although Richter's report is centered on many of the same areas as this study, the evidence used and the conclusions of many topics differ greatly. This paper only serves to contribute a different context and to critically analyze the theories and research of many scholars, such as Richter.

Finally, Peter Pratt's report of Oneida Archeology further provides primary source documents from the earliest European contact with the Iroquois. Both Noble's and Pratt's reports contribute to the overall understanding of the Iroquois and the evidence and research contained in them is essential to our historical interpretations.<sup>10</sup> In the forming of this paper, Noble's research contained much more relevant and extensive archeological information. Studying the cultural and structural

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<sup>7</sup> Noble, "Iroquois Archaeology," vii.

<sup>8</sup> Daniel K. Richter, "The Ordeal of the Longhouse: Change and Persistence on the Iroquois Frontier, 1609-1720. (Volumes I and II)." Order No. 8604666, Columbia University, IV.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>10</sup> Peter Pratt, "Archaeology of the Oneida Iroquois As Related to Early Acculturation and to the Location of the Champlain-Iroquois Battle of 1615." 1966, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses.

changes over time from an interdisciplinary perspective will provide a more thorough understanding of what really caused the decline of the Iroquois confederacy. This report will study a few specific societal contexts within the confederacy from 1570 to 1780 and is structured around the question: How and why did the Iroquois Confederacy virtually collapse during the American Revolutionary War?

### **Economics and Trade**

In order to answer this specific question, the basic cultural practices and structure of the Iroquois must be considered to quantify accurate theories and ideas. One of the most important aspects of cultural analysis is the economy. It shows, materially, what products were viewed as essential or important to the functioning of the civilization. In the case of the Iroquois Confederacy, “Traditionally the tribes of the Iroquois have been hunter-gatherer communities that practice some subsistence farming.”<sup>11</sup> The practice of a mixed economy was not unique to the Iroquois and was extremely common among Native American tribes during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries<sup>12</sup>. This economic system created a safety net that ensured villages would have enough food even if the hunt was unsuccessful or the crops did not yield their expected amount, enabling the tribes of the Iroquois to live with relative food security.

This abundance of resources, however, did alter the way in which tribes expanded. Large-scale farming did not develop naturally, which meant that sizable centralized cities could not be sustained. Although huge cities did not develop like those of Europe, “considerable population increases did occur through the formation of many semi-autonomous towns within each tribe’s

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<sup>11</sup> Daniel K. Richter, “The Ordeal of the Longhouse: Change and Persistence on the Iroquois Frontier, 1609-1720. (Volumes I and II).” Order No. 8604666, Columbia University, 2.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 3

territory.”<sup>13</sup> The typical structure of one of these settlements was “... often palisaded, sometimes surrounded by one, two or three lines of pickets, and they enclosed from one to forty acres of land. The number of longhouse households within a given Iroquois village varied; there could be as few as one, or as many as 200, as recorded by Champlain.”<sup>14</sup>

This interconnected form of living, which was influenced by agriculture, created a society with a socialistic structure. Longhouses were large semi-permanent structures that housed various extended family units who shared resources collectively. These communal homes then made up a town or moiety.<sup>15</sup> Multiple moieties constituted a tribe, and finally, the six tribes formed the Confederacy. The Iroquois Confederacy’s population was modestly sized, about ten to twelve thousand Iroquois made up the Iroquois Confederacy.<sup>16</sup> The concept of the longhouse was the essential building block for Iroquois society, which is shown in their name a rough translation of Haudenoseenee is people of the longhouse. The communal structure of each tribe and the confederacy itself allowed the Iroquois to be largely self-sufficient. While a central council did exist, consisting of representatives from each tribe, the government did not function as a centralized state. Each of the six tribes functioned independent of one another and possessed “political autonomy.”<sup>17</sup> Prior to European contact, the tribes of the Iroquois were not only independent from other Native American communities but were also largely independent from one another. This sovereignty is shown through their trade practices. The majority of goods traded were unregulated by the Confederacy.

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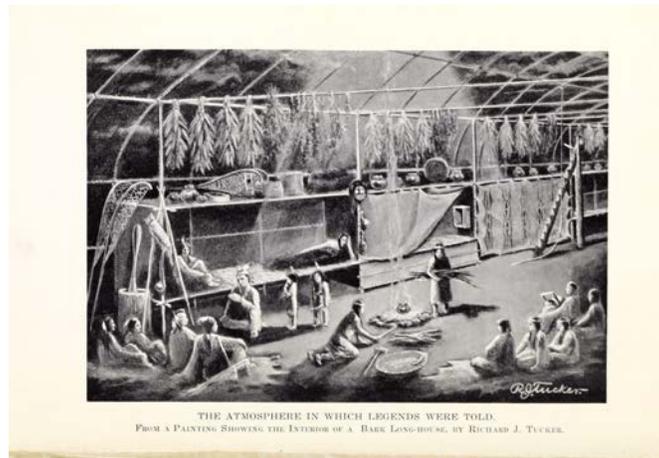
<sup>13</sup> Richter, “The Ordeal of the Longhouse,” 5.

<sup>14</sup> William C. Noble, “Iroquois Archaeology and the Development of Iroquois Social Organization, 1000-1650 A.D.: A Study in Culture Change Based on Archaeology, Ethnohistory and Ethnology.” Order No. NK02092, University of Calgary (Canada), 1968, 44.

<sup>15</sup> A moiety is a social or ritual group in which a people are divided.

<sup>16</sup> Noble, “Iroquois Archaeology,” 41.

<sup>17</sup> Richter, “The Ordeal of the Longhouse,” 27.



*Interior of an Iroquois Longhouse, courtesy Wikimedia Commons.*<sup>18</sup>

Whether internal or external, trade is an essential component of the economy. Its transformation largely influenced the Iroquois. From first contact, trade between the Iroquois and the Europeans created not only an exchange of goods, but also of ideals. The relationship formed between the various cultures molded both traditional economic practices and societal structures. This fluid exchange, however, did not develop quickly, but was a slow progression that occurred over hundreds of years. From anthropological work conducted on the Iroquois, this slow integration is evident. In the beginning, the trade that was conducted between Native tribes and Europeans was symbolic and steeped in ritual. Specifically, one of the earliest observable trade goods was beads; these European-crafted beads soon became an important burial good for the Iroquois. The integration of seemingly unimportant beads proves the influence trade had, because these beads became an element of their religion and

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<sup>18</sup> This image was submitted to the U.S. Copyright Office before January 1, 1925. Public domain, no license. Accessed: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Iroquios\\_Longhouse.tif](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Iroquios_Longhouse.tif).

culture.<sup>19</sup> This one example of European beads is a small glimpse of how the integration of goods influenced various sections of society, such as religion.

The bartering of goods had been occurring for a long period of time, so the development of an organized fur trade network was a natural progression. French navigator Jacques Cartier engaged in some of the earliest documented trade with North American Indians during his expedition of the St. Lawrence River. The Frenchman outlined his experience trading with Natives stating, “The following day 9 canoes came to the point of land at the entrance to the bay by where the ships were lying, and when two boats had been sent ashore to meet them, the savages bartered away their furs to such an extent that most of them were left stark naked...”<sup>20</sup> Even before the creation of the Iroquois Confederacy, this entry shows European trade was occurring.

Archeological evidence has identified the St. Lawrence Indians to be the Oneida.<sup>21</sup> This means that before the official formation of the Confederacy, which is believed to be in 1570, Iroquoian tribes were already conducting trade with Dutch explorers. By the year 1588, the fur trade had already grown so much since 1534 that traders persuaded the French King, Henry III, to rewrite the previously issued trade policies. “King Henry III’s grant of a monopoly on the entire trade of the two of Cartier’s nephews had to be revoked because of the outcries of other traders.”<sup>22</sup> This event further shows that before the introduction of large-scale fur trading companies or the official formation of the Confederacy, both cultures had become accustomed to some level of trade with one another.

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<sup>19</sup> George R. Hammell, “The Iroquois and the World's Rim: Speculations on Color, Culture, and Contact,” *American Indian Quarterly* 16, no. 4 (1992).

<sup>20</sup> Peter Pratt, “Archaeology of the Oneida Iroquois As Related to Early Acculturation and to the Location of the Champlain-Iroquois Battle of 1615.” 1966, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses, 26.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

Trade's early impact is shown archeologically as well, through the erasure of handmade goods, such as canoes. Canoes traditionally had been a quintessential good created by the Iroquois, but after the integration of substantial European trade over generations, the Iroquois began to lose the ability to create them.<sup>23</sup> Not only did the Iroquois grapple with the integration of so many new goods into their society, they also had to deal with the new problem of scarcity. "Records indicate, for example, that by A.D. 1640, local Indians were receiving 'Indian corn' from the English farmers... lack of naturally fertile soils throughout most of Coastal New York had apparently limited the productivity of maize."<sup>24</sup> However, experiencing scarcity from European expansion was not unique to the Iroquois. Chief Sachem of the Narragansett tribe is cited, stating in 1642, "Our fathers had plenty of deer and skins, our plains were full of deer, as also our woods, and of turkeys... But these English have gotten our land, they with scythes cut down the grass and with axes fell the trees."<sup>25</sup> This speech, although not directly from an Iroquois, was presented in front of a group of New York Indians and surely represents the sentiment some Iroquois had about scarcity and the threat against their lands. This speech proves, along with many other interactions shown, that the Iroquois, and Native Americans in general, were acutely aware of the lifestyle changes that were occurring.

The transformation that took place in the French, British, and Dutch settlers that lived alongside the Iroquois is also noteworthy. In the case of the French settlers, the French living in France began calling the French colonists "savages" because they adopted Indian ways of dress and various other cultural norms. In

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<sup>23</sup> James M. Kirby, *Oneida and Six Nations*, Film: The American Revolution Institute of the Society of Cincinnati, <https://www.americanrevolutioninstitute.org/video/oneida-and-six-nations/>.

<sup>24</sup> Cici Lynn, "The Effect of European Contact and Trade on the Settlement Pattern of Indians in Coastal New York, 1524-1665: The Archeological And Documentary Evidence." Order No. 7713655, City University of New York, 1977, 63.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 72.

Peter Pratt's report, he includes a journal entry that highlights French colonists who were aware of their changing reputations in France.<sup>26</sup> The journal author describes the story of three Frenchmen who worked under French navigator and fur trader Samuel de Champlain. In the story, the three men steal an entire cache of furs from Champlain because they believe he had taken advantage of them and wrote, "we are all savages" on the wall. This story, whether factual or fictional, explicitly shows that the French living in the colonies acknowledged the transformation of French culture in the colonies that was caused by their interactions with Native American tribes. This is just one small example of European cultural transformation, but it showcases how important trade had become with the Iroquois and how interconnected European and Native American societies were.

Despite the complex economy and trade relations of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, many historians who study the Iroquois Confederacy and its decline cite the trade relations that occurred about 20 to 30 years before the revolution as the cause for the Confederacy's collapse. While trade is inarguably one of the main causes for their decline, studying only the last two decades before their collapse portrays an incomplete picture. Statements like "The Iroquois had become economically dependent on European trade by 1775"<sup>27</sup> are extremely common within the literature about the Iroquois, especially those that discuss the reasoning for their collapse, which greatly contributes to the standard rock and sea narrative. By emphasizing the lengths of Native American's dependency, it gives the control of the terms upon which trade occurred to the Europeans.

The problem with statements such as these is that they forget to take the concept of a middle ground into consideration.

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<sup>26</sup> Peter Pratt, "Archaeology of the Oneida Iroquois As Related to Early Acculturation and to the Location of the Champlain-Iroquois Battle of 1615." ProQuest Dissertations and Theses.

<sup>27</sup> Colin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995), 11.

For example, many historians cite the language of the Iroquois tribes themselves, but the issue with that is, during this time period, it was common for the Iroquois to use pity and paternalism to ensure they received fair trade prices. Although it is not necessarily an inaccurate statement that, by the Revolutionary War, the Native Americans were financially dependent on Whites, it promotes the idea that European trade was controlled solely by Europeans and that it occurred virtually overnight, not an evolution of multiple cultures over two centuries. Iroquois were incredibly good businessmen,<sup>28</sup> which showed in their dealings with Native American Superintendent, Sir William Johnson - a Seneca in 1756 is cited stating, “Sir William Johnson’s ability to supply them with the necessities of life, ‘cheaper and better than the French could possibly do.’”<sup>29</sup> This does not portray the vision that Kirby outlines of “a people who were susceptible to bad trade deals.”<sup>30</sup>

Whether or not the Iroquois Confederacy was dependent on European products, there was a variety of traders and they were aware of the prices. Similar to the argument that surrounds the various aspects that facilitated the collapse of the Confederacy, larger societal structures and practices are not analyzed within historians’ arguments. Although economics was not necessarily the sole cause for the Confederacy’s collapse, they were a vehicle for change, in which the other cultural changes were made possible. Not only did trading transform society, but also the goods such as the beads transformed countless other areas of civilization. Some notable products that influenced Iroquois society in immeasurable ways were alcohol, which extremely influenced relationships within tribes, and guns, which virtually transformed the idea of warfare.

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<sup>28</sup> Richter, “The Ordeal of the Longhouse,” 55.

<sup>29</sup> Milton W. Hamilton, *Sir William Johnson: Colonial America, 1715-1763* (Port Washington, N.Y. Kennikat Press, 1976), 69.

<sup>30</sup> Joseph T. Glatthaar and James K. Martin, *Forgotten Allies: The Oneida Indians and the American Revolution* (First ed. New York: Hill and Wang, 2006), 473.

## **Warfare and Warriors**

Warfare, and the principles therein, are also a large factor that contributed to the decline of the Iroquois Confederacy. Prior to European involvement, or the formation of the Confederacy, the Iroquois had developed an extremely complex concept of warfare. The Iroquois' ideology of warfare is deeply connected to the creation of the Iroquois Confederacy. Before the creation of the Iroquois Confederacy in the late fourteenth century, "Ten historic tribes: the Huron, the Petun, the Neutral, the Erie, the Seneca, the Cayuga, the Oneida, the Onondaga, the Mohawks and the Susquehannock, all shared a generally similar Iroquoian culture."

<sup>31</sup>Archeological studies on the Iroquois show that, over hundreds of years, the Seneca, Cayuga, Oneida, Onondaga, and the Mohawks split away from the Huron, Petun, Neutral, Erie, and the Susquehannock due to geographical distance and evolving cultural identities. The Confederacy consisted of five original tribes: the Seneca, Cayuga, Oneida, Onondaga, Mohawk and later absorbed a sixth tribe, the Tuscarora. The primary reason for the formation of the Confederacy, according to Iroquois mythology, was to put a stop to the small-scale disputes that persisted among the tribes.<sup>32</sup>

Before the Confederacy, "Intertribal warfare among the early historic Iroquois was endemic. Often stimulated by the desire of revenge."<sup>33</sup>After the formation of the Confederacy, frequent conflicts still persisted, but now outside the Confederacy. These battles usually centered on access to essential resources, ideological differences, or familial disputes. Above all, the purpose of warfare was not large-scale murder and total defeat. Another vital component that influenced the Iroquois warfare ideology was trade. The Beaver Wars started by the Europeans is an example of

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<sup>31</sup> William Noble, *Iroquois Archaeology and the Development of Iroquois Social Organization, 1000-1650 A.D.: A Study in Culture Change Based on Archaeology, Ethnohistory and Ethnology*, 1968, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses, 2.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 68.

divergence in traditional economics and war. The Beaver Wars, fought from 1629–1701, show that no longer were wars being waged by the Iroquois about small tribal disputes, but instead, turf wars for access to more pelts.

This change in war also provoked a transformation in the role for which the warrior held. Traditionally, “participation in a war party was a benchmark episode in an Iroquois youth’s development...”<sup>34</sup> Potentially, battle victories could influence an individual’s status within the village. In this new landscape, however, warriors played an integral role in supporting the economy. The warriors’ role within society now was much more important and thus they gained more power and influence over tribal affairs. The rise of the warrior’s position in society also influenced other societal roles as well; therefore, bypassing traditional safety guards and causing the conflicts that led to the collapse of the Confederacy. Before the Beaver Wars, Sachems, or chiefs, held a greater amount of power in village decision-making. This power structure occurred for two reasons: first, sachems’ positions were often hereditary, which gave them authority, and, second, for a large part of the Confederacy’s existence, the fighting of wars had not been an essential societal element. But with the emergence of turf wars waged for and against foreign European governments over resources, the tribes now became more dependent on warriors, economically and for protection, which elevated their status within society.

Even after the conclusion of the Beaver Wars, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, this shift in the power dynamic continued to build. For example, in 1762, a group of Seneca warriors went alone to meet with Sir William Johnson and lied, stating that their sachems, “had not made the trip because the road were very bad.”<sup>35</sup> There is also a written source from the same period that states, “We are in fact the people in consequence

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<sup>34</sup> Richter, “The Ordeal of the Longhouse,” 7.

<sup>35</sup> Colin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995), 7.

for managing affairs, our sachems being generally a parcel of old people who say much, but mean very little.”<sup>36</sup> Both of these quotes show the growth of the warrior’s role over time. The first instance shows that the Seneca warriors felt so empowered that they fooled the sachems out of going to the meeting and conducted foreign affairs with Sir William Johnson. The second further shows the extent to which individuals felt disenfranchised with sachems as a whole. Also, the fact that they are emboldened enough to have written it down, again illustrates just how much power had been lost from the sachem’s position.

The Iroquois overall unhappiness with the position of sachem stems from the rules and responsibilities they held within the tribe. Generally, the duty of Sachems within each tribe or village was to act as a buffer against rash or quick decisions, which was extremely useful. Not only did the role of Sachems and warriors change, the breakdown of Sachems also affected the structure of the entire clan. If the sachem was no longer legitimate, neither was the Clan Mother. The Clan Mother was, in essence, the figurehead of each tribe who appointed the leaders that represented each tribe in the tribal council. A practice that was not sustained within the ever-changing cultural landscape was fighting battles outside of the villages. In the early-to-mid-seventeenth century, it was common practice for the Algonquian and Iroquois to fight outside of their town so that each could sustain minimal casualties and damages, but during the eighteenth century, Iroquois began taking as many as one hundred prisoners during battle.<sup>37</sup>

However, not every aspect and tradition of warfare dissipated. The capture of a white child named by the Seneca is proof of this. *The narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison*<sup>38</sup> is a ‘firsthand’ account written down by James Seaver. In her interview with James Seaver, Mary Jemison outlines her experience of witnessing her parents’ death and being abducted by the Iroquois.

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>37</sup> Richter, “The Ordeal of the Longhouse,” 69.

<sup>38</sup> James E. Seaver, *Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison* (Project Gutenberg, 2004), 34.

This account is important to this essay because it is evidential of cultural and biological change occurring within the confederacy. Her testimony also provides further primary evidence about the attitudes and events that took place within the Revolutionary War era. “In 1758, Mary Jemison was captured by a party of Indians and adopted by two Seneca sisters.”<sup>39</sup> Traditionally, in the Iroquois Confederacy, it was common practice for prisoners of war to be adopted into the society because it connects back to the purpose of warfare. In general, killing the enemy or replacing the prisoner into the family unit could avenge murders. This practice of avenging murder and the adoption of prisoners was known as “mourning wars.” This practice not only helped sustain a declining population, but it was beneficial for the Iroquois families who faced the grief of losing family members.

The story of Mary Jemison clearly shows that, even in the late-1750s, some rituals and beliefs of the Iroquois persisted, despite large-scale transformation in the area of warriors. Even as warfare was evolving, certain elements were still common practice. Oneida missionary Samuel Kirkland is also made aware of a similar practice in the 1760s. In Kirkland’s journal, he writes, “Sir William told me, if I was cordially received by the Seneca’s, I should in one week or two be adopted into one of the principal families...”<sup>40</sup> In a biography written about Mary Jemison’s life, the author states, “You’ve been drinking the bitter cup of slavery...to which she responds, I hardly recognize myself in what you say.”<sup>41</sup> Despite the fact Jemison was originally a “prisoner,” her assimilation into the Seneca tribe shows the emergence of traditional Iroquois beliefs, which stood in extreme contrast to

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<sup>39</sup> Elena M. Ortells, “A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison: Rhetorical Drag and the Defiance of Hegemonic Cultural Models,” *Atlantis* (0210-6124) 32, no. 1 (2010): 73.

<sup>40</sup> Samuel Kirkland and Walter Pilkington, *The Journals of Samuel Kirkland: 18th Century Missionary to the Iroquois, Government Agent, Father of Hamilton College* (First ed. Clinton, N.Y. Hamilton College, 1980), 4.

<sup>41</sup> James E. Sheridan, *Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison* (Project Gutenberg, 2004), 34.

those of European cultures, such as the British or French. In traditional European societies, the best-case scenario for someone taken during war was that, maybe, that person's children, or their children's children, could become full members in the oppressor's society. As for the case of Mary Jemison and many other peoples captured by the Iroquois, they were given nearly full rights and many who were abducted never left, even after they were given the opportunity to escape.

Referring back to Mary's case, after the conclusion of the French and Indian War, the King of England offered rewards for the release of prisoners that had been taken during the war. This action encouraged, as Jemison states, "John Van Sice, a Dutchman, who had frequently been at our place, and was well acquainted with every prisoner at Genishau, resolved to take me to Niagara, that I might there receive my liberty and he offered bounty. I was notified of his intention; but as I was fully determined not to be redeemed...."<sup>42</sup> Jemison was able to evade him by running to a neighboring town, as she did not want to return to her host culture. Mary Jemison's experience, along with that of missionary Samuel Kirkland, show that despite fighting both the Beaver Wars and the participation of the Iroquois in the French and Indian War, both of these white individuals were adopted and felt truly accepted by their new culture. These examples clearly illustrate that, not only did the mourning warfare still exist, but that the Iroquois still genuinely carried out this practice, giving prisoners of war full citizenship. This is yet another belief, ritual, or practice that did not dissolve in the wave of European influence and possibly one of the most helpful in sustaining power. Although absorbing foreigners and other Native Americans into their society helped to keep population sizes up it also allowed for the outsiders to influence traditional Iroquois beliefs and to further complicate diplomatic relations within the Confederacy.

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<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 623-624.



*Mohawk Chieftain Thayendanegea (Joseph Brant), painted in 1786. Courtesy Wikimedia Commons.*<sup>43</sup>

Joseph Brant, the brother-in-law of Sir William Johnson, is a prime example of both the complication outsiders contributed but also of the changing of traditional power structures between warriors and Sachems. Brant, although from a prestigious Iroquois family, was never appointed to the position of a Sachem because of the Hereditary requirement. However, he gained so much power within the Mohawk tribe through his battle experiences, he was given the position of an Honorary Chief. Joseph Brant, as well as many other Mohawks, was very religious and even attended missionary school with Samuel Kirkland.<sup>44</sup> Considering his faith and close relationship with Sir William Johnson, it is no surprise that Brant sided with the British. Brant was actually one of the

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<sup>43</sup> Painted by Gilbert Stuart, registered with the U.S. Copyright Office before January 1, 1925. Public domain. Accessed: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Joseph\\_Brant\\_by\\_Gilbert\\_Stuart\\_1786.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Joseph_Brant_by_Gilbert_Stuart_1786.jpg).

<sup>44</sup> Samuel Kirkland and Walter Pilkington, *The Journals of Samuel Kirkland: 18th Century Missionary to the Iroquois, Government Agent, Father of Hamilton College* (First ed. Clinton, N.Y. Hamilton College, 1980), xvii.

earliest Iroquois to enter the war of which he began fighting in 1775. He entered the war against the advice of the Mohawk Sachems and the Council's neutrality order, which is evidence of elevated warrior status.

Brant was not the only one who held disloyalty to the Confederacy; he and a group of Mohawk, Seneca, Onondaga, and Cayuga warriors decided to fight for the British in the Battle of Orinsky. After the entrance of 4 of the 6 nations into the Revolutionary War, he and his war party fought on August 7, 1777. The change in hierarchical position of warriors was not only present in the Iroquois. Red Shoes, a Choctaw warrior, had disobeyed the trade policies of his tribe and unlawfully attempted to take control over his tribe in the 1740s.<sup>45</sup> War was also not the only place this disregard for social hierarchy occurred and the practice of disobeying rules within the Iroquois had been happening since the fifteenth century. In 1630, Sikarus, an Iroquois, went out of his way to trade with the Dutch because he felt he and his family were not receiving a large enough share. This clearly illustrates a breakdown and decentralization of power occurring in the confederacy.

## **Religion**

More so than trade or war, religion played a key role in the evolution of Iroquois society, which has been supported by many historians.<sup>46</sup> When scholars outline the Christianization of the Iroquois, they often paint an artificial picture of the religious landscape of this time period. Similar to the other factors discussed above, tribal religion did not change quickly. Just as the other factors discussed in this paper, religion was a large part of the

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<sup>45</sup> Richard White, "Red Shoes: Warrior and Diplomat," in *Struggle and Survival in Colonial America*, edited by Gary B. Nash and David G. Sweet (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981).

<sup>46</sup> Colin Calloway, Robert Christine, Patrick Ganyard, Joseph Glatthaar, James Kirby Martin, Daniel Richter, and Christopher Vecsey have all argued in favor of this.

societal structure. For example, the creation story of the Iroquois plays an integral part in the way the government was structured. Further, holding a common religious identity was also something that unified the tribes under one cultural identity. Religion, as a whole, generally develops ethnocentrically and geographically in order to answer big questions like the origin of civilization itself.<sup>47</sup> From the research conducted, the Iroquois Confederacy has multiple versions of its own creation story. The religious story created the basis for which the many structures of the culture and the government are established within the story. A few important aspects of the story itself are that one of the main characters, the Chief of the Oneida, had originally been a monster, but at the end, the Chief is good and follows the values of Tarenyawagon, who is the essential protagonist and savior of the story.<sup>48</sup> This section is the basis for the beliefs held by the Confederation, that everyone possessed the ability to be both good and evil. This underlying idea of the duality of both the individual and the group, ideally suited the Iroquois in their dealings with the British, French, and Americans.

The idea that tragedies or certain events did not permanently define a group or person, overall contributed to the Iroquois being a rather understanding people. Another important element of the creation story is the ideology of the refugee. The story discusses the terrible events and treatment the tribes of the Five Nations inflicted on each other. The creation story compared the five independent tribes all to refugees because of their lack of unity. Tarenyawagon's message of peace influenced the Iroquois Confederacy to emphasize peace; later, the Confederacy became known as the League of Peace.

Additionally, another vital passage from the Iroquois creation story is the birth of the savior of the story who becomes the unifier of the Confederacy. The birth scene says,

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<sup>47</sup> George R. Hammell, "The Iroquois and the World's Rim: Speculations on Color, Culture, and Contact," *American Indian Quarterly* 16, no. 4 (1992): 463.

<sup>48</sup> Christopher Vecsey, "The Story and Structure of the Iroquois Confederacy," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* (1986), 54.

“Tarenyawagon visited the mother in a dream and told her that the child, born of a virgin, would do the work of the divinities on earth.”<sup>49</sup> Following the birth scene, another scene of importance states, “The Great Creator from whom we are all descended sent me to establish peace among you. No longer shall you kill one another and nations shall cease warring upon each other.”<sup>50</sup> These two scenes were extremely important because they hold many commonalities with Christianity, which may have aided in the conversion efforts put forth by the Europeans. The specific commonalities that are present in the two previously mentioned scenes are the imagery of the peacemaker and the divine child.

In Christianity, Jesus Christ is portrayed as the savior to the world who has come to earth to establish a peace among his people. The imagery of the divine child, born of a virgin, in order to fulfill the wants and desires of the divine figure, is very similar. It is plausible that when introduced to Christianity, the Iroquois could have believed their creation story and that of the Bible was one in the same or at least very interconnected. Finally, one of the single most important power structures that is established in the story is the role of the Clan Mother. In the story, a tribe’s woman is the first one to accept the message of the protagonist, so in turn he grants her the single most important position within the tribe. This role of the Clan Mother was arguably the most important role within the Iroquois Confederacy. It was her job alone to establish the three Sachems or Chiefs for each community. If any of her appointees were insubordinate, she reserved the right to rescind her nomination. If the creation story had the power to not only bestow and hold this position, it shows how powerful this creation story was, whether or not the average Iroquois truly believed the events and characters of the story, it influenced nearly every aspect of his or her life.

The divergence away from their traditional religion must be largely attributed to the work of missionaries over at least 100

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<sup>49</sup> Vecsey, “The Story and Structure of the Iroquois Confederacy,” 83.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

years. Further, the conversion of the Iroquois tribes is the culmination of many different individuals' works. Some of the most significant individuals who worked to convert the Iroquois from their traditional beliefs are Sir William Johnson, Samuel Kirkland, and many French Jesuits.<sup>51</sup> Although the work of these individuals is substantial, one cannot help but ask how much they were truly converted or whether it was a mixture of ideas from both Christianity and the traditional belief systems of the Iroquois. The integration of Christianity within the Confederacy's culture affected much more than their religion alone. When the relationship between religion and culture began to degrade within the tribes, so too did the confederacy itself. Many of the Iroquois were also aware that this integration of a foreign religion was not beneficial to their society.<sup>52</sup>

### **Diplomacy**

Loyalties like the one the Oneida held with Samuel Kirkland and religious indoctrination were not the only determining factors in the choosing of sides in the Revolutionary War. A multitude of policies and diplomatic relationships influenced a diversity of beliefs and loyalties within the Confederacy. Johnson traded, advised, and even led the Mohawks in the French and Indian War. Johnson's estate was located within the Mohawk Valley and he, almost daily, entertained various tribe members, either for the purpose of trade or to discuss diplomatic issues. Through his fair business practices and consideration of their culture Sir William Johnson became a very large influence in the Confederacy's affairs, especially those of the Mohawk. The acknowledgment of

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<sup>51</sup>Patrick Ganyard and Robert L. Christine, *The Life and times of Samuel Kirkland, 1741--1808: Missionary to the Oneida Indians, American Patriot, and Founder of Hamilton College* (ProQuest Dissertations and Theses, 1993), 22.

<sup>52</sup>Samuel Kirkland and Walter Pilkington, *The Journals of Samuel Kirkland: 18th Century Missionary to the Iroquois, Government Agent, Father of Hamilton College* (First ed. Clinton, N.Y. Hamilton College, 1980), 24.

this close relationship is cemented by the fact he was appointed as Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the northern colonies.<sup>53</sup>

Not every tribe within the Confederacy was loyal or supported Johnson. For example, many of the Seneca distrusted him after he renegotiated the Proclamation Line of 1763, to run right through the heart of Seneca territory. Johnson not only influenced the tribes, but diplomatic policy did, too. The Seneca were known as the “Keepers of the Western Door,” who had to distance themselves from the ever-encroaching Colonist.<sup>54</sup> Additionally, they were the closest Iroquois tribe to the sea, which enabled them to trade more with the British. Mary Jemison also discusses in her book that the British offered to amply reward the Senecas<sup>55</sup> if they assisted in the war, which was another reason the Seneca decided to represent the British.

In 1775, Congress sent a letter to the six nations asking them to stay neutral. This was a stark difference in diplomacy from the strategy of the British. One interesting aspect about this document is, first, the reasoning for writing it. Congress felt the need to write a letter asking for Iroquois neutrality suggests that they are already quite connected. Also, one section is addressed to the “Brothers, Sachems, and Warriors,”<sup>56</sup> Both the Sachems and warriors are being addressed, clearly showing that warriors, at least to the colonists, are seen on an equal level by this point or at least that all three of these positions demanded acknowledgment. The intertwining of religion with diplomacy was a strategy used by Samuel Kirkland to persuade them to fight for the Colonists. One of many examples where he does this is in a speech, where he states, “Brother, The great God has brought about this happy Revolution, as you observed in your Speech to us. We must all

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<sup>53</sup> Milton W. Hamilton, *Sir William Johnson: Colonial America, 1715-1763* (Port Washington, N.Y. Kennikat Press, 1976).

<sup>54</sup> James E. Seaver, *Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison* (Project Gutenberg, 2004).

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 707.

<sup>56</sup> Francis D. Cogliano and Kirsten Phimister, *Revolutionary America, 1763-1815: A Sourcebook* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 13.

ascribe the Honour, the Wisdom and the Victory to him.”<sup>57</sup> and by the mid-1600s, 20 percent of the Iroquois were already “Christian.”

This choosing of the tribes in the war was the last straw in the fall for the confederacies and caused a large amount of disunification among them. The League’s unity was their saving grace that enabled them to last and saved them from the fate of the previous five Iroquois tribes that were much bigger. The argument that some modern historians hold that it was intentional to take different sides, as a diplomatic strategy, is misleading.

A central theme in the Confederacy creation story is also the peace tree, the place where the five nations laid down their weapons and vowed to never fight each other again. The idea that they had engaged in warfare with each other cemented the disunification and loss of power of the Confederacy. Earlier in 1775 Iroquois’ Little Abraham and Flying Crow state “Mohawk and Onondaga speakers asked Congress to ignore the actions of individuals who went against the consensus of the Iroquois League”<sup>58</sup> This speech shows that the Iroquois truly hoped to stay neutral and attempted to do so for as long as possible. Beside the previously outlined information, each of the six nations functioned independently from one another and did not operate with a strong centralized state, meaning they were not able to orchestrate multiple tribes to choose different sides in the war. In 1777, the ritual peace fire was extinguished (a cultural symbol that reflects the unity of the Iroquois Confederacy) and this event represented the virtual end to the power of the Iroquois Confederacy. It was not the decimation of battle that ended the Iroquois but that many tribes had taken up weapons against each other meant that they could not reconcile differences.

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<sup>57</sup> Samuel Kirkland and Walter Pilkington, *The Journals of Samuel Kirkland: 18th Century Missionary to the Iroquois, Government Agent, Father of Hamilton College* (First ed. Clinton, N.Y. Hamilton College, 1980), 54.

<sup>58</sup> Collin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995), 31.

Whether or not accepted by all, Iroquois Samuel Kirkland contributed significantly to the conversion to Christianity and to that of the colonists' cause in the Revolutionary War. He specifically influenced the various tribes focusing on the Oneida. Also, he carried out these changes through the intertwining of religion and politics, which further caused the breakdown of the beliefs that created their society and culture. "Brothers, it is time we were roused up. The late event is a warning to us... This white man we call our brother has come upon a dark design... or he would not have traveled so many hundred miles."<sup>59</sup> This quote from a Seneca meeting during the 1760s, from an Iroquois man argues that he knows that missionary work has a dark element; he doubts that Samuel Kirkland holds truly pure intentions. Which shows that even before Kirkland began advocating for participation in the Revolutionary War, the Iroquois were keenly aware that missionaries, or rather any white figures attempting to build a relationship or integrate into their society, often had ulterior motives. When enslaving people, even in the case of the Iroquois themselves, in their absorption of various other tribes they stripped the population of their identity and religion, which caused the Iroquois Confederacy to collapse and thoroughly integrate. Unfortunately, this same practice was used on them and effectively caused their collapse.

### **Conclusion**

In the study of the Iroquois, only a small amount of scholarship has analyzed the various creation stories within their argument of eventual collapse. To accurately understand Iroquoian cultural practices and their governmental structure, it is necessary to study how and why these cultural practices were formed. By leaving out important societal aspects such as religion, Iroquois scholarship

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<sup>59</sup> Samuel Kirkland and Walter Pilkington, *The Journals of Samuel Kirkland: 18th Century Missionary to the Iroquois, Government Agent, Father of Hamilton College* (First ed. Clinton, N.Y. Hamilton College, 1980), 24.

that has been produced by the historical community still has room for improvement. Most of the research considered here only highlights changes in society in the latter years before the Iroquois Civil War. This consequently paints an inaccurate and biased view of what factors caused the collapse of the Confederacy. With this compilation of research, I hope to show at least a fraction of the background and progression of the society. This study has demonstrated that economic development in goods and trading practices, the role of key individuals in diplomacy, and the disestablishment of core religious beliefs within the Confederacy detrimentally altered the standard societal structure which caused America's "first democracy" to collapse.

The goal of creating this report was to illustrate that the Iroquois were an extremely complex culture with centuries of history and cultural development and that they deserve to be understood for more than just their collapse. In civilizations such as the Romans, historians focus on their achievements, the changes to their culture over time, as well as their collapse, but the collapse is not the focal point. I hope to have overcome the standard narrative of the rock and the sea; the Iroquois deserve to take their rightful place in United States history and to inspire further research and scholarship to take place.

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**Author Bio**

Jessica Howe is a CSUSB alumni. She is currently working towards a dual master's in education and history. She is very passionate about motivating the next generation to contribute to the study of history. She hopes to one day become a community college professor specializing in Native American history. She would like to thank her mother and grandmother for all the late nights and support they have shown her on her academic journey. She would also like to thank all of the history professors at CSUSB who have mentored and inspired her.



*History in the Making*

## **Propaganda: How Germany Convinced the Masses**

By Tracey Martin

*Abstract: During the 1930s and 1940s, the National Socialist German Worker's Party launched a full-scale propaganda campaign in conjunction with their military and political efforts as a means to subdue, indoctrinate, and control the masses of Germany and the European countryside. It is through this utilization of propaganda that Nazi Germany created a political machine that pumped out propagandistic messages frequently enough to sublimate the atrocities of the Holocaust into acceptable responses to the perceived Jewish problem. This usage of propaganda led to a united German identity, founded in a response full of hatred towards the Jewish people. This look into the power of propaganda sheds appropriate light on the psychological impact of repeated information, especially in times of economic stress and war.*

Propaganda has been around for centuries, perhaps millennia, existing both in times of peace and war, and continues to position itself at the forefront of culture, society, and most importantly, politics. The implementation of propaganda in Nazi Germany before and during World War II represents an incredible phenomenon of hatred and racism. During the first half of the twentieth century, anti-Semitic propaganda rapidly grew in Germany culminating in the eventual Holocaust of the 1940s. Propagandistic pieces lead to a warped sense of reality based on the manipulation of one's ideology or current situation. This psychological manipulation led to both soldiers and civilians

participating in the Holocaust. The power of propaganda represents a crucial boiling point of human morality in Nazi Germany. By utilizing technological advancements of radio, cinema, mass printing, and other visual stimuli, the National Socialist German Worker's Party (Nazi Party) waged a home-front war to convince the populace of who they believed was the true enemy: the Jew. This clever use of propaganda throughout Germany in the first half of the twentieth century acted as the driving force behind the Holocaust, fostering a national identity forged in hate and racism.

What is the definition of propaganda? The typical definition of propaganda, according to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, is "the spreading of ideas, information, or rumor for the purpose of helping or injuring an institution, a cause, or a person."<sup>1</sup> Adolf Hitler, leader of the Nazi Party in Germany, describes propaganda as "a truly terrible weapon in the hands of an expert."<sup>2</sup> George Orwell, English author of the popular novels *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, describes propaganda as "lies, even when one is telling the truth."<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the greatest definition of the concept of propaganda is by Richard Alan Nelson:

Propaganda is neutrally defined as a systematic form of purposeful persuasion that attempts to influence the emotions, attitudes, opinions, and actions of specified target audiences for ideological, political or commercial purposes through the controlled transmission of one-sided messages (which may or may not be factual) via mass and direct media channels.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Propaganda." Merriam-Webster. Accessed May 21, 2019.  
<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/propaganda>.

<sup>2</sup> Edward J. Phillips, *State of Deception: The Power of Nazi Propaganda* (Washington: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2009), 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Richard Alan Nelson, *A Chronology and Glossary of Propaganda in the United States* (1996) 232-233.

Nelson's definition of propaganda encompasses the common themes and broadens the concept of propaganda by not limiting propaganda to a political sphere. The broadening of the term "propaganda" allows one to further understand what propaganda is and what the purpose of propaganda is and was.

The purpose of propaganda in Nazi Germany was to foster a unity based on the concept of racial superiority and anti-Semitism. According to Edward Phillips, propaganda "serves as the antithesis of objectivity, rationality, and truthfulness."<sup>5</sup> Nazi propaganda exhibited Phillips' antithesis definition by rooting its evidence in pseudo-sciences, emotions, and economic distress. Gustave le Bon, a renowned French academic known for his theory on the psychological identity of crowds, who influenced world leaders such as Theodore Roosevelt, Sigmund Freud, Benito Mussolini, and Adolf Hitler, "proposed that crowds become dependent on images and illusions to guide their actions. The leader must thus supply these illusions to garner support."<sup>6</sup> This explanation of the goals of propaganda is echoed with Richard J. Evans explanation that propaganda was "to keep people fighting and make sure they conformed, even if only outwardly, to the demands the regime made on them."<sup>7</sup> Propagandistic ideology extends beyond the conventional battlefield to the fight for survival and rehabilitation of the German economy and its people. With that being noted, Evans is correct in his assessment of the usage of propaganda in Nazi Germany.

The introduction of propaganda did not magically surface in 1939 with anti-Semitic propaganda; instead, the usage of propaganda in Germany slowly began after their defeat in World War I, eventually culminating into their most effective weapon against the Jewish people. Germany, being assigned the fault of

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<sup>5</sup> Nelson, "A Chronology and Glossary of Propaganda," 232-233.

<sup>6</sup> Sean J. Harrington, "World War II and Propaganda," in *The Disney Fetish*. (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2015), 171.

<sup>7</sup> Michael H. Kater, "War and Public Opinion, Propaganda, and Culture," in *Culture in Nazi Germany* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2019), 172.

World War I, faced many economic and military hardships in the form of reparations and military limitations. French and British delegates during the Paris Peace Conference sought severe punishments for the nation of Germany. The Treaty of Versailles was born out of the Paris Peace Conference and alongside it, the birth of German frustrations. During the conference, Germany was attributed to the fault of World War I. This was in part due to France's eagerness to retain the Alsace-Lorraine territory from Germany, the United States of America entering the war due to German naval aggression and the sinking of the *Lusitania*, and Great Britain fearing for the balance of European powers. These reasons combined to present a clear image of Germany being at fault. Just as Germany had been the designated scapegoat in the peace talks at Versailles, the Nazi Party now needed a common enemy of their own and a reason as to why Germany lost in World War I: enter the Jewish people. The Jewish people were no strangers to persecution and discrimination. In fact, anti-Semitism existed prior to the Nazi Party as evidenced with the sacking of Jerusalem by Rome in 70 BCE during the First Jewish-Roman War. Additionally, while the First Crusade's goal was to reclaim Jerusalem from the Muslim Fatimid Caliphate, Jews were targeted as well during the Siege of Jerusalem in 1099 CE. In addition to these two events, the general religious intolerance had plagued the Jewish faith for millennia and with the mass printing of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (1903), anti-Semitic propaganda had begun to spread in twentieth century Europe. *The Elders of Zion* presented itself as a factual document exposing a Jewish global conspiracy of world domination. The perfect scapegoat had just presented itself and Joseph Goebbels would pounce on the opportunity.

Joseph Goebbels, master propagandist, high-ranking Nazi Party official, and Reich Minister of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, was tasked with convincing the masses of a Jewish threat after his successful campaign for Adolf Hitler in 1932. Goebbels was a "tireless, tenacious agitator with the gift of paralyzing opponents by a guileful combination of venom, slander,

and insinuation.”<sup>8</sup> The master manipulator directly controlled propaganda in Nazi Germany, and even prior to 1939, preached of a Jewish threat, held book burnings, and cleansed the arts. Goebbels stated that,

Propaganda is absolutely necessary, even if it is only a means to an end. Otherwise the idea could never take over the state. I must be able to get what I think important across to many people. The task of a gifted propagandist is to take what many have thought and put it in a way that reaches everyone from the educated to the common man.<sup>9</sup>

In 1928, Goebbels gave a speech about propaganda in which he stated, “millions of people are willing to die for a gospel, and our movement is becoming more and more a gospel.”<sup>10</sup> While Goebbels’ goal was to create a national enemy from the Jewish people, he also sought to provide Germany and her people a sense of pride, unity, and nationalism, mimicking the concept of a religious belief. The German populace could place their blind faith behind the savior of their nation, economy, and pride: Adolf Hitler.

The imitation of religion is seen with the idolization of Hitler. Goebbels attempted to unify the nation with Hitler serving as a messianic savior figurehead. Hitler was helping rebuild Germany and was presented as the right choice to get Germany back on its feet.<sup>11</sup> The continued idolization of Hitler is seen in the mass production of Hitler portraits for citizens to hang in their homes. One painting by an artist named F. Thiele in 1938 portrays

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<sup>8</sup> Robert S. Wistrich, *Who's Who in Nazi Germany* (London: Routledge, 2002), 77.

<sup>9</sup> Joseph Goebbels, “Knowledge and Propaganda,” *German Propaganda Archive*. <https://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/goeb54.htm>

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Randall Bytwerk, *Hitler is building. Help him. Buy German goods*, mid-1930s, German Propaganda Archive.

Hitler in a heroic context.<sup>12</sup> The painting shows Hitler center, surrounded by hard working men to the right and adoring women to the left. Behind him stands a member of the Hitler Youth, blonde and blue-eyed, holding the Nazi Flag representing the support of Hitler as well as the future of Nazi Germany, the youth.<sup>13</sup> Aside from artwork, the idolization of Hitler was echoed in literature and speeches. This is especially apparent in a paper that was published weekly called *Das Schwarze Korps*:

But there is one man who cannot lay down his burden, who carries a hundred times more than anyone else, who does not weaken or falter, who does not confuse the forest with the trees. He is a granite wall we need not worry about, who is everything that is good and brave and true in us, who warms us with the glow of his great soul: the Führer!<sup>14</sup>

This portrayal of Hitler as infallible and as a messianic type savior of Germany helped create a sense of unity, pride, and nationalism among the German people. While unity under a leader was important to the Nazi Party's goals, Germany needed to be united against a common enemy to further foster unity.

The Jewish were chosen as that enemy. With the perpetual onslaught of anti-Semitic propagandistic pieces, being Jewish became synonymous with thievery, wickedness, deceitfulness, uncleanness, and more. The unification under a leader only goes so far; the common Jewish threat was used to propel the united German people into a sense of intense comradeship, pride, and nationalism. The Jewish people were labeled as a people that were

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<sup>12</sup> Franz Thiele, *Untitled*, 1938, German Propaganda Archive.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Randall Bytwerk, *He is Victory!* Accessed February 27, 2020. <https://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/sk01.htm>.

attempting world domination.<sup>15</sup> In fact, in the eyes of the Nazi Party, the war was the fault of the Jew.<sup>16</sup>

Goebbels penned a publication in 1928 entitled *Buy Only From the Jew* in which he posed as a satirical essay about the effects of purchasing goods from Jewish stores. In the essay, Jews are putting German businesses out of business by selling cheap, knock-off products.<sup>17</sup> He asks “when was the Jew not our enemy? When did he not hate and persecute and slander and spit on us?”<sup>18</sup> The core argument in the essay is that by buying from Jewish businesses, Germans are letting their fellow citizens starve.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, Goebbels encourages German citizens to purchase from Jewish businesses, claiming that, “the great injustice you do to your own people, the sooner the day will come when a man comes to take up the whip and drive the moneychangers from the temple of our fatherland.”<sup>20</sup> In addition to the penned writings of Goebbels, film played an important role in Nazi propaganda.

The usage of film was one of the best instruments to convince the masses. Film is easily written off as entertainment, but it is “not to be underestimated as a means of education.”<sup>21</sup> Film was so important that Goebbels believed feature films were an extremely important propaganda tool.<sup>22</sup> In fact, the usage of film in Nazi propaganda was so prominent that movie attendance more than doubled during the war and the amount of propaganda films made up about a quarter of Germany’s total film production.<sup>23</sup> Films possessed a dangerous power of conviction over the

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<sup>15</sup> Phillips, *State of Deception*, 20.

<sup>16</sup> Mjolnir, *He is Guilty of War*, 1943, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection.

<sup>17</sup> Deutsche, *kauf nur bei Juden!* Der Angriff. Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit. Munich; Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1935. 331-333.

<https://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/angrif10.htm>.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Kater, *Culture in Nazi Germany*, 184.

<sup>22</sup> Phillips, *State of Deception*, 12.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

populace. These films utilized every fearmongering tactic that could be thought of at the time.

One such film is *Der ewige Jude* (*The Eternal Jew*). *The Eternal Jew* is perhaps the most reviling propagandistic piece of film in Nazi Germany and presents the Jewish people as a plague. They are compared to rats that spread disease and contagion and flood the nation while devouring the resources of the area. A film review from 1940 in *Unser Wille und Weg* (The Nazi Party monthly for propagandists) claimed the film provided “a broad treatment of the life and effects of this parasitic race using genuine material taken from real life.”<sup>24</sup> The anonymous author goes on to discuss how the Jewish people have always been a criminal race and that they simply migrate from nation-to-nation, sucking the land dry of its resources. The author continues, “we have broken their power over us. We are the initiators of the fight against world Jewry, which now directs its hate, its brutal greed and destructive will toward us. We must win this battle for ourselves, for Europe, for the world.”<sup>25</sup> By presenting the Jewish people as a plague or parasite needing to be rid of, the film convinces the viewer that they are in the right.

An additional film known as *Jud Süß* (*Süss the Jew*) depicts the typical Jewish man, Süß, as a corrupt thief. In the film, Süß is portrayed as corrupt, stealing from the land, and depriving the nation of its wealth. This is a common theme in both *The Eternal Jew* and *Süss the Jew*, but unlike *The Eternal Jew*, the “villain” is exposed and executed and all other Jews in the land are driven out of the territory. The expulsion of the “villain” and victory of the German people led to Heinrich Himmler, Reichsführer of the Schutzstaffel, to order every SS member to see it.<sup>26</sup> While visual and literary propaganda were crucial to Goebbels goals, and thousands of pieces of propaganda were created by the Nazi party, not all useful propagandistic pieces came from Nazi Germany.

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<sup>24</sup> Unser Wille und Weg, 10. 1940, 54-55. <https://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/ewig.htm>.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Phillips, *State of Deception*, 118.

Theodore Kaufman, a Jewish citizen of the United States, provided the Nazi Party with more fuel for their propaganda fire. Kaufman self-published a book under the title of *Germany Must Perish*, in which he argues for the forced sterilization of the entire German population.<sup>27</sup> Goebbels used this piece of work to portray the Jewish people as genocidal enemies bent on the total annihilation of the German people. He presented the book as an official Allied policy and represented Kaufman as an influential advisor to President Roosevelt, even though neither of these claims were true.<sup>28</sup> Goebbels' quick recasting of an anti-Nazi publication into an anti-Semitic propaganda piece speaks to the natural talent of deception that he possessed and his mastery over it. The idea that a Jew was behind Roosevelt's decisions carried an implication of a common theme in anti-Semitism: that Jews were the puppet masters of the world.

The puppet master theme is incredibly common in Nazi propaganda. One such printing depicts a Jewish man as a devious octopus. He possesses China, Russia, Britain, and the United States within his tentacles and inherently controls them with his crooked smile.<sup>29</sup> Another poster presents a chain of nations being devoured by the next. Britain is being eaten by the United States, China eats the United States, and eating all of them are the Jews.<sup>30</sup> *Behind the Enemy Powers: the Jew* is a propagandistic poster that displays a plump Jewish man standing behind the flags of the Soviet Union, the United States, and Britain, signifying that the Jew is the true enemy behind the enemy.<sup>31</sup> An additional poster to represent the puppet master mentality is a literal depiction of a lethargic Jew acting as puppet master.<sup>32</sup> In this poster the Jew almost seems bored with his toys as he dangles Franklin Roosevelt, Winston

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<sup>27</sup> Phillips, *State of Deception*, 128.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Randall Bytwerk, *Untitled*, 1943, German Propaganda Archive.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> *Behind the Enemy Powers: The Jews*, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection.

<sup>32</sup> Randall Bytwerk, *Untitled*, 1942, German Propaganda Archive.

Churchill, and Joseph Stalin on the puppet stage. The puppet masters were controlling their destiny, and that destiny was world domination.

A German tabloid newspaper, *Der Stürmer*, published issues vilifying the Jewish people in matters of world dominance. In October 1936, issue 41 of the tabloid printed the Jew as a voracious man who devours others.<sup>33</sup> Bodies hang out of the full mouth representing his insatiable appetite for control. The issue reads, “far be it from the Jews to enslave a single people. Their goal is to devour the entire world.”<sup>34</sup> The 47<sup>th</sup> issue, printed in November 1937 depicts the Jew as a “money demon” with his claws in the entire planet.<sup>35</sup> The Star of David seems to be tattooed



Behind the Enemy Powers,  
Courtesy USHMM.

on the body of the demon and the British and American symbols for their respective currencies are also engraved on his arm. The visual representation of Jewish people through text and art is but one step of the Nazi process of Jewish extermination, and the next step was to convince the masses that mass extermination was acceptable.

In 1939, Adolf Hitler initiated a program known as the T4 Euthanasia Program. This program sought the destruction of those deemed incurable, the elderly, and the physically or mentally disabled. The program disguised itself as a euthanasia program, but in fact, it was a mass extermination of people that the Nazi party deemed unfit to live. Public opinion on the program became uneasy and uncomfortable with the mass killings, so in 1941, the film *Ich Klage an (I Accuse)* was released in an effort to garner

<sup>33</sup> Randall Bytwerk, *Stürmer*, 1936, German Propaganda Archive.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

popular support for the systematic killings and ease tensions. *Ich Klage an* follows the story of Hanna, the beautiful wife of a doctor who is diagnosed with multiple sclerosis. The story follows her husband's attempts to find a cure for her ailment, only to fail each time. Finally, as the disease progresses, Hanna desires death and begs her husband to let her go, to which he eventually agrees. The portrayal and bonding to an emotional character put in a situation that anyone could potentially experience, played on the emotions, and fears of the viewer, ultimately convinced viewers to look at the euthanasia program in a more favorable light. In the end, the public opposition to the euthanasia program still existed and the program was officially ended in 1941, but mass killings remained a covert operation of the Nazi Party.

The citizens of Germany and surrounding European



Bytwerk, Chasing.

nations understood that the Jewish people were their enemy. One poster published in 1941, in Russian, depicts soldier-like Jews being pushed out of the territory by bayonets. It roughly translates, "Get the Jewish-Bolshevist warmongers out of Europe."<sup>36</sup>

Posters depicted Jews as all manner of vile, but one poster even depicted them as Satan.<sup>37</sup> A

Ukrainian poster roughly translated to, "Satan has taken off his mask."

Echoing the sentiments of the *Germany Must Perish*, a *Der*

*Stürmer* cartoon depicted a strong Nazi member tossing a Jewish man

off a cliff, captioned, "go where you wanted me to go, you evil spirit."<sup>38</sup> The insinuation and repetition that the Jewish people were

<sup>36</sup> Randall Bytwerk, *Chasing*, German Propaganda Archive.

<sup>37</sup> Randall Bytwerk, *Satan has taken off his mask*, German Propaganda Archive.

<sup>38</sup> Randall Bytwerk, *untitled*, German Propaganda Archive.

hellbent on the total destruction of the German people was the strongest argument in favor of mass extermination, and eventually, was the core argument that mass extermination was the only solution.

The Nazi Party believed that the only solution to the Jewish problem was to get rid of them all, specifically through genocide. Cartoons presented in *Der Stürmer* helped convince the reader that the mass extermination of the Jewish people was the only solution. In issue 45 the author attacks even the babies of the Jewish people, “every little Jewish baby grows up to be a Jew.”<sup>39</sup> A self-explanatory and obvious piece of information in contemporary times, but in 1940s Germany, it was viewed as a dangerous prospect considering that Jewish people were portrayed as being synonymous to criminals, parasites, plagues, or as serpents. Issue 10, printed in March 1935, depicts the Jew as a serpent and captions this, “do not grow weary, do not loosen the grip, this poisonous serpent may not slip away. Better that one strangles it to death than that our misery begin anew.”<sup>40</sup> The tenth issue of the propagandistic tabloid was published years before the start of the war and the T4 Euthanasia Program, yet it suggests that it is better to kill the Jew before the Jew can hurt Germany again. The sentiment of destroy or be destroyed is echoed in the September 1944 issue, “life is not worth living when one does not resist the parasite, never satisfied as it creeps about. We must win and will win.”<sup>41</sup> Accompanied with the caption is an image of a grotesque parasitic looking creature with big eyes and a big nose, clearly meant to represent the Jew. The massive creature is seen slowly crawling towards Europe, representing an immediate threat if left untamed. Finally, in a 1939 speech by Robert Ley, the Reich Organizational Leader, to other Nazi officials, he argues, “If the Jew wants to fight, it is fine with us. We have wanted that fight for a long time. There is no room in the world for the Jews anymore.

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<sup>39</sup> Randall Bytwerk, *untitled*, 1934, German Propaganda Archive.

<sup>40</sup> Randall Bytwerk, *untitled*, 1935, German Propaganda Archive.

<sup>41</sup> Randall Bytwerk, *untitled*, 1944, German Propaganda Archive.

The Jew or us, one of us will have to go.”<sup>42</sup> The common theme of kill or be killed can be seen in Nazi propaganda spanning over a decade, both public and private. This repetition of the dehumanizing propaganda targeting the Jews led towards public acceptance of the policies being advised by the Nazi Party.

Nazi soldiers were quick to succumb to this propagandistic manipulation. Captain Hans Kondruss wrote, “[I]t will be necessary to scorch out this boil of plague, because these ‘animals’ will always constitute a danger.”<sup>43</sup> The sentiment of kill or be killed again presents itself, this time in the form of a personal opinion and not a published work. Lance-Corporal Hans Fleischauer had similar thoughts, “the Jew is a real master in murdering, burning and massacring... these bandits deserve the worst and toughest punishment conceivable.”<sup>44</sup> While Captain Kondruss and Lance-Corporal Fleischauer represent militaristic influence of propaganda, one must remember that the core goal of propaganda is to convince the masses.

The repetition of dehumanizing and scapegoating the Jewish people led to civilian contempt. The portrayal of Jews as demons, thieves, warmongers, and more led to the inciting of hatred and violence against the Jewish population. Lance-Corporal Heinrich Sachs stated that the local civilian populations were in favor of the Nazi Party’s actions and “how the Jewish question was solved with impressive thoroughness under the enthusiastic applause of the local population.”<sup>45</sup> “Many had made their peace with the Germans and their deported Jewish neighbors. Missing was empathy, awareness, or concern about the Jews’ misfortunes.”<sup>46</sup> In fact, in the case of the Poles, many did not

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<sup>42</sup> Robert Ley, “Wir oder die Juden...” Die Hoheitsträger 3. May 1939. 4-6. <https://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/ley3.htm>.

<sup>43</sup> Bartov, Omer. “Hitler’s Army,” in *The Holocaust: Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation*, 76-83, fourth ed.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Robert A. Goldberg, “The Bystander During the Holocaust,” *Utah Law Review* no. 4 (August 2017), 651.

simply tolerate the persecution of the Jewish people, they urged the Germans on.<sup>47</sup> In addition to lack of empathy and enthusiastic support of the Nazis, bystanders also took part in violent acts against Jews. In one instance, “German soldiers watched and snapped photographs as Lithuanian citizens beat Jews to death with iron rods.”<sup>48</sup> On August 7, 1941 a crowd formed as the SS gathered Jews in a courtyard to be executed. The Nazi soldiers asked if any of the crowd had any “scores to settle” with the Jews. Then the soldiers allowed the Jews to be beaten and abused by civilians and then later executed.<sup>49</sup> Party members, soldiers, and civilians alike had been convinced that the Jew was the enemy, all that was left was to maintain that conviction.

Part of the maintenance of anti-Semitism in Europe was suppressing outside influences. Broadcasts, literature, and propaganda from the Allied Powers were expressly forbidden. Radio was a powerful medium of propaganda for repetition according to Joseph Goebbels and was necessary for the “preservation of our morale.”<sup>50</sup> The strength of radio broadcasts was two-front, for the power that Nazi Germany found in radio was also found by the Allied Powers. The Nazi Party outlawed the listening of foreign radio broadcasts and presented foreign broadcasts as anti-German propaganda.<sup>51</sup> American broadcasts were deemed as lies. One such propaganda piece portrays Uncle Sam broadcasting on the radio while “truth stands on her head.”<sup>52</sup> Allied propaganda was instrumental in the German defeat of World War I, so the citizens were warned not to fall for it again.<sup>53</sup> The blaming of Allied propaganda was a logical defensive reaction. Propaganda was known to be highly influential and

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid, 655.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Phillips, *State of Deception*, 127.

<sup>50</sup> Kater, *Culture in Nazi Germany*, 181.

<sup>51</sup> Randall Bytwerk, *Veraeter*, 1940, German Propaganda Archive.

<sup>52</sup> Randall Bytwerk, *untitled*, 1943, German Propaganda Archive.

<sup>53</sup> Phillips, *State of Deception*, 107.

enemy propaganda was perhaps the only thing capable of hindering the effectiveness of Nazi propaganda.

Therefore, the act of controlling information was crucial to the success of the Nazi efforts of maintaining the reality they had created. The limitation of newspapers is one aspect of control that the Nazi party practiced. Newspapers were heavily censored and, in May 1941, over 500 newspapers had ceased operations and two years later another 950 shut down. By 1944 each paper was limited to four pages of print, and by 1945 they were restricted to two pages of print.<sup>54</sup> With the censorship or outright closure of newspapers across Germany, the Nazi Party controlled the flow of information. One important piece of information that was deemed crucial was the manipulation of death tolls in the war. News never reported the actual number of deaths or casualties that the Germans suffered. Instead, films such as *Feldzug in Polen (Campaign in Poland, 1940)*, *Feuertaufe (Baptism of Fire, 1940)*, and *Sieg im Westen (Victory in the West, 1941)* were produced and released to show glorious achievements that the German soldiers had achieved. Such achievements consisted of images of long lines of Allied prisoners and continually advancing German troops and lacked any imagery of dead or wounded German soldiers in the films.<sup>55</sup> In the event of a defeat the propagandists would change the rhetoric of the story such as the Myth of Stalingrad. The Myth of Stalingrad was a German defeat in which the Germans were heralded as heroes and even though it was a defeat, it was a moral victory.<sup>56</sup> The censorship of information was not limited exclusively to the media. Camp guards were warned that the inmates were criminals, thieves, parasites, and very dangerous, among other things, and were manipulated to have a preconceived notion of the Jewish inmates. They were guilted into following orders by appealing to German nationalism. Their comrades were on the frontlines fighting against the external enemy, and it was their duty to defend against the internal enemy.

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<sup>54</sup> Kater, *Culture in Nazi Germany*, 201.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 134.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 179.

Perhaps the greatest usage of information being controlled was in the Bohemian ghetto Theresienstadt. While concentration camps were factories of death, ghettos were used as another solution to the “Jewish problem.” In a ghetto, food was so scarce, and hygiene was so disgusting, that many died simply from starvation or sickness. Just like the concentration camps, the ghettos were designed to kill Jews in mass numbers. As news of the war atrocities slowly made their rounds around the globe, the Nazi party sought a way to rebuke the news. Theresienstadt was to be the project to refute these claims of war atrocities. The Nazi soldiers put the Jews of the ghetto to work to beautify the ghetto, and they were forced to pretend to enjoy a happy life.

Theresienstadt was represented as a “spa town” where elderly and disabled Jews went to retire peacefully. The Red Cross was invited by the Nazi Party to examine Theresienstadt and hopefully put to rest any doubts that the Jews were being mistreated. A film was born out of the Theresienstadt project titled *The Führer Gives the Jews a City* (1944). That piece of propaganda forced the Jews of the ghetto to work as set members, writers, and actors, and children voluntarily participated due to the bribes of food and sweets.<sup>57</sup> Theresienstadt represents a different type of propaganda in Nazi Germany, a piece of propaganda to quell the concerns of foreigners and citizens alike while glorifying Hitler as a hero who provided the Jews a city.

Hitler is consistently represented as a messianic figure in propaganda and thus his party as an organization of saviors or heroes. The continued representation of the Jews as the enemy and the party as the heroes combined to keep the population in line with Nazi policies. In fact, the Nazi Party held multiple charity events and appealed to the empathy of the German citizens. Every year, the Party hosted a charity drive for their charity, the *Winterhilfswerk*, in which citizens were to donate to charity to

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<sup>57</sup> Phillips, *State of Deception*.

prevent people from going hungry or cold. The poster associated with the drive presents a woman and her daughter looking at a Nazi soldier, seemingly in awe, who has his arms out signifying to come into his embrace.<sup>58</sup>

The *Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt* (National Socialist People's Welfare Organization) or NSV represented the charity causes in Nazi Germany. One poster states, "health, child protection, fighting poverty, aiding travelers, community, helping mothers: These are the tasks of the National Socialist People's Charity. Become a member!"<sup>59</sup> An additional



*Bytwerk, Hunger, 1934.*

poster draws on the graceful image of a woman breastfeeding her infant, thus emoting a sense of serenity and peace that must be maintained.<sup>60</sup> The portrayal of the Nazi party as heroes to Germany comes with the assumption that there are villains, and as evidenced, these villains were portrayed as the Jews and their puppets. German propaganda made sure to convey the idea that Germany was simply defending itself from the Allied powers who were puppets of the national Jewry.

Theodore Kaufman's *Germany Must Perish* populated German propaganda in a multitude of ways. Kaufman had even proposed the distribution of Germany amongst its neighbors and drafted a map.<sup>61</sup> His self-published work had a great impact on Nazi propaganda and helped represent the Nazi Party as defenders

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<sup>58</sup> Randall Bytwerk, *Hunger*, 1934, German Propaganda Archive.

<sup>59</sup> Randall Bytwerk, *NSV*, 1936, German Propaganda Archive.

<sup>60</sup> Randall Bytwerk, *Mutterkind*, 1938, German Propaganda Archive.

<sup>61</sup> Randall Bytwerk, *Sterben*, 1938, German Propaganda Archive.

of Germany. The Party was simply defending Germany from their enemies. The war indemnities suffered by Germany post-World War I haunted the Germans and if they would lose in World War II they faced a second potential annihilation of Germany's political, military, economic, cultural, and spiritual identity. The Jewish people had been designated as warmongering puppet masters who were the sole reason that President Roosevelt declared war on Germany.<sup>62</sup> A Nazi pamphlet used in Party discussions claimed Germany was required to defend itself from the American threat because the institution of Americanization would lead to enslavement, oppression, and destruction of culture.<sup>63</sup> Heinrich Goitsch argued that the Germans must defend and keep fighting because they would end up like the Aztecs if they lost, extinct.<sup>64</sup> Goitsch cites Duff Cooper, a former British minister, stating, "however this war ends, let us be sure that there is no longer a German nation."<sup>65</sup> Goitsch's essay attempts to muster more German resistance to the Allied threat in the face of potential defeat. Goitsch as well as other authors presented the tried-and-true propagandistic theory of kill or be killed.

*There are Two Possibilities* issues a grim statement about the potential conclusion of the war: victory or death. Disbursed in January 1945, propagandists fought the war of information until the very end. Outlook on the war was bleak for Germans, and propagandists, in a last-ditch effort started producing pamphlets, leaflets, and whatever else could be massively distributed in hopes of rallying the German people to a victory. The leaflet, in response to the loss of the war, goes on to read, "slave away for foreigners until the end of his life without ever seeing his homeland and his

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<sup>62</sup> Amerika als Zerrbild europäischer Lebensordnung, Schulungs-Unterlage Nr. 19. Der Reichsorganisationsleitung der NSDAP., Hauptschulungsamt, 1942. <https://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/hsa01.htm>.

<sup>63</sup> Parole 22: Amerikanisierung wäre das Ende Europas!, Sprechabenddienst, Sept./Oct. 1944. <https://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/sprech44d.htm>.

<sup>64</sup> Heinrich Goitsch, Niemals! Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1944. <https://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/niemals.htm>.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

family again, or one gets shot in the back of the neck a little earlier.”<sup>66</sup> The author argues that since both of these last possibilities end in death then the German is left with not two possibilities, but one, “we must win the war, and we can win it! Each man and each woman, the entire German people, must call forth their utmost in work, courage, and discipline. Then our future and the future of our children will be assured and the German people will be saved from a descent into Bolshevist chaos!”<sup>67</sup> Although Germany lost the war in the end, the mere fact that the war lasted two more years after massive military defeats in 1943 speaks of how strong the Nazi ideology, nationalism, and unification was, and the power that propaganda possessed over the nation of Germany.

The combination of anti-Semitic propaganda, Hitler idolization, the suppression of truth, and the manipulation and control of the media, led to a time where propaganda reigned supreme in warfare. The constant repetition and psychological conditioning that came from the intense propaganda campaigns of Nazi Germany led to a national identity that transformed regular citizens and soldiers into an anti-Semitic nation. The case of Nazi Germany must be studied carefully to understand the full power of propaganda and can be applied to contemporary times. In fact, propaganda surrounds every human being. Propaganda is seen in advertisements, commercials, newspapers, and more. Whether the propaganda is to persuade economically or racially, the use of propaganda holds more power than one may initially realize. Propaganda led an entire nation to endorse the removal of an entire race whilst turning a blind eye, even becoming accomplices in the genocide.

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<sup>66</sup> Rüstzeug für die Propaganda in *der Ortsgruppe*, #2. January 1945, 31. <https://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/2choices.htm>.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

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**Author Bio**

Tracey Martin is a senior at California State University, San Bernardino majoring in History with a minor in Anthropology. After graduation, he will pursue his master's in education and acquire his teaching credential. Tracey is passionate about showing the importance of history to youth and hopes to change the minds of his future students on the topic of history. Due to his own experiences, he possesses a strong passion for social rights and considers himself an ally in the fight for social equality, regardless of race, gender, creed, or sexuality

## **Discovering a Purpose in a Listening Democracy: The People's Voice in 1930s/40s America**

By Celeste Nunez

*Abstract: From the 1930s through the mid-1940s, the people of America witnessed two of the most traumatic events in American history, the Great Depression and Second World War. During these two decades, the people turned to radio as their form of "escape" allowing them to forget about the events happening around them. Radio culture in America began to explode with nearly twenty-eight million households owning a radio by the end of 1939. Franklin Delano Roosevelt utilized this technology to reach out to the American people and discuss the events occurring not only around the world but also in their backyards.*

*Franklin Delano Roosevelt served as President of the United States from 1933 until his death in 1945. He created a relationship with the citizens of America that no other President could accomplish before all through the medium of radio. But how? My research analyzes FDR's Fireside Chats through the perception of the people by analyzing the letters that they sent to him immediately after each of his broadcasts. I look at not only the positive letters but also the negative in order to display how the Fireside Chats created a feeling of purpose and the idea of an active democracy for both political parties.*

*After careful examination of the letters, I concluded that the diction of FDR's broadcasts created a space that 'welcomed' the listener to participate in the conversation and that the structure and diction of the letters responded to him as if they were a part of the American political network.*

At ten o'clock all playing ceased, while each and every one strained forward to catch the least inflection of your magnetic and inspiring voice...I can't help writing you to thank you. You said you couldn't perform miracles - but you have...<sup>1</sup>

Letters containing statements like these were written by thousands of Americans and sent to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's office with at least eight thousand letters delivered daily.<sup>2</sup> In 1929, the Great Depression had begun the stock market crash and bank panics. By the time Roosevelt took office in March of 1933, the Great Depression was in full effect and Americans looked towards their new leader to relieve them of economic disaster after President Hoover had tried and failed to do just that. Americans felt powerless, with hundreds of thousands of workers being laid off daily.<sup>3</sup> Franklin Delano Roosevelt took office during one of the most difficult times in American history but, with his experience in broadcast radio that he utilized in his governorship, he could communicate with the people and lift them out of social crisis.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt served as the thirty-second president of the United States and is often known as the president who led the country to victory both economically and militaristically because of the success he had after taking office during the great depression and into the second World War. Roosevelt's presidency lasted twelve years, starting in the middle of the Great Depression until his death in 1945. The world knew him as a leader who collaborated with Britain's Winston Churchill and the Soviet Union's Joseph Stalin, making up the "The Big

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<sup>1</sup> Marguerite Harper, New York (1933). Letter written in response to Franklin Delano Roosevelt's *Fireside Chat* on "The Currency Situation" delivered on October 10, 1933.

<sup>2</sup> "Letters to Franklin Delano Roosevelt." American RadioWorks. November 10, 2014. <http://www.americanradioworks.org/segments/letters-to-franklin-delano-roosevelt/>.

<sup>3</sup> *The Roosevelts: An Intimate History*. Netflix, PBS 2014. Ep. 5. The background information on the beginning of Franklin Roosevelt's life as President of the United States.

Three,” to create a post-war peace organization known as the United Nations.<sup>4</sup> Scholars look at his political and economic accomplishments as his continuing legacy instead of focusing on the people who continue to carry his legacy. How the American people saw Roosevelt is different than how people around the world saw him. By looking into the letters sent to Roosevelt, we can receive a deeper understanding of the legacy Roosevelt leaves behind on American history.

The radio played an essential role in 1930s American culture with many Americans compiling what limited money they had in order to acquire a small radio. At the start of the 1930s, twelve million households owned at least one radio and by 1939 it more than doubled to twenty-eight million homes owning a radio.<sup>5</sup> The radio provided a sense of ‘escape’ for the average citizen during this decade, allowing them to “transport to another dimension” when radio dramas broadcasted.<sup>6</sup> These radio dramas often aired in the evenings and families would gather around the radio listening to the show. The sounds and the effects the shows created built a personalized experience, allowing the listener to imagine anything they desired. This radio culture in America gave Roosevelt a favorable medium to connect with the American people via radio broadcasting. He called his airtime: *Fireside Chats*.<sup>7</sup>

Roosevelt’s *Fireside Chats* called for active participation in government affairs by bringing the discussion of politics and policies to the American people. The idea of creating an active participation in conversation through radio transmission is just

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<sup>4</sup> Editors, History.com. “Franklin D. Roosevelt.” History.com. October 29, 2009. <https://www.history.com/topics/us-presidents/franklin-d-roosevelt>.

<sup>5</sup> “Radio in the 1930s.” PBS.

<https://www.pbs.org/opb/historydetectives/feature/radio-in-the-1930s/>.

<sup>6</sup> Neil Verma. *Theater of the Mind* (University of Chicago Press: IL, 2012).

<sup>7</sup> Fireside Chats were Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s radio broadcasts that he would utilize in his presidency in order to discuss topics such as the Emergency Banking Act, the recession, New Deal initiatives, and WWII. Not only did Roosevelt talk about American policies, he would also use his airtime as a way to settle any rumors and explain, in great detail, his plans for the United States.

that, an idea. Roosevelt's phrasing throughout his broadcasts set the foundation for people to feel as if they could actively participate in government activities by "inviting them to a friendly fireside chat."<sup>8</sup> By analyzing the letters written to Roosevelt in response to his *fireside chat* broadcasts, one can see the active participation that Roosevelt aimed to achieve: Americans joining the "conversation" in politics and policies.

To understand the effectiveness of creating an active democracy within the listening community, it is essential to understand radio culture in the 1930s, as well as how politics and economics were easily explained through the means of broadcast. Roosevelt had previous experience with broadcast radio during his governorship, so it made it easier to transition the use of radio from governorship to his presidency. Radio provided a connection between Roosevelt and the people and by presenting his policies understandably, the people could easily grasp why Roosevelt installed the programs he did and understand the actions of his administration. This new interpretation of politics allowed the people to actively participate and write letters displaying their newfound knowledge and voice to address the issues that Roosevelt brought up during his "conversations."

The American people often wrote letters to radio stations to voice their opinions, their concerns, and the opportunity to contribute to the radio station's next program.<sup>9</sup> Letters are often studied as looking into the lives of people through their written thoughts. The letters written to radio stations in the 1930s provide evidence that people wrote to feel involved. Oftentimes these letters would be addressed to the station's manager instead of the

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<sup>8</sup> The introductions to the *Fireside Chats* started out with a narrator introducing Roosevelt to the public. It was during this time that the narrator of the chats would set the stage, stating that the President would like to welcome you [the listener] into his home for a friendly fireside chat.

<sup>9</sup> Joseph Turow, "Another View of 'Citizen Feedback' to the Mass Media" *Public Opinion Quarterly* 41 (4) (1978), 534-543. This article talks about the reasons why people would write to radio stations. By understanding why people wrote to radio stations I will be able to understand why people wrote to President Roosevelt.

station itself because, to the people, the manager *was* the station.<sup>10</sup> This applied to President Roosevelt as well because the people believed him to be the manager of his *Fireside Chat* Broadcasts.<sup>11</sup> When reading the letters written to Roosevelt, one can recognize one or more of these three main themes within them: a feeling, a purpose, understanding, an approval or disapproval of Roosevelt and the political issues he addressed.

After Roosevelt's death in 1945, the people suddenly felt lost.<sup>12</sup> Roosevelt kept his illness and disability out of the public eye, leaving many shocked when he passed suddenly of a brain hemorrhage. Without their leader the people began to feel as if they had lost the voice that Roosevelt had allowed them to give. After twelve years of leadership from a man that made them feel heard, they could not imagine a President after him.

### **The Rise to Presidency and Political Broadcasting**

The Great Depression in the United States began in 1929 when the stock market of Wall Street crashed, resulting in a damaged banking system and causing over fifteen-million people to be out of employment ready to withdraw their money from their accounts fearing they would lose their cash.<sup>13</sup> In 1933, Franklin Delano Roosevelt took office and began to issue his world-famous *Fireside Chats* that would be broadcasted every few months to keep the citizens of the United States engaged and updated on government policies and affairs. The understanding of how the use of media in Roosevelt's political career is crucial to understand

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<sup>10</sup> Turow, "Another View of 'Citizen Feedback' to the Mass Media," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 41 (4) (1978), 534-543.

<sup>11</sup> This idea was generated from Joseph Turow's "Another View of 'Citizen Feedback' to the Mass Media" since he mentions the idea of people writing letters to the radio station managers since they are in charge of the programs that are produced by the station.

<sup>12</sup> *The Roosevelts: An Intimate History*, Netflix, PBS 2014. Ep. 5.

<sup>13</sup> "Great Depression History," History, <https://www.history.com/topics/great-depression/great-depression-history>, (October, 2009). Information on the Great Depression in 1930s America.

how this form of communication affected the public and can be traced back to his college years when his mother, Sara Roosevelt, enrolled him in a private boarding school, Groton, in Massachusetts.<sup>14</sup> This is also where his interest in politics began to develop.

Roosevelt was not the most athletic of his peers, which drove him to take up extracurriculars in the school's newspaper, *The Crimson*.<sup>15</sup> The newspaper began Roosevelt's career in the media and with his distant cousin in the White House, Theodore Roosevelt, his interests in political affairs grew.<sup>16</sup> Roosevelt served on the New York State Senate in 1910 and was re-elected again in 1912. In 1913, he served under the Wilson Administration as assistant secretary of the Navy where he helped prepare the United States to head into The Great War. The Democratic Party acknowledged Roosevelt's hard work in both his efforts as the assistant secretary of the Navy and during his time in the Senate of New York, they put him on the ballot for Vice President of the United States with James Cox as their nominee for the Presidency.<sup>17</sup> Although their ballot lost, Roosevelt still had high hopes to eventually reside in the White House as President of the United States. But in 1921, Roosevelt contracted an illness that would make it challenging for him to achieve his goal.

In 1921, Roosevelt contracted Polio which resulted in the loss of function from the waist down.<sup>18</sup> This made it difficult for him to physically go to the people to establish a relationship with them. With radio beginning to make its grand debut, Roosevelt

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<sup>14</sup> H.W. Brands, *Traitor to His Class: The Privileged Life and Radical Presidency of Franklin Delano Roosevelt* (Anchor Books: New York, 2008), 24-25. The complete background of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's life spanning from childhood till his death in 1945.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> William E. Leuchtenburg, "Franklin D. Roosevelt: Life in Brief." Miller Center. 2019. <https://millercenter.org/president/fdroosevelt/life-in-brief>.

<sup>17</sup> Leuchtenburg, "Franklin D. Roosevelt: Life in Brief."

<sup>18</sup> Polio: a potentially deadly disease that is spread person to person which can invade a person's brain and spinal cord resulting in paralysis. <https://www.cdc.gov/polio/about/index.htm>.

utilized the technology as an “instrument of democracy” in order to talk to the people and communicate his government policies bi-monthly.<sup>19</sup> This was his first step into using the radio broadcasting for his own political agenda which would continue to develop well into his Presidency.

When Roosevelt was elected President in the middle of the Great Depression in 1933, he used his broadcasting skills to go live from the white house to discuss the issue of banking during the time of economic collapse. Radio was vital in Roosevelt’s political career not only because of his disability but also because of the way he was able to employ and speak to Americans in a way of making them feel comfortable and secure. Roosevelt only produced about thirty speeches in his twelve years of Presidency because he believed if he were to broadcast more, then the interest of the people would be lost, and the broadcasts would have no effect.<sup>20</sup> The bulk of Roosevelt’s broadcasts would be produced in the 1930s because he felt it necessary to make the American people feel secure and open an opportunity for them to voice their thoughts during a time of economic uncertainty.

### **The Voices of Hope**

Radio became a valued piece of technology and means of communication because there was one in nearly every American’s living room. During the Great Depression, many people looked forward to gathering around their radio with their families to listen to programs. With plenty of “leisure time,” people turned to the radio to fulfill the role of American culture and social life by providing a need of “escape” during this economic crisis. The radio supplied free entertainment and a feeling of escape to Americans during a tough economic situation, many families would often collect any money they had to get the smallest of radios in order to have this luxury. In 1939, *Fortune* took a poll

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<sup>19</sup> Robert J. Brown, *Manipulating the Ether: The Power of Broadcast Radio in Thirties America* (McFarland & Company: NC, 1998), 28.

<sup>20</sup> *The Roosevelts: An Intimate History*. Netflix. PBS 2014.

that revealed that listening to the radio was the most preferred method of inexpensive leisure-time, favored over reading and moviegoing.<sup>21</sup> Radios were making connections with the people that books and films failed to do, because it gave them the ability to create a vision open to their own interpretation.

Historian Neil Verma refers to “The Listening Imagination” which is the idea that radio listeners pictured the speaker or the scene of the radio drama at hand and could create a personal connection with them due to the ability to generate personal interpretations. Space and time are important to analyze when it comes to deciphering how the radio was able to establish personal connections with its listener because it puts context to the broadcast.<sup>22</sup> Techniques such as volume, acoustics, and sound effects helped the listener create an image in their head and responsible for establishing connections with a voice.<sup>23</sup> The voice coming from the other end, however, was also establishing connections to the audience, making it seem as if they were talking to one or a few, but in actuality their “performances generated a revenue” that was “aimed at populations, not individuals.” This idea suggests that multiple techniques were used to distinguish how the radio personality was able to establish a connection with their listeners. But this connection of personalization was completely determined by the listeners themselves and their ability to establish a para-social interaction, a term that was developed by two sociology professors at the University of Chicago.<sup>24</sup> Para-social is defined as a seemingly face to face interaction between a spectator and the personality on the opposite end and can have much to do with how the people of America viewed Franklin

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<sup>21</sup> Brown, *Manipulating the Ether*, 3.

<sup>22</sup> In Neil Verma’s *Theater of the Mind*, Verma explains space and time as the technique of amplifying acoustics within a recording studio in order to create a space that takes the listener out of their time and instead “transports them” to a different dimension.

<sup>23</sup> Verma, *Theater of the Mind*, 13.

<sup>24</sup> John Durham Peters, *Broadcasting and Schizophrenia*, (2010),124. The idea of how people can establish an emotional and relationship with a figure that is not physically in front of them.

Roosevelt on the air. Verma's idea of the listening imagination has roots in the idea of para-social interactions. By understanding how a listener establishes a connection with a radio personality through the notion of having a one-on-one conversation is key to what Verma categorizes as the listening imagination. This technique was something that Roosevelt utilized to allow him to reach the people of the United States as a "friend."

Radio culture in the 1930s tended to dismiss the "fusty old boundaries" of broadcast media and people began to enjoy absorbing the radio's feeling of comfort and gained a feeling of equality from it, as if Roosevelt had welcomed them [the people] to his home.<sup>25</sup> This welcoming invite to join the President in a friendly *Fireside Chat* encouraged the people of the United States to write the President to discuss the issues at hand. These "discussions" made it seem like the people were actively participating in a conversation because Roosevelt broadcasts catered to address the context of the letters written to him, which voiced varying opinions and concerns.

Writing letters was a crucial aspect of legitimizing public communications, making it vital to the democratic process.<sup>26</sup> Letters were a way for the people in order to put their input in the way a radio program is run or can even voice their opinions to figures in charge. The letters written by the people were a form of expression that allowed the American people to participate by creating a perceived interaction with the radio broadcast, even if the show does not necessarily allow for an opportunity for participation in real time.<sup>27</sup> This perception led people to write to the president because although his broadcasts were political, the president spoke to the public as though they understood what was

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<sup>25</sup> Verma, *Theater of the Mind*, 26.

<sup>26</sup> Turow, "Another View of 'Citizen Feedback' to the Mass Media." Helped form my idea of why the people decide to write to radio broadcasting shows and compare the writings from programs to political broadcasts.

<sup>27</sup> Charleen Simmons, "Dear Radio Broadcaster: Fan Mail as a Form of Perceived Interactivity," *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 53, no. 3 (September 2009) 446.

going on in that arena. Dr. Charleen Simmons, of University of Tennessee, mentions in her article that oftentimes broadcasting stations would not send a single letter in response to mail sent to them; however, the people would still send these letters to feel a part of something bigger than themselves. It is unclear if Roosevelt ever wrote back to the letters received, but the letters would keep coming in hopes of in some way interacting with the President and having their voices heard.

### **A Written Democracy**

Franklin Roosevelt understood that to improve the economy of the United States, he needed to get the people involved. During his Presidency, he issued a total of thirty *Fireside Chats* that were broadcasted over the span of twelve years. These chats consisted of varying topics such as economics, federal policies and programs, national security, and the second world war. Each of his *Fireside Chats* were broadcasted from either the white house or Roosevelt's residence in Hyde Park.<sup>28</sup> By talking to the people as if they were his equals and explaining politics and economics on simpler terms, the audience would be able to understand the issues of politics more clearly and can actively participate within the discussion of American policies.

*Fireside Chats* allowed Roosevelt to explain his hopes and ideas to the country and allow them to respond with the mentality of "tell me your troubles."<sup>29</sup> More than not, these troubles would deal with the contents of the chat itself and ask questions or criticize the ideas being talked about. The letters were a way for a listener to have an input or express their opinions on a radio station or broadcasting network and allow them to feel like someone is listening.

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<sup>28</sup> Brown, *Manipulating the Ether*, 59.

<sup>29</sup> "You have a marvelous radio voice, distinct and clear': The Public Responds to FDR's First Fireside Chat," *History Matters*.  
<http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/8126>.

For example, after the President's first *Fireside Chat* on the Banking Crisis in March of 1933, the people began their communication with him by expressing their understanding of the banking system and that his tone and empathetic voice gave them hope in their government to be able to work toward a solution. People ranging from high school students to Congressmen wrote to the President to express the regaining of their confidence.<sup>30</sup> Many of these letters expressed a straight forward faith in the early stages of his Presidency and some continued to write of the anticipation of their continuing faith more subtly with statements of how they will not withdraw money and they will take his word that their money would be safer in the bank.<sup>31</sup> These letters not only expressed their faith and hope in the President to get the country back on their feet, some writers even complimented the President's diction and clarity throughout his speeches.

The tone, phrasing, and clarity Roosevelt possessed helped create the bond with the people that lasted from the broadcast of the first *Fireside Chat* until the end of his Presidency. The way in which someone begins communication with another can determine the outcome of the relationship between the two. In Roosevelt's case, his speeches tended to "hypnotize people" and his voice was referred to as "magnetic and inspiring."<sup>32</sup> This idea of being hypnotized is similar to the feeling of being transported into the radio dramas during the same time period. Some people would often write to him as they would to the radio dramas, as if they

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<sup>30</sup> "You have a marvelous radio voice, distinct and clear': The Public Responds to FDR's First Fireside Chat."

<sup>31</sup> Frank J. Cregg (Justice of NY Supreme Court) Syracuse, NY (1933); Viola Hazelberger, Minneapolis, MI (1933); Virginia Miller, Sierra Madre, CA (1933). Letters that were written to Franklin Delano Roosevelt after the first *Fireside Chat* on the Banking Crisis. Delivered in March 1933. These particular letters display the idea of trust in the government and the banking system. Most explain that before they heard the broadcast, they were ready to withdraw their life savings, but FDR and the tone of his voice made them feel comfortable to leave their money in their accounts.

<sup>32</sup> Frank J. Cregg (1933); Marguerite Harper, New York (1933).

considered him a performer.<sup>33</sup> Some listeners understood his broadcast as a performance and would often refer to his broadcasting personality having a “marvelous radio voice” and how “unusually fine” it sounded.<sup>34</sup> The fact that listeners mentioned his voice can be interpreted as a form of escapism because perhaps it made them feel as if they were in a trance. The same feeling is felt when listening to the radio dramas produced and created an atmosphere that could make the people feel a part of something more. Franklin Delano Roosevelt brought the people into a political and economic conversation that they were able to understand which allowed his listeners to participate in the crisis affecting the country. The way Roosevelt addressed political and economic events of the 1930s in his fireside chats allowed people to understand the situations on a deeper level and put in place. The radio made it much easier for Roosevelt to get the people’s support because the radio was readily available in their homes and he was able to broadcast from the White House directly to them.

Some of the letters would describe the environment around them as they listened to the radio broadcasts and then give thanks to the President for making the environment not seem so tense anymore. Most people often choose to listen to the speeches in a more public setting or surrounded by friends to feel a sense of unity. Words such as “everyone,” “everybody,” and “we” are all used in the context of a whole and when describing the room they were in. By listening to the radio broadcasts in a more public setting or around people who they feel most comfortable with, the people could feel more inclined and more comfortable to address Roosevelt directly by writing the letters and feeling a part of something bigger than themselves.

The tone of Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s voice during his first initial speech is described as calm and patient as he explains

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<sup>33</sup> David Michael Ryfe, “From Media Audience to Media Public: a study of letters written in response to FDR’s fireside chats,” *Media, Culture & Society*. 23(6).

<sup>34</sup> Virginia Miller, California (1933); James A. Green, n.a (1933). Letters that mention Roosevelt’s ‘radio voice’ directly.

the situation of the banking crisis to the people of America. To the people, his voice emulated the confidence they needed to hear in order to feel consoled during the traumatizing era.<sup>35</sup> The intimacy of the radio and the ability to listen to these speeches from the comfort of their home, or wherever they chose, provided a comfortable setting to discuss an uncomfortable topic.<sup>36</sup> The sense of calmness and patience in his voice allowed him to discuss topics that were difficult with the people and provided them the space to actively voice their opinions. As the years continued, Roosevelt received thousands of letters daily with many continuing to mention the smoothness of his voice or the knowledge that he passes on leaves them with high hopes and faith. One listener even wrote to Roosevelt displaying the faith he had in him, just by the way he spoke to the people over the radio, by saying “you know what your government is doing. You know how to explain it. You know where you are heading, and you are on your way.”<sup>37</sup> Though some letters did express a need of help in the economic crisis, asking him to send food and clothes, most of the letters came as a positive and hopeful response of the policies and acts put into place during Roosevelt’s presidency.

On September third of 1939, Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed on to his radio chat with the words “my fellow Americans and my friends” when addressing the topic of the European War (World War II).<sup>38</sup> Most of the broadcast he produced that dealt with difficult topics usually signed on in a similar format. By

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<sup>35</sup> Ryfe, “From Media Audience to Media Public: a study of letters written in response to FDR’s fireside chats.”

<sup>36</sup> Pennee Bender, David Gerwin, Richard Miller, “FDR’s Fireside Chats: The Power of Words” *EDSITEment!* (Nov. 13, 2009). <https://edsitement.neh.gov/lesson-plan/fdrs-fireside-chats-power-words>.

<sup>37</sup> Melvin J. Chisum, Pennsylvania (1934). In response to Roosevelt’s chat on a new legislation being presented to congress. This letter explains how the writer feels in regard to the President’s explaining of politics to the American people.

<sup>38</sup> Franklin Delano Roosevelt, “The Fireside Chats of Franklin Delano Roosevelt,” *Arc Manor* (2009), 98. The Radio addresses to the American people broadcast between 1933 and 1944. A book with the written transcripts of FDR’s Fireside Chats.

addressing the people as “his fellow Americans” he was able to create a feeling of equality between him and the common person. By calling them friends he was able to build a bond which makes the people think that they were indeed friends with him so they wrote to him as such.

In many of Roosevelt’s speeches, he addresses the people as if he is having a face to face conversation with them making the feeling of personalization through the radio real for those on the receiving end. In this speech, however, the tone is different, and the speech addresses the entire United States as a whole, including the President himself. “We” is mentioned in the address often and sometimes Roosevelt says “you” in addressing the people.<sup>39</sup> But when it comes to making the difficult conversations and decisions, it is a matter of “we the people” and compared to Roosevelt as an individual. The feeling of personal acknowledgment could provoke the listener to put their own voice into the situation supplying them personal legitimization. The letters written to the President display the idea of participation and feeling a part of something bigger than they were. This broadcast brought up the topic of discussion and the letters written to this fireside chat provide a great deal of conversation and the demonstration of an active democracy is observed.

Many of the broadcasts concerning the second World War have a more of a pathos approach to their writing ethic and are strongly biased about either staying out of or heading into war with Germany. These letters often include phrasing such as “I feel...,” “I think...,” or “I believe...” to get their thoughts out.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Franklin Delano Roosevelt, “The European War,” September 3, 1939.

<sup>40</sup> J. A. Ringis, Michigan (1939); Elaine Albred, Utah (1940); Frank A. Harden, New York (1942). Letters written to Franklin Delano Roosevelt expressing their opinions about going into war. Ringings believes that the United States should only go to war if deemed necessary and expresses her motherly concern for her boys who are of age to fight. Elaine Albred is in seventh grade but feels that if the United States needed him to go to war in about six years, he and his “gang” would be ready. Frank A. Harden is completely opposed to going to war and does not think that we should be enforcing our ideals [the United States] on others. He compares the forcing of ideals to Hitler in the Nazi Reich.

Mentioning the feelings, they are experiencing during the radio broadcasting and having a “one-on-one” conversation with the President explaining how they feel and what they think displays the democracy that Roosevelt wished to accomplish.

Roosevelt also received letters that did not agree with his ideas, but when analyzing these letters, we can still see the same form of democracy being established because of the phrasing of words and sentences. The letters that often criticized him claimed “a small time politician could do better” or “the country ran before your time and will after you’re gone” leaving the same idea of feeling or belief that the letters agreeing with Roosevelt created.<sup>41</sup> Much of the letters that disagreed with Roosevelt did not seem to mention a setting they are in but in one particular letter, the person wrote that although Roosevelt’s speech was not the most notable, the feeling it created amongst the working class people in the downtown lunchroom is what gave it the recognition and his approval stating that “it is a proud thing to be living in America...during [Roosevelt’s] administration.”<sup>42</sup> Another aspect the letters themselves display is the unity depicted when American’s would listen to Roosevelt’s broadcasts in public places, whether they agreed with him or not.

Listeners hung on to Roosevelt’s every word and people that wrote to him stated that “all playing ceased as people strained forward to listen” and “the room became quiet as [Roosevelt’s] voice came to them.”<sup>43</sup> Some describe the events after the broadcast as “a combustion of gaiety — taunt nerves let loose” or “heads nodding in approval and bronzed men smiled and nodded to

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<sup>41</sup> Hugh F. Colliton Jr, Massachusetts (1934); Harry Spencer, Georgia (1938). Letters written to Roosevelt disagreeing with the chat given at their perspective times.

<sup>42</sup> E. E. McLeish, Virginia (1938). Letter written in response to Roosevelt’s chat on the Primary Parties on the upcoming Presidential Elections. This letter displays the reactions of those around the writer and explains how Roosevelt made the people feel after his speeches.

<sup>43</sup> C.H. Van Scoy, Washington (1934); Marguerite Harper, New York (1933). Letters written to the President talking about the atmosphere of the room they were listening in.

each other.”<sup>44</sup> These scenes depict the feelings and attitudes of the people of America and show the unity the speeches bring to them. Hope started to become more prevalent in the letters as time went on and the people began to speak on behalf of each other.

The letters often took the voice of the collective whole using words like “we” and “I and others.” This collective whole allowed the people to obtain a stance in a public deliberation often in putting their own voice and speaking on behalf of others. The idea of including others in their letters as well as their own opinions can also relate to the idea of their own self-importance and the need to speak on behalf of others. Roosevelt provided them a sense of importance and when speaking to the people, he gave them the opportunity to deliberate with him on the topics at hand. The people would often write that “we are for [Roosevelt] 100%” and became the voice of others by stating “all of our friends are for you.”<sup>45</sup>

The collective whole defined by those who opposed Roosevelt’s plans and wrote to him to “remind him” that the country did well before he came into office and will continue to do so after he is gone.<sup>46</sup> Those who wrote the negative reviews had content that spoke poorly of not only the President but also poorly of his supporters and referred to them as a collective whole. Sometimes the letters would place the writer among *them* as an American but when referring to their opposition, the writer makes it clear that they are not a part of Roosevelt’s followers. “Prosperity? How you mock us...” wrote one of the opposers as he refers to America’s people as a whole and the “lies” that Roosevelt tells as he talks about the country beginning to prosper. “Why not be frank with *your* people just once” refers to the other as a collective while referring to himself as an individual.<sup>47</sup> These two types of sentence structures are seen together often in the

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<sup>44</sup> Marguerite Harper, New York (1933); E.E McLeish, Virginia (1938). Description of the reactions of people around them.

<sup>45</sup> J.A. Ringis, Michigan (1939).

<sup>46</sup> Harry Spencer, Georgia (1938).

<sup>47</sup> Raymond Click, Ohio (1935).

opposition letters. The reasoning behind this is still unclear but deciphering each of these sentence structures separately we can make out both the feeling of purpose and their role in an active democracy. Although they do not identify as a follower of Roosevelt, they do consider themselves American and feel the need to speak out on what the president is imposing on their country. They feel the need to voice their concern and write a letter as a response to the chats joining the conversation, which Roosevelt welcomed.

The ending of the letters varied based on the author's writing style. Some chose to end their letters by saying "yours [very] truly," others as "your friend," and some, chose to end their letter by just their signature. The sign offs display the intimacy the president created with his broadcasts and how he affected his listeners. Most of Roosevelt's people saw him as a friend. By starting out some broadcasts saying "my friends" or referring to the listener as a "friend" within his speech, the listener began to feel a connection. When Roosevelt talked over the radio, he did so clearly and precisely, breaking down complicated terms and informally addressing the audience. The comfort of listening to the broadcasts made the audience think he was a friend and one letter stated "you DO seem like a friend to each of us..." and mentions wishing she could call the president over the phone and speak with him.<sup>48</sup> The *Fireside Chats* of Franklin Delano Roosevelt gave the people of America the hope and confidence they needed in order to get out of the Great Depression of 1929.

The nation sent a massive number of letters to Roosevelt regarding their input on the way politics were being run and some letters sometimes criticizing the deliverance of the speeches that were given. However, upon examination of the letters, I have discovered that those letters in support of the President often displayed the support of others towards the President as compared to the negative letters who provided a single opinion on the topic at hand. The sources used throughout the entirety of this essay not

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<sup>48</sup> J.A. Ringis, Michigan (1939).

only display how Roosevelt was able to include the Americans in a political discussion, but also how the people viewed him as a friend.

### **The End of an Era**

Franklin Roosevelt can be considered a man of journalism by the common people. He was one of the first presidents to happily invite the media into his home and share his political progress as well as being one of the first presidents to bring politics and economics directly to the people via the use of radio broadcasting. Roosevelt left a standing impression on not only the people of the nation but the people of the world by making the United States clear in the war effort and establishing political organizations that would prevent the event of future wars. In April of 1945, Roosevelt passed very suddenly in his cottage in Warm Springs, Georgia of a cerebral hemorrhage.<sup>49</sup>

Roosevelt's death came as a shock to everyone worldwide, especially America, where the country was left to mourn the death of their beloved friend. Roosevelt did not just make the common man feel as if they mattered in the world of politics, but he also provided them with the comfort they had established in the government. The United States became a collective whole with him as President and rediscovered unity and prosperity within their country. Because Roosevelt served as the President for twelve years, most people could not imagine the United States with a President who was not Roosevelt.<sup>50</sup>

Roosevelt's secretary, Grace Tully, took account of the day the President died and recounts the feeling of not only the people who were close to Roosevelt, but also the people of the country as his funeral procession led him from Warm Springs, Georgia to his final resting place in Hyde Park, New York.<sup>51</sup> Tully recalls the

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<sup>49</sup> *The Roosevelts: An Intimate History*. Netflix. PBS, 2014. Ep. 6.

<sup>50</sup> *The Roosevelts: An Intimate History*. Ep. 6.

<sup>51</sup> "The Death of President Franklin Roosevelt, 1945" *EyeWitness to History*, [www.eyewitnesstohistory.com](http://www.eyewitnesstohistory.com) (2008). This particular account is from

chills she felt in her heart and the emotions of Roosevelt's cousins and his wife Eleanor Roosevelt. Eleanor was described with a "grave face" and her "grief so contained" that it helped hold the country together.<sup>52</sup> As Roosevelt made his final departure from his cottage in Warm Springs, the people of the town gathered to say their good-byes for the last time. "On this day, the sadness was understandably deeper; the farewell was final, the loss permanent."<sup>53</sup> The people sobbed and grown men cried Tully recalled. The people had lost their leader and a sense of confusion lay before the people as they tried to imagine a United States without Franklin Roosevelt. A feeling of hopelessness had again plagued Americans and they would have to learn how to establish a new trust in the government that Harry S. Truman would take over. A government that would not be able to provide that same connection with the people of America.

## Conclusion

The people of the 1930s and 1940s looked to their President as a savior who guided the country out of the Great Depression and led them to victory in the second World War. The letters written to Franklin Delano Roosevelt provide a great foundation for examining the contribution the people had to American politics and an insight on Franklin Roosevelt without having to study the President himself. Upon further examination of the letters one can see the actual message the people were trying to convey to the President, if he were to read these letters, was in fact that the country is reunited after a time of crisis regardless of their individual beliefs.

The radio provided the people the opportunity not only to hear about the policies Roosevelt was putting into place, but also

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Roosevelt's secretary witnessing the people standing in the streets saying 'goodbye' to their president and looking like they were lost and did not know what was going to happen next.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

allowing them to respond to Roosevelt because he presented his talks as a discussion. Letters from the people came in daily but many of the letters came after a chat was broadcasted and these letters came to participate in the discussion. The people who did not agree with Roosevelt's politics also took part in this discussion in order to voice their opinion and again became a part of the conversation. But again, the idea of being a part of a discussion over radio waves was just an idea that the technology sought to accomplish and create an escape by allowing people to imagine the voice and sounds behind the radio.

This similar form of discussion can be seen today when we try to understand President Donald Trump and his form of communication to the public via social media, more specifically Twitter. Trump's use of Twitter can relate back to Roosevelt's radio talks because just like Roosevelt, Trump is able to directly communicate with the people of America just like Roosevelt did with the radio, but with a different context and form of diction and tone. Today people can reply within seconds of a new tweet being sent out by the President which can later be used to study how Trump managed to either gain supporters or establish a group of people who disagreed with all his policies and posts about politics.

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### **Author Bio**

Celeste Nunez graduated from CSUSB at the end of Summer 2019 with a BA in History. She is currently looking into master's degree programs with the hopes of, eventually, earning her PhD and becoming a college professor. Her interest in history began when she was young and would visit museums and historic sites with her family. Outside of the classroom, she loves to travel and spend time with her friends and family. She would like to thank the editors of the journal for all their hard work, as well as Dr. Isabel Huacuja-Alonso for introducing the topics of media and broadcast history, and her family for their endless support.



*History in the Making*

## **“This is a Game”: A History of the Foreign Terrorist Organization and State Sponsors of Terrorism Lists and their Applications**

By Melissa Sanford

*Abstract: Following the post-September 11 United States reconfiguration of foreign policy, the use of the State Department's Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) and State Sponsors of Terrorism (SST) lists and related news media coverage dramatically increased. Considering the gravity of such designations, both because of the potentially devastating economic ramifications in the form of sanctions and as negative P.R., it is imperative to examine the historical use and application of these lists. This paper seeks to help better determine the legitimacy of being designated on either of these lists through the analysis of two entities that have experienced listing: the Mujahedeen-e Khalq (MEK) and the country of Iraq. Examination of these two cases reveals the role of strategic relationships with the U.S. government in terrorism designations and exposes the reality that, in these particular instances, the FTO and SST have been wielded as mechanisms of U.S. foreign policy rather than applied as legitimate safeguards. In the context of current U.S.-Iran relations, and U.S. foreign policy as a whole, it is essential to better understand the validity of the U.S. State Department terrorism designation based on the history of the circumstances surrounding previous applications.*

At the 2019 Munich Security Conference, a yearly forum held to discuss the world's most urgent security issues, growing tensions

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between Iran and the United States, which resulted from the U.S.’s unilateral pullout from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), dominated much of the conversation. Iranian Foreign Minister Mohammad Javad Zarif made a statement to the conference wherein he pointed out the illegality of the United States’ withdrawal from the JCPOA, the U.S. role in increasing regional tensions and conflict, as well as the 40-year history of U.S. “demonization” of Iran. In the Q&A session following his speech, Zarif provided the example of the listing of Iran and the listing and delisting of Iraq and the MEK on the United States terrorism lists as central examples of the seemingly erratically applied terrorist designation:

In 1984, the United States removed Saddam Hussein from its terrorism list and put Iran on it’s the (sic) terrorism list. Again, in the 1990s, Saddam was again on the terrorism list in 1998 the United States put (the) MEK on the terrorism list, in 2012 they took them off the terrorism list. This is a game. This game needs to stop.<sup>1</sup>

Considering the gravity of the terrorist designation as it undergirds the U.S. withdrawal from the JCPOA and the maximum pressure policy of the Trump administration, Zarif’s question regarding the logic of its application seems not only appropriate but arguably required. The listing and delisting of Iraq during and following the Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988), in which the United States provided military and intelligence support for Iraq, suggests that the designation may have indeed been used as an instrument of convenience. Additionally, the listing of Iran on the state sponsors of terrorism list in 1984 allowed for a simultaneous legitimization of sanctions applied to the country. Then, in 2013, the delisting of the MEK enabled the recognition and support of the opposition

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<sup>1</sup> Iran’s Zarif grabs #MSC2019 spotlight (YouTube, February 17, 2019), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GLDXrAXRZdc>.

group which openly advocates for the end of the legitimate government of Iran. Both lists give the impression through their names and through depictions in U.S. news media that they are reserved for the identification and punishment of terrorist actions, but Zarif's example provides potential evidence to the contrary. Indeed, the designation of terrorist, terrorist organization, or state sponsor of terrorism, is used regularly in foreign policy. It is used to imply legitimacy or provide rationale to the application of sanctions and cooperation, or in the case of the Trump administration and the JCPOA, non-cooperation with international law. Therefore, a historical examination of Foreign Minister Zarif's response is not only warranted but necessary. Moreover, are the U.S. State Department's Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) and state sponsors of terrorism lists created to reflect actual terrorist threats or are they merely a foreign policy tool in a larger geo-political game played by the United States as posited by Zarif? In this paper, I will examine the history of these lists and their applications using the examples of Iran, Iraq, and the MEK as provided by Zarif's response.

To achieve these goals, this paper will analyze Iranian Foreign Minister Javad Zarif's statements made at the Munich Security Conference in order to determine if the United States has used the label of "terrorism" as it pertains to the FTO and SST lists to further hegemonic ambitions, a charge levied by critics.<sup>2</sup> To provide the necessary context for this analysis, the paper first addresses the creation and intended use of the U.S. State Department state sponsors of terrorism and Foreign Terrorist Organizations (FTO) lists by identifying the legislation that created them, the history of their use, and the requirements for and the consequences of being listed and delisted by drawing from official State Department releases. The examples provided by Foreign Minister Zarif in Munich will then be individually pursued: the listing of Iraq as a state sponsor of terrorism in 1979, its 1982

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<sup>2</sup> Paul Pillar, "The Corruption of the Terrorist Group List," *LobeLog*, April 15, 2019, <https://lobelog.com/the-corruption-of-the-terrorist-group-list/>.

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removal, and participation in the Iran-Iraq War with United States support, the listing of Iran in 1983, and subsequent relisting of Iraq in 1990 with the invasion of Kuwait. As per Zarif’s statement, an examination of the history of the Mujahedin-e Khalq (MEK) and its status on and off the FTO list will follow. Although, first, it is essential to introduce the current climate of U.S.-Iran relations.

## **Background**

In January 2020, it appeared that open warfare between the United States and Iran was a very likely possibility. The January 4 assassination of General Qasem Soleimani, the leader of Iran’s Qud’s Force branch of Iranian Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC), by the U.S. and the subsequent promises of Iranian retribution, acted as the most recent catalyst. Relations have cycled between cautiously optimistic and bitterly hostile since the 1979 Iranian Revolution, the two nations are now experiencing an unprecedented era of antagonism and uncertainty. On May 18, 2018, President Trump announced that the United States would be unilaterally withdrawing from the Iran nuclear agreement, known as the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA). This agreement was signed in 2015 by Iran and the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council (the United States, France, the United Kingdom, China, and Russia) as well as Germany, known collectively as the P5 + 1. Widely considered to be a monumental achievement in international nonproliferation security architecture, the signing of the JCPOA had been described as an opportunity to “open the way to a new chapter in international relations” and “a sign of hope for the entire world.”<sup>3</sup> Having taken over two years of intense direct talks on top of twelve years of tension directly related to Iran’s development of civilian nuclear energy (which the United States contends had a

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<sup>3</sup> Julian Borger, “Iran Nuclear Deal Reached in Vienna,” *The Guardian* (Guardian News and Media, July 14, 2015), <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/14/iran-nuclear-deal-expected-to-be-announced-in-vienna>.

nuclear weapons adjunct), the motivation for the negotiation of the JCPOA was to allow Iran to escape the numerous sanctions applied to their economy, which had cost Iran \$160 billion in oil revenue alone between 2012 and 2016, while ensuring the country did not develop nuclear weapon capabilities. This goal was to be accomplished through enrichment limits, international inspections, and monitoring.<sup>4</sup> When the JCPOA was signed in 2015, the mood between Iran and the United States was cautiously hopeful as the United Nations Security Council Resolution 2231, which established the JCPOA as international law, called on all signatories to facilitate trade and commerce with Iran, which includes the United States.<sup>5</sup> Such an arrangement was a major departure from the decades of sanctions and mutual vitriol since the Iranian Revolution in 1979. While Iran immediately and fully complied with all aspects of the agreement according to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), Iran was not able to enjoy the benefits associated with the agreement as President Obama refused to fully remove sanctions against the country as stipulated by the JCPOA. The Obama administration cited Iran's alleged "support for terrorism and violations of human rights" as justification for keeping certain sanctions in place.<sup>6</sup> While this decision dampened the newfound tone of U.S.-Iran cooperation

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<sup>4</sup> "Full Text of the Iran Nuclear Deal," *The Washington Post* (WP Company), accessed April 12, 2020, <https://apps.washingtonpost.com/g/documents/world/full-text-of-the-iran-nuclear-deal/1651/>. It should be noted that Iran signed in the NPT in 1970 and the Supreme Leader has issued a fatwa barring and denouncing the development of nuclear weapons under Islamic law.

<sup>5</sup> The JCPOA introduced caps on uranium enrichment, stockpiling, and centrifuges in return for a gradual lifting of sanctions and the normalizing of Iran on the international stage. Members' Research Service, "U.S. Decertification of the Iran Nuclear Deal," European Parliamentary Research Service Blog, October 20, 2017, <https://epthinktank.eu/2017/10/20/us-decertification-of-the-iran-nuclear-deal/>.

<sup>6</sup> "Remarks by the President on the Iran Nuclear Deal," National Archives and Records Administration (National Archives and Records Administration), accessed November 17, 2019, <https://obamawhitehoU.S..e.archives.gov/the-press-office/2015/08/05/remarks-president-iran-nuclear-deal>.

ushered in by the agreement, the potential for a new era of diplomacy did not fully come to an end until the unilateral withdrawal of the United States under the following presidential administration.

While on the campaign trail, then-presidential candidate Donald Trump regularly derided the still-landmark agreement and referred to it as "the worst deal ever."<sup>7</sup> Following Trump's election in 2016, the incoming administration's first National Security Advisor, Michael Flynn, made the vague threat of "officially putting Iran on notice" for their "support for terrorism," among other alleged grievances. Verbal threats and accusations turned to policy implementation after continual changes in the new administration's key foreign policy positions ultimately saw the appointment of neoconservative hawks and Iran hardliners, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo and National Security Advisor John Bolton. With these two long-time Iran critics and open advocates of "regime change" now at the helm of U.S. Middle East foreign policy, the relationship between the two nations managed to deteriorate further.<sup>8</sup> In declaring the unilateral withdrawal of the United States from the JCPOA in May 2018, President Trump called the agreement "decaying and rotten structure ... defective at its core" and cited Iran's alleged support for terrorism, calling the country "the leading sponsor of terror."<sup>9</sup> With the United States'

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<sup>7</sup> F. Brinley Bruton, "What Is the Iran Nuclear Deal?" *NBCNews.com* (NBCUniversal News Group, May 10, 2018), <https://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/smart-facts/what-iran-nuclear-deal-n868346>.

<sup>8</sup> "Regime change" is a term used to describe a goal of foreign policy that is aimed at removing an existing governing body and replacing it with an ostensibly more (open/cooperative) one. The United States has employed this policy at various points throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, i.e.

<sup>9</sup> "Donald Trump Says U.S. Will Leave 'Decaying, Rotten' Iran Nuclear Deal," *South China Morning Post*, May 9, 2018, <https://www.scmp.com/news/world/united-states-canada/article/2145246/trump-tells-frances-macron-us-will-withdraw-iran>) It is important to note that President Trump made this decision despite the strong opposition of military advisors and several members of his own administration as well as European leaders of other signatory countries. Mark Landler, "Trump Abandons Iran Nuclear Deal He

withdrawal from the agreement, so too came the reinstatement of extraterritorial sanctions, meaning the application of sanctions on other countries doing business with Iran. This began the Trump administration's "maximum pressure" campaign. As part of this campaign, Mike Pompeo laid out a twelve-point list of demands from Iran as conditions that need to be met to enter into a new nuclear deal with the United States. The twelve-points included extremely restrictive foreign policy, military, and nuclear power demands of the country while citing Iran's alleged terror support: "providing the IAEA with unqualified access to all sites in the entire country, end its proliferation of ballistic missiles," "end support to Middle East "terrorist" groups," and "end the Islamic Revolutionary Guard corps-linked Quds Force's support for "terrorist" and "militant" partners around the world."<sup>10</sup> Other elements of the Trump administration's maximum pressure campaign have included a military build-up in the Persian Gulf and listing the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) as a Foreign Terrorist Organization, which is the first time a nation's military has been added to the U.S. State Department list.

The withdrawal of the United States from the JCPOA was largely met with global condemnation and considerable diplomatic efforts from the remaining signatories (China, Russia, and the "E3/EU-3" France, Britain, and Germany) to save the deal by continuing to uphold their commitments. The official Iranian policy following the U.S. withdrawal was one of "strategic patience" which called on Iran to maintain its original commitments for one year to allow the United States to rejoin the agreement and other signatories to uphold their commitments. As of May 2019, one year post-U.S. withdrawal from the deal, with no

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Long Scorned," *The New York Times* (*The New York Times*, May 8, 2018), <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/08/world/middleeast/trump-iran-nuclear-deal.html>.

<sup>10</sup> "President Donald J. Trump's New Strategy on Iran," The White House (The United States Government), accessed April 13, 2020, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/president-donald-j-trumps-new-strategy-iran/>.

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sanctions relief from the United States in sight and no action taken by the E3 signatories to ameliorate Iran’s economic condition, Iran began to scale back its commitments as allowed by articles 26 and 36 of the JCPOA, which function as a failsafe for the signatories should the other parties not uphold their responsibilities as required by international law.<sup>11</sup> Part of the effort to mitigate the fallout of the U.S. withdrawal from the JCPOA has been a massive diplomatic campaign. Chief in this undertaking has been Iranian Foreign Minister Mohammad Javad Zarif, an original architect of the JCPOA and Iran’s top diplomat, who has met with world leaders to call on signatories to uphold their commitments and urge the United States to rejoin the agreement.

### **Foreign Terrorist Organization List (FTO) and State Sponsors of Terrorism (SST)**

The state sponsors of terrorism (SST)<sup>12</sup> list, as described by the U.S. State Department is a list of countries that “have repeatedly provided support of international terrorism” and has been in perpetual use since its creation in 1979 under the Export Administration Act of 1979.<sup>13</sup> The original list included Libya,

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<sup>11</sup> “Full Text of the Iran Nuclear Deal,” *The Washington Post* (WP Company), accessed November 17, 2019, <https://apps.washingtonpost.com/g/documents/world/full-text-of-the-iran-nuclear-deal/1651/>.

<sup>12</sup> For the purposes of this paper, the acronym SST will be used when discussing the U.S. State Department list of state sponsors of terrorism. This acronym is not utilized in official documents.

<sup>13</sup> “State Sponsors of Terrorism - United States Department of State,” U.S. Department of State (U.S. Department of State), accessed November 17, 2019, <https://www.state.gov/state-sponsors-of-terrorism/> Note that the EAA’79 has been in a state of flux since its inception (including being repealed nearly in its entirety and essentially replaced with the Export Controls Act of 2018). Since 2001 sections of the EAA’79 have been renewed by executive order under the International Emergency Powers Act.

“State Sponsors of Terrorism - United States Department of State,” U.S. Department of State (U.S. Department of State), accessed November 17, 2019, <https://www.state.gov/state-sponsors-of-terrorism/>.

Iraq, South Yemen, and Syria. The U.S. Secretary of State is given jurisdiction to determine if a country in question has “repeatedly provided support for acts of international terrorism are designated pursuant to three laws: section 1254(c) of the Export Controls Act of 2018 (ECA), section 40 of the Arms Export Control Act (AECA), and section 620A of the Foreign Assistance Act (FAA).”<sup>14</sup> There are currently four countries listed as state sponsors by the U.S. State Department: Syria, Iran, Sudan, and Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (North Korea).<sup>15</sup> Only Iraq and North Korea have experienced periods off the list only to be relisted at a later time, the circumstances of which will be examined in more detail below.

The ECA, FAA, and the AECA not only form the legal basis for state sponsor of terrorism designation but also provide the conditions for delisting and allowances for presidential waivers. There are two possible pathways afforded by the three statutes that allow for a country to be removed from the U.S. State Department’s SST list. The first stipulates that the President reports and certifies to congress that “(i) there has been a fundamental change in the leadership and policies of the government of the country concerned; (ii) that government is not supporting acts of international terrorism; and (iii) that government has provided assurances that it will not support acts of international terrorism in the future.”<sup>16</sup> The second potential pathway is a certification to Congress 45 days prior to the proposed rescission that the government in question has not “provided any support for acts of international terrorism during the preceding 6-month period” and has assured that it will not in the future.<sup>17</sup> The first

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<sup>14</sup> “State Sponsors of Terrorism - United States Department of State.”

<sup>15</sup> Syria (listed: 12/29/1979), Iran (1/19/1984), Sudan (8/12/1993) and Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (North Korea) (1988, relisted 11/20/2017).

<sup>16</sup> Dianne E. Rennack, “State Sponsors of Acts of International Terrorism -- Legislative Parameters: in Brief,” State sponsors of acts of international terrorism -- legislative parameters: in brief § (n.d.), <https://crsreports.congress.gov/>.

<sup>17</sup> Rennack, “State Sponsors of Acts of International Terrorism.”

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option necessitates that the president inform a larger body of officials, including the House and Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs as stipulated by the ECA, whereas the FAA and AECA require reporting to only the Speaker of the House and the Foreign Relations Committee Chairperson.<sup>18</sup> Congress is afforded the power through the AECA to block the delisting of a country through enacting a joint resolution during the 45-day period prior to rescission.<sup>19</sup> In addition, each of the three statutes provides the President the authority to utilize waivers. These waivers allow the President to waive restrictions outlined in the three statutes that undergird the designation of state sponsor of terrorism. For instance, the President may use this waiver authority if they determine the transaction would be “essential to the national security interest of the United States.”<sup>20</sup> Similarly, Congress can circumvent restrictions through the implementation of the language “notwithstanding any other provision of law” to annual appropriations.<sup>21</sup> Therefore, both the Executive and Legislative branches have the ability to exercise their own prerogative to overlook the provisions laid out by the ECA, FAA, and AECA. In other words, countries may be removed from the “terrorist lists” for reasons having nothing to do with terrorism.

While the SST list applies to the state level, the U.S. State Department can target substate actors through the designation of Foreign Terrorist Organization. The Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) list was created from the 1996 Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA), which was an amendment of the Immigration and Nationality Act, section 219.<sup>22</sup> This amendment authorizes the Secretary of State to designate a group as a “foreign terrorist organization.” For such a determination to be made, these

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Congressional Research Service, *The “FTO List” and Congress: Sanctioning Designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations*, by Audrey Kurth Cronin, Cong., 1-2.

three conditions, as defined by title 8 section 1189 of the United States Code, must be met:

1. It must be a foreign organization.
2. The organization must engage in terrorist activity, as defined in section 212 (a)(3)(B) of the INA (8 U.S.C. § 1182(a)(3)(B)), or terrorism, as defined in section 140(d)(2) of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989 (22 U.S.C. § 2656f(d)(2)), or retain the capability and intent to engage in terrorist activity or terrorism.
3. The organization's terrorist activity or terrorism must threaten the security of U.S. nationals or the national security (national defense, foreign relations, or the economic interests) of the United States.<sup>23</sup>

This determination is ultimately that of the Secretary of State and he or she may add an organization to the list at any time.<sup>24</sup>

Designations last for two years and are then subject to review and must be renewed for an organization to remain listed. Following the September 11, 2001 World Trade Center attacks, the act was amended through the U.S. Patriot Act, thereby increasing the scope of the designation to include "organizations engaged in terrorism and organizations retaining the capability and intent to engage in terrorist activity or terrorism" and allows for perpetual re-designations of an organization.<sup>25</sup> Once on the list, an organization

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<sup>23</sup> "Foreign Terrorist Organizations," U.S. Department of State, accessed February 9, 2019, <https://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/123085.htm>.

<sup>24</sup> Audrey Kurth Cronin, "The 'FTO List' and Congress: Sanctioning Designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations," *The "FTO list" and Congress: sanctioning designated foreign terrorist organizations* § (2003), <https://crsreports.congress.gov/>. The determination to make a designation is made in cooperation with interagency intelligence.

<sup>25</sup> Eric Bronxmeyer, "The Problems of Security and Freedom: Procedural Due Process and the Designation of Foreign Terrorist Organizations under the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act," *Berkeley Journal of International*

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designation, as per section 219 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA), may be revoked “at any time...if the Secretary finds that – (i) the circumstances that were the basis for the designation have changed in such a manner as to warrant revocation; or (ii) the national security of the United States warrants a revocation.”<sup>26</sup>

This allows for the Secretary of State to delist any organization at any time for reasons that may or may not have to do with terrorism, as Section 1189 defines “national security” as “the national defense, foreign relations or economic interests of the United States.”<sup>27</sup>

Organizations and states that are listed on either the SST or FTO are subject to a number of legal ramifications. Designation as a state sponsor of terrorism results in the issuing of economic sanctions, which include “restrictions on U.S. foreign assistance; a ban on defense exports and sales; certain controls of dual use items; and miscellaneous financial restrictions.”<sup>28</sup> As noted above, there are allowances for Presidential waivers to be made, as well as language that Congress can implement to sidestep these restrictions. Importantly, sanctions are not limited to the designated country but can be extended to other countries that engage with designated state sponsors. For the FTO, as per Section 1189, these restrictions extend to “a person in the United States or subject to the jurisdiction of the United States to knowingly provide ‘material support or resources’”<sup>29</sup> and is barred admission to the United

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*Law* 22, no. 3 (2004): pp. 439-488, <https://doi.org/10.15779/Z38M63R>, p.441, 443.

<sup>26</sup> [US C02] 8 USC Ch. 12: IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY, accessed November 18, 2019, <https://uscode.house.gov/view.xhtml?req=granuleid:USC-prelim-title8-chapter12&edition=prelim>.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> “State Sponsors of Terrorism - United States Department of State,” U.S. Department of State (U.S. Department of State), accessed November 17, 2019, <https://www.state.gov/state-sponsors-of-terrorism/>. Dual use goods are technology and software that have both civilian and military applications.

<sup>29</sup> Examples of material support or resources include property, currency, services, training, weapons, personnel, transportation, and expert advice or assistance among other tangible and intangible resources “Foreign Terrorist

States.<sup>30</sup> Additionally, any assets of the organization may be frozen and all financial transactions blocked.<sup>31</sup> Regarding goals and intended effects of these ramifications, the U.S. State Department website explains, “FTO designations play a critical role in our fight against terrorism and are an effective means of curtailing support for terrorist activities and pressuring groups to get out of the terrorism business.”<sup>32</sup>

In addition to the FTO and State Sponsor lists, Executive Order 13224, which was signed two weeks following the September 11 attacks, gives the Secretary of State and the Treasury authority to designate foreign individuals or entities as Specially Designated Global Terrorists (SDGTs).<sup>33</sup> These individuals or entities are determined to “have committed, or pose a significant risk of committing, acts of terrorism that threaten the security of U.S. nationals or the national security, foreign policy, or economy of the United States.”<sup>34</sup> On July 31, 2019, this designation had been extended to Mohammad Javad Zarif, blocking any property or finances he may have in the United States and severely limiting

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Organizations - United States Department of State,” U.S. Department of State (U.S. Department of State), accessed November 18, 2019, <https://www.state.gov/foreign-terrorist-organizations/>.

<sup>30</sup> “Foreign Terrorist Organizations,” U.S. Department of State, accessed February 9, 2019, <https://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/123085.htm>.

<sup>31</sup> [USC02] 8 USC Ch. 12: IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY, accessed November 18, 2019, <https://uscode.house.gov/view.xhtml?req=granuleid:USC-prelim-title8-chapter12&edition=prelim, sec c>.

<sup>32</sup> “Terrorist Designations and State Sponsors of Terrorism - United States Department of State,” U.S. Department of State (U.S. Department of State), accessed November 18, 2019, <https://www.state.gov/terrorist-designations-and-state-sponsors-of-terrorism/#state>.

<sup>33</sup> “Terrorist Designations and State Sponsors of Terrorism - United States Department of State,” U.S. Department of State (U.S. Department of State), accessed November 18, 2019, <https://www.state.gov/terrorist-designations-and-state-sponsors-of-terrorism/#state>.

<sup>34</sup> “Terrorism Designations FAQs - United States Department of State,” U.S. Department of State (U.S. Department of State), accessed November 18, 2019, <https://www.state.gov/terrorism-designations-faqs/>.

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his ability to travel to the U.S.<sup>35</sup> Bearing this in mind, let us return to parse Zarif’s statement from the Munich Security Conference.

In 1984, the United States removed Saddam Hussein from its terrorism list and put Iran on its the (sic) terrorism list. Again, in the 1990s, Saddam was again on the terrorism list...

Iraq was among the original countries listed as a state sponsor of terrorism (SST) when the list was created in 1979. Its support for the Mujahedeen-e Khalq (MEK), Kurdistan Workers Party, Abu Nidal (ANO), the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), and other Palestinian groups, are cited as the primary motivation for including Iraq on the original list.<sup>36</sup> This listing was but one more step in the increasingly strained diplomatic relations between the U.S. and Iraq. Following the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, Iraq ended diplomatic relations with the United States because of U.S. support for Israel during the war. In the years that followed, Iraq and the Soviet Union forged closer ties, which included Soviet access to Iraqi naval and air bases and Soviet furnishing of arms to Iraq. With the Iranian Revolution in 1979 and the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the United States was faced with a new reality which necessitated a new strategic approach in the Middle East. The pursuit to build a new alliance resulted in renewed diplomatic ties with Iraq as evidenced by the 1983 delisting as an SST, military and intelligence support during the Iran-Iraq War, and facilitating the use of chemical weapons, a

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<sup>35</sup> “U.S. Department of the Treasury,” Treasury Designates Iran’s Foreign Minister Javad Zarif for Acting for the Supreme Leader of Iran, October 22, 2019, <https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/sm749>.

<sup>36</sup> Mark Phythian, *Arming Iraq: How the U.S. and Britain Secretly Built Saddams War Machine* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1997), 11.

violation of international humanitarian law as reflected in the Geneva Conventions.<sup>37</sup>

Though exact numbers remain uncertain, it is estimated that there were more than one and a half million casualties that resulted from the Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988).<sup>38</sup> The origins of this brutal eight-year conflict lay in disagreements concerning the 1975 Algiers Agreement, which was an endeavor to alleviate issues that fostered tensions in the years prior and in the fundamental differences in worldview between Saddam Hussein's secular nationalist Ba'ath Party and Ayatollah Khomeini's revolutionary universalist Shia Islam. The Iran-Iraq War was intended to be a short military operation as Saddam counted on post-revolutionary Iran to be in disarray, thereby allowing for an easy victory. Instead, Saddam's forces were met with considerable strength. Ultimately, the war came to its close with the signing of a UN-sponsored cease-fire on August 20, 1988.<sup>39</sup> The eight years of war changed nothing in terms of territorial borders and only served to strengthen the morale of the Islamic Republic, both of which were in opposition to Saddam's intended goals, as well as those of the United States.

One element illuminated by this conflict was the willingness for the United States to supply Iraq, in the form of arms and intelligence, in the hopes of gaining a regional ally, preventing Soviet influence, and weakening the Islamic Republic, all of which were facilitated by and motivations for the delisting of Iraq as a SST. The desire for a new ally was born out of the strategic loss of Iran in 1978. Prior to the revolution, Iran was the most valuable and most cultivated ally in the region and, along with Saudi Arabia, was considered one of the "Twin Pillars" of

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<sup>37</sup> For an extensive archive of declassified documents detailing this U.S. role in supporting the Saddam Hussein regime during the 1980s see "Shaking Hands with Saddam" (GW National Security Archive).

<sup>38</sup> Efraim Karsh, *The Iran-Iraq War 1980-1988* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2002).

<sup>39</sup> William L. Cleveland and Martin Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2016), 444.

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U.S. Middle Eastern policy. The establishment of this relationship is detailed by Mark Gasiorowski, who examines the nature of the U.S.-Iran client-patron relationship. A client-patron, or client, relationship is one in which a patron country trades economic aid and security assistance to a smaller client country. In return for this aid, the client country acts as a regional policeman and provides joint military and intelligence operations, as well as allowing the placement of military bases.<sup>40</sup> From the 1953 U.S.-backed coup, in which the CIA and MI6 successfully unseated Iranian Prime Minister Mossadegh, to the end of the Pahlavi Dynasty in 1978, the United States supplied Iran with economic and security aid in return for “regional stability.” Importantly, this client-patron relationship was instrumental in bringing about the Islamic Revolution.<sup>41</sup> As a result of the Islamic Revolution, the United States lost the central pillar that made up the basis of the Twin Pillars strategy. The United States then looked to Iraq to take Iran’s place.

At the beginning of the Iran-Iraq War, the United States hoped for the two countries to weaken each other with essentially no victor (as evidenced in “allowing” Israel to supply Iran with arms (Iran-Contra)).<sup>42</sup> But by 1982, it was evident that Iran was more likely to prove successful in the conflict and thus U.S. support for Iraq became more overt. By delisting Iraq from the State Sponsors of Terrorism, the United States was able to legitimize U.S. support of Iraq through supplies, both economic and military, and to better facilitate a friendly relationship between the countries. Indeed, the desire to create such a relationship can be

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<sup>40</sup> Mark J Gasiorowski, *U.S. Foreign Policy and the Shah* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991).

<sup>41</sup> Gasiorowski explains that U.S. support for the Shah of Iran created a highly autonomous state (meaning the state does not derive its power from the people of the country therefore it does not act accordingly in their interests) thereby facilitating the conditions which gave rise to the 1979 Islamic Revolution.

<sup>42</sup> Iran Contra scandal in which the United States provided arms in return for hostage negotiations (Hostage Crisis), facilitated by Israel and used profits to fund the Nicaraguan Contras. See Peter Kornbluh and Malcolm Byrne, *The Iran Contra Scandal*.

seen immediately following the Iranian Revolution, as evidenced by comments made by the Carter administration's National Security Adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, when he encouraged the United States to "compensate for the loss of its Iranian pillar by tilting toward Iraq" and argued that "we see no fundamental incompatibility of interests between the United States and Iraq. We do not feel that American Iraqi relations need to be frozen in antagonism."<sup>43</sup> While the United States did desire a new ally, the beginning of support for Iraq was more to do with preventing a clear victory. Had Iraq lost its war against Iran, Middle Eastern dynamics concerning the United States, its allies, and the region's oil production would have completely changed. It was therefore argued that overt support for Iraq to prevent such a situation was necessary.

The solidification of U.S. support for Iraq came with the removal of the country from the SST list, though support was provided even prior to its removal. In a 1992 *New York Times* article, investigative journalist Seymour Hersh reported on evidence that the United States had been covertly supplying Iraq since at least 1982. Hersh describes how this support was in direct opposition to the publicized Reagan administration stance of neutrality on the Iran-Iraq War. The support provided to Iraq prior to its delisting closely resembles the forms of support provided later, taking on the form of intelligence sharing and the sale of American-made arms.<sup>44</sup> Hersh provides a quote from a U.S. State official which succinctly describes the position of the United States' support for Iraq, "it was agreed that the public policy of the Administration, to remain even-handed, was not in the national interest [but it was] decided that it was not in the national interest

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<sup>43</sup> Mark Phythian, *Arming Iraq: How the U.S. and Britain Secretly Built Saddam's War Machine* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1997), 32.

<sup>44</sup> Seymour Hersh, "U.S. Secretly Gave Aid to Iraq Early in Its War Against Iran," *The New York Times*, January 26, 1992, <https://www.nytimes.com/1992/01/26/world/us-secretly-gave-aid-to-iraq-early-in-its-war-against-iran.html>.

to publicly announce a change in the policy.”<sup>45</sup> By 1984, the United States was prepared to begin backing Iraq more directly, although it appears that the shift from a public appearance of neutrality to an overt backing still remained quiet. For example, the *New York Times* reported that “apparently without consulting Congress, the Administration has quietly dropped Iraq...from a list of countries barred from receiving American weapons because they ‘have repeatedly supported act of international terrorism.’”<sup>46</sup> The move to delist Iraq opened the door for the United States to provide even more economic and military aid.

The delisting of Iraq from the State Department list of nations sponsoring terrorism in 1983, under the Reagan administration, helped legitimize U.S. support for Iraq, in the form of supplying intelligence and arms and dual use technology sales, despite the fact that the United States was already providing prior support. By removing Iraq from the list, export controls were loosened, and an intelligence-sharing initiative was further fostered.<sup>47</sup> With Iraq off the list, the U.S. was now eligible to provide financed export credits and direct sales of military and dual-use technology. As the war progressed, it became more apparent that the conflict would not result in an easy defeat of Iran, U.S. support for Iraq became increasingly more direct and came at a great price.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Seymour Hersh, “U.S. Secretly Gave Aid to Iraq Early in Its War Against Iran,” *The New York Times*, January 26, 1992, <https://www.nytimes.com/1992/01/26/world/us-secretly-gave-aid-to-iraq-early-in-its-war-against-iran.html>.

<sup>46</sup> Milt Freudenheim et al., “The World in Summary: Readjustments in the Mideast,” *The New York Times*, February 28, 1982. <https://www.nytimes.com/1982/02/28/weekinreview/the-world-in-summary-readjustments-in-the-mideast.html> Iraq was listed under the original EAA ’79 under which there were no defined procedures for a delisting at this time.

<sup>47</sup> Mark Phythian, *Arming Iraq: How the U.S. and Britain Secretly Built Saddam's War Machine* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1997), 34.

<sup>48</sup> Another example of the great cost at which U.S. support for Iraq came are the deaths of 37 U.S. servicemen aboard the intelligence gathering ship the USS Stark. They died as a result of being fired upon by an Iraqi helicopter who

Perhaps the best example of U.S. support of Iraq, and the profound cost at which it came, was the attempt to conceal the furnishing of helicopters used to deploy illegal chemical weapons. Immediately following the removal of Iraq from the state sponsors of terrorism list, the Reagan administration sold Iraq Hughes MD-500 Defender helicopters and Bell UH-1 helicopters.<sup>49</sup> Though it was argued that these helicopters were specifically used for civilian purposes, these crafts can be easily weaponized for military purposes in a very short period of time. Former National Security Council official Howard Teicher admitted that the UH-1 helicopter “could be easily modified by the Iraqis to carry machine guns and transport troops.”<sup>50</sup> The stated reason for the need for such helicopters was that they were required to spray crops, but it has since been argued that they were used to deploy chemical weapon attacks.<sup>51</sup> The Reagan administration was aware of Saddam’s use of chemical weapons as Iran had been reporting the use of chemical warfare to the United Nations well before asking for a formal investigation in 1983. In a declassified 1983 State Department briefing on “Iraqi Illegal Use of Chemical Weapons (CW),” it was concluded that “Iraq had used domestically-produced lethal CW in its war with Iran. [redacted]. Such use violated the 1925 Geneva Protocol.”<sup>52</sup> The briefing goes on to state that “Iraqi CW capability was developed in part through the unwitting and, in some cases, we believe with the assistance of a

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allegedly mistook the ship for an enemy craft. The USS Stark was gathering information that was being supplied to Iraq. See Mark Pythian, *Arming Iraq*.

<sup>49</sup> Mark Pythian, *Arming Iraq: How the U.S. and Britain Secretly Built Saddam’s War Machine* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1997), 37.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>51</sup> Norm Dixon, “How Reagan Armed Saddam with Chemical Weapons,” CounterPunch.org, April 1, 2015, <https://www.counterpunch.org/2004/06/17/how-reagan-armed-saddam-with-chemical-weapons/>.

<sup>52</sup> “Department of State Briefing Report- Illegal Use of Iraqi Chemical Weapons (CW),” National Security Archive, n.d., <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB82/iraq59.pdf>.

number of Western firms.”<sup>53</sup> On March 2, 1988, Iraq underwent its most extensive use of chemical weapons on the civilian Iraqi Kurdish population of Halabja, in which 5,000 people were killed.<sup>54</sup> The lethal nerve agents sarin, mustard gas, and VX were dropped on the city’s population.<sup>55</sup> Prior to the tragedy at Halabja, Iran had brought before the UN Security Council the issue of Iraq utilizing chemical weapons, including in 1984 when Iran brought before the UNSC the claim that CW had been used on 49 occasions, killing 12,000 and wounding 5,000 between 1981 and 1984.<sup>56</sup> Each time, the United States either utilized its veto power to prevent the cases from being heard or paid very little attention to the claims.<sup>57</sup>

The United States continued to support Iraq after the cease-fire that brought the Iran-Iraq War to an end on August 20, 1988. It would not be until the Iraqi invasion of neighboring U.S. ally Kuwait on August 2, 1990 that the U.S. again designated the country as a state sponsor of terrorism. Iraq was placed back on the SST list the following September, just weeks after the invasion, as the United States, under the George H.W. Bush administration, decided to intervene by leading Operation Desert Shield and

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<sup>53</sup> “Department of State Briefing Report- Illegal Use of Iraqi Chemical Weapons (CW),” National Security Archive, n.d., <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB82/iraq59.pdf>.

<sup>54</sup> “Genocide in Iraq: The Anfal Campaign Against the Kurds,” *Human Rights Documents Online*, July 1993, [https://doi.org/10.1163/2210-7975\\_hrd-4502-0035](https://doi.org/10.1163/2210-7975_hrd-4502-0035). Thousands more have died since the attack as result of exposure to the nerve agents.

<sup>55</sup> “Genocide in Iraq: The Anfal Campaign Against the Kurds,” *Human Rights Documents Online*, July 1993, [https://doi.org/10.1163/2210-7975\\_hrd-4502-0035](https://doi.org/10.1163/2210-7975_hrd-4502-0035). The attack on Halabja is but one part of the larger Anfal Campaign undertaken by Saddam against the Iraqi Kurdish population.

<sup>56</sup> John K. Cooley and Pierre Salinger, *Payback: Americas Long War in the Middle East* (Washington: Brassey’s (U.S.), 1991), 138.

<sup>57</sup> Joost R. Hiltermann, *A Poisonous. Affair: America, Iraq, and the Gassing of Halabja* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Storm.<sup>58</sup> It is important to note that the support of the United States during and after the Iran-Iraq War led directly to the invasion of Kuwait, as Saddam felt that the U.S. would continue to back the country.<sup>59</sup> The following years saw the enforcement of crippling sanctions on Iraq under the Clinton administration.<sup>60</sup> Ultimately, Iraq was delisted again in 2004 following the 2003 U.S. invasion and the end of the Saddam regime. It is important to note that neither the delisting of Iraq in 1983 nor the relisting in 1990 had to do with the country supporting terrorism.

Shortly following Iraq's delisting in late 1983, Iran was designated as an SST on January 19, 1984 where it remains to this day. In addition to the listing of Iran, so too came the implementation of Operation Staunch, which first launched in the Spring of 1983, which aimed to restrict arms to Iran.<sup>61</sup> Iran's position on the list has helped provide U.S. presidential administrations with justification for maintaining sanctions on the country in the subsequent decades. Indeed, President Obama cited this for maintaining certain sanctions post signing of the JCPOA in 2015.

Having explored the example of the circumstances surrounding the SST designation of Iran and Iraq, let us return to Zarif's quote: "...1998 the United States put [the] MEK on the terrorism list, in 2012 they took them off the terrorism list."

One of the opposition groups born out of the violent repression of dissident voices in the early 1960s under Shah

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<sup>58</sup> Operation Staunch was a worldwide campaign led by the United States to prevent the sale of arms to Iran during the Iran-Iraq War. This Operation was also concurrent with the events of the Iran-Contra Scandal.

<sup>59</sup> Elaine Sciolino and Michael Gordon, "CONFRONTATION IN THE GULF; U.S. Gave Iraq Little Reason Not to Mount Kuwait Assault," *The New York Times*, September 23, 1993, <https://www.nytimes.com/1990/09/23/world/confrontation-in-the-gulf-us-gave-iraq-little-reason-not-to-mount-kuwait-assault.html>. See April Glaspie memo.

<sup>60</sup> Joy Gordon, *Invisible War: The United States and the Iraq Sanctions* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012).

<sup>61</sup> Mark Phythian, *Arming Iraq: How the U.S. and Britain Secretly Built Saddam's War Machine* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1997), 53.

Mohammed Reza Pahlavi and the CIA/MOSSAD-trained state secret police force, SAVAK, was the Mujahedeen-e Khalq (MEK).<sup>62</sup> The MEK partook in guerilla activities along with other groups that formed during this time of repression.<sup>63</sup> These activities included a number of bombings, assassinations, and the attempted kidnapping of members of the royal family and U.S. personnel stationed in Iran.<sup>64</sup> Despite the Shah’s violent repression, the MEK and related groups remained active underground, later reemerging in the lead up to and during the revolution. Following the 1979 Islamic Revolution, the MEK were denounced and exiled by Ayatollah Khomeini after the group sought to overthrow the new regime following disputes over the constitutional referendum. The organization then began a terror campaign in which 70 high ranking Iranian officials were killed through the bombing of the Prime Minister’s and Islamic Republic Party offices in 1981.<sup>65</sup> These attacks then, in turn, resulted in targeting of the MEK by the new Iranian government and its supporters. As a result, MEK leadership, including the group’s leader Masoud Rajavi, fled to France. Following their expulsion from that country in 1981, they then established themselves in Iraq, where their military wing joined Saddam Hussein’s forces in the 1980-1988 Iran-Iraq War and supported the suppression of Shiites and Kurds during the first Gulf War.<sup>66</sup> Additionally, the MEK have undertaken terror

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<sup>62</sup> Also known as the People’s Mujahideen of Iran (PMOI), National Liberation Army of Iran (NLA), National Council of Resistance of Iran (NCRI) the organizations political wing, and the Cult of Rajavi.

<sup>63</sup> Nikki R. Keddie, Yann Richard, and Nikki R. Keddie, *Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 168. Note on Fediyan.

<sup>64</sup> Ervand Abrahamian, *A History of Modern Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 152.

<sup>65</sup> Ted Regencia, “MEK’s Violent Past Looms over U.S. Lobby for Regime Change in Iran,” News | Al Jazeera (Al Jazeera, March 29, 2018), <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/01/mek-violent-looms-lobby-regime-change-iran-180114115328625.html>.

<sup>66</sup> “Camp Ashraf: Iraqi Obligations and State Department Accountability: Joint Hearing before the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations and the Subcommittee on the Middle East and South Asia of the Committee on Foreign

activities during the 1990s and early 2000s, targeting Iranian civilians and leadership. These included attacks on Iranian embassies and consular missions in thirteen countries, a bombing and mortar attack in Iran that killed fifteen people, attacks on the offices of the Supreme Leader and President, and the assassination of the deputy chief of the Iranian Armed Forces Brigadier General, Ali Sayyaad Shirazi.<sup>67</sup>

Since the MEK's falling out with the Supreme Leader Ayatollah Khomeini, the group has maintained a steadfast goal of overthrowing Iran's government. A U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation report on criminal investigations of the organization in 2004 describes this goal as "a romantic view of a utopian society in Iran run by the MEK. They have even set up a government made up of NLA and NCR members that will assume power when they, in their minds, ultimately, take control of Iran."<sup>68</sup> Indeed, the organization has "voted" Maryam Rajavi as president-in-exile with the intention of her assuming this role once the proposed overthrow takes place. It should be made clear that the MEK does not have any support within Iran where they are widely reviled, in part because of their support of Saddam in the Iran-Iraq War.

As per the 2011 State Department report on the MEK, "the group's worldwide campaign against the Iranian government uses propaganda and terrorism to achieve its objectives."<sup>69</sup> This

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Affairs, House of Representatives, One Hundred Twelfth Congress, First Session, December 7, 2011," Camp Ashraf: Iraqi obligations and State Department accountability: joint hearing before the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations and the Subcommittee on the Middle East and South Asia of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, One Hundred Twelfth Congress, first session, December 7, 2011 § (2011).

<sup>67</sup> "Chapter 6. Foreign Terrorist Organizations," U.S. Department of State, July 31, 2012, accessed February 10, 2019, <https://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2011/195553.htm#MEK>.

<sup>68</sup> Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Department of Justice, *Mujahedin-e Khalq (MEK) Criminal Investigation* (November 2004), 3.

<sup>69</sup> "Chapter 6. Foreign Terrorist Organizations," U.S. Department of State, July 31, 2012, accessed February 10, 2019, <https://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2011/195553.htm#MEK>.

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includes a history of violence against U.S. citizens. Among these incidents are the 1972 bombing in the Tehran U.S. Information Service office, the 1973 assassination of the U.S. Military Mission chief, the 1976 assassination of two U.S. Military Assistance Advisory Group members and two U.S. citizens in Tehran.<sup>70</sup> While the MEK denies its involvement, the U.S. State Department determined that, “MEK members participated in and supported the 1979 takeover of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran and that the MEK later argued against the early release of the American hostages. The MEK also provided personnel to guard and defend the site of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran following the takeover of the Embassy.”<sup>71</sup> These are among the cited reasons for the original FTO designation of the MEK in 1997.<sup>72</sup>

Prior to the delisting in 2012, the MEK and the United States have had a convoluted relationship. In 2003, Saddam’s sheltering and support of the MEK, the sponsoring of a designated terrorist group, was cited among the motivations for the invasion of Iraq. Interestingly, in 2004, one year after the occupation of Iraq, then U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld extended protected persons status under the Fourth Geneva Convention, thereby allowing for the U.S. to aid the group while it remained a designated FTO.<sup>73</sup> In 2002, the NCRI, the political front of the MEK, held a press conference in which it revealed the alleged existence of two secret nuclear sites, as well as a laptop containing information on a secret Iranian nuclear arms facility that was given to the organization by a former nuclear scientist. These claims have since been found to be incorrect and vastly overstated.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> It should be noted that in addition to these instances of terrorist acts that have directly harmed U.S. citizens it has been made clear that U.S. efforts to normalize relations with Iran under President Clinton in 1997 was also a motivation for the listing.

<sup>73</sup> Jeremiah Goulka et al., “Rand,” Rand (National Defense Research Institute, 2009), 14.

<sup>74</sup> See Gareth Porter, *Manufactured Crisis: The Untold Story of the Iran Nuclear Scare* (Charlottesville, VA: Just World Books, 2014).

Then, in 2012, it was revealed by Seymour Hersh that the United States had been providing training to the MEK at a site in Nevada from 2004 to approximately 2007.<sup>75</sup> This revelation demonstrates the U.S. violating its own sanctions placed on entities listed on the FTO which stipulates that it is illegal to aid or support a designated organization. This training also potentially implicates the United States in the assassinations of five Iranian nuclear scientists which took place between 2007 and 2012, which have been strongly linked to the MEK in cooperation with the Israeli secret service, Mossad.<sup>76</sup> Finally, in 2009, Iraq required that the MEK leave the country and take up residence elsewhere or repatriate to Iran. The United States then aided the group in resettling in Albania where they are based currently. Throughout this period, United States policy makers and politicians received money from the MEK in exchange for speaking engagements including John Bolton, who would later be instrumental in the U.S. leaving the JCPOA.

A U.S. Treasury Department investigation in 2012 found that prominent U.S. officials had been receiving monetary compensation for speaking engagements made on behalf of the MEK. Among those who have accepted payment are former Pennsylvania Governor Ed Rendell, ex-FBI Director Louis Freeh, former Vermont Governor Howard Dean, former New York City Mayor and personal lawyer to President Trump, Rudy Giuliani, and former United Nations Ambassador and National Security advisor John Bolton.<sup>77</sup> Similar paid speaking engagements have continued into 2018 with Giuliani and Bolton still among the speakers. During one of these rallies, in February 2018, John

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<sup>75</sup> Seymour M. Hersh, "Our Men in Iran?" *The New Yorker* (June 18, 2017), <https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/our-men-in-iran>) Hersh explains that the training took place at the Department of Energy's Nevada National Security Site, a former testing area for nuclear weapons. It is here that the group received training in "communications, cryptography, small-unit tactics, and weaponry."

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Scott Shane, "U.S. Supporters of Iranian Group Face Scrutiny," *The New York Times* (March 13, 2012), [https://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/13/us/us-supporters-of-iranian-group-mek-face-scrutiny.html?\\_r=1](https://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/13/us/us-supporters-of-iranian-group-mek-face-scrutiny.html?_r=1).

Bolton declared to the gathering, “the declared policy of the United States should be the overthrow of the mullahs’ regime in Tehran...And that’s why, before 2019, we here will celebrate in Tehran!”<sup>78</sup> The compensation for speaking at these MEK engagements, wherein promises of making regime change in Iran come true are central, ranges between \$15,000-\$30,000.<sup>79</sup> Although, now that the MEK are no longer a designated FTO, such an action is no longer in violation of the statutes that undergird it but considering the fact that the group still maintains an Iranian regime change goal and the official foreign policy towards the country is one of maximum pressure, the motivations surrounding the delisting should be examined.

The decision to remove the MEK from the Foreign Terrorist Organizations list came in 2012, following an extensive lobbying effort from the group with U.S. supporters citing concern for the group’s safety as motivation for removal. Daniel Benjamin, former State Department counterterrorism director who worked closely on the delisting effort states “I supported the delisting for the simple reason that it was a humanitarian necessity. It was humanitarian to prevent them from getting slaughtered, and not because they had become a peaceful group, or the United States believed they were completely without a nefarious design. Would the MEK have been delisted absent the situation in Iraq? I don’t [think] there’s any question they would not have been.”<sup>80</sup> The decision came under Hillary Clinton, then-acting Secretary of State under President Barack Obama. Among those who lobbied and supported the delisting were “R. James Woolsey and Porter J.

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<sup>78</sup> Robert Mackey, “Here’s John Bolton Promising Regime Change in Iran by the End of 2018,” *The Intercept* (March 23, 2018), <https://theintercept.com/2018/03/23/heres-john-bolton-promising-regime-change-iran-end-2018/>.

<sup>79</sup> Scott Shane, “U.S. Supporters of Iranian Group Face Scrutiny,” *The New York Times* (March 13, 2012), [https://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/13/us/us-supporters-of-iranian-group-mek-face-scrutiny.html?\\_r=1](https://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/13/us/us-supporters-of-iranian-group-mek-face-scrutiny.html?_r=1).

<sup>80</sup> Davis Richardson, “What John Bolton’s Iranian Regime Change Looks Like,” *Observer* (May 23, 2019), <https://observer.com/2019/05/john-bolton-mek-iranian-regime-change/>.

Goss, former C.I.A. directors; Louis J. Freeh, the former F.B.I. director; President George W. Bush's homeland security secretary, Tom Ridge, and attorney general, Michael B. Mukasey; and President Obama's first national security adviser, Gen. James L. Jones.”<sup>81</sup> What is noteworthy about this list of individuals is that they are not representatives of humanitarian groups, nor have they been known to champion humanitarian causes. Therefore, suspicion regarding their lobbying in support of delisting the MEK for humanitarian reasons is arguably justified.

**“...this is a game. This game needs to stop.”**

Having used Mohammad Javad Zarif's quote as a starting point for examining the U.S. State Department Foreign Terrorist Organizations and state sponsors of terrorism list, what insight into the use of these lists have we learned? The U.S. State Department maintains the Foreign Terrorist Organizations and the state sponsors of terrorism lists for the stated purpose of identifying, maligning, and deterring terrorist activity. The legislation that undergirds these lists employ language that defines these activities while leaving room for interpretation based on national interests, allowing for the sitting administration to apply designations based on foreign policy interests. This results in the application of these lists to ostensibly vary from administration-to-administration and their corresponding foreign policy agendas. Additionally, there are instances in the history of these lists wherein a country or organization's designation on or off the list is made irrespective of terrorism. Foreign policy motivations that are not concerned with managing terrorism include removal from the SST to enable support for a strategic ally as seen in the case of delisting. Also, these motivations can be seen in the listing and subsequent sanctioning of a revolutionary state not aligned with the United

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<sup>81</sup> Scott Shane, “Iranian Dissidents Convince U.S. to Drop Terror Label,” *The New York Times* (September 21, 2012), <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/22/world/middleeast/iranian-opposition-group-mek-wins-removal-from-us-terrorist-list.html>.

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States in the case of listing Iran. As well, the delisting to facilitate support for a cult-like group that has a history of killing U.S. citizens in the case of the MEK.

Since the stated goal of these lists is to deter and prevent terrorist activity it is understandable for an observer to conclude that the motivation for the listing or delisting of a country or organization to one of these lists is grounded firmly in terrorism. What we have seen from the above examples is that there are more factors at work than the matter of terrorist actions and or support.<sup>82</sup> If it were the case that these lists were used strictly for monitoring and sanctioning as punishment for engaging in or supporting terrorism, then it could be concluded that designated countries and organizations pose a danger to the United States and the resulting sanctions placed on them are legitimate. Similarly, other countries who have demonstrated blatant support for terrorist groups would be included among the state sponsors list. Saudi Arabia presents a plain example of a country that should, by all accounts, be designated as a state sponsor. It was concluded in the 9/11 Commission Report that fifteen of the nineteen hijackers responsible for the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon were from Saudi Arabia. Additionally, Osama bin Laden, the once head of the al-Qaeda terrorist organization, was born in Saudi Arabia and maintained ties within the country. Indeed, the Saudi royal family has been found to have supported al-Qaeda and other linked groups.<sup>83</sup> Yet, this

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<sup>82</sup> The country of North Korea also provides another potential example of this. The country’s status on the SST was used essentially as a bargaining chip during the Six-Party Talks in 2008. After being delisted for nine years, North Korea was again designated in 2017 by what President Donald Trump described as a tactic for “complete denuclearization” of the country. Although, it should be noted that potentially terrorist activity did take place in 2017 with an alleged assassination. More examination into the motivations for the listing of North Korea should be examined.

<sup>83</sup> “Evidence of Financial Links Between Saudi Royal Family and Al Qaeda,” *The New York Times*, accessed November 22, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/projects/documents/evidence-of-financial-links-between-saudi-royal-family-and-al-qaeda>.

development yielded no designation or application of sanctions and Saudi Arabia remains one of the largest buyers of U.S. weapons.

The conclusion that is obvious from this study of the use and history of the U.S. State Department's FTO and SST lists is that Zarif is correct in his description, this is indeed a game. As illustrated in the examples provided in this paper, this game is played not with safety and diplomacy in mind, but rather it is played to serve the interests of the United States, whatever they may be, under a given administration. And while this may be the case, it is unlikely for this game to stop, as these lists have proven to be useful foreign policy tools used to legitimate sanctions, the maligning of non-U.S. aligned nations, and support for groups and countries that uphold U.S. interests. As such, it is imperative for world citizens and observers of United States foreign policy to bear in mind these historical examples when countries, organizations, and individuals are placed on or removed from these lists as these determinations appear to be made more in line with foreign policy machinations rather than as a legitimate and consistent safeguard.

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### **Author Bio**

Melissa Sanford is a graduate student pursuing her M.A in history at California State University Fullerton. Her research interests include U.S imperialism and its global impact and the media's role in shaping foreign policy. She also has a strong interest in film studies and hopes to incorporate this into her future research.



# In Memoriam

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## The Great Political Journalist, Cokie Roberts

By George Zaragoza



*Cokie Roberts at the Kennedy Center in 1998, Courtesy Wikimedia Commons<sup>1</sup>*

Cokie Roberts will be remembered through her achievements as a political broadcaster and compassionate human being. Roberts was raised by her mother, Lindy Boggs, and father, Hale Boggs, who were both very well-known politicians. This early exposure

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<sup>1</sup> Photograph by John Matthew Smith distributed under a CC BY-SA 2.0 license.

provided Roberts the opportunity to learn about the world of politics at a young age. One of the most influential female political journalists of her era, Roberts left behind many great memories that can inspire women to break barriers in the world of broadcasting. Furthermore, Roberts is the recipient of three Emmy Awards, as well as the author of several books, and is a role model to many people who followed her career.

Roberts built many friendships throughout her career and her death impacted many in the profession of journalism; one of these established broadcasters that remembers Cokie Roberts is Nina Totenberg. Totenberg reveals that Roberts' friendship and her death impacted thousands of people throughout the world.<sup>2</sup> Roberts was also involved in Save the Children, an organization that helps children escape harmful situations, as well as places them in a safer environment that provides education and healthcare. This is the kind of person Roberts was in her professional career and outside of it, she was a compassionate woman who embraced others. This piece is dedicated to Cokie Roberts and will remember her family, career, and role in charity in order to understand her remarkable legacy.

## **Family**

Mary Martha Corrine Morrison Claiborne "Cokie" Roberts, was born in 1943 in New Orleans, Louisiana, and passed away in 2019 at the age of 75.<sup>3</sup> Roberts was a pioneer in the field of political journalism and created opportunities for women to be accepted and respected as journalists. In addition, Roberts used the role models

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<sup>2</sup> Nina Totenberg, "'The Personification of Human Decency': Nina Totenberg Remembers Cokie Roberts," *NPR* (Sept 2019): <https://www.npr.org/2019/09/17/761597458/the-personification-of-human-decency-nina-totenberg-remembers-cokie-roberts>.

<sup>3</sup> Bobby Allyn and Scott Neuman, "Cokie Roberts, Pioneering Journalist Who Helped Shape NPR, dies at 75," *NPR* (Sept 2019), <https://www.npr.org/2019/09/17/761050916/cokie-roberts-pioneering-female-journalist-who-helped-shape-npr-dies-at-75>.

before her time to learn about politics. Cokie Roberts stated that when she was a child, she would hear stories about her ancestor, William Claiborne, who, in 1790, started working for Congress and earned a seat at the age of twenty-three. A couple years below the minimum age requirement of twenty-five, he was recognized for being involved in the electoral tie breaker between Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr.<sup>4</sup> As a child, she would hear stories about the Founding Fathers and Betsy Ross, but noticed women were not widely recognized in politics.<sup>5</sup> According to Roberts, as a kid, she wondered about the women before her time in politics that had relationships with William Claiborne.<sup>6</sup> She was realizing that women had a difficult time being recognized and earning a position that impacted the world of politics and reporting without the presence of a man.

Lindy Boggs was a prominent name associated with the Democratic political party from Louisiana. Boggs arrived in Washington in 1941, at the age of twenty-four, married at that time to the youngest member of the House of Representatives.<sup>7</sup> This sheds light on the importance of women establishing themselves in the world of politics. In other words, her name was recognized because of the status of her husband. This is an example of the prejudice women had to overcome and are still challenged with today. Lindy Boggs used her charisma to assist Hale Boggs become a U.S majority leader in politics through her political knowledge.<sup>8</sup> Lindy Boggs passed away at the age of 97 years old.<sup>9</sup> The importance of this is that Cokie Roberts had first-hand

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<sup>4</sup> Cokie Roberts, "Introduction," In *Founding Mothers: The Women who Raised our Nation*, (New York: Harper Collins, 2004), xv.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, xvi.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, xv.

<sup>7</sup> Stephanie Hanes, "Lindy Boggs Dies; Congresswoman and Democratic Leader," *The Washington Post* (July 2013): [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/lindy-boggs-congresswoman-and-democratic-leader-dies-at-97/2013/07/27/02f452ae-f6c8-11e2-aa2e-4088616498b4\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/lindy-boggs-congresswoman-and-democratic-leader-dies-at-97/2013/07/27/02f452ae-f6c8-11e2-aa2e-4088616498b4_story.html).

<sup>8</sup> Hanes, "Lindy Boggs Dies."

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

experience of the influence women had in politics and broadcasting from her mother's career, which helped prepare her for the challenges ahead. Cokie Roberts confirmed the death of Lindy Boggs, the powerful achievements both have made as women in politics is undeniable.

Roberts capitalized on the knowledge gained from strong family ties in the profession of politics, which led to her prominent career with ABC and NPR—presenting a voice the world trusted.<sup>10</sup> In addition, this was at a time in the history of the world of politics, the 1970s, when women's voices were often overshadowed by men when reporting world events. Neil Genzlinger states that only a few women earned a national profile as a reporter because it was dominated by men and Roberts was one of those women who established greatness.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, Roberts is an example that women can be productive in the world of journalism alongside men.

## **Career**

Roberts started working for NPR in 1978 and helped the network become more established with her reporting of politics in Washington before she joined ABC News. Cokie Roberts's professionalism and knowledge as a political reporter impacted the networks she was part of throughout her career. Roberts was one of the main voices for NPR and earned the reputation to be called a pioneer in the profession of journalists, among the likes of Nina Totenberg, as well as a handful of others. Furthermore, Roberts demonstrated a great work ethic as well as the charisma to maintain an important status that placed her among great women. Roberts joined the ranks of great women journalists who established an excellent legacy and played important roles in journalism.

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<sup>10</sup> Neil Genzlinger, "Cokie Roberts Dies; Veteran Broadcast Journalist Was 75," *The New York Times* (Sept. 2019):

<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/17/obituaries/cokie-roberts-dead.html>.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

Roberts' career with ABC News began in 1988 and she was an established part-time political reporter with NPR during that period. Furthermore, in 1988, when Roberts began working for ABC News there were more women at broadcast networks as well as newspapers.<sup>12</sup> This is important because women were now being heard more often and were well-represented in the field of broadcasting. This brings forth Roberts' role as a female journalist because, with the competitiveness from both genders, she became a well-known name in mass media and books. Roberts' work ethic earned her a spot into the Broadcasting and Cable Hall of Fame; not every broadcast journalist earns this honor. Roberts was selected into the Broadcasting and Cable Hall of Fame and was praised by the Library of Congress who, in 2008, gave her the title of "Living Legend."<sup>13</sup> This sheds light on the reputation Roberts maintained throughout her career and after, being embraced by thousands of people for her ethical practices throughout the years in broadcasting as well as political journalism.

Roberts cared deeply about her work and even when ill remained informed and involved in her profession. Roberts delivered speeches and made appearances on television and the radio during this period, as well.<sup>14</sup> At this time, Roberts was ill from breast cancer, yet she was able to reach others through her ability to continue to produce her information for the public. Roberts is the author of several books about women that were not recognized in American political history, one of these includes *Founding Mothers: The Women Who Raised Our Nation*, about the female relatives of the Founding Fathers. The last book Roberts

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<sup>12</sup> Bobby Allyn and Scott Neuman, "Cokie Roberts, Pioneering Journalist Who Helped Shape NPR, dies at 75," *NPR* (Sept, 2019) <https://www.npr.org/2019/09/17/761050916/cokie-roberts-pioneering-female-journalist-who-helped-shape-npr-dies-at-75>.

<sup>13</sup> Harrison Smith, "Cokie Roberts, Emmy-Winning Journalist and Political Commentator, Dies at 75," *The Press Democrat* (2019) <https://www.pressdemocrat.com/news/10058028-181/cokie-roberts-emmy-winning-journalist-and?sba=AAS>.

<sup>14</sup> Nina Totenberg, "'The Personification of Human Decency': Nina Totenberg Remembers Cokie Roberts," *NPR* (2019).

published was in 2015, titled *Capital Dames: The Civil War and the Women of Washington, 1848-1868*. Peter Szekely noted that Roberts usually pointed out that women played an important role in civilizing society.<sup>15</sup>

### **Charity**

Roberts took time outside of her professional career to get involved with Save the Children, a charity organization which focuses on investing into children's futures. Roberts remained humble even though helping children without resources is a huge deal. Roberts practiced kindness, she did not seek recognition, whether it was for working with Save the Children or other ways she shared kindness, she did so without thinking her actions were exceptional.<sup>16</sup> This sheds light on how Roberts was able to connect with important organizations such as Save the Children to change lives for the better.

In conclusion, Cokie Roberts established a legacy that has created opportunities for women in the world of broadcasting and journalism. Furthermore, she will be remembered for her contributions outside of her work for helping children through charity. The family of Roberts influenced her from a young age towards the profession of political broadcasting. Additionally, Roberts developed excellent skills and became one of the greatest women broadcasters the world knows. The career Roberts had will continue to inspire people for years to come because she had a voice that always challenged bias towards women. She used her voice to demand women's rights and was successful in many ways. Roberts has two adult children as well as six grandchildren that carry on her legacy.

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<sup>15</sup> Peter Szekely, "U.S. Journalist Cokie Roberts, a 'Founding Mother' of National Public Radio, dead at 75," *Reuters* (2019): <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-people-cokie-roberts-idUSKBN1W21SN>.

<sup>16</sup> Totenberg, "The Personification of Human Decency."

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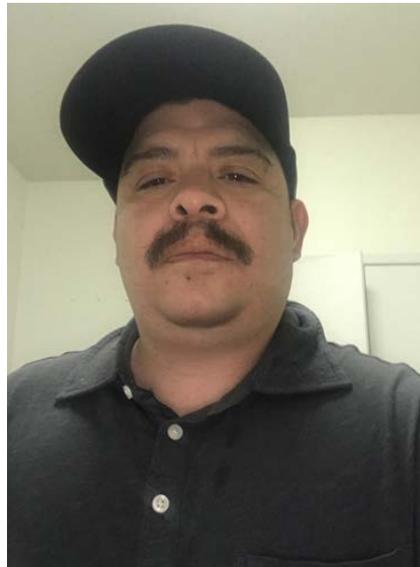
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**Author Bio**

George Zaragoza is a first-year graduate student who started education at CSU San Bernardino in 2019, working on achieving a Masters of Arts degree in communication studies. George has established a very good work ethic and remains in good academic standing. After graduation, he plans on continuing education in a Ph.D. program in Communication Studies. Furthermore, in the process, George plans on continuing to focus on research about the prison industrial complex and to continue to be a resource for incarcerated people who challenge the system. George would like to thank the editorial board and Dr. Murray for the opportunity to write an in memoriam piece dedicated to Cokie Roberts.



## **Toni Morrison**

By Cindy Ortega

Chloe Anthony Wofford Morrison, an influential novelist of the black experience passed away at the age of 88 on August 5, 2019. She is credited with paving the way for a new generation of African American writers through her efforts to bring African American literature into the mainstream. By doing so, she provided a voice for those who previously had none in mainstream literature. Morrison attended Howard University in Washington, D.C., earning her bachelor's degree in English and going on to earn her master's in American literature at Cornell. Earlier in her career as a literary giant, she worked for Random House Publishing for nearly two decades, where she became their first African American senior editor, publishing emerging black writers who would later partake in the genre she cultivated.<sup>1</sup> In 1989, Morrison ran the creative writing program at Princeton University and, in 2006, earned the title of Robert F. Green Professor in Humanities Emeritus. In 1993, she became the first African American woman to receive the Nobel Prize in literature, amongst other prestigious awards. Morrison's legacy lives on in her novels and in the impact she left behind in the literary community.

### **Childhood Experience**

In order to understand the everlasting mark Morrison left in the literary community not only as a writer, but also as a trailblazer, it is important to look to where she drew her inspiration. Morrison was born and raised in Lorain, Ohio, to Ramah and George

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<sup>1</sup> Alexander, Kerri Lee, "Toni Morrison." *National Women's History Museum*, <https://www.womenshistory.org/education-resources/biographies/toni-morrison>.

Wofford who had moved to the North in an attempt to escape the violence and racism prevalent in the South in the 1930s.<sup>2</sup> Lorain was a racially integrated steel town, so she was not brought up around institutionalized segregation. In an interview conducted by Razia Iqbal, Morrison details her adolescence in a racially intermixed setting, recalling having grown up amongst immigrants from Poland, Mexico, and people of color fleeing from Canada.

Her sense of identity as an African American can be attributed to her parents and family life. From a very young age, her family instilled in her the importance and power of storytelling, oftentimes having her retell stories told to her by her elders, retelling African American folktales, and singing songs that depicted a story. During her interview, Morrison says, “As a child I had to retell those stories to other adults,” and those stories “were pretty much horror stories about life as an African-American.”<sup>3</sup> They were powerful and highly metaphorical but that was what was at the core of them.

In an interview at the Hay Festival in 2014, Morrison describes how her parents helped shape her identity as an African American writer, stating that her father was extremely wary of whites. Having grown up in Georgia, he had seen the harsh realities of the South. However, on the complete opposite end of the spectrum, Morrison’s mother who grew up in Alabama had a completely different view of white people, never judging people by race, but rather individually. Her mother saw no race and did not tolerate any anti-white behavior from Morrison and her siblings. Morrison’s parents opposing views would help cultivate Morrison into the literary giant she became. Her father’s wariness from his past experiences encouraged her to write about the black experience, while her mother’s standpoint on race allowed her to gently, and at times ruthlessly, recount African American folklore in her writing.

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<sup>2</sup> Hay Festival, *Hay Festival*, May 28, 2014, <https://www.hayfestival.com/p-7474-toni-morrison-talks-to-razia-iqbal.aspx?skinid=16>).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

Growing up, Morrison was an avid reader, reading authors such as Jane Austen and Leo Tolstoy. As Morrison began to broaden her literary horizon, she began to feel a vacancy for stories like those of her people. The lack of literature depicting her heritage and her people's experiences ultimately led her to become a writer. Morrison was overcome by an overwhelming sense of duty to chronicle what the African American experience had been for her and those who came before her. In her interview with Razia Iqbal, Morrison goes as far as to say that had these stories already existed in the literary community, she may have never become a writer.<sup>4</sup>

### **Paving the Way for Female Authors of Color**

Toni Morrison taught English for two years at Texas Southern University before ultimately moving on to teach at Howard University for seven years. It was during this time that Morrison would go on to join a writing group in which she would begin to write her debut novel, *The Bluest Eye*, while also obtaining employment in the textbook division at Random House Publishing in Syracuse. After being there for two years, Morrison eventually transferred to the Random House in New York City and began editing fiction and books by up and coming African American writers. It was there that Morrison became their first female African American senior editor.

Morrison's time at Random House was instrumental in her role of bringing African American literature into the mainstream. She devoted herself to editing work by African American writers and even went on to foster a new generation of black novelists. Morrison discovered novelist Gayle Jones and can be credited for the surge of new black writers such as Angela Davis, Toni Cade Bambara, Huey Newton, and Gayl Jones, to name a few. "Morrison paved the way for and encouraged countless writers who might otherwise have felt there was no place for people like

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<sup>4</sup> Hay Festival interview.

them in the pantheon of American literature.”<sup>5</sup> Morrison led by example, without her guidance and contributions, African American literature would not have intertwined itself into the mainstream.

### ***The Bluest Eye***

*The Bluest Eye*, Morrison’s 1970 debut novel, was written during her time as an editor at random house and it did what no other book had done before, “Morrison’s book cut a new path through the American literary landscape by placing young black girls at the center of the story.”<sup>6</sup> In her interview with Razia Iqbal, Morrison reiterates that her first book was inspired by a real life anecdote that occurred to her and her friend. Morrison goes on to recount how her friend did not believe in the existence of God, because if God truly existed, he would have granted her the blue eyes she had prayed two years for.<sup>7</sup> In order to comprehend the impact of Morrison’s work, it is important to note that this first novel gave a voice and acknowledged those who had been marginalized, disenfranchised, and ignored. Nothing like it existed at the time, Morrison states that had the genre or these stories existed before her she would not have become a writer, but instead remained a reader.<sup>8</sup>

Morrison’s work builds on the experience of African American women and their struggles in society, from not fitting the standards of beauty at the time. For the lack of blue eyes, for being discriminated against for the color of their skin, Morrison beautifully and strategically unpacks it all. Through this novel,

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<sup>5</sup> Laura Miller, “Toni Morrison Reshaped the Landscape of Literature,” *Slate*, August 6, 2019, <https://slate.com/culture/2019/08/toni-morrison-american-literature-faulkner-style.html>.

<sup>6</sup> Hilton Als, “Toni Morrison’s Profound and Unrelenting Vision,” *The New Yorker*, January 24, 2020, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2020/02/03/toni-morrisons-profound-and-unrelenting-vision>.

<sup>7</sup> Hay Festival interview.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

Morrison effectively portrayed the social lives of African American women and men, not shying away from topics such as the trauma of slavery and the lasting consequences. Today, Morrison's novels are required reading at most high schools and are widely praised; however, that was not always the case. In 2014, Morrison discussed how, due to the nature of her writing and the realities of life as an African American, not all African Americans were supportive of her bringing light to the black experience when she initially published her first novel. She then goes on to discuss how some found her writing crude whilst others felt these stories, which had been passed down for generations, were deemed as shameful or embarrassing.<sup>9</sup> Critics of her first novel, however, did not faze Morrison, as she went on to write ten more books steeped in African American realities.

### ***Beloved***

Morrison published her most notable novel, *Beloved*, in 1987 which was inspired by a real-life occurrence that Morrison had discovered years before when helping compile *The Black Book*, before essentially rewriting the occurrence with a twist. The event that inspired this novel centers around a woman named Margaret Garner, who had escaped slavery and was on the run. With slave hunters on her heels, Garner makes the decision to kill herself and her child rather than return to her life as a slave. Garner manages to murder her child but is ultimately captured before she can kill herself. This harrowing event would haunt Morrison for years to come, until she ultimately decided to write *Beloved*, where she brings Garner's child back to life as a ghost, to haunt Garner and relatives. What Morrison did not realize immediately after writing this book was the impact it would have. Toni Morrison had effectively created a space for herself and other African American writers, especially women, to write the books they grew up wanting to read, books that chronicled the hardships and triumphs

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<sup>9</sup> Hay Festival interview.

of the black community. Morrison went on to write two additional books after *Beloved*, turning it into a trilogy and, eventually, a film.

## Legacy



*Toni Morrison in the Blue Room of the White House, 2012. Courtesy Wikimedia Commons.<sup>10</sup>*

Toni Morrison was monumental in paving the way for African American authors, more specifically women, through her leadership in bringing African American literature to the mainstream. Though she is no longer with us, her legacy lives on through her novels, achievements, and the people she has inspired along the way. Morrison boasts a literary career peppered with prestigious awards, starting in 1988 when *Beloved* won the Pulitzer Prize for Fiction. In 1993, Morrison became the first African American woman and one of the few women to be awarded the Nobel Prize in literature for her work with *Beloved*. Her writings

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<sup>10</sup> Photograph by Pete Souza, public domain as a work of the United States federal government.

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inspired not only other writers, but people from all walks of life, including former President Barack Obama, who said Morrison's book *Song of Solomon* "helped him learn how to be."<sup>11</sup> In 2012, Morrison received the Presidential Medal of Freedom from President Obama, the highest civilian award in the United States.

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<sup>11</sup> Hay Festival interview.

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### **Author Bio**

Cindy Ortega is a CSUSB alumna from the spring class of 2019. She has a Bachelor of Arts in History and plans to return to CSUSB for her credential to become a history teacher at the high school level. In her free time, Cindy enjoys dancing, going to concerts, and spending time with her family and dog, Lulu. She would like to thank her parents, brothers, Andrea for their unwavering support and her history best friends James and Matt for their friendship and support in this field.



## **Kobe Bryant**

By Benjamin Shultz



*Kobe Bryant, Courtesy Wikimedia Commons.<sup>1</sup>*

On January 26, 2020, a tragic helicopter crash occurred over Calabasas, California that took the life of esteemed basketball player Kobe Bryant, his thirteen-year-old daughter Gianna Bryant and nine others. Bryant, at age forty-one, had developed a career in basketball that rivaled the careers of peers like Shaquille O’Neil, Pau Gasol, and LeBron James. At the young age of seventeen, he

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<sup>1</sup> Photograph by Sgt. Joseph A. Lee of the U.S. Marine Corps, public domain as a work of the United States federal government.

was drafted from Lower Merion High School in Philadelphia to the Charlotte Hornets but traded to the Los Angeles Lakers on draft night and remained with the team for the entirety of his twenty years in the NBA. He was known for being an aggressive player who would never let up, always pushing himself and his teammates to go further each and every game. ESPN would even rank Kobe in both 2008 and 2016 as the second-greatest shooting guard of all time, second only to Michael Jordan who won six NBA championships with the Chicago Bulls in the 1990s. Kobe sought to take risks and always take shots, leaving many to dub him as one of the greatest basketball players of all time with the likes of Michael Jordan and Kareem Abdul-Jabbar. Throughout his career, Kobe attributed much of his success on the court to what he called the “Mamba Mentality.”<sup>2</sup> A reference to the Quentin Tarantino movie *Kill Bill* and his own nickname “The Black Mamba,” this mentality represented Kobe’s killer instinct on the court. His strive to win and to pursue greatness made him not only a great player, but also an inspiration for the millions of people who watched him play at the highest level for two decades, being selected seventeen times as an NBA All-Star.

### **Kobe On and Off the Court**

Kobe Bryant and the Los Angeles Lakers won the NBA Championship five times over the course of his career with the Lakers.<sup>3</sup> These successes had not been seen by the Lakers since the 1980s when Kareem Abdul-Jabbar and Magic Johnson were both on the Lakers’ roster.<sup>5</sup> Kobe and his other peers had brought

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<sup>2</sup> Tom Fordyce, “Kobe Bryant: Basketball’s Genius, Who Had His Controversies, Was Solving Life After Sport,” *BBC: Sport*, January 27, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/sport/basketball/51265909>.

<sup>3</sup> Kobe would win three back to back to back from 2000-2002, and two back to back from 2009-2010, where he was selected the NBA Finals MVP both times.

<sup>4</sup> “Kobe Bryant Stats,” *ESPN: NBA Stats*, [https://www.espn.com/nba/player/stats/\\_/id/110/kobe-bryant](https://www.espn.com/nba/player/stats/_/id/110/kobe-bryant).

<sup>5</sup> “Lakers Season by Season Recap,” *NBA*, <https://www.nba.com/lakers/history/seasonbyseason>.

the Lakers back into the forefront of the NBA and reclaiming their top-ranking status in the league. The likes of Kobe's talent and skill, matched with the dominance of Shaq, brought the Southern California team back into the spotlight. The pride that Southern California and the City of Los Angeles felt for the Lakers cannot be understated.

From his success with the Lakers, Kobe would also bring the interest in basketball to the world stage. Kobe would be a part of the U.S.A. Men's Basketball teams in both the 2008 Beijing Olympics and the 2012 London Olympics. In both cases, he would help to win gold for the American team and brought his "Mamba Mentality" to an international audience. Kobe averaged about 15 points a game in 2008 and a record of 26-0 across three tournaments in 2012, bringing fame and recognition to the U.S.A. Men's National Team.<sup>6</sup> His obsession to win and his passion for the game won him world acclaim and recognition on an international level. Kobe's name would become synonymous with basketball around the world, even being used in such a colloquial way when people referred to the sport. The inspiration he brought out for those with a passion for basketball shows the level of impact he left on the sport.

In 2016, Kobe would play his last game with the Lakers against the Utah Jazz, becoming one of the oldest players at the time to score 60 or more points in a game. In honor of his accomplishments both of his numbers, 8 and 24, were retired by the Lakers becoming one of the first players to have two numbers retired.<sup>7</sup> This was not the end for Kobe however, as in 2018 he published his first book *The Mamba Mentality: How I Play* in which he reflected on his career and accomplishments. The book

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<sup>6</sup> Brian Mahoney, "US Hoops Back on Top, Beats Spain for Gold Medal," USA Today, August 24, 2008, [http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/sports/olympics/2008-08-24-1012609106\\_x.htm](http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/sports/olympics/2008-08-24-1012609106_x.htm).

<sup>7</sup> Greg Beacham, "Los Angeles Lakers to Retire Both of Kobe Bryant's Jersey Numbers," *NBA*, September 12, 2017, <https://www.nba.com/article/2017/09/12/reports-lakers-retire-kobe-bryant-jersey-december-18-vs-warriors>.

served as another means of inspiration that pushed people to work harder and pursue their passion, whatever it might be. Kobe would even become the first African-American and former professional athlete to win an Oscar for Best Animated Short Film, *Dear Basketball* in 2018. This film was based off of Kobe's retirement letter and much like his book, sought to inspire people to pursue their passion and to keep on pushing themselves to do better.

### **Kobe as a Polarizing Figure**

With his "Mamba Mentality," Kobe Bryant captured the attention of the world and showed his capability for being successful both on and off the court. Yet there was also a downside to this same "Mamba Mentality." In his striving for stardom, selfishness was one of the key motivators. This selfishness manifested itself in 2003 when Kobe was accused of sexually assaulting a hotel employee in Eagle, Colorado.<sup>8</sup> The event itself puts the negative aspects of Kobe's public image and success in full view for all to see. This image was clouded even more so when the criminal charges were dropped, resulting in Kobe needing to make a public apology.<sup>9</sup> Following this event, Kobe was again pushed into the negative light in 2011 when he used homophobic slurs against a referee who had called a foul on Kobe during a game. Kobe was fined \$100,000 and again had to make a public apology, which some activist groups felt was not enough.<sup>10</sup> Like many other celebrities, Kobe had been given power through his stardom and mentality, and these two events represent what happens when that power is abused.

The selfishness that drove some of Kobe's "Mamba Mentality," was also seen on the court. It is well known that while Shaquille and Kobe could be good friends and work together on the court, they could just as easily turn into enemies and rivals off

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<sup>8</sup> Fordyce, "Kobe Bryant."

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> "Kobe Bryant Fined \$100,000 Over Gay Slur in Lakers Game," *BBC*, April 14, 2011, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-13075858>.

the court. These clashes between the two star players were constant and this feuding put a strain on the team's playing ability. Kobe could also be a ball hog, causing him to sometimes be seen as working against his fellow teammates instead of working with them. For all the shots he would take he would miss many of them (he is currently the NBA all-time leader in missed shots at 14,481), and was known for stating that he would "rather miss thirty shots in a game rather than nine."<sup>11</sup> This mentality manifested itself into his last game, for even though he set a record of scoring 60 points in a game at 37 years old, he left the Lakers with a 17-65 record at the end of the season (the worst ever in the entire franchise history).<sup>12</sup> While Kobe might have had the killer instinct of a "Black Mamba" on the court, at times it came at the expense of his fellow players and stars.

The life of Kobe Bryant was one that has changed the lives of many. His goal to strive for success and stardom made him an inspiring figure not only for fans of basketball, but for others pursuing their individual passions. The killer instinct on the court was one that won the hearts and minds of many, giving Kobe the celebrity status he holds to this day. Yet along the way to this stardom, Kobe hurt people both physically and emotionally. There is no excuse for the things he did and said in this pursuit of power. Kobe's sexual assault charges should not be forgotten, nor should the players that he stepped on to reach his position of prestige.

### **A Lasting Legacy**

What should be taken away from the life of Kobe Bryant? His unique passion and strive to be the best he could be both on and off the court is something to look up to. Not the killer instinct he stood

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<sup>11</sup> Fordyce, "Kobe Bryant."

<sup>12</sup> "Magic Johnson Has Great Expectations for Los Angeles Lakers Rookie Lonzo Ball," October 15, 2017, <https://www.news.com.au/sport/basketball/magic-johnson-has-great-expectations-for-los-angeles-lakers-rookie-lonzo-ball/news-story/1d0e00fd86f1bfac47a8e592dfbb070d>.

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by, but his desire to improve and build himself up to be the best that he could possibly be. After leaving the Lakers, Kobe dedicated time to his family, particularly with his daughter Gianna and her club basketball team. The love and dedication that he showed to her and other young women pursuing basketball, shows the same drive behind the killer instinct can also act in a positive light. The reason that Kobe Bryant, his daughter Gianna, and nine others were on that helicopter that morning, was to see and play in a game together at Bryant's Mamba Academy. The life and story of Kobe Bryant should be seen as a chance to reflect and learn. To see how passion and drive can lead to greatness and inspiration both on and off the court, yet also to be aware of how it can hurt others intentionally or unintentionally along the way.

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Benjamin Olson Shultz is a second-year master's student in the Master's in Social Science and Globalization program at California State University, San Bernardino. His main interests and areas of focus include Environmental History, Latin American History, and U.S. History. He is currently involved as a Graduate Assistant for the College of Social and Behavioral Science's History Department. Once he is finished with the master's program at San Bernardino, he will be enrolling in the University of Texas at El Paso's PhD program in Borderlands History. In this program he hopes to combine all of his interest areas to further study the impact of power relations on the people and environment in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands. Benjamin also wants to pursue a Teacher Scholar career.



# History in the Making

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## **Her-Story: The Forgotten Part of the Civil Rights Movement**

By Elizabeth Guzman

Rosa Parks, Martin Luther King, the March on Washington, and the infamous “I Have a Dream Speech” is what many remember when the Civil Rights Movement is recalled. When we limit such an impactful movement in history to a small number of people and moments, other activists, groups, and leaders are often left out or forgotten. More than once, history has rearranged, limited, or left out Her-story, and by doing so has left out a very important view of history. People need to know that the Civil Rights Movement was partly a product of a socio-political struggle of black women to protect their bodies from abusive white men. This innovative analytical frame has remained largely unacknowledged in American society due to general misinformation about the Civil Rights Movement caused by patriarchy and ongoing sexism in America. History will give validation to the work that thousands of men and women put into bringing about the Civil Rights Movement when all their stories can be included in The Movement’s history. The experiences of African American women, though largely ignored or not included, can help us better understand the true motives and the results it helped bring.

Tired of being victimized by white men while riding a bus, on their way home, and in their workplaces, African American women decided to change the way they were being treated. Many women launched their careers in political activism due to the continued dismissal of their legal cases and the lack of protection while using public transportation. One example is Mary Fair Burks, who took the fight against racial injustices into her own

hands by encouraging the women she knew to meet and discuss the brutality they experienced while riding the buses. In 1946, Fair Burks, along with forty other women met for the first time and formed the Women's Political Council.<sup>1</sup> After successfully registering to vote, the Women's Political Council (WPC) set up voting registration workshops throughout Montgomery where they taught others how to fill out the registration forms and basic literacy tests.<sup>2</sup> As grassroots organization of the WPC grew, so did their political presence. In 1953, Jo Ann Robinson led the group to fight the mistreatment and abuse while riding buses. They "stormed in the City Commission, where Jo Ann Robinson railed against the abuses heaped upon black female bus riders...the WPC demanded that black riders be treated with dignity and respect."<sup>3</sup> Then in 1954, after the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, and the continued mistreatment of women on buses, Robinson wrote Mayor W.A. Gayle a letter. Robinson warned about "a city-wide boycott of the buses," and of plans to "ride less or not at all."<sup>4</sup>

By 1955, plans for a boycott seemed to be formulating slowly and losing momentum. However, by March things started to change. It all started when Claudette Colvin, a sophomore in high school, decided not to give up her seat in the colored section of the bus to "preserve segregation."<sup>5</sup> Her arrest caused the bus boycott to once again be considered. At her trial Judge Wiley C. Hill found Claudette guilty of "assault and battery and charged her with violating the state rather than city segregation laws."<sup>6</sup> Then, at her appeal, Judge Eugene Carter charged her with "assault and

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<sup>1</sup> Mary Fair Burks, "Trailblazers: Women in the Montgomery Bus Boycotts," in *Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers and Torchbearers, 1941-1965*, ed. Vicki L. Crawford, Jacqueline Anne Rouse, and Barbara Woods (Brooklyn, New York: Carlson Publishing Inc, 1990), 78.

<sup>2</sup> Danielle L. McGuire, *At the Dark End of the Street: Black Women, Rape, and Resistance-a New History of the Civil Rights Movement from Rosa Parks to the Rise of Black Power* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010), 76.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 78.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 82.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

battery, assessed a small fine, and declared her a juvenile delinquent.”<sup>7</sup> Jo Ann Robinson and Mary Fair Burks decided not to wait any longer. People were angry and ready to take action after the outcome of Claudette’s case. With the help of E.D. Nixon, the women started to organize a mass bus boycott. Upon discovering that Claudette Colvin was pregnant, Nixon decided not to use her as a symbol for the boycott, arguing that she would be a “liability in certain parts of the black community,” therefore, there was nothing to do but wait for another incident to occur.<sup>8</sup> In October 1955, Mary Louise Smith, an eighteen-year-old maid, also refused to give up her seat while riding a bus. According to Nixon, Smith was also not the right candidate. Her father was a known alcoholic and “lived in a low type of home.”<sup>9</sup> They needed someone who was from a respectable family and from the right part of town, who would keep negative black stereotypes from smothering any “movement for change.”<sup>10</sup>

On December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks decided not to give up her seat while riding home on a city bus.<sup>11</sup> When news of Parks’ arrest reached Robinson, she did not wait for anyone’s approval. She created a flyer that called for a boycott starting Monday, December 5, 1955, then called her friend John Cannon who worked at Alabama State University and asked to use the mimeographs to make copies of the flyer.<sup>12</sup> That Monday morning, buses in Montgomery had no passengers; and the rest is history. On December 19, “an inter-racial committee” made a “third try at ending” the boycott.<sup>13</sup> The African American members of the group made three proposals: “more courteous treatment of passengers, the hiring of Negro drivers for predominately Negro

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<sup>7</sup> McGuire, *At the Dark End of the Street*, 89.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 92.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 95.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 98.

<sup>13</sup> *The Jackson Advocate*, December 24, 1955.

<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn79000083/1955-12-24/ed-1/seq-2/>.

routes, and a 'first come, first served' policy of seating so that members of either race would not have to stand when there were empty seats on a bus."<sup>14</sup> Unfortunately, "bus officials flatly turned down" the request "to hire Negro drivers" and the "first come, first served" proposition.<sup>15</sup> So the boycott continued. The boycott was successful enough to make newspaper headlines in Virginia. *The Tribune*, a newspaper from Roanoke, Virginia, published on their December 24, 1955 issue, explained how the boycott "action was 90 per cent effective because of nearly 250 Negro passengers riding the one bus daily."<sup>16</sup>

For almost a year, the African American community worked together and avoided the buses at all cost by figuring out a carpool system. The active members of the Women's Political Council, along with other support groups, know that the plans did not originate with Martin Luther King, as many today believe. The experiences of the women in Montgomery, their long struggle with the right to "ride with dignity" and to sit anywhere on a crowded bus without the fear of being abused verbally and physically, had finally broken through the surface of the deep rooted seeds of Jim Crow.

The Montgomery Bus boycott was only the beginning of what turned out to be a nation-wide event. Though much of the work done focused on the southern most states, African American women around the country organized themselves to push for changes in their own communities. Gloria Richardson is a prime example of one of these local grassroots organizers. In 1962, Gloria Richardson joined the movement after a group of Freedom Riders arrived in Baltimore, Maryland. In June of the same year, Gloria was selected as co-chairman of the newly formed Cambridge Nonviolent Action Committee (CNAC). Together with other members, Richardson "sought demands for equal treatment on all scores... Then in addition to segregation itself, the economic

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<sup>14</sup> *The Jackson Advocate*, December 24, 1955.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *The Tribune*, December 24, 1955.

<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn98068351/1955-12-24/ed-1/seq-1/>.

and social system that segregation defended were attacked—housing, employment, working conditions, and education.”<sup>17</sup> In 1962, CNAC began helping community members fill out voting registration forms. Later, in 1963, Cambridge’s only movie theater decided to restrict African American’s to the back part of the balcony when they had originally been allowed to use the entire balcony.<sup>18</sup> CNAC members went to the mayor and demanded integration, but nothing was achieved, in retaliation Richardson and several others started to picket and hold sit-ins at the theater. Arrests followed but Richardson swore they would continue to hold sit-ins at the jail until the theaters were desegregated.<sup>19</sup> The struggle was led by Gloria until 1964 when she moved to New York with her new husband. The fight in Cambridge continued without her and even then, full desegregation was not achieved until seven years later.<sup>20</sup>

Women across the United States found their voice and their calling while pushing for change within the Civil Rights Movement; women like Daisy Bates, a Civil Rights leader who deserves recognition. The Little Rock Nine, as they are known, and their entrance to Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas is partly due to the efforts, hard work, and dedication of Daisy Bates. She was thrust into the forefront of the desegregation fight in the city of Little Rock. Her life changed completely overnight. From the start, Daisy knew she belonged in the fight. In her memoir, *The Long Shadow of Little Rock*, Bates shares:

As the state President of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People I was in the front-line trenches. Was I ready for war? Was I

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<sup>17</sup> Annette K. Brock, “Gloria Richardson and the Cambridge Movement,” in *Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers and Torchbearers, 1941-1965*, ed. Vicki L. Crawford, Jacqueline Anne Rouse, and Barbara Woods (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing Inc, 1990), 126.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 128.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 141.

ready to risk everything that L.C. and I had built? Who was I really and what did I stand for? Long after I had gone to bed my mind raced over these questions and over the whole course of my life. Toward dawn I knew I had found the answer. I was ready.<sup>21</sup>

Daisy's peaceful life was over. When paratroopers arrived in Little Rock to protect the teenagers as they entered Central High School, Daisy was relieved but not happy. She expressed to a reporter: "Anytime it takes eleven thousand five hundred soldiers to assure nine Negro children their constitutional right in a democratic society," she could not be happy.<sup>22</sup> Bates later had to turn herself in after the "mayor and the city council" ordered her arrest and the arrest of the other NAACP officials.<sup>23</sup> The mayor accused the NAACP leaders of failing to submit paperwork regarding their organization.<sup>24</sup> Later, many saw Daisy's release from jail as a sign that she had been given special treatment for having spent such a small amount of time behind bars. In retaliation two burning crosses were put up on her property along with a sign saying "GO BACK TO AFRICA! KKK!"<sup>25</sup>

Despite this, Bates continued to be the main representative for the nine students and pushed for change in her community. When she recalled the situation, she said "we were determined to help our people and our country to contribute to that great social revolution by removing barriers, based upon race that had stood in our own nation for so many decades."<sup>26</sup> Years later, when asked why she had not moved away and taken time to rest, Daisy Bates

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<sup>21</sup> Daisy Bates, *The Long Shadow of Little Rock: A Memoir*, (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1987), 4-5.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

<sup>23</sup> *The Arizona Sun*. December/05/1957.

<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84021917/1957-12-05/ed-1/seq-3/>.

<sup>24</sup> Bates, *The Long Shadow of Little Rock*, 4-5.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 110.

<sup>26</sup> Bates, *The Long Shadow of Little Rock*, 221.

answered with great certainty, “none of us, Negro or white, can afford to rest as long as Negroes suffer almost uninterrupted persecution of body and spirit.”<sup>27</sup> Daisy Bates’ experience is often lost behind other major events of the Civil Rights Era. Daisy Bates stood up for what she knew was necessary and right even if it meant facing threats and death head on.

Young people and women everywhere, like Bates, encountered and struggled with the dangers that joining a Civil Rights activist group brought them. Anne Moody was born and raised in Mississippi and, from an early age, defied the customs of keeping one’s head down, addressing white men and women as sir and ma’am, and staying quiet. The summer before Anne entered high school, Emmet Till was murdered. Till’s murder made Anne acknowledge “the fear of being killed just because I was black. This was the first of my fears...I didn’t know what one had to do or not do as a Negro not to be killed.”<sup>28</sup> But Till’s death was not in vain, for the same day she heard the news of Emmet Till’s death, Anne also first heard of the NAACP.<sup>29</sup> When Anne entered college a few years later, her roommate encouraged her to join the NAACP chapter on campus. Later that night Anne could not sleep and later wrote, “The more I remembered the killings, beatings, and intimidations, the more I worried what might possibly happen to me or my family if I joined the NAACP. But I knew I was going to join, anyway. I had wanted to for a long time.”<sup>30</sup> Like Bates, Moody clearly understood what it meant to be associated with the NAACP.

The summer before her senior year of college, on their way home after a day of shopping, Anne suggested to her friend Rose that they enter and use the white side of the train station. Rose agreed and both girls walked into the station. They bought their tickets back to Tougaloo and took their seats to wait in the white

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 122.

<sup>28</sup> Anne Moody, *Coming of Age in Mississippi* (New York: Dial Press, 1968), 107.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 108.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 221.

section of the train station. Suddenly, things took a turn for the worse. Anne relates that a drunk white man approached the girls and started cursing and yelling at them. They tried to remain calm but amid the harassment the girls missed their bus and were forced to wait for the next one. As more people joined in the harassment, both girls held their ground, stayed in their seats in the white area of the station, and waited for their bus, only to find out they had once again missed it. Finally, the girls decided to leave after noticing that everyone entering the stations seemed to stop to harass and yell at them.<sup>31</sup> Thankfully, no physical harm was done to the girls, but Anne was ready for more action. What she did not realize was that it would come at a cost.

The NAACP was planning its annual convention in Jackson. Moody was excited and even extended an invitation to her mother. Three days later Anne received a reply from her mother asking her to not attend the convention, stating that the town sheriff had warned that if he received news of Anne's involvement with the NAACP, she would not be allowed to return home.<sup>32</sup> Instead of feeling confused, abandoned, and alone by the possibility of never being able to come home, Anne said it drove her to become "more and more involved in the Movement...I had found something outside of myself that gave meaning to my life."<sup>33</sup>

That summer her professor John Salter, who oversaw the NAACP chapter at her campus, asked Anne to be a "spokesperson for a team that would sit-in at Woolworth's lunch counter."<sup>34</sup> At 11:15 AM, Anne and two other students, Memphis and Pearlana, entered Woolworth's and sat at the counter. They waited for their orders to be taken and watched the waitress covering the counter walk past them a few times. When she finally approached the students, she notified them that they would be served in the "back counter, which was for Negroes" to which Anne replied, "We

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<sup>31</sup> Anne Moody, *Coming of Age in Mississippi*, 227-230.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 233-234.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 235.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

would like to be served here.”<sup>35</sup> The waitress, realizing what was about to happen, turned the counter lights off and followed the other waitress out the back door. Anne explains that one by one people started leaving and when enough of them left, reporters suddenly appeared. The reporters proceeded to ask them who they were, if they were students, if they were working with an organization, and the reason for their sit-in. Anne answered that they were students at Tougaloo College, they represented no specific organization, and that they would wait until they received service if it meant they were there until the lunch counter closed. While sitting, Anne saw a face she recognized. The drunk man from the bus station happened to be walking into the Woolworth’s counter. She watched as he pulled a knife from his pocket. Nervous for what would come next, Anne, Pearlana, and Memphis bowed their heads to pray. At that moment Anne says, “All hell broke loose.”<sup>36</sup> Another man inside the Woolworth’s pulled Memphis off his seat and slapped Anne across the face, then a male store employee threw Anne against another counter and caused her to fall to the floor. A man, who claimed to be a police officer, arrested both Memphis and the man who was attacking him. Suddenly, a white female student who Anne identifies as Joan Trumpauer, joined Pearlana and Anne at the counter. The crowd proceeded to remove Joan from the restaurant by carrying her outside while Anne was dragged by her hair.

Determined to continue their sit-in, both Anne and Joan returned to the counter to find that a white staff member from Tougaloo, Louis Chaffee, had joined Pearlana at the counter, Anne writes, “The mob then started smearing us with ketchup, mustard, sugar, pies, and everything on the counter.”<sup>37</sup> Next, John Slater joined the four women, but he was immediately “hit on the jaw with what appeared to be brass knuckles.”<sup>38</sup> George Raymond, a field worker for CORE (Congress of Racial Equality), sat in after

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<sup>35</sup> Moody, *Coming of Age in Mississippi*, 236.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 237

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 238

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

Slater, and then a young high school boy joined them too. They sat at the counter for three hours as the mob of people kept harassing them. When the president of Tougaloo College, Dr. Beittel, ran in and saw what was happening he ran back outside and begged the police officers, who had been watching all along, to come inside and escort the students out. Captain Ray notified Dr. Beittel that he could only enter if the owner invited the officers inside. Dr. Beittel, noticing that the officers would not enter the building to keep the students from harm, demanded that the officers at least provide them with protection as soon as they stepped out the Woolworth's doors.<sup>39</sup> On May 28, 1963, Anne Moody, Memphis Norman, and Pearlana Lewis' names appeared on the front page of a Mississippi newspaper. This demonstration made history as the "first sit-in, in Jackson."<sup>40</sup>

A few days later, demonstrations happened all over town. Some sat-in at other restaurants, some picketed, and others squatted in the streets.<sup>41</sup> The demonstrations continued for days and thousands were arrested. The jails were so packed that demonstrators were being held at the fairgrounds. Eventually, Anne got herself arrested and sent to the fairground; she states:

The compounds they put us in were two large buildings used to auction off cattle during the annual state fair. There were about a block long, with large openings about twenty feet wide on both ends where the cattle were driven in. The openings had been closed with wire. It reminded me of a concentration camp. It was hot and sticky.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 239.

<sup>40</sup> *The Chronicle*, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn87065526/1963-05-28/ed-1/seq-1/>.

<sup>41</sup> Moody, *Coming of Age in Mississippi*, 241.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 251

She could not believe this was happening in America “the land of the free and the home of the brave.”<sup>43</sup> Anne continued to work for the movement long after college but her experiences while at Tougaloo had caused her life to change. She was estranged from her family and faced danger more than once. Anne Moody, like Daisy Bates, had found her calling within the Civil Rights Movement and was willing to sacrifice her life to fight for a movement she believed in.

Women were essential to the Civil Rights Movement, yet their personal experiences and stories are not well recognized within the movement’s history. Danielle L. McGuire’s book, *At the Dark End of the Street*,<sup>44</sup> presents women fighting for control and protection of their bodies and encourages awareness to the lack of their recognition. McGuire’s argument, that the Civil Rights Movement was a product of socio-political struggle of African American women, is supported by examining the lives of women like Mary, Jo Ann, Daisy, Gloria, and Anne. McGuire is not the first to highlight women’s work within the Civil Rights Movement. Various authors have highlighted that many history books ignore the active political roles of women working for civil rights. History has been unfair in leaving out the stories, experiences, and opinions of women and in not analyzing their contributions to the successes the movement achieved. It is understandable to see why viewing the Civil Rights Movement as a product of the struggle for the protection of men and women might be a difficult thing when the evidence has been so well silenced. Jeanne Theoharis’ book, *A More Beautiful and Terrible History*,<sup>45</sup> claims that our “fabled” and “whitewashed” versions of Civil Rights history is to blame for the lack of exposure of women. Theoharis claims that our Civil Rights history is viewed as:

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Danielle L. McGuire, *At the Dark End of the Street: Black Women, Rape, and Resistance-A New History of the Civil Rights Movement from Rosa Parks to the Rise of Black Power* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010).

<sup>45</sup> Jeanne Theoharis, *A More Beautiful and Terrible History: The Uses and Misuses of Civil Rights History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2018).

One of progress and national redemption. Jim Crow was framed as a horrible Southern relic, and the movement to unseat it became a powerful tale of courageous Americans defeating a long-ago evil...A movement that had challenged the very fabric of US politics and society was turned into one that demonstrated how great and expansive the country was—a story of individual bravery, natural evolution, and the long march to a “more perfect union.”<sup>46</sup>

The reality, Theoharis explains, is that this history has “naturalized the civil rights movement as an almost inevitable aspect of American democracy rather than as the outcome of Black organization and intrepid witness,” and she argues that Civil Rights History should be “uncomfortable, sobering histories—that hold a mirror to the nation’s past and offer far-reaching lessons for seeing the injustices of our current moment and the task of justice today.”<sup>47</sup> While history has made the March on Washington a pivotal event in the Civil Rights Movement, many leaders recall the events of the day differently from what history has made the world believe happened that day.

The March on Washington in 1963 is remembered differently among women activists and leaders who were present on that unforgettable day. Anna Arnold Hedgeman, the woman responsible for the involvement of white Christians present at the march, was part of the “March Organization Committee.”<sup>48</sup> She pressured the committee to include women in the lineup of speakers after noticing that “not a single woman was slated to speak.”<sup>49</sup> When Hedgeman asked Bayard Rustin about her observation he simply responded with “Women are included.

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<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, x.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, x-xvi, xvii.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 166.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

Every group has women in it.”<sup>50</sup> Instead the solution the committee came up with was:

The Chairman would introduce these women, telling of their role in the struggle...as each one is introduced, she would stand for applause, and after the last one has been introduced and the Chairman has called for general applause, they would sit.<sup>51</sup>

Surely, women who had fought years for their rights and who had risked their lives to help start a movement so big felt “a general applause” was simply not enough. They wanted to tell the world of their hard work and their accomplishments. History books give the impression that the women were happy to simply be present. Dorothy I. Height’s essay titled “We Wanted the Voice of a Woman to Be Heard”<sup>52</sup> touches on her feelings of the outcome at the 1963 March on Washington. She states:

We were all seated. In all the March on Washington pictures, we’re right there on the platform...The women represented a cross section of organizations, including labor, religion, and social welfare groups. What actually happened was so disappointing, because actually women were an active part of the whole effect. Indeed, women were the backbone of the movement.”<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 167.

<sup>51</sup> Theoharris, 168.

<sup>52</sup> Dorothy I. Height, “We Wanted the Voice of a Women to be Heard: Black Women and the 1963 March on Washington,” in *Sisters in the Struggle: African American Women in the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements*, ed. Bettye Collier-Thomas and V.P. Franklin (New York: New York University, 2001). 83-94.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 87.

At the March on Washington, Daisy Bates read the committee's "Tribute to Women" that was written by another March organizer, John Morsell. The statement read: "The women of this country pledge to you, Mr. Randolph, to Martin Luther King, to Roy Wilkins, and all of you fighting for civil liberties, that we will join hands with you, as women of this country."<sup>54</sup> The paragraph seems to give full credit for the Civil Rights Movement to the men. Notice too that the pledging is made to the men. Part of the reason for the misinformation of the Civil Rights Movement stems from the patriarchy within the movement and within American culture. Anna Hedgeman picks up on the sexism within King's "I Have a Dream" stating "in front of 250,000 people who had come to Washington because they had a dream, and in the face of all the men and women of the past who had dreamed in vain, I wished very much that Martin had said, 'We have a dream.'"<sup>55</sup> Dorothy I. Height says there was one thing the March on Washington did do for women: it helped them understand exactly where they stood within the Movement and how they were viewed in their community. The March, she said:

Brought into bold relief the different perspectives of men and women in the whole issue of gender. Though every statistic showed us that a number of our families were headed by women, we were still dominated by the view that if men were given enough, women would be better off. There was not a sense of equal partnership.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Jeanne Theoharis, *A More Beautiful and Terrible History: The Uses and Misuses of Civil Rights History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2018), 170.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 171.

<sup>56</sup> Dorothy I. Height, "We Wanted the Voice of a Women to be Heard: Black Women and the 1963 March on Washington," in *Sisters in the Struggle: African American Women in the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements*, ed. Bettye Collier-Thomas and V.P. Franklin (New York: New York University, 2001), 91.

At an event that was supposed to represent the African American community, the March on Washington should have brought awareness to the struggles and efforts made by both male and female leaders, organizers, and civilians. Instead, Martin Luther King's phrase left the women feeling unimportant and excluded.

Though many women understood that men needed to be seen as the coordinators of the movement, others like Heights wanted to make sure that women were not excluded from the civil liberties the movement was trying to achieve. Frances Beale explains it best in her article titled "Double Jeopardy: To be Black and Female,"<sup>57</sup> she states:

Black women are not resentful of the rise to power of black men. We welcome it. We see in it the eventual liberation of all black people from this corrupt system of capitalism. Nevertheless, this does not mean that you have to negate one for the other. This kind of thinking is a product of miseducation; that it's either X or it's Y. It is fallacious reasoning that in order for the black man to be strong, the black women has to be weak<sup>58</sup>.

The liberation of men should not have to come out of the submissiveness of women. Instead, it should be achieved together for the improvement of both male and female experiences. Frances Beale was not the only one to believe male and female should be striving for justice together.

Mary Ann Weathers' essay "An Argument for Black Women's Liberation as Revolutionary Force"<sup>59</sup> states "women's

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<sup>57</sup> Frances Beale, "Double Jeopardy: To be Black and Female," in *Words of Fire: An Anthology of African American Women Feminist Thought*, ed. Beverly Guy-Sheftall, Cole Beverly, and Johnnetta B. Cole (New York: New Press, 1995), 145-156.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 148.

<sup>59</sup> Mary Ann Weathers, "An Argument for Black Women's Liberation as Revolutionary Force," in *Words of Fire: An Anthology of African American*

liberation should be considered as a strategy for an eventual tie-up with the entire revolutionary movement consisting of women, men and children.”<sup>60</sup> She stated that women’s demands for safety while riding the bus meant that men and children would have the same applicable rights in safe and harassment free transportation. Demands for better employment, desegregated schools, and public places would benefit everyone around them and make their communities better for future generations. Weathers concluded, “let it be clearly understood that black women’s liberation is not antimale; any such sentiment or interpretation as such cannot be tolerated. It must be taken clearly for what it is—pro-human for all peoples.”<sup>61</sup>

Other movement historians, Patricia Haden, Donna Middleton, and Patricia Robinson describe the situation of African American women in society in their essay “A Historical and Critical Essay for Black Women.”<sup>62</sup> They state “we are separated from black men in the same way that white women have been separated from white men. But are even less valued by white and black males because we are not white. The American Dream is white and male when examined symbolically. We are the exact opposite—black and female.”<sup>63</sup> Their feelings of being left out and of feeling that they were not worthy enough to be considered part of society is partly the reason for their political actions during the Civil Rights period. Women knew that they needed to be recognized as equal members of society, not just by the members of their African American communities, but also amongst the white members of society. Their political activism provided an

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*Women Feminist Thought*,” ed. Beverly Guy-Sheftall, Cole Beverly, and Johnnetta B. Cole (New York: New Press, 1995), 157-162.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 158.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 159.

<sup>62</sup> Patricia Haden, Donna Middleton, and Patricia Robinson, “A Historical and Critical Essay for Black Women,” in *Words of Fire: An Anthology of African American Women Feminist Thought*,” ed. Beverly Guy-Sheftall, Cole Beverly, and Johnnetta B. Cole (New York: New Press, 1995), 175-184.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 179.

opportunity to demonstrate just how able and capable women were at bringing about drastic changes.

The way Civil Rights history is remembered today is a neat and progressive version of the story. The history most people know is Rosa Parks sat on a bus and Martin Luther King was the mastermind behind everything else. When the true story is there were many women who came before Rosa Parks who worked hard to attain rights they knew every human deserved regardless of race, color, and gender. The experiences of female activists like Anne Moody and Daisy Bates testify that the Civil Rights Movement was a product of the efforts of women who worked so hard in the years leading up to the Civil Rights Era. The fabled, misinformed, progressive and national redemption Civil Rights history we have today helps us understand why the stories of thousands of women are slowly being forgotten. Women deserve to be recognized and their socio-political work included and analyzed as part of the Civil Rights Movement. The misinformation and the patriarchal view that historians have given history must end so that the stories of women may be exposed and brought back into historical discourses. Only then can the unacknowledged stories of thousands of men, women, and young people give a complete understanding of the role everyone played in the past and can play in the future. The history we should be highlighting moving forward is one that tells “why the discomfort is part of the truth we need,” one in “which we know the truth about ourselves collectively, not one in which we tell pleasant lies about ourselves.”<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Jeanne Theoharis, *A More Beautiful and Terrible History: The Uses and Misuses of Civil Rights History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2018), xvii.

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**Author Bio**

Elizabeth (Lizz) Guzman graduated from Cal State San Bernardino in the Fall of 2019 earning a Bachelor of Arts in History, with a U.S. History concentration. Liz enjoys studying women's history and plans on returning to CSUSB to earn her Master's in History. She also wants to earn a Credential and teach history at the high school level. In her spare time, she likes to read and volunteer at her church's kids scouting club.



## **Bhindranwale: How One Controversial Religious Figure Threatened the Unity of India**

By Aditya Indla

In 1984, the Indian army attacked the Golden Temple in Amritsar, India, to kill Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and his band of Sikh terrorists, who had holed up in the holiest of Sikh shrines. In the aftermath of this event, India fell into a prolonged civil war as factions vied for control of Punjab, the most prosperous province of India. This war spanned three decades and led to the loss of over 20,000 lives. The attack on the Golden Temple is often seen as the cause of the Sikh separatist movement known as Khalistan.

Bhindranwale, a controversial religious figure, fanned the flames of anti-Indian and anti-Hindu sentiments in Sikhs through his fiery speeches. Bhindranwale first rose to power in 1978, when he incited violence against a group of Sikhs he saw as heretics. Within six years, Bhindranwale gained enough grassroots support among Sikhs to challenge the central government of India. The violence that ensued under his leadership forced the Indian government to launch the attack on the Golden Temple, which in turn triggered the civil war. Sikhs have been part of India since Sikhism's founding in the tenth century, and during the partition of India, Sikhs in Pakistan chose to migrate to India rather than stay in Pakistan. Journalists and historians point to Operation Blue Star as the direct cause of the civil war for a separate Khalistan. This paper argues, however, that Bhindranwale tapped into an already existing undercurrent of Sikh resentment against the Hindus and exploited their grievances in a Hindu majority India to turn the richest state in the country against the central government. This power furthered his revivalist ambitions for a Sikh nation.

## **Historical Context**

Sikhism is the fifth most prominent religion in the world, with over thirty million followers in fifteen countries.<sup>65</sup> In 1489, Guru Nanak, a twenty-year-old resident of the rich agrarian Punjab province of India, underwent a profound religious experience, a communication from God to "...Go into the world and teach mankind how to pray. Be not sullied by the ways of the world, let your life be one of praise of the word (*naam*), charity (*daan*), ablution (*ishnaan*), service (*seva*) and prayer (*simran*)."<sup>66</sup> He founded Sikhism with the core beliefs of "truthful living, service to humanity, and devotion to God."<sup>67</sup> A succession of nine prophets shaped and governed Sikhism over the next two centuries.

Early Sikhs were socially integrated and practiced interfaith harmony with Hindus and Muslims of India. However, the founding of the Mughal Empire by the Taimurid ruler Babur (1526) established the hegemony of Islam in India and led to religious oppression and the forcible conversion of non-Islamic religions. The hostilities paused under the religiously tolerant Mughal ruler, Akbar (1556-1605). He complied with the Sikh desire for identity, and according to legend, gifted the Sikhs land in

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<sup>65</sup> Amber Pariona, "Countries with The Largest Sikh Populations," *WorldAtlas*, July 21, 2016, accessed January 18, 2019, <http://www.worldatlas.com/articles/countries-with-the-largest-sikh-populations.html>.

<sup>66</sup> Khushwant Singh, "The Genesis of Hindu-Sikh Divide," in *The Punjab Story* (New Delhi: Roli Books International, 2004).

<sup>67</sup> "Beliefs." *Sikh Coalition*. Accessed January 15, 2019.

<http://www.sikhcoalition.org/about-sikhs/beliefs/>; Simran Jeet Singh. "Principles of Sikhism." E-mail interview by author. March 20, 2019.

This interview is a series of emails with Simran Jeet Singh, who serves on Governor Andrew Cuomo's Interfaith Advisory Council for the State of New York. He is also a fellow for the Truman National Security Project and a term-member for the Council on Foreign Relations. He is the subject matter expert on matters related to Sikhism for reporters around the world. He confirmed the validity and authenticity of many of my sources and provided me with new sources to use to further my paper.

the Punjab province to establish the holy city of Amritsar.<sup>68</sup> The Sikhs constructed their holiest spiritual site, the Golden Temple, in the center of Amritsar in 1604.<sup>69</sup> Guru Arjun, the fifth Guru, codified Sikh principles of worship and cultural values into the scripture of Sikhism, Guru Granth Sahib, which was housed in the Golden Temple.<sup>70</sup> However, the peace between the Mughals and Sikhs was short-lived.

Akbar's son Jehangir resumed Sikh persecution and, apprehensive of the growing influence of Sikhism, executed Guru Arjun, setting the stage for a military conflict between Sikhs and the Mughals.<sup>71</sup> Sikhs engaged in armed resistance, constructing the Akal Takht fort facing the Golden Temple in 1606, as the seat of Sikh leaders and everyday Sikh affairs.<sup>72</sup> The ninth leader, Guru Gobind (1666-1708), further militarized the Sikhs, creating a religious army, called Khalsa.<sup>73</sup> He entrenched the Sikh-warrior mindset with principles of unshorn hair and a beard to evoke a fearsome appearance, a common surname of "Singh" (Lion) depicting bravery, and a mandate to carry a sword (Kirpan) at all times for defense of faith.<sup>74</sup> In the path of Islamic invaders to Delhi, the capital of India, Sikhs were trained as fighters and have since been India's premier fighting force. Sikhs are easily recognizable due to being required to wear the 5 k's: *Kesh* (uncut

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<sup>68</sup> Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, 2nd ed. Vol. 1. 2 vols. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004), 63.

<sup>69</sup> "History of Sachkhand Sri Harmandir Sahib," Official Website of Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Sri Amritsar, accessed January 20, 2019, <http://sgpc.net/sri-harmandir-sahib-2/>.

<sup>70</sup> "Sri Guru Granth Sahib," Official Website of Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Sri Amritsar, accessed January 20, 2019, <http://sgpc.net/sri-guru-granth-sahib/>.

<sup>71</sup> Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, 2nd ed. Vol. 1. 2 vols. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004), 69.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

hair-held up in a turban), *Kara* (steel bracelet), *Kanga* (wooden comb), *Kaccha* (cotton underwear), and *Kirpan* (steel sword).<sup>75</sup>

The turbulent collapse of the Mughal Empire in 1707 led to the British annexation of large swaths of India.<sup>76</sup> During this chaotic transition, in 1799, Sikh warrior Ranjit Singh united the warring princely states of Punjab into a thriving Sikh empire, the first Sikh homeland.<sup>77</sup> His death in 1839, however, caused infighting among his sons over the succession, leading to the British annexation of the Sikh empire in 1849.<sup>78</sup> During India's partition of 1947, Sikhs aspired for a Sikh homeland, Khalistan, along the same lines of Muslim Pakistan. However, the British perceived this demand simply as a counterpoint to prevent the formation of Pakistan, rather than an actual deep seated desire for a Sikh nation, and dismissed it outright.<sup>79</sup> Less than 2 percent of an undivided India's population, the Sikhs felt marginalized during the partition as 2.5 million Sikhs lost their vast land holdings to Pakistan.<sup>80</sup> The Akali Dal, the ethno-religious political party representing Sikh interests in Punjab, blamed Jawahar Lal Nehru, partition architect and India's first prime minister, and his Congress Party for the failed Khalistan bid and the subsequent waning of Sikh influence.<sup>81</sup> Akali Dal emerged as the only political player in the Punjab arena to truly champion Sikh rights. To increase her political power in Punjab against the moderate Akalis, Indira Gandhi, the Congress Party Prime Minister (1966-77, 80-84) allied with a passionately orthodox Sikh preacher, Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale.

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<sup>75</sup> Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, 92.

<sup>76</sup> "India: A Country Study," *The Library of Congress*, 30-35, accessed January/February 2019, <http://www.loc.gov/item/96019266>.

<sup>77</sup> Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, 2nd ed. Vol. 1. 2 vols. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004), 198-210.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 224.

<sup>79</sup> Mark Tully and Satish Jacob, *Amritsar: Mrs. Gandhi's Last Battle* (New Delhi: Rupa &, 1994), 35.

<sup>80</sup> Khushwant Singh, "The Genesis of Hindu-Sikh Divide," in *The Punjab Story*. (New Delhi: Roli Books International, 2004).

<sup>81</sup> Tully and Jacob, *Amritsar*, 34-35.

### **Bhindranwale's Early Life**

Jarnail Singh (later known as Bhindranwale) was born in 1947, the year of the partition, in the village of Rode in Punjab, to a poor farmer, Joginder Singh.<sup>82</sup> His name Jarnail was a Punjabi pronunciation of the word general. Enrolled in a religious seminary, Damdami Taksal, he was a pious student. Joginder Singh described Bhindranwale, when a young boy, as “someone who could fell a tree in a single blow and at the same time memorize whole chapters of the scriptures and recite them a hundred times a day.”<sup>83</sup> Unlike most students at the seminary, Jarnail Singh imbibed Sikh religious fervor and became a force to be reckoned with during his time at Damdami Taksal.

Standing an impressive and lean six feet tall, his looks commanded attention. He had a strong nose and deep-set eyes which almost disappeared when he broke into a toothy grin.<sup>84</sup> Unlike an average Sikh, Jarnail wore his blue or saffron turban tied in tiers, allowing him to stand out. The rest of Bhindranwale's wardrobe was based entirely on commands from the Guru, as he focused on proving himself a faithful true Sikh. His fervor often took the form of conversions and sermons to Sikhs he felt had abandoned the true faith. The leader of the seminary, impressed by the young speaker, anointed him the heir to Taksal leadership.<sup>85</sup> Upon becoming the head of Damdami Taksal, based in the town of Bhindran, he added Bhindranwale (from Bhindran) to his name.

In the 1900s, the Sikh lifestyle in Punjab was undergoing a rapid change. Under the British Raj, Sikhs were treated preferentially against Hindus in a divide and conquer strategy, resulting in increased monetary and political influence. Independence and the Green revolution brought prosperity to

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<sup>82</sup> Tavleen Singh, “Terrorist in the Temple,” in *The Punjab Story* (New Delhi: Roli Books International, 2004).

<sup>83</sup> Tully and Jacob, *Amritsar*, 53.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

Punjab, as modern agricultural methods yielded bumper crops. Due to influence from the British as well as agricultural prosperity, Sikhs began to feel less restricted and started consuming alcohol and tobacco, slipping into what Bhindranwale considered debauchery. Tying a turban and washing waist-length hair became too cumbersome for Sikhs in a fast-paced modern lifestyle. Safety razors became the new symbol of heresy for orthodox leaders like Bhindranwale.

During the 1970s, Bhindranwale traveled around the villages to convert people back to the true faith by baptizing people and preaching sermons about the evils of modern life.<sup>86</sup> Journalist Tavleen Singh, who interviewed Bhindranwale multiple times says, “His philosophy in six words was ‘Give up addictions. Take Baptism. Become good Sikhs.’ (*Nashey chaddo. Amrit chhako. Gursikh bano*).”<sup>87</sup> Bhindranwale was one of the few Sikh leaders to engage with the community, an itinerant preacher giving incendiary speeches and intervening in domestic disputes. He preached in parables and folksy language, connecting with the ordinary Sikhs.<sup>88</sup> The lower castes appreciated Bhindranwale’s regard for them as equals, finally feeling accepted and represented by someone. He was able to leverage these feelings and molded these dregs of society into his most devoted acolytes. Punjabi youth considered him a role model. He showed no interest in a political career and was content being a preacher, albeit a violent one.

Eminent Indian historians such as Ramachandra Guha and Khushwant Singh consider Bhindranwale simply as a militant, who sowed seeds of discord between the peaceful Hindu and Sikh communities. They cite Bhindranwale’s assurance, “I am not interested in political power,” as evidence that he was simply a

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<sup>86</sup> Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and Ranbir Singh Sandhu, *Struggle for Justice: Speeches and Conversations of Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale*. (Dublin, OH: Sikh Educational & Religious Foundation, 1999), i.

<sup>87</sup> Tavleen Singh, “Terrorist in the Temple,” in *The Punjab Story* (New Delhi: Roli Books International, 2004).

<sup>88</sup> Bhindranwale, *Struggle for Justice*, ii.

rabble rouser. Others see his motivations as a simple power grab, and paint him as a religious goon, who ran a parallel government in Punjab, interfering in family and property matters and extorting money from traders.<sup>89</sup> A minority of Sikhs revere him as a saint who fought for Sikh rights and was martyred for the Sikh cause.<sup>90</sup> But an analysis of Bhindranwale's speeches shows a carefully cultivated narrative in support of a "Sikh Nation," not necessarily from a democratic political power, but rather as a religious nation, harking back to the principles of the time of Guru Gobind Singh, like the modern demands for an Islamic nation by organizations such as ISIS.<sup>91</sup>

Bhindranwale chose to drum up support for a Sikh nation via anti-Hindu fundamentalism rather than the peace and love of God, a common tactic employed by religious revolutionaries to destabilize the status quo and engender chaos. This unfortunate

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<sup>89</sup> Avinash Singh, "Recollections of Bhindranwale," Telephone interview by author (January 10, 2019). This is a firsthand Skype interview between Professor Avinash Singh and I, currently a professor at Punjab University, Chandigarh, India and previously a journalist for the Hindustan Times, who had spoken with many of the important figures in Operation Blue Star, including Bhindranwale. He provided me with his interpretation of the rise and fall of Bhindranwale, his impression of the man and the central government's role in his meteoric rise. He also provided me with an eyewitness account of the operation itself, having seen the operation unfold from the balcony of his house in Amritsar. Together, these helped give me the point of view of a bystander with little to no connection to either Bhindranwale or the government.

<sup>90</sup> "An Echo of Terrorism," *The Economist* (June 12, 2003). Accessed March/April 2019. <http://www.economist.com/asia/2003/06/12/an-echo-of-terrorism>.

<sup>91</sup> Hassan Hassan, "The True Origins of ISIS," *The Atlantic* (November 30, 2018). Accessed February 21 2020. <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2018/11/isis-origins-anbari-zarqawi/577030/>. ISIS arose from the religious ideals held by one Abu Ali al-Anbari, a devout religious fanatic preaching a return to a more conservative faith in the face of increasing Western influence and invasion. Similarly, Bhindranwale preached a return to a more traditional form of Sikhism in the face of an increasingly modernizing India which left devout Sikhs behind. Furthermore, Bhindranwale inflamed preexisting tensions between Sikhs and Hindus, just as al-Anbari antagonized Shiites.

choice would have far-reaching consequences for the Sikh community, most notably the tragedy of 1984.

### **Birth of Hindu-Sikh Divisions**

Sikh historians such as Khushwant Singh, paint Bhindranwale as the cause of Hindu-Sikh tensions in Punjab, tracing the roots to his fiery speeches.<sup>92</sup> However, the seeds of Hindu-Sikh discontent hark back to the time of British Raj.

The annexation of the Sikh empire by the British in 1789 brought a radical change in the Hindu-Sikh relations in Punjab. The Hindu revivalist movement, Swami Dayanand Saraswati's Arya Samaj, founded in 1877 in Lahore, Punjab, played a key role in disrupting the Hindu-Sikh harmony via attempts to convert Sikhs into Hinduism.<sup>93</sup> The Arya Samaj would go on to play a big part in post-independence Punjab as a fomenter of Hindu-Sikh tensions. In 1879, an article titled "Sikhism Past and Present" ridiculed Guru Nanak and criticised Sikhism as a degenerate religion, saying "while the prejudices of the Hindu community are fading away before the progress of western civilization...the Sikh is as much a bigoted and narrow minded being as he was thirty years back."<sup>94</sup> To defend against the ongoing attacks on their faith by Hindus, the Sikhs founded a Sikh reformist society, the Lahore Singh Sabha in 1888, and held large protest meetings condemning Arya Samaj rhetoric against them. The early Sikh leaders were educated Sikhs, landlords and Sikh princes. Some Arya Samaj activists preached Hindu conversions inside the Golden Temple complex, directly challenging the Sikh faith in their place of

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<sup>92</sup> Khushwant Singh, "Oh, That Other Hindu Riot of Passage," <https://www.outlookindia.com/>. November 14, 2004. Accessed April 23, 2019. <https://www.outlookindia.com/magazine/story/oh-that-other-hindu-riot-of-passage/225692>.

<sup>93</sup> Harnik Deol, *Religion and Nationalism in India: The Case of the Punjab, 1960-1990* (Master's thesis, University of London), 137.

<sup>94</sup> Kenneth W. Jones, "Ham Hindu Nahin: Arya-Sikh Relations, 1877-1905," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 32, no. 3, 1973, pp. 457-475, [www.jstor.org/stable/2052684](http://www.jstor.org/stable/2052684). Accessed 26 Feb. 2020.

worship. In 1899, two pamphlets titled *Sikh Hindu Hain*, or *Sikhs are Hindus*, were published by Arya Samaj followers, claiming Sikhism was a strain of Hinduism.<sup>95</sup> In response, Sikhs published a rebuttal, titled *Ham Hindu Nahin*, or *We are not Hindus*, reaffirming their distinct identity.<sup>96</sup> As Kenneth W. Jones notes, “Sikhs in future years might debate who they were, but they knew with increasing certainty who they were not: Ham Hindu Nahin.”<sup>97</sup> By 1899, Sikh Sabhas had presences in over 120 locations in Punjab.<sup>98</sup> In the early 1900s, conversions of a number of Sikhs back into Hinduism by Arya Samaj activists brought forth protests and demonstrations by Sikhs in Punjab. As Sikhs sought to protect their identity, the British sought to further drive a wedge between the two communities in a divide-and-rule strategy. The British promoted Sikh superiority through employment in government service and leadership positions in the army, rewarding their loyalty during the 1857 Sepoy Mutiny by Hindu and Muslim soldiers.<sup>99</sup> Sikhs prospered under the British and enjoyed influence in return for allegiance and tax revenues. Khushwant Singh, in “The History of Sikhs,” claims the Sikhs became the most prosperous peasantry of India and states, “the economic advantages of being Sikh checked the disintegration of Sikhism and its lapse into Hinduism.”<sup>100</sup> As the prosperity of Sikhs grew, the revenues of Gurudwaras including the Golden Temple increased significantly and the Sikhs wanted to control these monies, away from *mahants* or priests who often incorporated

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<sup>95</sup> Kenneth W. Jones, “Ham Hindū Nahīn: Arya-Sikh Relations, 1877-1905,” *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 32, no. 3 (1973): 457–475., [www.jstor.org/stable/2052684](http://www.jstor.org/stable/2052684). Accessed 26 Feb. 2020.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 467

<sup>97</sup> Deol, 150.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> Ian A. Talbot, “The Punjab under Colonialism: Order and Transformation in British India,” *UCSB Global Studies*, Department of Global Studies, University of Santa Barbara, [www.global.ucsb.edu/punjab/sites/secure.lsit.ucsb.edu.gisp.d7\\_sp/files/sitefiles/journals/volume14/no1/14.1\\_Talbot.pdf](http://www.global.ucsb.edu/punjab/sites/secure.lsit.ucsb.edu.gisp.d7_sp/files/sitefiles/journals/volume14/no1/14.1_Talbot.pdf).

<sup>100</sup> *A History of the Sikhs* volume 2, 119.

Hindu rituals in Sikh worship. Through the Sikh Gurudwara Act of 1925, the British created the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC), a group of elected Sikh leaders who controlled the Sikh temples in the state including the Golden Temple. This transition was not smooth, the most notable example being the massacre of Sikhs at Nankana by mahant Narain Das and his followers, a violent clash of Hindus and Sikhs.<sup>101</sup> SCPG controlled the revenues of the multiple temples in the state and gained political and social influence. The political wing of the S.G.P.C, the Akali Dal, formed in 1920, eventually became a major player in the Indian political spectrum, with the stated goal of preserving Sikh identity and political power. Under the British, Sikhs were granted separate representation in the legislature, a decision opposed by the Hindus in Punjab. It was during this period of preferred treatment that the desire for an independent Sikh state, Khalistan, began anew.

By 1944, at the end of WWII, it became apparent to Sikhs that India would be independent, and the possibility of a Muslim Pakistan was clear. So, the Akali Dal proposed their own nation, Azad Punjab or Free Punjab. In March 1946, a resolution by Akali Dal stated, “Whereas the Sikhs being attached to the Punjab by intimate bonds of holy shrines, property, language, traditions, and history claim it as their homeland and holy land and which the British took as a ‘trust’ from the last Sikh ruler during his minority and whereas the entity of the Sikhs is being threatened on account of the persistent demand for Pakistan by the Muslims on the one hand and of the danger of absorption by the Hindus on the other, the Executive Committee of the Shiromani Akali Dal demands, for the preservation and protection of the religious, cultural and economic rights of the Sikh nation, the creation of a Sikh state.”<sup>102</sup>

As Khuswant Singh said in *A History of Sikhs*, “The way the Sikh spokesmen worded their demand for a Sikh state – not as something inherently desirable but simply as a point in an

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<sup>101</sup> Deol, 145.

<sup>102</sup> <http://etheses.lse.ac.uk/1443/1/U093328.pdf> (page 161)

argument against Pakistan – robbed the suggestion of any chance of serious consideration.” The demands were ignored, and the Sikhs felt robbed during the partition, with 2.5 million of them losing their vast land holdings to Pakistan. The Akali leaders claim that Congress leaders promised special status to Sikhs, in return for giving up the demand for a Sikh nation, as evidenced by Nehru’s words at a press conference in Calcutta on July 6 1946, “The brave Sikhs of Punjab are entitled to special consideration. I see nothing wrong in an area and a set-up in the north wherein the Sikhs can also experience the glow of freedom.”<sup>103</sup>

Despite its position as a secular democracy, India’s social and political identities have always been tied up in religion. Sikhs had to fight to maintain their religious identity in post-colonial independent India, where Hinduism was setting the standard of an Indian citizenship.<sup>104</sup> This fight for Sikh identity formed the foundation of Sikh fundamentalism and the Khalistan movement and became the root of Bhindranwale’s argument for Sikhs being a distinct nation.

### **Hindu-Sikh relations in post-independence India: Punjabi Suba Movement and Anandpur Sahib Resolutions**

Between the time of Bhindranwale’s birth in 1947 to his ascent as the leader of Damdami Taksal in 1977, the politics of Punjab were undergoing rapid transformation.

Sikhs continued to struggle to maintain their identity distinct from Hindus in a secular, post-independence India. Article 25b of the Indian constitution failed to differentiate Sikh religion and places of worship from Hindus’, noting, “...Hindus shall be construed as including a reference to persons professing the Sikh, Jaina or Buddhist religion, and the reference to Hindu religious

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<sup>103</sup> Reference: Anadpur Sahib resolutions

<sup>104</sup> Cynthia Keppley Mahmood, “Sikh Rebellion and the Hindu Concept of Order,” *Asian Survey* 29, no. 3 (1989): 337. Accessed April/May 2019. doi:10.1525/as.1989.29.3.01p02605.

institutions shall be construed accordingly.”<sup>105</sup> This clause provided Bhindranwale an easy example of Sikh oppression by the Indian government.

The Sikh ethno-religious party, Akali Dal, in 1950s, initiated efforts to preserve Sikh identity in modern India via the demand for a Punjabi language-based state or Punjabi Suba.<sup>106</sup> While language is not typically associated with a religion in multilingual and multi religious societies, in post-independence secular India built on the principles of religious pluralism, the quest for a Punjabi state became a proxy to Sikh religious identity in a Hindi-speaking Hindu-majority India.

Hindus accused the Akali Dal of conspiring to create a Sikh state under the guise of the Punjabi Suba. The Arya Samaj launched a statewide campaign for the Hindus to renounce Punjabi and declare Hindi the official language of Punjab in “an overt and deliberate political act designed to undercut the linguistic basis of the Punjabi Suba demand.”<sup>107</sup> Furthermore, Nehru himself fervently opposed the creation of an autonomous Punjabi state, claiming, “Sikhs are fine people, but they are led by separatists and fanatics. I cannot hand over a state to them on the border with Pakistan...”<sup>108</sup> The demise of Nehru in 1964 and the contribution of Sikh efforts towards India’s defense in the war against Pakistan in 1965 resulted in a central government sympathetic to the Sikh cause. Ultimately, in 1966, the parliament under Indira Gandhi, finally created a Sikh- majority Punjab nearly 54 percent Sikh and 44 percent Hindu.<sup>109</sup> The fierce Hindu resistance to a Punjabi state would become a rallying cry for Bhindranwale, as his followers

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<sup>105</sup> “Constitution of India.” National Portal of India. Accessed June 2019. <https://www.india.gov.in/my-government/constitution-india>.

<sup>106</sup> Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, 2nd ed. Vol. 1. 2 vols. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004), 299.

<sup>107</sup> Deol, 183.

<sup>108</sup> Pranay Gupte, *Mother India: A Political Biography of Indira Gandhi* (New York: Penguin Books, 2011), 301, accessed June 10, 2019, Google Books, keyword: Mother India: A Political Biography of Indira Gandhi.

<sup>109</sup> Deol, 187.

would later take up the chant of “Raj Karega Khalsa” or “The Khalsa shall rule” in Punjab.<sup>110</sup>

The formation of a Sikh-majority state failed to translate into Akali political dominance. Sikhs rallied behind the Akalis as champions of Sikh causes, nevertheless, the Sikh electorate kept their political and religious affiliations separate, voting the Congress Party into power in Punjab in the 1966 general elections. The weakened Akalis sought a new cause that would revitalize a sense of social solidarity among Sikhs and thus strengthen their political power. They instilled a sense of discrimination in the minds of numerous Sikhs with a list of grievances against the Congress Party-led central government. This list included the forcible sharing of the newly constructed capital city of Chandigarh with Haryana, failure to merge Punjabi-speaking villages adjacent to Punjab into the Punjab state, and the unfair allocation of Punjab’s river waters to Haryana and other Hindu states.<sup>111</sup>

In 1973, the Akali Dal formalized their grievances into the Anandpur Sahib resolutions, the first step towards an independent Sikh nation, named after Anandpur, the birthplace of the Khalsa, symbolically blending their religious and political ideologies.<sup>112</sup> While not asking outright for a separate country, these resolutions called for special treatments for Sikhs. Resolution Part II, 1(a) asks for “The areas that have been taken away from Punjab or have intentionally been kept apart... should be immediately merged, with Punjab, under one administrative unit.” The resolutions further continue, claiming “In this new Punjab, the Central intervention should be restricted to Defense, Foreign Affairs, Post and Telegraphs, Currency and Railways.” However, regarding Foreign Affairs, resolution Part II, Section 3 states, the Sikh foreign policy would “strive for good relations with all

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<sup>110</sup> Tully and Jacob, 20.

<sup>111</sup> Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, 2 vols. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004), 349.

<sup>112</sup> Amarjit Kaur, “Akali Dal, the Enemy Within,” in *The Punjab Story* (New Delhi: Roli Books International, 2004).

neighboring countries, particularly where the Sikhs reside or where their religious shrines are found,” a clear reference to Pakistan, and claims, “...the foreign policy of Congress Government is useless and harmful...” Additional demands included the right to bear arms, removing land ceilings and distributing government lands to Sikh farmers, and bringing industries under government control. These resolutions constrained the central government’s dominion and empowered the Punjab government to frame a separate constitution with jurisdiction over other aspects of governance.<sup>113</sup> Indira Gandhi, the Congress Party Prime Minister, rejected these secessionist demands outright. Sir Mark Tully, former India Bureau Chief of the BBC, writes, “No Prime Minister, let alone one with as firm a conviction as Mrs. Gandhi that India needed a strong central government, could ever accept those terms. To concede that demand would have meant threatening the unity of India.”<sup>114</sup> To combat this growing threat, Indira Gandhi turned to her trusted advisors and political strategists in Punjab.

Wary of rising Akali influence in Punjab, Indira Gandhi’s advisor Zail Singh recommended Bhindranwale, already popular with the rural Sikhs through his sermons, as the perfect antidote to the moderate Akalis. During the early phases of preaching, Bhindranwale was uninterested in the linguistic politics or economic demands of Punjab and made no anti-government or anti-Hindu statements. His role was largely that of a social and religious reformer.<sup>115</sup> But under the Congress political umbrella, Bhindranwale co-opted the Akali mantra of government oppression into Hindu domination and morphed the fight to implement the Anandpur Sahib resolutions from a social and economic conversation into religious discrimination and a fight for the survival of Sikh faith. This, coupled with the militaristic nature of Guru Gobind’s edicts, turned his followers from the path of non-

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<sup>113</sup> Shiromani Akali Dal, comp. Anandpur Sahib Resolutions. Accessed March/April 2019. [www.panjabdigilib.org/webuser/searches/downloadPdf.jsp?file=PL-000811.pdf](http://www.panjabdigilib.org/webuser/searches/downloadPdf.jsp?file=PL-000811.pdf).

<sup>114</sup> Tully and Jacob, 46.

<sup>115</sup> Bhindranwale, *Struggle for Justice*, ii.

violence employed during India's independence movement and the Akali Dal's attempts for negotiated settlements, into armed militancy. A careful analysis of his speeches from 1981 onwards shows an escalating rhetoric towards a persecution complex and increasing calls for violence against Hindus, for injustices perceived and real. His attitude can be summarized in his speech where he asks his followers to choose "Guru's history or (Mahatma) Gandhi's history."<sup>116</sup> While it is possible that Akali Dal's continued demands for Sikh privileges could have led to preferential treatments such as the ones enjoyed by Kashmiris in independent India under article 370, with similar provisions for state constitution, autonomy over internal affairs, special land rights etc, the entry of Bhindranwale escalated the fight from a demand for special rights to a fight against Hindu oppression and brought the simmering Hindu-Sikh tensions to a boil.

### **Rise of Bhindranwale**

As Zail Singh attempted to raise Bhindranwale's profile, he searched for a religious and political cause for the Sikhs to rally behind. He found it in the Nirankaris, a heretical yet rich sect of Sikhs, who revered human Gurus, eschewing Guru Gobind's words of him being the last Guru.

Bhindranwale was extremely critical of the Nirankaris, calling them "Narkdharis" meaning those headed for Hell.<sup>117</sup> In 1978, the Akali Dal government played into the hands of Bhindranwale by allowing the Nirankaris to hold a convention in the holy city of Amritsar. Bhindranwale led a group of protesters against the Nirankaris, and as the protest exploded into violence, 13 Sikhs were killed.<sup>118</sup> Bhindranwale blamed the Nirankaris for

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid., 428.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>118</sup> *Tribune News Service*. "Sikh-Nirankari Conflict Peaked with 1978 Clash." *Tribuneindia News Service*. November 19, 2018. Accessed June 23, 2019. <https://www.tribuneindia.com/news/punjab/sikh-nirankari-conflict-peaked-with-1978-clash/685446.html>.

the carnage, and constantly disparaged them in his speeches. Congress positioned Bhindranwale as the Sikh savior standing against the heretics and criticized Akali Dal for sacrificing Sikh principles on the altar of political power. Bhindranwale's disclaimers against desiring political office and his personal caring of the sick and wounded increased his stature in the Sikh community.

In 1980, when Nirankari Guru, Baba Gurbachan Singh, was killed, Bhindranwale emerged as the prime suspect, but political pressures from Congress Party leaders led to his acquittal. Bhindranwale continued his harassment of the Nirankaris with impunity, backed by Indira Gandhi's central government. Even though the Congress Party reclaimed power in Punjab from the Akali Dal in 1980, Indira Gandhi wished to avoid the emergence of a strong Sikh Congress leader in Punjab, choosing to centralize her political power. Her central government did not intervene in the rising communal tensions between moderate Akali, heretic Nirankari and extremist Bhindranwale sects of Sikhs, as she likely felt Bhindranwale was unknowingly doing her dirty work for her. This led to Bhindranwale gaining a feeling of invincibility and seeing himself as the Sikh liberator. An emboldened Bhindranwale chose to expand his rhetoric to target Hindus and demand for Sikh rights. As Avinash Singh says "the genie was out of the bottle and it was hard to put back in."<sup>119</sup>

As tensions rose in Punjab, Bhindranwale claimed the police discriminated against Sikhs by staging crimes and falsely blaming the Sikh community. His appeal to defend the faith, even by violent means, resonated with the youth of Punjab, most notably the All India Sikh Students Federation. His followers soon expanded their targets, attacking not only the Nirankaris, but Nirankari sympathizers and liberal Akalis. He began to fashion himself as the protector of the Sikh realm, claiming he would reward the killers of Nirankari leaders with gold.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Avinash Singh, "Recollections of Bhindranwale."

<sup>120</sup> Bhindranwale, *Struggle for Justice*, 287.

The first victim of his anti-Hindu rhetoric was Lala Jagat Narain, the chief editor of the Jullundur chain of papers, whose open support of the Nirankaris and the Arya Samaj in their criticisms of Bhindranwale placed him directly in the terrorists' line of fire. On September 9, 1981, Narain was shot dead, prompting the Congress Party Chief Minister of Punjab, Darbara Singh to order Bhindranwale's arrest as the prime suspect.<sup>121</sup> During Bhindranwale's arrest, fighting broke out, resulting in a fire that destroyed copies of his written sermons, his prized possessions, several of which were irreplaceable. Bhindranwale blamed central and state Congress governments for this destruction and severed ties with the Congress Party. One could argue that the burning of his sermons, which he considered as his children, was a blow to his ego, and turned the agitation from communal to personal. He credits the day of the burning of his sermons as the catalyst to Sikh awareness, claiming "September 14 marks the awakening of this Nation."<sup>122</sup> Bhindranwale agreed to surrender, but not before stirring the 75,000 strong crowd into a frenzy with his speech, saying, "I am going to wed my bride, death. If the Chief Minister of Punjab, Darbara Singh, and Indira, the Queen of Hindostan have some granthi (reader of Sri Guru Granth Sahib) to read the marriage prayer, they can send him to the jail ... I am going there fully prepared for it," turning a simple arrest into a bid for martyrdom.<sup>123</sup>

Enraged Sikhs took matters into their own hands. Three Sikhs on motorcycles shot at Hindus in Jullundur, killing four and injuring twelve.<sup>124</sup> The next day, a similar attack killed one Hindu and injured 13 others in the town of Taran Taran near Amritsar.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Sreekant Khandekar. "Bhindranwale's Arrest in Connection with Lala Jagat Narain Murder Case Hit Headlines." *India Today*. October 28, 2014. Accessed June 18, 2019. <https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/indiascope/story/19811015-bhindranwales-arrest-in-connection-with-lala-jagat-narain-murder-case-hit-headlines-773307-2013-10-30>.

<sup>122</sup> Bhindranwale, *Struggle for Justice*, 274.

<sup>123</sup> Bhindranwale, *Struggle for Justice*, 274.

<sup>124</sup> Tully and Jacob, 69.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*

Soon after, a train was derailed near Amritsar and an Indian Airlines plane was hijacked to Lahore.<sup>126</sup> These incidents demonstrated the extent and influence of Bhindranwale's charisma to India and the Sikh diaspora. On October 15, 1981, merely a month later, Bhindranwale was released for lack of proof. Soon after his release, he and his supporters drove around Delhi in a victory rally, brandishing illegal weapons.<sup>127</sup> As Ramachandra Guha notes, this further cemented his position as an invincible hero who could even take on the government, and win.<sup>128</sup>

A popular fable at this time depicts Bhindranwale outsmarting a Hindu court by requesting to swear on the Hindu scripture rather than on Guru Granth Sahib, pointing to Article 25 of the constitution, under which Sikhs are considered Hindus.<sup>129</sup> When the court rejected his plea, claiming that Bhindranwale could lie, should he swear on a Hindu scripture, he responded, "Either change the Constitution or change the book."<sup>130</sup> Soon journalists from major Indian newspapers and foreign press correspondents were clamoring for his interviews. He began to exhort his followers to indulge in violence, offering protection, saying "whoever insults Guru Granth Sahib should be beheaded instantly... whoever beheads... I shall fight any legal case against him."<sup>131</sup> Bhindranwale's acolytes increased brutal attacks against Hindus, chanting the slogan "Raj Karega Khalsa" or "Khalsa shall rule." They left the heads and entrails of cows in Hindu temples,

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<sup>126</sup> Michael T. Kaufman, "Sikh separatists hijack Indian jetliner to Pakistan," *The New York Times*. September 30, 1981. Accessed June 18, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/1981/09/30/world/sikh-separatists-hijack-indian-jetliner-to-pakistan.html>.

<sup>127</sup> Avinash Singh, "Recollections of Bhindranwale."

<sup>128</sup> Ramachandra Guha, "The Bhindranwale Cult: How Politics Allowed an Obscure Preacher to Challenge Indian Democracy," *Scroll.in*. January 03, 2017. Accessed June 23, 2019. <https://scroll.in/article/732426/the-bhindranwale-cult-how-politics-allowed-an-obscure-preacher-to-challenge-indian-democracy>.

<sup>129</sup> Cynthia Keppley Mahmood, *Fighting for Faith and Nation: Dialogues with Sikh Militants* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 11.

<sup>130</sup> Mahmood, *Fighting for Faith and Nation*, 11.

<sup>131</sup> Bhindranwale, *Struggle for Justice*, 62.

even claiming responsibility for this affront.<sup>132</sup> As his followers grew in number, he encouraged arming themselves with guns, as the replacement to swords, claiming “the first path is of peace and the other is of the sword.”<sup>133</sup> Bhindranwale demonstrated the size of his base to his skeptics, claiming, “He who is a Sikh of Guru Granth Sahib ... should raise his arms. This was the pledge I got from the stage. They were 115,000.”<sup>134</sup> He asked his supporters to defy the government’s attempts to limit gun licenses, saying, “If the name of a person is ‘Singh,’ and he has a superior weapon in his possession.... and he...throws them into the lap of an oncoming cap-wearer [Hindu] why was he born into the home of a Sikh?”<sup>135</sup> Given access to arms and a target to attack, young Sikhs flocked to Bhindranwale in droves, drawn to his charisma and message. Bhindranwale tapped into the same religious sentiments driving modern Islamic movements such as the Taliban and ISIS.

Akali Dal realized the growing influence of Bhindranwale and in a move of political opportunism, in 1982, launched a Dharm Yudh Morcha (religious war) with his support, to fight for implementation of the Anandpur Sahib resolutions. And while the Morcha continued, Akali leaders neither condemned these senseless killings in the language they deserved to be condemned nor had the courage to denounce Bhindranwale. Bhindranwale’s vitriol, however, contrasted with the nonviolent attitudes of most Sikhs, including the Akalis. Outraged by the Akalis’ pacifism, Bhindranwale broke rank with the Akalis and shifted his headquarters to a guesthouse in the Golden Temple complex in July 1982.<sup>136</sup>

Gandhi, misled by advisors, believed her party had Bhindranwale under control and ignored his destabilizing activities, while outwardly negotiating with the Akalis and

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<sup>132</sup> Tully and Jacob, 80.

<sup>133</sup> Bhindranwale, *Struggle for Justice*, 197.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 141.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, 212.

<sup>136</sup> Tully and Jacob, 81.

Bhindranwale for peace and autonomy.<sup>137</sup> Bhindranwale torpedoed all compromises with violence, exhorted every Sikh to kill thirty-two Hindus, and exploited government support to increase his power.<sup>138</sup>

### **Height of Bhindranwale's Power**

By now, Bhindranwale was firmly established as a Sikh savior fighting against the “Hindu” government led by “Hindu Pundits’ daughter,” Indira Gandhi.<sup>139</sup> Yet, he continued to paint himself as the oppressed underdog championing for Sikh rights with no desire for political power. He frequently cited incidents involving the mistreatment of individual Sikhs, spinning them as representations of the “Hindu” government’s treatment of Sikhs as a whole: “A young daughter of the Sikhs was stripped naked and... paraded through the village. Has it ever happened to a Hindu?”<sup>140</sup> Soon, ordinary Sikhs were falling under his spell and spouting violent rhetoric, such as the Sikh father whose young sons were imprisoned, threatening the police saying, “...make arrangements for your families and your children...If you shoot the two boys dead...we shall exterminate your families. If I do not do it the Sikh Nation will surely do it after me.”<sup>141</sup>

Bhindranwale rejected the compromises the Akali Dal was making with the central government of Indira Gandhi to stem the rising tide of violence in Punjab. Using the parable of a Sikh who breaks into a Hindu merchant’s house to retrieve the money he is owed, Bhindranwale said “If a Sikh steals, it is bad; if a Sikh commits robbery, it is bad; if a Sikh kills someone it is bad; but for a Sikh to take what is due to him is not a sin ... It is worth it even

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<sup>137</sup> Ibid., 73-80.

<sup>138</sup> Khushwant Singh, “Oh, That Other Hindu Riot of Passage.”

<https://www.outlookindia.com/>. November 14, 2004. Accessed April 23, 2019.

<sup>139</sup> Tully and Jacob, 87.

<sup>140</sup> Bhindranwale, *Struggle for Justice*, 108.

<sup>141</sup> Bhindranwale, *Struggle for Justice*, 12.

if one has to sacrifice one's life for it."<sup>142</sup> He claimed the Anandpur Sahib resolutions were not about economic considerations, rather they were Guru Gobind, the creator of Khalsa's mission, assigned by God.<sup>143</sup>

In 1982, with the Asian Games on the horizon, the central government took the situation in the Punjab seriously for the first time. 1,500 Sikhs planning to protest near the games were arrested. Additional security checks for Sikhs were instituted in Delhi, and even Sikhs in police and army were not exempted. This marked the first time every Sikh felt discrimination in India. Bhindranwale successfully exploited this opportunity, claiming "at the times of the Asian Games, the Sikh is told he cannot come to Delhi from Punjab, but Challi Rams (a derogatory term for Hindus) can do so openly. A Sikh from America could not come, but a Hindu from America could. This is slavery."<sup>144</sup> He referenced the Punjabi Suba movement as another instance of Hindu hegemony and Sikh oppression, asking his congregation whether "...to speak the Hindi language, even one Hindu had to go to jail for an hour...to get a Punjabi-speaking state, fifty-seven thousand of you have to go to jail."<sup>145</sup> Bhindranwale soon fashioned himself the sole champion of Sikhs, questioning the Akali Dal's motivation, claiming, "people are going around the stool (chief minister's chair), sometimes it's the Jan Sangh (Hindu-orthodox party), at others Congress, or the Akalis..."<sup>146</sup> He claimed the Akali Dal's pacifism was antithetical to the principles of Sikhism that demands defense of faith by violent means if necessary.<sup>147</sup>

He also continued to evolve his position on the matter of a Sikh state, or Khalistan. He initially opposed the thought of Khalistan, as raised by the Sikh diaspora under the leadership of Jagjit Chauhan, claiming the Hindu-Sikh unity against Indira

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<sup>142</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 344.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., 333.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., 330.

<sup>146</sup> Bhindranwale, *Struggle for Justice*, 341.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., 427.

Gandhi during the emergency of 1977 as evidence of Sikhs wishing to remain a part of India.<sup>148</sup> But he soon changed his tune, calling Hindus ungrateful, and claiming Sikhs to be a distinct nation.<sup>149</sup> By 1983, he became ambivalent towards Khalistan, claiming to neither support nor oppose it.<sup>150</sup> In 1984, he was firmly in support of a separate Sikh Nation, claiming that while Hindus gained freedom in 1947, Sikhs had yet to be freed, throwing his support behind the movement.<sup>151</sup> He claimed it was the duty of Sikhs to throw off the yoke of slavery from their necks.<sup>152</sup> He placed the burden of keeping India united on the shoulders of the Indian government, claiming, “We are not in favor of Khalistan nor are we against it... We wish to live in Hindostan. We wish to live as equal citizens. The Center [central government] should tell us it wants to keep us or not.”<sup>153</sup>

By 1983, the conflict in Punjab was steadily escalating as the number of violent incidents surged. Bank robberies, bus and train burnings, and bomb explosions became daily occurrences, as did the killing of police and government officials.<sup>154</sup> On April 25, 1983, a Bhindranwale follower shot a senior Punjab police officer in the back inside the Golden Temple. For two hours, his body lay on the steps as the police negotiated access into the temple to take the body away. As this news spread across the country, Indira Gandhi’s Congress government was criticized as a failure for allowing the situation to escalate.<sup>155</sup> On October 5, 1983, a group of young Bhindranwale supporters boarded a bus, separated the Sikh and Hindu passengers, and shot and killed six Hindus.<sup>156</sup> This incident led Indira Gandhi to impose Presidential rule, granting her near total control over Punjab. But Bhindranwale ignored this

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<sup>148</sup> Ibid., 145.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., 171.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., 327.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., 399.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid., 362.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., 211.

<sup>154</sup> Tully and Jacob, 93-95.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., 98

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., 104-105

display of power, repeating the same attack a month later, this time killing four passengers.<sup>157</sup> In response, the Indian Parliament, press, and public demanded the arrest of Bhindranwale.

Evading capture, Bhindranwale relocated into the Akal Takht fort of the Golden Temple complex, the seat of former Sikh rulers, styling himself the self-proclaimed protector of Sikhs. Once ensconced in the temple with his followers, he began to fortify his position and started stockpiling arms. Bhindranwale also continued his speeches, warning Sikhs that Indira Gandhi would attack the Golden Temple. He commanded Sikhs to respond with violence against Hindus in the event of an attack, saying, “when you come to know the Harmandir Sahib (Golden Temple) has been attacked...in the cities and towns near you, no one without a turban should be seen... Have mercy over the Muslims.”<sup>158</sup>

However, Bhindranwale truly believed that “Bibi,” as he disparagingly called Indira Gandhi, would never violate the sanctity of the holiest Sikh shrine.<sup>159</sup> With Bhindranwale controlling Akal Takht, the need for decisive action was indisputable, but Gandhi’s cabinet, concerned about Sikh uprisings and civilian casualties, vehemently opposed a prolonged siege or a guerilla raid.<sup>160</sup> Operation Blue Star, a military operation to “swiftly clear out the Golden Temple and capture maximum militants, weapons and ammunition” was the only viable option.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

<sup>158</sup> Bhindranwale, *Struggle for Justice*, 418.

<sup>159</sup> Sekhar Gupta, “On His Death Anniversary, Remembering the Most Interesting Man I’ve Met: Bhindranwale,” *The Print*. June 06, 2018. Accessed May/June, 2019. <http://theprint.in/opinion/on-his-death-anniversary-remembering-the-most-interesting-man-ive-met-bhindranwale/66987>.

<sup>160</sup> “The Untold Story before Operation Bluestar,” *India Today* (June 06, 2019). Accessed June 18, 2019. <https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/the-big-story/story/20140210-operation-bluestar-indira-gandhi-singh-bhindranwale-army-800031-1999-11-30>.

<sup>161</sup> K. S. Brar, *Operation Blue Star: The True Story* (New Delhi: UBS Publishers Distributors, 2006), 77.

## **Operation Bluestar**

Major-General Brar, a decorated Army officer and veteran of Indo-Pak war of 1971 and a Sikh himself, assumed command. In his book, *Operation Blue Star, the True Story*, he recounts that entering the Golden Temple complex was a “last resort,” but was necessary to “stop the country being held to ransom any longer.”<sup>162</sup> Bhindranwale was “the enemy,” and had “seized control of the Temple.”<sup>163</sup> On June 3, 1984, Indian army surrounded the Temple. The terrorists ignored repeated calls to surrender and to release trapped pilgrims. On June 5, after a rejected ultimatum, the army stormed the Temple. On the morning of June 5, Amritsar woke to the cracking of machine-gun fire as the army launched its assault.

Operation Blue Star was a miscalculation of epic proportions by the government. The army severely underestimated the resolve of Bhindranwale’s fanatics and the enormity of the weapons cache. The Golden Temple and the Akal Takht buildings were heavily fortified with sandbags, machine guns and holes in the sacred marble for gunner positions held by the militants.<sup>164</sup> Restrictions on damage to the Golden Temple greatly hindered the army’s fighting ability. Repeated charges into the Akal Takht led to numerous casualties as machine gun fire decimated soldiers brave enough to break cover. The militants destroyed an armored personnel carrier with a rocket launcher, an unexpectedly sophisticated weapon for a militant group.[8] Singh recounts witnessing paratroopers landing in the temple pool and being electrocuted by a strategically placed live wire.[9] In General Brar’s words, the area in front of the Akal Takht had been turned into a “killing ground.” The army’s blitzes proved futile, but retreat was not an option. According to Mark Tully, “the news that Bhindranwale ... had forced the Indian army to withdraw would certainly leak out somehow. That would have disastrous

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<sup>162</sup> Tully and Jacob, 155.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid.

<sup>164</sup> Tully and Jacob, 162.

consequences in the villages of Punjab and among Sikhs in the army.”

After twenty-four hours of fruitless bloodshed, Brar made the unfortunate yet inevitable decision to deploy the thirty-eight-ton Vijayanta tanks to bombard the Akal Takht, the symbolic center of Sikh temporal power, to rubble.<sup>165</sup> Raging fires burned precious manuscripts and artifacts to ashes. The tank barrage forced Bhindranwale into the open, a target for grenade shrapnel and carbine bullets.<sup>166</sup>

The next day, the army entered the bullet-ridden Akal Takht and discovered Bhindranwale’s shrapnel scarred lifeless body.<sup>167</sup> Bodies of over 5,000 soldiers, extremists and pilgrims littered the entire complex.<sup>168</sup> Bhindranwale’s remains, and those of other militants, were cremated according to Sikh tradition.<sup>169</sup> The army and government, in an extreme use of force, recaptured the Golden Temple and decimated Bhindranwale’s militant organization.

### The Aftermath

In March 1983, Bhindranwale had said “Khalistan will certainly be created the day that the police come in [the Golden Temple] and wish to engage in some improper activity.”<sup>170</sup> Bhindranwale’s prediction proved nearly prophetic—the immediate aftermath was the closest India came to the creation of Khalistan.

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<sup>165</sup> Brar, 98.

<sup>166</sup> Gupta, “On His Death Anniversary.”

<sup>167</sup> Brar, 113.

<sup>168</sup> Giani Singh Sahib and Harbir Singh Bhanwer, “Eye-Witness Account of Operation Bluestar - Operation Bluestar,” *Gateway to Sikhism Foundation*. Accessed June 18, 2019. <http://www.allaboutsikhs.com/operation-bluestar/eye-witness-account-of-operation-bluestar>.

<sup>169</sup> Asit Jolly, “The Man Who Saw Bhindranwale Dead: Col Gurinder Singh Ghuman,” *India Today* (June 24, 2012). Accessed June 18, 2019, <https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/the-big-story/story/20120625-jarnail-singh-bhindranwale-col-ghuman-758812-2012-06-15>.

<sup>170</sup> Bhindranwale, *Struggle for Justice*, 77.

Operation Bluestar outraged all Sikhs—from extremists to moderates—as an assault on Sikh faith, triggering widespread distrust of the government and rekindled the movement for the Sikh homeland, Khalistan. Khushwant Singh noted that “only a miniscule proportion of Sikhs subscribed to Khalistan before the temple was stormed.”<sup>171</sup> A triumphant Gandhi, disregarding advice to “impart a healing touch to a wounded nation,” antagonized the Sikhs further by praising the military. She engendered public mistrust through whitewashed, heavily censored accounts of death and devastation on government-controlled TV and radio.<sup>172</sup> As Sikh hostility against the government intensified, Gandhi, perhaps to minimize the perception of anti-Sikh bias, retained her Sikh security guards—a fatal decision. On October 31, 1984, as Indira Gandhi headed to an interview with British actor Peter Ustinov, Gandhi’s bodyguards Beant Singh and Satwant Singh opened fire with submachine guns, imparting mortal wounds.<sup>173</sup> Beant Singh perished in the escape attempt and Satwant Singh was executed by the government of India.<sup>174</sup>

Enraged at Gandhi’s assassination, Hindus rioted, targeting Sikhs and their property. Local police swiftly suppressed the violence, except in India’s capital, Delhi, where law enforcement was complicit in Sikh massacres by Hindus, with support from Congress leaders, giving ample credence to the notion of a government conspiracy against Sikhs.<sup>175</sup> Mobs lynched, burned and hacked Sikhs to death, cleansing entire neighborhoods of Sikh

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<sup>171</sup> Ahsan I. Butt, “India’s Strategies against Separatism in Assam, Punjab, and Kashmir, 1984-1994,” *Secession and Security*, 2017, 98-109, doi:10.7591/9781501713958-006.

<sup>172</sup> Tully and Jacob, 165.

<sup>173</sup> William E. Smith, “Indira Gandhi: Death in the Garden,” *Time* (November 12, 1984). Accessed June 18, 2019.

<http://content.time.com/time/subscriber/article/0,33009,926929-1,00.html>.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>175</sup> Manoj Mitta, “Disarming Tactics,” in *When a Tree Shook Delhi: The 1984 Carnage and Its Aftermath* (New Delhi: Lotus Collection, an Imprint of Roli Books, 2008).

males.<sup>176</sup> After three days of unmitigated violence, 3,000 deaths, and mounting global scrutiny, the Indian government disavowed the rioters and forced the police to protect the Sikhs.<sup>177</sup> Indira Gandhi's political successor and son, Rajiv Gandhi, attempted to justify the violence claiming, "when a mighty tree falls, it is only natural that the earth around it shakes a little (*Jab koi bada ped girta hai to aas paas ki dharti hilti hai*)."<sup>178</sup>

Incensed by the riots, extremist Sikhs engaged in guerilla warfare for an independent homeland, Khalistan. Rajiv Gandhi negotiated a peace accord with the Akali leader Harchand Longowal in July 1985, granting increased autonomy to Punjab in exchange for suspending hostilities.<sup>179</sup> Sikh terrorists rejected the accord, assassinated Longowal and escalated the agitation with a distressing surge in civilian casualties. Gautam Chaudhary, who lived through the insurgency, recalls, "When night fell, we were afraid."<sup>180</sup>

The Indian government enacted draconian military measures to combat the growing Khalistan threat, incarcerating,

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<sup>176</sup> Manoj Mitta, "Block 32," in *When a Tree Shook Delhi: The 1984 Carnage and Its Aftermath* (New Delhi: Lotus Collection, an Imprint of Roli Books, 2008).

<sup>177</sup> Barbara Crossette, "India's Sikhs: Waiting for Justice," *World Policy Journal* 21, no. 2 (2004): 70-77. doi:10.1215/07402775-2004-3009.

<sup>178</sup> IndianExpressOnline, "Rajiv Gandhi's Speech Justifying 1984 Riots," *YouTube* (November 19, 2015). Accessed June 18, 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k847hOowO70>.

<sup>179</sup> "Sikh Leader in Punjab Accord Assassinated," *Los Angeles Times* (August 21, 1985). Accessed June 18, 2019. <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1985-08-21-mn-1021-story.html>.

<sup>180</sup> Gautam Chaudhary, "Living through the Punjab Insurgency," Interview by author (March 23, 2019). This interview with a current Fremont, CA resident who grew up in Punjab during the height of terrorist sentiment and lost his uncle in a Sikh terrorist attack, highlighted the first-hand experiences of Hindus in Punjab. He shared his personal experiences of living in a dormitory with Sikh students who carried machine guns, and of being stopped by the police and threatened to be arrested as a terrorist, despite being a Hindu, unless he paid a bribe. I also learned that these attacks succeeded in their goal, disrupting everyday life, and creating an "atmosphere of fear" in the days following an attack.

torturing, and killing thousands of mostly innocent Sikhs over the course of eleven years. The Khalistan movement spread to Canada, the U.S., and the U.K., as Indian Sikhs sought asylum overseas to escape persecution.<sup>181</sup> In June 1985, Air India Flight 182 from Montreal to Delhi exploded, killing 329 passengers, the worst aviation tragedy prior to 9/11. Simultaneously, in the Tokyo Airport, luggage from Vancouver tagged for another Air India flight detonated, killing two employees. Both explosions were engineered by a pro-Khalistan terror group in Canada in retaliation for Operation Bluestar.<sup>182</sup> The Punjab insurgency claimed over 17,000 lives before declining in India by 1995 through aggressive police action.<sup>183</sup>

However, resentment over Operation Bluestar has not lessened in the Sikh diaspora.<sup>184</sup> In 2012, the general in charge of Operation Bluestar barely survived an assassination attempt in

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<sup>181</sup> Simrat Dhillon, "The Sikh Diaspora and the Quest for Khalistan: A Search for Statehood or for Self-preservation?" 2007, 5. Accessed June 18, 2019, [http://www.ipcs.org/issue\\_briefs/issue\\_brief\\_pdf/1787132181IPCS-ResearchPaper12-SimratDhillon.pdf](http://www.ipcs.org/issue_briefs/issue_brief_pdf/1787132181IPCS-ResearchPaper12-SimratDhillon.pdf).

<sup>182</sup> Canada, Privy Council, "Air India Flight 182: A Canadian Tragedy," by The Honorable John C Major, C.C., Q.C. (2010), 182. Accessed June 18, 2019, <http://publications.gc.ca/site/eng/371132/publication.html>.

<sup>183</sup> Romesh Silva, Jasmine Marwaha, and Jeff Klingner. "Violent Deaths and Enforced Disappearances During the Counterinsurgency in Punjab, India." *Ensaaf*. August 24, 2018. Accessed June 19, 2019. <https://ensaaf.org/publications/reports/descriptiveanalysis/>.

<sup>184</sup> Tarunjit Singh Butalia. "State of Modern Khalistan Movement." Telephone interview by author. March 28, 2019. Professor Singh is a founding trustee of the Sikh Council for Interfaith Relations. He is a member of Board of Trustees of the Council for a Parliament of the World's Religions. He has served on the board of the National Religious Coalition Against Torture. My interview with him helped provide more context towards the current state of the Khalistan movement, especially in India and overseas. To combat the first wave of pro-Khalistan sentiment, the Indian government responded through oppression. However, this oppression only served to privately increase anti-Indian and pro-Khalistan sentiments. And the Sikhs in the diaspora, with memories of operation Bluestar, continue to feel the pro-Khalistan sentiment. I would like to extend my gratitude to him for providing me with my key primary source, the book of Bhindranwale's speeches.

London.<sup>185</sup> In 2014, the British government accidentally disclosed former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's approval for Secret Service advice on the Golden Temple raid.<sup>186</sup> Outraged Sikhs in the U.K., in violent demonstrations, demanded full government disclosure regarding British involvement in Operation Bluestar.<sup>187</sup> In 2017, a Nevada man was imprisoned for supporting pro-Khalistan terror groups.<sup>188</sup> Sikhs for Justice, a Sikh advocacy group, is planning to submit the results of a worldwide Khalistan referendum in 2020 to the United Nations. The governments of the U.S., Canada, and the U.K. have permitted the referendum to proceed over the Indian government's protests, citing free speech rights.<sup>189</sup>

## Conclusion

Bhindranwale's success can largely be attributed to his charismatic rhetoric and lack of strong Sikh leadership in post-independence India. This investigation has discussed the feelings of

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<sup>185</sup> "Indian Lt-Gen Kuldeep Singh Brar Attackers Jailed," *BBC News* (December 10, 2013). Accessed June 19, 2019, <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-london-25316370>.

<sup>186</sup> Phil Miller. "Revealed: SAS Advised 1984 Amritsar Raid." *Stop Deportations*. January 19, 2014. Accessed June 19, 2019. <https://stopdeportations.wordpress.com/2014/01/13/revealed-sas-advised-1984-amritsar-raid/>.

<sup>187</sup> Nicholas Watt, Jason Burke, and Jason Deans, "Cameron Orders Inquiry into Claims of British Role in 1984 Amritsar Attack," *The Guardian* (January 14, 2014). Accessed June 19, 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jan/14/david-cameron-inquiry-british-role-amritsar-attack-sas>.

<sup>188</sup> "Reno Man Sentenced To 15 Years for Conspiracy to Provide Material Support To Terrorists," *The United States Department of Justice* (March 08, 2017). Accessed June 19, 2019. <https://www.justice.gov/usao-nv/pr/reno-man-sentenced-15-years-conspiracy-provide-material-support-terrorists>.

<sup>189</sup> Rahul Kalvapalle, "Sikh Group Plans to Hold Khalistan Referendum Polling in Canadian Cities in 2020," *Global News* (October 04, 2018). Accessed June 19, 2019. <https://globalnews.ca/news/4439381/khalistan-referendum-2020-sikhs-for-justice-canada/>.

marginalization and isolation felt by Sikhs due to a rise in Hindu-Sikh tensions that had begun under the British, escalated through the Punjabi Suba movement and Arya Samaj preachings, and finally came to a head with the Anandpur Sahib resolutions. The Akalis' focus on political power created a power void Bhindranwale was uniquely suited to fill. His initial speeches, which focused on a return to orthodoxy provided the young Sikhs—many of whom felt abandoned and neglected—a righteous path to follow and a community with which to identify. Bhindranwale's focus on a Hindu-led Congress Party government as the source of Sikh woes provided his disciples a clear target for their resentment. The central government's response to Bhindranwale's actions only exacerbated tensions, providing Bhindranwale additional ammunition to claim anti-Sikh prejudice. Bhindranwale's raw charisma led his followers to use violent means to defend the faith, the Golden Temple and the Sant(saint) himself. The aggressive response by Indira Gandhi's government to Bhindranwale's direct challenge to national integrity resulted in India's biggest tragedy since partition. In the end, Bhindranwale delivered the right message at the right time, leading to the buildup and eventual explosion of Hindu-Sikh tensions, and unleashing a tragedy of epic proportions for India and its Sikh community.

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**Author Bio**

Aditya Indla is a sophomore at Bellarmine College Preparatory in San Jose, California. He has always been a history buff and enjoys traveling to historic sites worldwide and learning about different cultures and traditions. He also believes in using science to solve real-world problems. He has been working on a robot to identify and pick ripe strawberries and his efforts to 3D print face shields for health care workers during the COVID-19 crisis gained him recognition by the UN Youth Envoy as one of the “Youth Leaders who can inspire you to change the world.” He is a member of the Speech and Debate and Quizbowl teams at Bellarmine and in his spare time, he enjoys reading and learning how to cook.



*History in the Making*

# Notes from the Archives

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## **Constructing Privacy: Spatial Structure and Social Status in Amarna's Central City**

By James Martin

### **A Brief History of the Central City at Amarna**

When considering Egypt's eighteenth Dynasty (ca. 1550-1229 B.C.E.) and perhaps all of Egypt's history, the most well-known and mainstream of the ancient pharaohs is King Tutankhamun. Known for his lavish tomb and the near-perfect condition of his resting place, another notable feature of his life should be his family history. Tutankhamun was likely the son of Akhenaten and Nefertiti, two powerhouse visionaries that attempted to change the course of Egyptian livelihood and tradition.<sup>1</sup> In the eighteenth Dynasty, Egypt was at its most powerful and was the leading empire of the ancient world, and Akhenaten was next in line for the throne.<sup>2</sup> Akhenaten changed the religious and political landscape of Egypt by idolizing one god, the Aten. This sun-disk god was not new to Egyptian cosmology and was even worshipped by Akhenaten's father, Amenhotep III, and had been given a greater status in Egyptian funerary temples than ever before.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Barry Kemp, *The City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti: Amarna and its People* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2015), 15.

<sup>2</sup> Donald B. Redford, *Akhenaten: The Heretic King* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 34

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 171-172.

King Akhenaten's Central City<sup>4</sup> functioned as a bustling center of a newfound capital that housed the Royal Family, supported a staffing of servants, and, above all, praised his god, the Aten.<sup>5</sup> The Aten is referred to here as Akhenaten's god because of the emphasis he placed on the importance of the Aten as well as centered Egyptian religion around this one deity. The Central City, however, was not called "home" by everyday citizens; remnants remain of living accommodations for royalty, police, military, and servants. The city of Amarna was a dream come true for Akhenaten, and the Central City served to represent the new capital of Egypt as a center for the composition of religion and state. In analyzing the archaeological publications on Amarna, spatial structure of the King's House, and living quarters of different servicemen, "privacy" develops as an attribute accessed exclusively by the royals. Privacy, in this paper, will refer directly to the spaces accessible to people of different social classes. Mainly, this paper will compare the amount of space allocated in housing for the royals, servants, and various servicemen to understand how they accessed their personal lives.

Akhenaten moved to establish his royal city after he assumed the position of King, with the death of the heir, Thutmose, and changed his name from Amenhotep IV to Akhenaten.<sup>6</sup> Akhenaten made failed attempts to remodel areas, like Thebes,<sup>7</sup> to adhere to his repudiation of traditional Egyptian polytheism, which transformed into a monotheistic-like belief in the Aten after his ascension to King. There was a need for a virgin land, one to start fresh for his creation of a land of worship – this constituency was outlined by several "boundary stelae" that described what Akhenaten set out to do at Amarna. The boundary stelae of Amarna were carved into cliffs and set up the official parameters

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<sup>4</sup> "Central City" and "Amarna" refer to the same location. "Central City" will be used to refer to the administrative and religious hub of Amarna.

<sup>5</sup> Kemp, *The City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 27.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>7</sup> Steven Snape, *The Complete Cities of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2014), 155.

of the city. The stelae covered several of Akhenaten's plans – including his desire to construct a “House of the Aten,” “Mansion of the Aten,” apartments for himself and his wife, and a “House of Rejoicing” for the Aten, who he refers to as “my father.”<sup>8</sup>

The Central City was able to bring this vision to life; it served to house the Royal Family and serve its rightful administrative and religious purposes as the new capital of Egypt. Indeed, the promises were kept, and the buildings erected in the Central City served as the House and Mansion of the Aten – the Great Aten Temple and the Small Aten Temple, respectively. The “apartments” of Pharaoh and Chief Wife sat directly across from the Great Palace, in the King's House,<sup>9</sup> connected by a bridge that ran over the main road of the city; symbolically connecting the private life of the King to his administrative duties. Amarna's design is heavily centered around the importance of the family and their ties with the Aten, but also allowed space for the Royal Family to interact with their constituents, ceremoniously.

The very creation of Akhetaten<sup>10</sup> can be well argued to have been designed around the needs of a king and the god he chose to center Egypt's life around. Steven Snape describes Amarna as “a city whose main inhabitants would be the Aten, the royal family, the court and a population that serviced the elite residents.”<sup>11</sup> In stating this, Snape establishes the idea of Amarna being erected as a city for the royals, and through Akhenaten's own discourse, to equally suit the divine. This divinity is illustrated through Akhenaten portraying his wife and daughters in priestly roles.<sup>12</sup> Yet, he also humbles them to civilian roles as well,

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<sup>8</sup> Snape, 157.

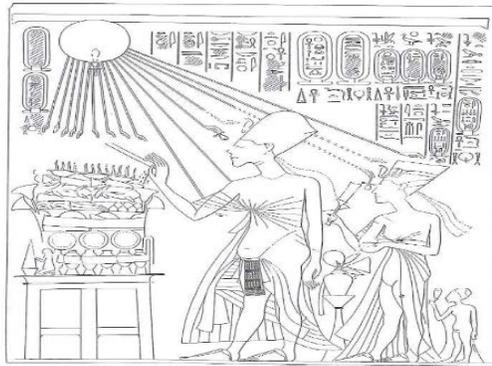
<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 158.

<sup>10</sup> “Akhetaten” is another name for Amarna. It can also be referred to as El-Amarna.

<sup>11</sup> Snape, 156.

<sup>12</sup> Michael Mallinson, *Pharaohs of the Sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, and Tutankhamen* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1999), 75.

portraying their daily lives, which are shown through the family giving a food offering to the Aten, which will be significant in how Akhenaten and his family interact with the public. (Fig. 1). The establishment of Amarna creates an environment that revolves around the lives of the Royal Family, which is strongly present in the placement of servant's quarters, as they seem to be an afterthought in the construction of the city.



*Akhenaten, Nefertiti, and Meritaten giving offering to the Aten*

### **Defining Status through Archaeology**

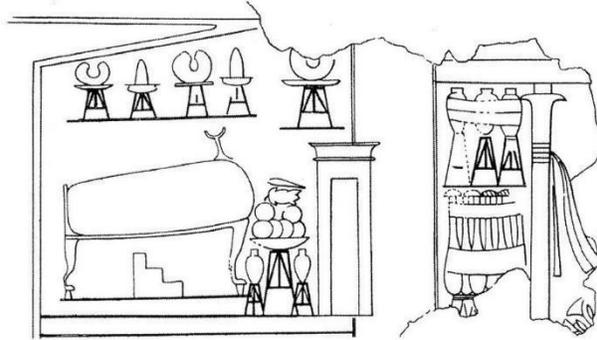
Certain items that resided in the King's House serve to represent status and reinforce the social hierarchy of Amarna. P.T. Crocker identifies bathrooms and latrines as symbols of status, whereas Pendlebury describes small "closets" in the King's House, with stone basins and bath slabs, presumably where a latrine resided.<sup>13</sup> Also present in the Royal Estate was a well, which Crocker lists as "status-enhancing"<sup>14</sup> for being able to provide water to the family – a basic necessity for life that they had at their immediate disposal. The group of rooms is suggested to have formed a type of master bedroom to the King – holding the bedroom, bathroom, and latrine,<sup>15</sup> while servant's quarters held nowhere near this amount of

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<sup>13</sup> John Devitt Stringfellow Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten Part III: The Central City and The Official Quarters* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1951), 88.

<sup>14</sup> P.T. Crocker, "Status Symbols in the Architecture of El-'Amarna," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 71 (1985): 57.

<sup>15</sup> Pendlebury, 88.



*Bedroom of the King*

inner rooms within their homes. Personal life was more easily accessible to the Royals, in ways that seem basic and natural, especially

when considering that the Royals had ready access to a toilet and water. Even this baseline level of privacy, to be able to get one's own water, reinforces a social divide between Akhenaten and his people.

The Royal House boasts several possible bedrooms that allocated individual sleeping spaces for the King and the Princesses, where servants were not given nearly as many options for daily rest. Barry Kemp includes a depiction of the bedroom of Akhenaten, featuring the bed, mattress, and headrest that the King would have used; however, this does not insist that Akhenaten slept in this specific room on a nightly basis.<sup>16</sup> By interpreting the depiction of the bedroom and assuming it is not where the King slept ritually, it becomes easier to understand the availability of options that existed for the royals, where the King could have slept in more than one place, if he chose to. The lack of choice in the lives of servants demonstrates a lack of privacy because a servant had no choice but to comply with their living arrangements.

As previously mentioned, the way the King and his family were depicted, humbly honoring the Aten, would be illustrative of how openly they interacted with the people of Amarna. The Window of Appearance likely existed in the King's House and was a ceremonial place for the king to present gifts in the role of

<sup>16</sup> Kemp, *The City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 143.

provider for his people, further solidifying his status.<sup>17</sup> Considering the Royal Family had a massive construction for their living, it is easy to assume they enjoyed the luxury of privacy. However, if the Window did, in fact, exist within the house, this implies the King was open to holding public gatherings and distribution events within his home. Being able to dictate rooms for specific purposes also serves to identify the interconnection of status and space. It is highly doubtful that servants had the ability to reserve a room for women to solely reside in; nor does it seem plausible that servants and the lower class would have been able to construct large enough courtyards to host a plethora of people for a community-sized gathering.

### **Housing through an Archaeological Lens**

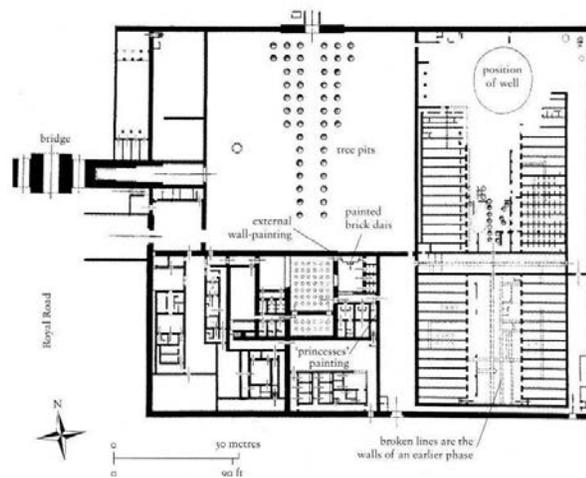
Privacy may have been a determinant of social status, but just because the family lived privately to the citizenry does not imply they lived privately of their religion. Through the 1920s and 30s,<sup>18</sup> archaeologist J.D.S Pendlebury excavated the Central City at Amarna, recording the Royal Estate, Great Palace, and quarters of the servants, police, and military. When comparing the living spaces of housing staff with those of the princesses' rooms, there is a noticeable difference in the amount of privacy in each section, based on room size. Understandably, the King would have sufficient personal space, but it speaks volumes that the children are given more access to space than the staff working for the family.

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<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

<sup>18</sup> Pendlebury, viii.

The King's House sat at the southern portion of the Royal Estate, close to servant's quarters, magazines, an immense garden, and individual rooms for the princesses. The servant's quarters, here, are to the west and are accessed through an entrance courtyard; however, they have restricted access to the portions that would have housed the royal family. Servants living within the Royal Estate were much more compressed and lived communal-like. It is worth noting that none of the presumed servant's quarters are completely sealed off from the other, there seems to be connecting openings within to give access to the room immediately next to it. By sealing off access to the Royal Family and the rest of the Estate, servants were being physically segregated from the



*Layout of the King's House*

opportunity for more space. The general layout of the Estate reaffirms the idea that servant lives were not private, but these workers co-existed, while the Royal Family had options to spend their time as they pleased, individually.

Additionally, the space given to the daughters of Akhenaten and Nefertiti emphasizes the importance of familial ties within royalty. Pendlebury records the presence of wall fragments that were littered with streaks of red, yellow, blue, green, and black paint – logically implying the existence of a playroom for the princesses.<sup>19</sup> The six daughters were aptly represented in the art of the Amarna period, speaking to

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 87.

their importance to the King and Queen. The princesses are recorded in scenes of the family dining,<sup>20</sup> relaxing,<sup>21</sup> and making offerings to the Aten.<sup>22</sup> With the endless resources available to the Royal Family, they were able to distribute access to privacy among the children so that the princesses had their spaces to convene but, at the end of the day, had individual places to call their own. Providing a playroom, individual sleeping rooms, and inscribing everlasting art adds to a belief that, though the royal family was more private in forms of living accommodations, this did not hinder their ability to act as a family unit. Keeping in mind, though, that the family is acting as “one” for their one, the Aten.

Each daughter’s name spoke to the presence of the Aten in their lives – Meketaten’s name translating to “She Whom the Aten Protects” and Ankhesenpaaten’s name translating to “May She Live for the Aten.”<sup>23</sup> Nefertiti’s full name translates to “Perfect One of the Aten’s Perfection, the Beautiful One is Here.”<sup>24</sup> This namesake was used even before Akhenaten changed his name. The populace was made aware of the family’s close ties to the Aten, reestablishing the family’s place on Amarna’s hierarchy. For Akhenaten to refer to the Aten as his “father”<sup>25</sup> further ties his family into the role of divinity, deifying their earthly presence even before any of them have died. This reaches back to the assertion that, even though the family had steady access to privacy, they were very connected with each other in the realm of cosmology. Privacy allowed the family to be depicted intimately within the home but kept a public image intact that asserted the family’s ties to Egypt’s main deity.

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<sup>20</sup> Dorothea Arnold, *Royal Women of Amarna: Images of Beauty from Ancient Egypt* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), 113.

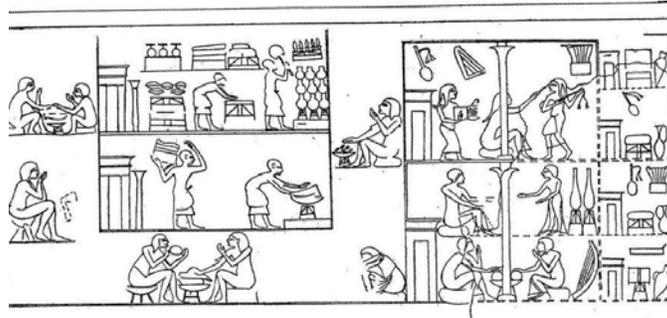
<sup>21</sup> Kemp, *The City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 172.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

<sup>23</sup> L. Green, *Royal Women of Amarna: Images of Beauty from Ancient Egypt* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), 11.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>25</sup> Snape, 155.



*Depiction of Communal Life in the Great Palace*

Greater space to live afforded the royals more opportunities, such as allocating individual rooms, but their lives were not sealed off to the people of Amarna. The Royals' lifestyle in areas like the Great Palace (to the west, connected to the Royal Estate via bridge) contained a modicum of community, hosting visits from people coming for food, drinks, music, and self-care.<sup>26</sup> The biggest factor to point at social class was the presence of armed men posing as security when the Royal Family was present.<sup>27</sup> Privacy seemed to be an extension of what one could have, because, evidently, privacy did not equate with a lonely life. The massive presence of space was enthralling, for the family seemed to have choices as to where they could host or rest for the evening. The Great Palace alone extended 580 meters, with the Royal Estate appearing to serve as a miniature version, with lengths at less than half those of the Great Palace.<sup>28</sup> Interestingly, this portrays the Royal Family in a lighter fashion, seeming as there was an accessibility to their lives and, at this new capital, ties with the public that were not cut.

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<sup>26</sup> Kemp, *The City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 142.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 144.

<sup>28</sup> Barry Kemp, "The Central City," The Amarna Project, <https://amarnaproject.com/>.

Decoration serves as a representation of making a space one's own, and this mindset is also present within the sanctity of the home of King Akhenaten and his family. Within the King's House remained a piece of fractured mud-plaster fresco that depicted the Royal Family relaxing, with two princesses seated on cushions, on the floor, with Akhenaten and Nefertiti seated above them.<sup>29</sup> Above the seated princesses are three more sets of legs, belonging to three of the other princesses. Petrie recorded this in 1894, noting that this was an advanced piece of artwork, showing traces of shading and highlighting on the two smaller girls.<sup>30</sup> In



*Princess Panel found in the King's House*

having a piece like this commissioned for the Royal Family, they are fully able to take advantage of their privacy by making it intimate and unique. The intimacy of the fresco represents the ability of the family to mark their space as not only an official house, but a family-oriented home. This was a more intimate portrayal of the family, perhaps an image that would not have been found in a communal space viewed often by the public. Privacy ensured the comfort of the royals, a privilege they could guarantee with a societal rank that was higher than those around them.

### **Servant's Quarters**

Two sets of servant's quarters existed in the Central City: one to the north of the Great Palace, and the other within the Royal Estate. Comparing the two is difficult considering the northern

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<sup>29</sup> William Matthew Flinders Petrie, "The Palace and Temple" in *Tell El Amarna* (London: Methuen & Co, 1894), 15

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

quarters at the Great Palace are being engulfed by present cultivation in Egypt.<sup>31</sup> Pendlebury notes the similarities in the architecture of the servant's quarters to that of the Workmen's Village (situated farther east of the Central City), as well as noting the presence of a gateway to a court, which had been filled with an "intrusive set of buildings similar to the last."<sup>32</sup> It is reasonable to assume that the new buildings were added as the city grew during Akhenaten's reign, adding in extra living accommodations for the surplus of servants needed by the Royal Family. Servant living was also likely to be constructed expeditiously since the remaining placement is already within other parts of Amarna's administrative complex. The servant's quarters were a subdivision of the Private Quarters, which were a subdivision of the Palace.<sup>33</sup> Rather than providing individual spaces, more housing was added into preexisting quarters – commenting on the aura of privilege that comes with being able to establish terms of privacy.

Additionally, servant's quarters at the Great Palace all included staircases in their design – which could have led to a loggia on the rooftops of each house.<sup>34</sup> This examination by Pendlebury works contrarily to P.T. Crocker, who makes the assertion that loggias<sup>35</sup> are demonstrative of social status.<sup>36</sup> Quarters in the Royal Estate can be assumed to have been for those who served the family in a more direct role. Housing for servants in the administrative center could imply these servants, living north of the Great Palace, served in an official/administrative capacity. Though subdivisions were apparent within the apartment of the King and his family, there are traces of subdivisions in the servant class as well. Subdivisions are an important representation of how space was being used and depict the divide between a need for

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<sup>31</sup> Pendlebury, 34.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

<sup>35</sup> A loggia is an exterior hall that is open to the air on one or more sides. The staircases found in these houses all likely led to a loggia.

<sup>36</sup> Crocker, 53.

space and a want for space. The Royal Family used their subdivisions to construct playrooms and dining rooms, while servants used their subdivisions to house more laborers. Among the servant's quarters is a larger house that could have served as a place for the overseer of the servants.<sup>37</sup> An overseer would have, presumably, been given more responsibilities than an average servant, so with the title of "overseer" comes a slight boost in social status. The larger house belonged to the one with the administrative role, reasserting the idea that with status came space. Evidently, with any increase in social standing came an increase in the space that one was allotted to live. These eighteenth Dynasty views of the intersections of space and hierarchy make important implications of the privileges that came with being part of the ancient upper class which included greater access to larger living accommodations.

### **Comparing Servicemen to Servants**

Military and police would have resided to the east of the settlement of the Central City, with the police barracks being placed in an ideal location to monitor for suspicious or illegal activities.<sup>38</sup> Servicemen in Amarna include the men that worked as military or police officers, while servants are those that worked for the house and resided in the Servant's Quarters. Aforementioned with Crocker's list of status symbols, he included a porch as a "presence attribute" – in Pendlebury's excavation, he makes record of military quarters being built with an open court that includes a veranda.<sup>39</sup> This reinforces the idea that the military had been held in a somewhat respectable regard. However, Crocker also mentions the presence of loggias as status symbols, but this poses an issue when every servant's house had a staircase leading to a roof that showed presence of a loggia. Perhaps not all things were those of exclusivity, rather they were just a good idea that served a purpose

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<sup>37</sup> Pendlebury, 35.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 132.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 131.

where they were placed. It remains logical, however, that the military and police would be thought of in a higher regard than servants.

Size and proportion proved important to Akhenaten when constructing his city. Uniquely, Akhenaten was able to promote his divinity through not just the spatial structure of his own home and palaces, but through the layout of the city as a whole. Akhenaten developed the *talatat*, which ensured that buildings were being built to “royal scale and proportions.”<sup>40</sup> The *talatat* was a block that became the standard size in Amarna, to help expedite building projects by having a precedent.<sup>41</sup> Mallinson describes the Aten as animating all living things and with Akhenaten including daily life situations in Amarna’s art, this served as a way to connect different levels of society with the Aten.<sup>42</sup> This can be viewed through Figure 4, showing an aspect of community even in the most prestigious of buildings in Amarna. At the behest of the King, this new royal scale intentionally created differences in the way royals and non-royals lived and how they were able to allocate their respective spaces. While the King could host the community at his leisure, average Amarnians could barely host their own families.

### **Interpretations: Akhenaten as a Man of State and House**

Interpreting living accommodations for the lower-class as an afterthought speaks to the façade of portraying oneself as a form of divinity and ruler of the two lands of Egypt. Akhenaten did not destroy most temples for the previous religions when he moved the capital to Amarna; rather, they were just subject to redecorations.<sup>43</sup> In doing so, Akhenaten presents himself as a man of reason, though he is introducing an idea that seemed drastic and, perhaps,

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<sup>40</sup> Michael Mallinson, “The Sacred Landscape” in *Pharaohs of the Sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, and Tutankhamen*, (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1999), 75.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Kemp, *The City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 27.

unreasonable. This presentation of reasonability comes off as a falsehood when considering that there was insufficient space for those making his dream into a reality. Though suburbs<sup>44</sup> were established to house the “average” people of Amarna, it is unreasonable not to allocate housing for many of the workers the Central City had employed.

To Akhenaten’s benefit, it seems that having a lifestyle based so heavily around spatial representation allowed him to serve a role as an exceptional husband and father. Refocusing back to the King’s House, there was evidence found that hinted at the existence of a playroom and, as already discussed, the presence of rooms for each product of his procreation. This trait seemed to serve even as a precursor to the settlement of Akhenaten’s virgin land, adding to the level of respect he held regarding the Chief Wife. Nefertiti has been seen to be the main force in some Aten-centered inscriptions found at Karnak, Akhenaten’s first trial run at establishing his dream city.<sup>45</sup>

## **Conclusion**

Layout in Akhenaten’s city further developed the importance of his family, as there are remains of temples serving as sunshades for Nefertiti and his daughters.<sup>46</sup> As if individual rooms, playrooms, and nurseries were not enough, Akhenaten was dedicating grand temples to his loved ones – speaking to the idea of property reinforcing social hierarchies. As Akhenaten’s power grew, there was steadier access to ownership and this ownership provided greater means to privacy for his wife and daughters. With the creation of buildings specifically labeled for Nefertiti or their daughters, these pieces of property become theirs to use as they please. Considering that privacy, in this piece, has examined how space is accessed by different social classes, royalty now had

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<sup>44</sup> Anna Stevens, “The Archaeology of Amarna,” *Oxford Handbooks Online* (2015): 3.

<sup>45</sup> Green, 10.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.

access to a home, areas for lounging, areas for community, and temples constructed for them.

Deconstructing the private life of royals in Amarna gives an important insight to how one's status was constructed through space, place, and decoration. Amarna depicted the lives of the Royal Family as rather private and separated; however, the architecture gives way to a life that is centered around family, community, and religion. Privacy comes off, now, as a privilege, accessible by those who sit in the highest echelon of ancient society – even though privacy was not taken advantage of extensively. The concept of privacy becomes optional, for one can note, through Figures 2 and 4, the presence of a possible bedroom and the image of the family playing the role of host and hostess to a group of people. Finally, the role of status is heavily constructed through the spatial construction of ancient Amarna, for those who lack the wherewithal to live their lives in a space comparable to a room sized for a princess.

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### **Author Bio**

James Martin will graduate from CSUSB with his B.A. in history in June 2020 and has enrolled at UC Riverside to pursue his M.Ed. and teaching credentials, in the summer. James studies San Bernardino history, LGBTQ+ history, Queer Theory, and social justice movements in the twentieth-century United States. James would like to thank Drs. Kate Liszka, Stephanie Muravchik, Jeremy Murray, and Yvette Saavedra for their contributions to his education. Lastly, James extends his deepest gratitude to his friends, family, and students – without their support, none of this would be possible.



## **Pandemic Photographic Essay: 1918 Spanish Flu and 2020 COVID-19**

By the Editorial Board

This year, the world was faced with an unexpected and unprecedented difficulty—managing a new global health crisis and pandemic. In early March, the United States began closing schools, universities, and “non-essential” businesses. Individual counties implemented “Stay-at-Home” orders, while instituting “social distancing” and encouraging the wearing of face masks to prevent a large outbreak. Novel Coronavirus, or COVID-19, has changed the way we live, work, and socialize. As students of history, we look back to similar instances of public crisis, specifically the 1918 Spanish flu, which occurred at the same time as the Women’s suffrage movement was gaining momentum, to learn, grow, and prepare. This photographic essay will chronicle both pandemics and take a different twist on current events in the United States. On May 25, 2020, George Floyd, an African American man, was killed by police in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Currently, the world is experiencing a grave pandemic and national protests for George Floyd and Black Lives Matter. Both events are shaping our lives and are slated to leave their respective marks on history.

Stay-at-Home orders have encouraged citizens across the country to do their part to stop the spread of COVID-19, but protesters in major cities like Los Angeles, Minneapolis, and Washington, D.C., have gathered by the hundreds to protest police brutality and racial violence. As the United States pushes its people to wear masks and stay six feet apart, its people of color “can’t breathe” and are looking for answers. We are living through history and we hope this photographic essay will be timely and informative.





*"To Prevent Influenza!"*<sup>49</sup>



*A group of people standing outdoors wearing masks over their mouths. This was probably during the Spanish flu epidemic of 1918. One of the women has a sign reading "Wear a mask or go to jail."*<sup>50</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Paul Thompson (photographer), "To Prevent Influenza!" *Illustrated Current News*, New Haven, Conn, 1918. U.S. National Library of Medicine, 101580385.

<sup>50</sup> Raymond Coyne, "Locust Avenue, masks on" *California Revealed*. Mill Valley Public Library, November 3, 1918.

<https://californiarevealed.org/islandora/object/cavpp%3A70110>



*Precautions taken in Seattle, Wash., during the Spanish Influenza Epidemic would not permit anyone to ride on the street cars without wearing a mask. 260,000 of these were made by the Seattle Chapter of the Red Cross which consisted of 120 workers, in three days.<sup>51</sup>*



*“Allons tous à la consultation. Il est plus facile et moins coûteux de prévenir la maladie que de la soigner. [Let's all go to the consultation. It is easier and cheaper to prevent the disease than to treat it.]”<sup>52</sup>*

<sup>51</sup> American National Red Cross Collection. [Ca 1918 or 1919]. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/pp.anrc>

<sup>52</sup> Alice Dumas, American Red Cross in France, Wellcome Library, <http://catalogue.wellcomelibrary.org/record=b1465366>

Notes from the Archives



*Line of people waiting for flu masks. The man in uniform and the nurse in the doorway are wearing masks, as are a few of those in line. A sign on the window bearing the Red Cross logo reads: "Influenza. Wear Your Mask." A sign underneath reads: "Enlist in the Army. We Must Win." Text written under photo: "At 30 Montgomery St Waiting in line for Masks." San Francisco, 1918.<sup>53</sup>*



*"Physicians vaccinating each other at C.E. [Central Emergency] Hospital" San Francisco, 1918.<sup>54</sup>*

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<sup>53</sup> Hamilton Henry Dobbin,  
[https://csl.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/view/delivery/01CSL\\_INST/12136643330005115](https://csl.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/view/delivery/01CSL_INST/12136643330005115)

<sup>54</sup> Hamilton Henry Dobbin,  
[https://csl.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/view/delivery/01CSL\\_INST/12136642870005115](https://csl.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/view/delivery/01CSL_INST/12136642870005115)



Street scene showing police officer wearing flu mask and pointing to well-dressed man who is maskless. Signs in the windows advertise the flu masks and various war bonds. Text written under photo: "Say! Young Fellow Get a mask or go to jail." Written beneath that is "Flue [sic] Epedemic [sic] 1918 A few scenes about town."<sup>55</sup>



Protestors at 38<sup>th</sup> Street and S. Chicago Avenue in Minneapolis on May 26<sup>th</sup>, the day after the death of George Floyd in Minneapolis, Minnesota.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Hamilton Henry Dobbin,  
[https://cs1.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/view/delivery/01CSL\\_INST/12136632910005115](https://cs1.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/view/delivery/01CSL_INST/12136632910005115)

<sup>56</sup> Lorie Shaull, May 26, 2020.  
<https://www.flickr.com/photos/number7cloud/49941851747/in/photostream/>

*Notes from the Archives*



*A man stands on a burned-out car on Thursday morning as fires burn behind him in the Lake St area of Minneapolis, Minnesota.<sup>57</sup>*



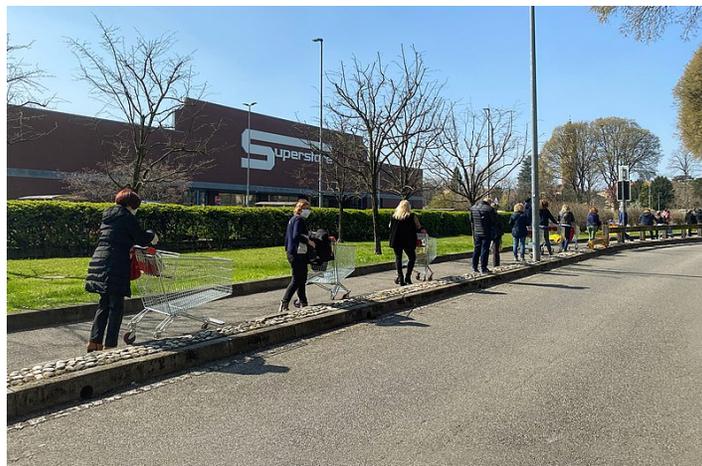
*Protestors in Chicago on May 30, 2020, Nam Y. Huh / Associated Press.<sup>58</sup>*

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<sup>57</sup> Lorie Shaull, May 28, 2020.

<https://www.flickr.com/photos/number7cloud/49945886467/>

<sup>58</sup> Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, "Don't Understand the Protests? What You are Seeing is People Being Pushed to the Edge" *LA Times* (May 30, 2020), <https://www.latimes.com/opinion/story/2020-05-30/dont-understand-the-protests-what-youre-seeing-is-people-pushed-to-the-edge>



*In Italy about 100 people queuing at a supermarket during coronavirus outbreak, March 2020. March 19, 2020.<sup>59</sup>*



*Workers in Iran spraying antibacterial chemicals to help keep the coronavirus under control. Photo by Mina Noei. February 23, 2020.<sup>60</sup>*

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<sup>59</sup> A. Daniele Iannotti, [https://commons.m.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ian\\_Art\\_Phography\\_-\\_Italy\\_100\\_people\\_queuing\\_at\\_a\\_supermarket\\_during\\_coronavirus\\_outbreak\\_mar-2020.jpg](https://commons.m.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ian_Art_Phography_-_Italy_100_people_queuing_at_a_supermarket_during_coronavirus_outbreak_mar-2020.jpg)

<sup>60</sup> Mina Noei, <https://www.mehrnews.com/photo/4861758/>-و-ناوگان-حمل-و-ضد عفونی-تبریز-عمومی-تبریز #gallery-20



*Corona virus Covid 19's Restaurant Restriction, Cairo, 2020.<sup>61</sup> Photo by Nessma Elaassar. March 25, 2020.*



*Black Lives Matter protestors in Coachella Valley, CA, demonstrating and adhering to COVID-19 face covering regulations. Photo by Amelia Lindell.*

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<sup>61</sup> Nessma Elaassar,  
[https://commons.m.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Egypt\\_covid19.jpg](https://commons.m.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Egypt_covid19.jpg)



*Black Lives Matter march through a Coachella Valley, CA street. Another visual of protestors adhering to county health guidelines pertinent to COVID-19. Photo by Amelia Lindell.*



*Black Lives Matter Protest, San Bernardino, CA, May 31, 2020.<sup>62</sup>*

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<sup>62</sup> Maha Rizvi (photographer) in Manny B. Sandoval, “San Bernardino Protestors are Not Rioters, Differentiating the Groups” *Inland Empire Community News*, June 2, 2020. <http://icn.com/san-bernardino-protesters-are-not-rioters-differentiating-the-groups/>

*History in the Making*

# Reviews

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## **The Great War Through Film: An Aggregated Film Review of *They Shall Not Grow Old*, *1917* and *Tolkien***

By Sara Haden and Kenya Ortiz Carrillo

Over the last two years, audiences have been treated to an abundance of films about The Great War, in commemoration of its 100-year anniversary. A wide array of films such as a documentary, a biographical drama, and an epic war story gave moviegoers several chances to enjoy different kinds of stories about the war. The variety in these types of films not only tells the story of this significant event in history from different perspectives, but it helps paint a more complete picture of the war and the people who fought in it. *They Shall Not Grow Old* is a documentary about the firsthand experiences of the soldiers in the Great War. *1917* is a dramatization of the experience of two soldiers, Lance Corporal William Schofield and Tom Blake, in the war. Finally, *Tolkien* uses the life of famous author J.R.R. Tolkien in the war to show how his experiences helped him create his famous fantasy setting Middle Earth. Though *Tolkien* and *1917* do sport some historical inaccuracies, when used in tandem with the first-hand accounts of *They Shall Not Grow Old*, these three movies as a whole can be used to understand the effects of The Great War on the soldiers who fought in it.

### ***They Shall Not Grow Old***

*They Shall Not Grow Old*, directed by Peter Jackson, was initially released in the United Kingdom on October 16, 2018, before airing

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on BBC Two for the centennial anniversary of the Armistice on November 11, 2018, and having a limited release in the United States. This film is a documentary about the firsthand experiences of the soldiers in The Great War, shown through voice-overs and largely never-before-seen film of the war from the Imperial War Museum's archives that have now been colorized and restored. The film also uses both war photographs and propaganda posters throughout its entirety, which suit the narrators' stories. The stories told by the soldiers vary from the day-to-day life of being in the British army to the more devastating stories of the frontlines. The film conveys a more realistic version of the war, from the viewpoints of the people who actually lived through it all, giving the audience a chance to see what it was truly like as if they were there.

The soldiers' narration adds a sense of commonality and relatability to the vision that most of the viewers have of The Great War as being one of glory and not of devastation. The film begins with the start of the war in 1914, when it was announced that Britain declared war on Germany, and many of the men talked about their enlistment stories, including lying about their ages, being eager to enlist, and even of the recruitment officers encouraging them. It continues on with other such stories that occurred in their day-to-day lives while serving in the British army. The film focuses on this until the topic shifts to stories about when the soldiers had to charge out of the trenches. From there, the soldiers' commentary differs from the preceding stories as they are no longer stories, but rather their feelings during those moments engaging in war. From the battlefield assaults to the aftermath of it all, the film shows the horrors of the vast cruelties of the war.

The addition of having the original film footage restored and in color gives the audience a glimpse into the reality that the soldiers faced during the Great War and leaves the audience with a connection to the soldiers' experiences. The colorization and restoration of the footage brings the stories to life as "the clarity

was such that these soldiers came alive.”<sup>1</sup> The beginning of the film shows the war footage in its original black and white, until the footage of the soldiers in the battlefield trenches changes into the restored, colorized footage that is then shown throughout the film. Towards the end of the film, the end of the war is shown with the return of the soldiers in England, and the footage changes back to the original unrestored version. This change in film usage was brought about because of the film’s budget, since “the budget we had was to colorize about 30 to 40 minutes of film” and Jackson did not want a “jump straight into the trenches,” so he left the film with the restored footage bookended by the original footage.<sup>2</sup>

Throughout the film, the stories paint a realistic and ugly picture of what the war was truly like, as though the audience is the once optimistic and bright-eyed boys who went off to a war and saw the harsh realities of a changing battlefield, from the previous wars. The film effectively transmits the idea that, while there were times of laughter and a sense of normality, there were also times of destruction and horror from the new warfare tactics of mustard gas and machine guns. The director’s change in footage color, and even the editing in making the footage appear more modern, helps to give a face and a voice to the countless soldiers who fought in the war, and to humanize them instead of only being known as numbers in history books.

## ***1917***

*1917*, directed by Sam Mendes, had a limited release on December 25, 2019 in the United States, before being released worldwide on January 10, 2020. The film’s plot revolves around two young soldiers, George MacKay as Lance Corporal Schofield and Dean-Charles Chapman as Lance Corporal Blake. The two are tasked with a seemingly impossible mission to deliver an urgent message

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<sup>1</sup> Mekado Murphy, “How Peter Jackson Made WWI Footage Seem Astonishingly New With ‘They Shall Not Grow Old,’” *New York Times* (December 16, 2018).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

that would prevent hundreds of soldiers from walking into a trap laid by the Germans. Director Sam Mendes is able to bring the audience into the year of 1917, through the use of cinematography that makes it seem as if it was a real-time story, as Roger Deakins, the cinematographer, said when he read the script, "...That was a bit of a shock, but I read the script, and it seemed like an interesting way to tell the story. It wasn't a tacked-on gimmick."<sup>3</sup> The film also begins and ends with the same shot of George MacKay's character resting against a tree, bringing a sense of routine to the extraordinary story. Director Mendes aimed to bring The Great War feel "like it happened yesterday" and the single-shot cinematography played a big role in achieving that goal.<sup>4</sup>

Mendes' story is not just a "guns and explosions" war story, it tries to make Lance Corporals Blake and Schofield's realities, the reality of war, more tangible to their audience. One of the ways he accomplishes this is by drawing stark differences between the two characters' views on their place in the war. Blake puts a high value on honor and glory, seen in his hopes for a medal and his refusal to shoot a wounded German pilot. On the other side of the spectrum, Schofield just wants to survive. Through a conversation between the two, we learn the Schofield has traded a medal that Blake covets for a bottle of wine, making it seem that he sees little value in honor in war. Blake loses his life trying to be an honorable soldier and saving an enemy, while Schofield lives to the end doing the opposite.

While the characters of Lance Corporals Blake and Schofield are fictional, their journey and struggle is grounded in a historical account. Mendes based the story of *1917* on stories his grandfather would tell him as a boy. Mendes said that one story his grandfather told him always stuck with him, and he stated in an interview with *Variety* that "It's the story of a messenger who has a message to carry. And that's all I can say. It lodged with me as a

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<sup>3</sup> Bruce Fretts, "'1917' and the Challenge of Making a Film Look Like a Single Shot," *New York Times* (January 29, 2020).

<sup>4</sup>"*1917*'s Sam Mendes: I Wanted to Make the War Feel Vivid, like It Happened Yesterday," *The Irish News* (January 8, 2020).

child, this story or this fragment, and obviously I've enlarged it and changed it significantly. But it has that at its core." Mendes used this "fragment" of a story in tandem with actual facts and occurrences of The Great War to tell an epic war tale that is just as true as it is made up. So, while the story is fictional, it does have the ability to immerse its audience in the reality of its characters, the reality of The Great War. Because of this, *1917* has solidified its place as one of the best Great War films to date.

### ***Tolkien***

The 2019 biographical drama and period piece *Tolkien* tells the story of Oxford Professor and author John Ronald Ruel Tolkien. Finnish Director Dome Karukoski intertwines stories of the famous fantasy author's boyhood friendships and budding romance with future wife Edith Bratt with his experience in The Great War, illustrating how these disparate sources inspired his works, especially *The Lord of the Rings*. Starring Nicholas Holt as Tolkien as a young adult, the viewer is treated to just under two hours of the wit and wonder he brings to the character. He shares the screen with actress Lily Collin, who brings a wealth of cynicism and playful encouragement to Holt's character, in her role as Edith Bratt. Holt and Collins are joined in ensemble by Patrick Gibson, Anthony Boyle and Tom Glynn-Carney as Robert Gilson, Geoffrey Smith and Christopher Wisemen respectively – forming the Tea Club, Barrovian Society (T.C.B.S.) and capping off the core of the film's cast.

Encapsulating the life story of someone with as impressive a legacy as J.R.R. Tolkien can be a daunting task. The production team chose to focus on the author's younger years to tell a story of his "chosen family," the T.C.B.S., and how the author drew upon those relationships to write his famous *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy. Tolkien as a young boy was fascinated by linguistics and surrounded himself with friends, all artistic types like Tolkien himself, of varying artistic interests. The group of young men's shared goal was to change the world through art, which is ironic

when all four boys later join the war effort; an attempt to change the world through combat. The film goes to great lengths to prove the differences between the boys, Tolkien especially, in their upbringing and interests and how through these differences they were able to form a deep, long lasting bond—a fellowship.

Another key piece of Tolkien's "chosen family" is his relationship with future wife Edith Bratt. The film uses Tolkien's relationship with Edith to not only showcase the budding romance that would inspire several archetypal relationships within his storytelling, but to also further press Tolkien's passion for language and talent for worldbuilding within the framework of his passion for Edith. In a scene where he and Edith sneak off to have dinner together, Tolkien talks emphatically about the beauty of words and sounds, specifically the combination of the word "cellar door," to which Edith argues that words themselves are not beautiful, they are beautiful because of what they mean. She then urges him to tell her a story, a story about this "cellar door," to make the word beautiful. And he does, he tells a story with high passion that is reflective of his passion for her.

The film uses The Great War in duality with Tolkien's relationships to define the man that would take the literary world by storm. The warm, rose-tinted scenes with his fellowship and future wife are presented in stark contrast to intermittent segments of Tolkien's experience in combat and war. Reinforcing the importance of relationships in Tolkien's life, his main drive during these war sequences is searching for his friend, Geoffrey Smith, across the frontlines of after having gone several weeks without hearing from him. His desire to find his friend is his driving force, which even sends him over the top of the trench and into no-man's land in the climax of the film. It is there we see Tolkien's encounter with war, a behemoth that must be banded against to defeat. This personification of war is demonstrated with images of Dragons, Nazguls, and Balrogs, familiar figures from *The Lord of the Rings*, into Tolkien's real war experience, and used to make war seem unreal – a thing of fantasy.

Though *Tolkien* does a great job of highlighting how author J.R.R. Tolkien's relationships and experience in The Great War inspired him to write so many genre-shaking works, critics are quick to condemn the film for skirting around the importance of the author's religion in his life. However, it can be argued that the way the film's cinematography plays with light is alluding to his devout Catholic faith, much like the symbolism found in *The Silmarillion*: a guiding light, always there and pushing him on. Regardless, the film holds Tolkien's religion in about as high regard as the author's biography on the official Tolkien Society's website.<sup>5</sup> So, to condemn the film on that, I believe, is too quick of a sentence. I think the film does a great job of taking a highly revered man and bringing him to a certain level of relatability without undermining how extraordinary he was.

*Tolkien* is likely not what one would expect when looking for a film about The Great War, it is above all else a biographical period piece. However, *Tolkien* does a fantastic job focusing on how war can help shape the personal experiences of people. The film is arguably more about how one's relationships shape a person -- but Tolkien's relationship played a big part in his life and his experience in the war. The film demonstrates the more human side of war, and that is what makes it a good Great War film.

## Conclusion

There is a reason that a hundred years later, we are still making and enjoying movies about The Great War. It is one of the bloodiest struggles in history, and a common somber memory for most of the modern world. We are now in the generations that will not grow up hearing stories from their elders about the war, most of them have passed. We make and enjoy films about The Great War as a way of remembering. *They Shall not Grow Old, 1917* and *Tolkien* are all very human, very "real" stories about The Great War that can be used to understand the experiences and effects of The Great War

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<sup>5</sup>"The Tolkien Society." Accessed March 2, 2020, <https://www.tolkienesociety.org/>.

on the soldiers who fought in it. The Great War ended over 100 years ago, but our memory and respect for it has not.

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### **Author Bios**

Sara Haden is an undergraduate student at CSUSB who will be earning her BA in History in June 2020 and was also part of the editing team of this edition of *History in the Making*. She is currently hoping to start a credential program soon to work toward becoming a high school history teacher. She has loved both anime, film, and history for most of her life and is extremely interested in how different stories are told and the effects of those stories. Sara would like to thank the other editors for their help with her pieces, Dr. Jeremy Murray for his guidance and Dr. Tiffany Jones for always encouraging her to go after topics that really excited her.



## *Reviews*

Kenya Ortiz Carrillo is an undergraduate student at California State University, San Bernardino and plans to graduate with a bachelor's degree in History, with a focus on Public and Oral. After graduating, she hopes to enter the curatorial field and work in a museum. Her interests include taking up and learning craft hobbies in her free time. She would like to thank her family for their continuous support in her educational pursuits, and to the journal's editors for their exemplary work.



## Film Review: *Midway*

By Natassja Martin

The Battle of Midway is considered to be one of the most important battles of World War II. The movie *Midway* is an account of the events leading up to that battle and the battle itself, providing all the content you could want from a classic war action film. The movie was released in late 2019 and had some popular actors in the leading roles such as Patrick Wilson, Woody Harrelson, and Nick Jonas.<sup>1</sup> Roland Emmerich directed the film, and since he is known for his classics such as *Independence Day* and *The Day After Tomorrow*, there was a lot of excitement leading up to the film release.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, the end result was underwhelming and instead offered the classic action movie a combination of forced relationships, bad dialogue, and awe-inspiring action scenes. Despite its faults, it was fairly accurate for a film about historical events and it did put great effort into making the atmosphere of the movie correct, adding a heart-warming touch by dedicating it to all who fought in the battle.

The Battle of Midway took place in early June of 1942, just a half year after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. The battle was between the United States and the Japanese imperial forces and led to about 300 dead on the U.S. side and over 3,000 Japanese dead. After the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Japanese Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto believed it was necessary to strike down the U.S. early in the war before they had the opportunity to grow stronger and reach their full potential.<sup>3</sup> Although Yamamoto's plan to strike Hawaii again had the potential to deal a crippling blow to

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<sup>1</sup> *Midway*, IMDb (IMDb.com, November 6, 2019), <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt6924650/>.

<sup>2</sup> "Roland Emmerich," IMDb (IMDb.com), accessed April 20, 2020, [https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0000386/?ref=tt\\_ov\\_dr](https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0000386/?ref=tt_ov_dr).

<sup>3</sup> Wirtz D. Porch, and Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, CA. "The Battle of Midway," Department of National Security Affairs, 2002.

the U.S., the Japanese were unsuccessful because the U.S. had been placing much of their effort on detecting possible Japanese attack plans. The U.S. naval forces were waiting and held the element of surprise at Midway. The battle was crippling for the Japanese naval forces and a blow they never recovered from. Not only was it the first big victory the U.S. saw in the war, but it also gave the U.S. the opportunity to gain the upper hand in the war. The Battle of Midway holds huge significance when looking at WWII but, unfortunately, the film failed to capture that.

The film's heart was in the right place as it set out to make a film that renewed warmth and gratitude towards the WWII soldiers. The general reception of the movie was negative amongst critics and almost as negative amongst fans with a 6.7/10 on IMDB (Internet Movie Database) and a disappointing 42 percent on Rotten Tomatoes. The critics almost unanimously commented on the weak storytelling in the film, with the only redeeming quality in the criticism being that some mentioned the realistic battle scenes and amazing effects, which unfortunately could not carry the movie.<sup>4</sup> Most of the major characters in the movie were historically accurate and adhered to the correct line of events involved in the battle. That said, the filmmakers also carried on the problematic "good war" narrative found quite often in WWII memory. The characters all seemed overly heroic, with multiple scenes of the tough-guy character explaining to their younger counterpart that sometimes "you just gotta stand up and be brave," or something to that effect. Although there were many heroes in the war, the idea that everyone had such a nonchalant attitude to the whole concept of self-sacrifice is incorrect and promotes an

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<sup>4</sup> Owen Gleiberman, "Film Review: *Midway*," *Variety* (November 9, 2019), <https://variety.com/2019/film/reviews/midway-review-ed-skrein-woody-harrelson-1203393080/>, "Review: *Midway* Celebrates Heroism with an Old-Fashioned Approach to the Epic War Drama," *Los Angeles Times* (November 7, 2019), <https://www.latimes.com/entertainment-arts/movies/story/2019-11-07/midway-review>, Wendy Ide, "*Midway* Review – Sinks like a Depth Charge," *The Guardian* (November 10, 2019), <https://www.theguardian.com/film/2019/nov/10/midway-review-roland-emmerich-ed-skrein-pearl-harbor>.

idealized image of war and what the soldiers experienced in WWII. This is problematic to the memory of the war as it creates the misconception that at least WWII was a good war, and those who participated in it never suffered from mental health problems during or afterward. This in turn has an effect on what the public expects from war and its veterans.

While sets and costumes were accurate to the time period and the experiences of soldiers in their positions, this sometimes seemed forced. It seemed like the movie, on the whole, was so concerned with stuffing every possible authentic detail into the film that they forgot to correlate it to the story line. One instance of this was the unnecessary scene of the U.S.O. dance after the Pearl Harbor attack where the character of Dick Best's wife makes an abrasive comment to his superior officer, questioning why her husband is not the commander of their unit yet. He later gets promoted, but this conversation gave nothing to the plot of the movie. It seems as though the only explanation for its appearance in the film is for it to showcase the U.S.O. Pride.

On the same note, much of the film's dialogue seems to have been written with the same mindset. Most of the words spoken in the film are useless utterances or explanations of things any active viewers can infer through the actions of the characters. This leads to cringe-worthy sentences that appear as narrations of a scene's events by the character in the scene. This tacks on more than a few minutes which leads to the film's unnecessary length. As it runs over two hours long, it leaves plenty of time for the viewer to notice its shortcomings.

Many critics commented on the film's use of CGI (computer-generated imagery), but it is the standard approach for special effects that are required for a convincing war scene of such immense scale. Most of it provided a realistic portrayal of the scenes and added to the experience of the viewer alongside the characters. While film critics generally look down on the use of CGI, when viewing the film for its worth as a historical film there is no place for it. The cast provided a wide range of ability that should have played out very well if it had not been for the previous

mentioned downfalls in writing. Still, they held up the larger than life narratives of the WWII characters they played.

The film's shortcomings can be attributed to poorly written dialogue and poor direction. Its actors were chosen well, and its historical accuracy was accurate enough for the everyday viewer. As with any historical film, there were liberties taken to make it more dramatic and suspenseful, but this reviewer felt that it compromised the historical integrity of the film. While it may not be appropriate for a college classroom, any film that draws the public's attention towards an event while being somewhat historically accurate holds value, as it may at least inspire more study and work towards making the event more well known. Viewers may choose to continue the conversation and do more research into what happened. This blockbuster is not perfect, but it may spark a viewer's interest in history, and that alone has value.

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### **Author Bio**

Natassja Martin will be graduating with her bachelor’s degree in history in December 2020, after which she is looking to pursue a career in education. As an undergraduate she has been a part of the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship, in which she researched veterans in the WWII and Vietnam eras. This has allowed her to gain knowledge surrounding both time periods in regard to the war and the U.S. The interactions between war and society is what piqued her interest in the field. As she moves forward she would like to continue studying war’s impacts on society in a few ways, such as the impact it has on the family unit, women’s role in society, and different avenues of veteran studies. This perspective provides a more accurate view of war and its effects and she would like to continue this narrative through further research. She hopes to pursue these research interests through graduate school and eventually, a career in higher education.



## **“Oh My”: The Internment of George Takei in *They Called Us Enemy***

By Giovanni Gonzalez

George Takei is one of the biggest Hollywood actors in the history of cinema. He stars in many television shows and movies, but he is well-known for his run on the popular Sci-Fi television show *Star Trek*. Besides starring in *Star Trek*, George Takei is widely known for his humanitarian work on spreading Japanese American history across the United States. Takei was part of one of the most traumatizing events in California history, the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. Due to events that he experienced during the long five years; he wrote down his experience in his memoir *They Called Us Enemy*. His memoir outlines the effects that the internment camps have on him to this very day.

Even though there are numerous books, memoirs, and autobiographical works that were written about the Japanese internment camps, Takei's memoir is completely different in that he talks about his experiences of Japanese relocation from the perspective of a child. What makes his memoir more memorable is that we get to experience how a child's memory about this form of racism is viewed differently from an adult who understood what was happening. George Takei remembers that the internment camps were filled with happy childhood memories to ease the mindset of not only himself, but his siblings as well. What makes his book exceptional is that he was able to recall this event as a good time but still remembers, as he grew up, the true meaning of what he and his family experienced due to the irrational fear by the United States government.

The beginning of Takei's memoir starts with telling us about the events leading up to the relocation program. It starts with George Takei being with his family, having a fun time, then on the radio, it was announced that Pearl Harbor was bombed by the

Japanese military. This led to President Franklin D. Roosevelt declaring war on Japan and cementing America's involvement in World War II. Because of the bombing of Pearl Harbor, many Americans started blaming Japanese Americans for the attack and believed that they were spies, working for the Japanese government. As a response, California Governor Earl Warren began the political position of "Lock up the Japs" to ease the people's fear and blamed Pearl Harbor on a group of people.<sup>5</sup> Fletcher Brown, Mayor of Los Angeles during the 1940s, states the people of Japanese descent were "nonassimilable" and that they should not be trusted, even though they were American citizens. Then, on February 19, 1942, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066, which relocated every person who was deemed a threat to national security. A surprising fact is that the Order never used the words "Japanese" or "camps" when it was issued.<sup>6</sup> Next is where the story of George Takei develops.

One morning, everything was normal, then a loud bang came from the front door and George's life changed forever. His family was forced to vacate their home and relocate to the Santa Anita Racetrack before being sent to one of the ten internment camps across America. At first, George and his siblings were excited to be living at the racetrack because they were going to be sleeping in the stalls where the horses lived. This excited George so much that he did not even pay attention to his parents' expressions as they were being treated as animals. After spending several months at the Santa Anita Racetrack, George and his family were moved to Camp Rohwer in Arkansas. It was at Camp Rohwer that George Takei had the best time of his childhood life. It was there where he and his siblings were able to create so many fun memories.

After the events of the internment camps, George Takei, now an adult, fully comprehends what truly happened. As a teenager, George was angry at "Daddy" for letting this happen to

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<sup>5</sup> George Takei and Justin Eisinger, *They Called Us Enemy* (Marietta: Top Shelf Productions, 2019), 20.

<sup>6</sup> Exec. Order No. 9066, 3 C.F.R. 1 (1942).

his family. He responded that he still believed in American Democracy, even after everything that the U.S. government had put his family through. George was angry at his father's response, because he did not understand what his dad felt, not until he was much older would he fully understand the pain, suffering, humiliation, and degradation that his father had to go through to make his family feel at ease. In the end, he uses his experiences to help start-up his acting career and spread awareness of the racist acts that his people had to experience, with the creation of the Japanese American Museum, to let other people know his story and its long-lasting effects on the history of both California and the United States.

George Takei wrote his memoir to tell the positive side of history that most books never mention. Even though his memoir was told from the perspective of his childhood, he was able to shed light on one of the darkest moments in this country's history. The main person that helped get George to process the truth behind the internment camps was his father. Even though they went through the struggle of this event, he was able to tell George Takei that there is always light at the end of this dark tunnel and that he should remember the good times he experienced, not full of sad moments, but happy moments. Even after his father's death, George Takei tells his stories so that other people will know how this event shaped him into becoming one of the most beloved people in today's times. All thanks to his father, who inspired him to make the most of his life and become an inspiration to not just Japanese Americans, but to everyone who overcame such obstacles. George Takei is an inspirational figure for future generations.

George Takei's memoir is an amazing example of how he viewed the internment camps in a positive manner. He takes a traumatic event in history and is able to put it in a more positive light compared to other books about the internment camps. What I like about his memoir is that it was an easy read, as it was written in a graphic style that made it more entertaining to read - which could benefit casual readers or people not familiar with California

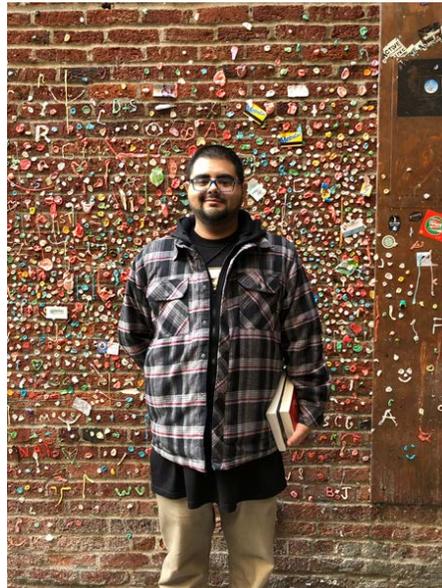
history. The images in the book caught my eyes, as they perfectly described the feelings that Takei and other people experienced, as realistically as possible.

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Giovanni Daniel Gonzalez is currently a second-year transfer student at CSU San Bernardino, double majoring in Anthropology and History. Giovanni's interests include Ancient History, Roman Egypt, Classics, Classical Archaeology, Ancient Warfare, Trade and cross-cultural interactions. With help from the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship, Giovanni is planning to go to graduate school to earn his Ph.D. in Ancient History. After earning his Ph.D., Giovanni plans to teach at a university level in History and Anthropology.



## **Building Their Own Ghost in the Shell: A Critical Extended Film Review of American Live-Action Anime Remakes**

By Sara Haden

With the advent of online streaming services in the years 2006 through 2009 making Japanese cartoons, popularly known as anime, more popular and easily accessible, the American market for anime has grown immensely. It was no longer the case where only a handful of shows would find their way across the sea into late-night or early morning cartoon blocks on American television, as it had been in the “Japanimation Era.” Anime was readily available at the click of a button, and streaming services such as Funimation, Crunchyroll, Netflix, and Hulu had anime series available in multitudes. It is no wonder that the boom in popularity of the genre would catch the eyes of film companies looking for fresh new stories to bring to the big screen. Over the past few years, there has been a slew of Hollywood live-action adaptations of popular anime such as *Ghost in the Shell*, *Death Note*, *Battle Angel* and *Your Name*. Though these films are objectively well-made live action versions of their animated counterparts, with the exception of *Alita: Battle Angel*, many of the changes made to the stories, characters, and messages can be seen as culturally imperialistic because American ideologies are being superimposed over the original Japanese ones.

Edward Said is the leading scholar on cultural imperialism. Said’s definition of imperialism is “the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan center ruling a distant territory.” In *Culture and Imperialism*, Edward Said asks if imperialism needs to be culturally accepted to function, and these films are an example of this at work. In 2020, imperialism in its most direct definition is the furthest it’s been from being accepted, and Japan was never colonized by the United States, yet American

ideologies are still being superimposed over Japanese stories in film, and arguably weakening them. Through a process of carefully comparing both the American remakes and original Japanese properties and identifying the changes made, this review will cast judgement on the works by focusing on three major questions: do the heart and soul of the original stories survive to the end of their American remakes? Do the lessons and morals of the stories translate through, or were they changed beyond recognition? Are the Japanese ideologies making the cut, or being changed to American ones? It is important to pay attention to the way our media treats the creative work of other countries. Changing characters, story, or the messages that the original author was trying to communicate to the audience is almost a form of eraser of history, like painting a frown over the Mona Lisa's smile. The real tragedy is the fact that many American consumers may not realize it is happening.

### ***Ghost in the Shell* (2017)**

Paramount Pictures' remake of the 1995 animated masterpiece *Ghost in the Shell* is a science fiction action film that makes liberal use of computer-generated imagery (CGI) to bring Mamoru Oshii's vision of Neo Tokyo to life and does so beautifully. Sporting nearly shot-by-shot remakes of several scenes from its forerunner, the film's face value points to it being a faithful remake of its source material. However, to the dismay of fans of the pivotal cyberpunk film, Rupert Sanders' 2017 live action *Ghost in the Shell* is a complete betrayal to its source material's optimistic outlook on a potential future of technology, twisting it into a cautionary tale against it.

The story of *Ghost in the Shell* takes place in a future Japan, where technology has advanced to a point of making cybernetically enhanced bodies possible. In this world where man and machine have become hybrid, a person's consciousness is referred to as their "ghost." The story follows the Major who is a full body-cyborg. The first deviation Rupert's remake takes from

its source material is that the Major is the only full body cyborg in existence, she is special, and that makes her feel incredibly isolated from the world. In the original version, not only is the Major not special, her cybernetic body is a mass-produced model that she sees everywhere. In both cases, however, what makes the major “herself” – whether she is the only one of her kind, or one of many of her kind, is her consciousness, or her “ghost.” In both versions, the Major's ultimate conflict is one of identity: is she the person she thinks she is and are her memories real? Rupert's version uses the Major's “identity crisis” to shoehorn one of the film's main themes that “it is not your memories that define you, it is your actions” – a very American ideology about individualized identity. However, the original *Ghost in the Shell* utilizes this ideology to ask a more thought-provoking questions when an AI, an artificial “ghost” called The Puppet Master shows up: what makes us human in this world where technology is intertwined with human parts? Is it memories, even though the Puppet Master has proven those to be susceptible to alteration? Is it the ability to be born, and not just be a perfect genetic copy? The Puppet Master explains to the Major, named Motoko Kusanagi, that because the human condition is ever changing, so there is never one “yourself” or “myself,” and searching for it will only limit one's potential. Motoko realizes that all this time she has been only restricting herself by questioning her humanity, and she ends up merging her mind with the AI, throwing away any sense of individuality she may or may not have had.

Rupert's film takes a completely different approach to this problem. The Major questions her identity because she feels alone, because there is no one else like her to confirm that her identity is real. She believes that she is Mira Killian, the sole survivor of a cyberterrorist attack, saved by Hanka Robotics and turned into a weapon to fight against cybercrime. She questions but accepts this until she meets Kuze – who replaces the Puppet Master in this film – who tells her that she is not Mira Killian. Her name is Matoko Kusanagi, she was a Japanese teenager picked up off the street and turned into a weapon against her will by Hanka Robotics. She had

her identity, memories, and even her ethnicity stolen from her. From there, the film follows the typical “betrayed super soldier” trope as Matoko seeks revenge against those who stole her identity from her. In the end, she succeeds but lays dying in the street with Kuze. Kuze urges her to merge with him to save herself, but she declines – saying she would rather die than risk losing herself again. This is the complete opposite from the conclusion of the original film, where Matoko merges with the Puppet Master to save herself, acknowledging that identity is just a construct and preservation of life is what matters most. It is not surprising that a remake made in America, a culture that values and celebrates individuality, would reject a message that argues for its trivialness as the original film does. Because of this, 2017’s *Ghost in the Shell*’s message can come across as culturally imperialistic in its portrayal of a classic anime film.

### ***Death Note (2017)***

Following the release of Rupert’s complete reimagining of *Ghost in the Shell*, Netflix put out its own live action adaptation of another well-loved anime series *Death Note* in Summer of 2017. The anime *Death Note* is an occult fiction mystery series about a high school student by the name of Light Yagami who comes into possession of a “death note,” a supernatural notebook that will cause the death of any human whose name is written in it. The death note belongs to a Shinigami named Ryuk, who is bored with his realm and decides to bring the book to the human world to “see what will happen.” Light decides to see if the mystical notebook works by writing the name of a man who the news is reporting has taken students and teachers of a nursery school hostage and on live news the culprit falls dead. After this, Light begins to see the death note as a gift and goes to work, conducting his own form of justice by writing down the names of criminals both on the run and in custody. This is significant because Japan does not have a death sentence, which Light openly disagrees with. Light quickly begins to develop a sort of a god complex, which is exacerbated as the

public begins to realize that it is a person who is causing these deaths and begins to worship him. They call him “Kira,” the Romanization of the Japanese word for “killer.” This phenomenon, obviously, catches the eye of the Japanese Government and the series turns into a detective thriller as the detective known only as the letter L – which conceals his identity, preventing Light from being able to retaliate with the death note – begins his hunt for Kira. The series makes heavy use of religious imagery. One of which is an apple, the “forbidden fruit” from the book of Genesis, which caused the “fall” of Adam and Eve from Eden. The apple is the favorite food of Ryuk, who is causing the fall of Light and those around him. The death note itself is a forbidden fruit and Ryuk’s actions in bringing it to the human realm prove that it is too much of a responsibility for man to bear. It also struggles to answer the question of what is Justice? Is Light the just one in his killing of criminals? Are the detectives just in their manhunt for Kira? It is a question that the series leaves open ended, for the viewer to decide. The series is thought provoking, smart and nuanced in its themes. Every viewer can come out of the show with a different opinion on who the “hero” is.

Netflix’s 2017 adaptation of *Death Note* is an odd mix of an American coming of age story and a psychological thriller. Light Yagami’s live-action counterpart, Light Turner, is your average relatable teenage protagonist, who just happens to end up with the death note. He is a relatable good guy and takes some pushing by the Shinigami Ryuk – played by William Dafoe, which is perfect casting – to write a name in the book. He writes the name of a school bully who had left him bleeding in an alley for defending a classmate earlier that day. After witnessing the death note’s power at work, Light realizes he can use the death note on his mother’s killer, Antony Skomal, who was acquitted after killing Light’s mother with his car. Riding on the adrenaline of his justice, he decides he will use the death note to bring justice to those who have caused pain to innocent people, the way Skomal had to him. He sets out with a mission similar to that of Light Yagami’s, to use the death note only on criminals, gains a

following, and is eventually being hunted by a detective named L. The film does make use of mythology-based symbolism, though it is not Christian. In both the show and the film, L is very suspicious of Light; but he can prove it, and in the live-action adaptation L compares Light to Icarus and threatens him saying “you’re the one that flew into the sun. I’m just here to make sure you burn” – much more outspoken and aggressive than his calm and collected anime counterpart. L’s character is replaced with a much more American archetype of the active detective, physically chasing down his perpetrator. The live-action adaptation also demonstrates this by having L call a press conference, with the American flag waving symbolically in the background as he actively challenges Kira on TV – very different from L in the anime, who did not have a face in the public. It is as if the more nuanced and figurative game of cat and mouse of the original story was assumed to not be enough for an American audience and had to be replaced by a physical one.

### ***Your Name* (Post-Production)**

The 2016 box office hit *Your Name* was a tremendous success bringing in \$358,922,706 to the box office and beating out 2001’s *Spirited Away* for the record of highest grossing anime film of all time. It is a heartwarming romantic fantasy story steeped in Japanese mysticism that is beautifully animated and told. It is arguably Director Makoto Shinkai’s best work to date. The film tells the fantastical story of a Tokyo boy named Taki and countryside girl Mitsuha, switching bodies in their dreams and learning how to live each other’s lives as they try to figure out what exactly is happening to them. The film uses themes of Japanese folklore and myth about the flow of time and space to weave its story. With its worldwide success, it is no wonder that it was picked up by producer JJ Abrams and director Marc Webb for a live-action remake in the coming years. However, early reports of development report that the film’s setting will be changed from Japan to America, much like Rupert’s remake of *Death Note*, but

the story could suffer for it. The Japanese elements of lore and wonder will have to be replaced with American ones, likely native American as the reported plan is to change Mitsuha's character to be a Native American woman, completely removing Japan out of an originally Japanese story, and making it an American one. Though it would be a shame for this story to lose any of the magic that won the hearts of anime fans everywhere, only time will tell if that will be in fact the case.

***Alita: Battle Angel (2019)***

Finally, in February of 2019, Robert Rodriguez's film *Alita: Battle Angel* was exactly what the anime doctor ordered. The film took classic 1990 cyberpunk manga series *Gunnm* and brought it to life, arguably to more success than the 1993 anime *Battle Angel* had. The film's CGI, much like Sander's *Ghost in the Shell*, is gorgeous and pushes the outer boundaries of the medium with a basically entirely animated main character – Rosa Salazar as Alita – a cyborg that is meant to look completely “otherworldly,” with her large eyes and petite frame, in an already outrageous science fiction setting that still manages to look real and lived in. The film took home the Visual Effects Society Award for “Outstanding Animated Character in a Photo Real Feature” for exactly this. But computer animation is not the only place where this film does right by its predecessor: it stays true to the heart and soul of its source material, in a way none of the aforementioned films managed to.

*Alita: Battle Angel* is primarily a quest for identity. Alita is a cyborg girl who comes into consciousness in a dystopian world, brought on by a 300-year-old apocalypse as the result of a war with Mars. She has no memory of who she is or where she came from and after living sometime with the Dr. Ido, the father figure of the story who found and rebuilt her, Alita finds that she has a mysterious instinct for battle. She uses this to take up the work of a Hunter-Warrior, bounty hunter conscripted by “The Factory,” the looming power over this war-torn world. Through the connections, both positive and negative, that Alita forges with the people she

encounters in this world, such as Dr. Ido, Hugo, and other Hunter-Warriors, she begins to form her own unique view of the corrupt society around her. This is solidified by Alita's discovery that she was actually a "Berserker," a cyborg from Mars that invaded Earth 300 years ago and recalls that she watched her comrades die because they kept fighting for a cause that was not their choice. Alita decides she does not want to be like that, she wants to make her own choices and fight for what matters to her. Throughout the story, Alita blossoms from being an innocent to carrying the weight of the world around her on her shoulders, as she discovers something to fight for.

*Alita: Battle Angel* stayed true to its source material better than any other live-action American remake to date. Regardless, the film has received some criticism for lacking any Asian actors in an originally Japanese story, specifically with casting Keenan Johnson, a white actor, in the role of Yugo and changing his name to Hugo, who was one of the few obviously Asian characters in the original manga. However, the original story, though it was Japanese, takes place in what was the Colorado area of the United States before the war with Mars. Had the story originally taken place in a futuristic Japan, like *Ghost in the Shell*, the lack of Asian characters and actors would be problematic because of how homogeneous Japanese culture is. So, while the film has been criticized for its casting, and accused of "white washing" some of the characters – it does not do so in a way that is culturally imperialistic because it does not change the themes or ideologies of the story.

### **Conclusion**

Hollywood's relationship with Japanese anime has been nothing short of complicated and will likely continue to be so for the foreseeable future. Without the consideration of the complications of bringing an animated property to the big screen in live action, adapting a story from a foreign culture is a task in and of itself. There is bound to always be things "lost in translation," for

misunderstandings to occur, or even the purposeful revisioning of a story: but superimposing American ideologies and themes over Japanese ones is cultural imperialism, and that is where “reimagining” can become problematic. While live action films like *Ghost in the Shell*, *Death Note* and the upcoming *Your Name* have fallen into this proverbial trap of changing a story in ways that are oppressive and limiting to the original property, *Battle: Angel Alita* did not make that mistake and proved that it can be done in a way that is tasteful and respectful to the source material. Imperialism is no longer culturally accepted in the modern world, but American cultural imperialism is still occurring in live action remakes of anime and it needs to be paid attention to, or we will just keep creating our own hollow stories: beautiful shells with no spirit, no ghost.

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## Author Bio

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## **A Review of *Xinjiang and the Modern Chinese State***

By Andres Freeman

Xinjiang is located in Central Eurasia, and is a culturally diverse conduit for trade in ideas, technology, religion, and biology throughout Eurasia. In the last three centuries, borders have become more sharply defined by the and Qing-Muscovite empires, especially after the toppling of the Dzungar Empire, which isolated the nomadic and semi-sedentarized: Kazaks, Dungun, Turkic-Speaking people, Uyghur, Oriats and Khalkha Mongols, to their periphery. The Northern region, which is proximal to Russia, is rich in mineral wealth, while the central pasturelands keep nomadic herds alive, and the southern portion serves as the agricultural basin, along with its oil supply located in the central Tarim Basin. As Moscow and Beijing grew their states, and the race for oil was on between the U.S. and Europe in the Middle East, Xinjiang served as the Sino-Russo chess board, where each agitated in the others disenfranchised Central Asian minorities. It is with the factors aforementioned that the common people of Xinjiang's ethnic-elites, where agents caught primarily between Moscow and Beijing, as they wrestled to maintain ethnic populist control in Xinjiang's political, as well as socio-economic participation.

Ethno-populism shaped Xinjiang's political climate from the late Qing Empire, until present day, which offers some insight on the complexities of political discourse and policy, regarding China's Uighur population. This review of Justin Jacobs' *Xinjiang and the Modern Chinese State* is limited in detail due to the immensity of Eurasia's complex history and symbiotic relationships regarding state building across the continent, which fall outside of this works scope, but should not deter scholars engaging with the intricate details Jacobs work covers. It is flexible enough to connect many common, misinformed nationalist narratives and deconstruct them with incidents, which parallel a

global trend of repressive measures the people of Central Asia experienced in the twentieth century. Though the work could use more personal accounts from non-elites in Xinjiang, it links the particular insight that political, or military leaders, bring as far as on the ground experiences in governorship, to the three eras covered. Historians and social scientists should familiarize themselves with this source material, at least as a baseline understanding, of the Uyghur discussion in modern Chinese Eurasian history.

Since the nineteenth century, competitive state building in Europe, permeating ideas of self-determination, which often are followed by the exploitation of ethnic differences amongst interrelating corporate groups and authority figures, shocked the world including China. In Xinjiang, the political strategy during the end of the Qing Imperial Dynasty (1644-1911), the Republican Period (1912-1949) and the People Republic of China era of the Chinese Communist Party (1949-present), are similarly characteristic of other frontier colonial campaigns. As such, ethno-populist politics have continually hindered the respective eras process of reconciliation with colonialisms permeation through Beijing's progressive policy and continually widens the socio-political gap between Han Chinese and ethnic minorities in China. Each respective era of Xinjiang's governors employs ethno-populist policies as strategy, by utilizing ethnic-elites and corporate groups, to garner popular political support in maintaining Han dominance of the region. In addition, the methodology, along with the ideological approach, changes with geopolitical strategy in mind. Jacobs doesn't directly express the role that western conquest for oil brought the global economy, but does explain the strategic interest for Russia in Xinjiang, which is linked to the political motivations that carried the global community through a brutal multi-century war, for control of the global economy. Jacobs's main point is that the findings of his research indicate a snafu in the semantics of the nation state model. To Jacobs, China should be referred to as a National Empire because of its lack of reconciliations with the Qing Dynasty's imperial expansion, a

distinct model from the Soviet model of a Nation of Empires, and by focusing on the geopolitical climate during the three eras of governors in Xinjiang, his examples illuminate the significance that Han chauvinism plays in creating tension between Beijing and the capital Urumqi.

Jacobs is a historian of modern China who authored *Xinjiang and the Modern Chinese State* and currently teaches at American University, where he teaches courses on modern China, East Asian civilization, Indiana Jones in History, and the Japanese Empire. His research concerns the northwestern Chinese borderlands, comparative Eurasian empires, and the historical politics of archaeological expeditions. His background of study puts his research dead in the middle of strategically significant regions of Central Asia and gives a platform to correlate the geopolitical watershed events, as an explanation for the collision and aftershock in Xinjiang.

Governor Yang Zengxin was a Han ruler of non-Han people first and foremost, from 1912-28, however his brand of ethnic-populist policy was continued from Qing era bureaucratic structures that his frontier experience was steepened in, leaving him a better understanding of how to govern the frontier as opposed to Han-Manchu officials in Beijing, during the Republic era. To avoid creating another outer Mongolia, Yang requested less aggressive tactics from Beijing, and to send arms so that the predominantly Uyghur and Kazak people of the regions could govern its borders, before the Soviets offered a sweeter deal. Yang postured as a defender of non-Han interest, while warding off competition with the Bolshevik encouraged ideas of self-determination. Ensuring Han rule of traditionally non-Han land was ultimately Yang's motivation for his request for arms, though it was not received as such by Beijing. Yang's tenure in 1924 when he had Sino-Muslim General of Xinjiang's Kashgar district, Ma Fuxiang, killed for his involvement in conspiring to assassinate him illustrates his character. Instead of bidding on the behalf of disenfranchised non-Han people who popularly supported such deviations, Yang blamed Ma's mistreatment of the Uyghur's under

him as the cause, subsequently brushing over the totality of growing discontent in Xinjiang. Ma was installed to prevent British, Japanese, and Russian agitation in the Mongol population, but soon began to favor the Soviets, over the Han-Chauvinists, or the former Qing Government, which prompted Yang to exploit this dynamic for his own political gain.

The competition between Bolshevik Russia and China during the republican period influenced many of the ethnic-elite partnerships, that were a continuation of ethno-populist policy, weakening Beijing's already brittle claim of Xinjiang as part of China under the auspices of Zhonghua Minzu, especially in the city of Ili. Sheng Shikai used Soviet Style Nationalism to patronize Uyghur Nationalist, in part by giving the non-Han people a limited political platform. In one of Xinjiang's more Soviet friendly regions, there was a monopoly over the extraction of the province's agricultural and mineral wealth, which is why in (1934-1937) the U.S.S.R. shelled out an 8 million dollar investment, to garner popular support from the Turkic speakers, Mongol and other non-Hans in the region. The relationship diminished because of the implanting of a Russian consulate in China's Kazak inhabited Ili, which resulted in the soviet backed Ili Rebellion (1944), where a coalition government rose from East Turkistani separatist (ETIM), who were brutally put down by the Kuomintang nationalist party. The ETIM were a party who called for national sovereignty from China, with support from primarily Western powers through Xinjiang's exiles, and Taiwan, following the Chinese Communist Party's rise to power. The competitive relationship between the two shifted as China strayed away from the Austro-Marxism, where the ideological restructuring put loyalty to the Chinese state above the Soviet model, which in combination with agitation of Kazaks and Uyghurs, marked the early years of Sino-Soviet estrangement.

Jacobs points out that the Chinese Communist Party used ethno-populist control via affirmative action as an extension of ethno-populist political strategy, where politically charged Han migration into Xinjiang, facilitated the CCP's commandeering of

political power from the splintered separatist. In designating Xinjiang, a special Autonomous region, the CCP crippled minorities route of autonomous political participation by diluting the concentration of non-Hans and removed the platform for organic leadership to thrive. The shift in Beijing's relation to Urumqi, Xinjiang's capital, also kept the exiled separatist out, facing the difficult position of fighting their way into the state, as opposed to Autonomy. Jacobs uses his concept of National Empire to explain why policy in Xinjiang unfolded as it did, however, in the context to geo-politics and strategy, serves a joint purpose of having a larger presence to offset Beijing's past neglect, and to limit the influence of Europeans who had been agitating in the region since the Opium Wars. Regardless of stance, the people of Xinjiang endured the brunt of any adverse effects, as elites and middlemen used their client relationships, during the early years of the Cold War.

In current day 2020, the condition of the Uyghur's of Xinjiang has been a critical question posed by human rights groups and media outlets, most of which are western based or associated to the U.S. in a geo-economic client capacity. Correspondence with strong criticism of Beijing of holding Uighur's in detention camps, often characterizes them Holocaust era concentration camps, subsequently ignoring anti-Semitism being a European phenomenon and the direct support of brutal Israeli occupation of Palestine in line with the Sykes-Picot Agreement. Washington's stance is not surprising, the Bush administration brandished the Eastern Turkistani Independence Movement a terrorist organization in 2002, which served two significant roles related to this reading: the application of Neoconservative foreign policy through the Bush Doctrine, as outlined in U.S. Plan for New American Century, and facilitating a mutual benefit of not having to address campaigns in Central Asia, which would implicate the U.S. Global War on Terror Campaign on Afghanistan as a Geo-strategic imperial venture. With this dynamic in mind, it is also important to recognize the role globalization plays in state-to-state interactions considering Afghanistan and Xinjiang's proximity to

each other and what these borderlands mean in terms of the Geo-strategy of economic warfare into the twenty-first century.

The US dollar is used to buy oil products in the world market, where it funds its ventures by storing the excess printed money in other countries' national reserves, which hides inflation on its end and ensures the direct exchange in petrodollars, whose value is supported by other countries' use of the USD. In other words, the other countries, such as Saudi Arabia, buy our debt, which clears us up to continue state building ventures, but allows the U.S. to impose brutal sanctions on "non-compliance," or trading without the USD. Recently, Russia, China, Iran, and Venezuela, to name a few, are already working on moving away from the USD, due to the effect the harsh sanctions have on their economies. This is significant because the energy crisis that plagued the twentieth century is the root cause for western interest in the Middle East and Central Eurasia, into the twenty-first century.

The Russo-Afghan War kept Beijing isolated into the Deng era, while bleeding the Soviet Union to its collapse, where the liberalization campaigns and subsequent globalization facilitated the infiltration of the U.S and Britain's intelligence agencies into strategic locations such as Tibet, where Taiwan became a major point of Western involvement in agitating near large Uyghur exile communities. Though many of the reports pertaining to Xinjiang are questionable at best, it is beneficial for the Uyghur community to be acknowledged and its reports of abuse to be validated: the lack of an ability to engage in representational politics removes actual autonomy in Xinjiang and is clearly a product of centuries of pacified reconciliation with Qing Imperial expansion. Jacobs argues ethno-elitist/ethno-populist pacification makes China a National Empire, which I believe suggests the Uyghur's of Xinjiang have not been afforded a true chance at autonomy. As proxy conflict functions, the decisions large states make, have real and oftentimes tragic effects for the inhabitants whose everyday lives are in direct contact with bullets flying overhead, as opposed to those who supply and instruct their factions from behind a desk,

distant from the shockwaves of warfare. The research presented in Jacobs work should be carried forward into a mainstream discussion, that facilitates a clean break in dialogue from orientalist interpretations of history, which often parade around Islamophobic rhetoric, xenophobia, or sympathies for imperialism, like Han-Chauvinism does.

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### **Author Bio**

Andre “Andres” Freeman is a history track B major in CSUSB’s Social and Behavioral Science Department, who is set to graduate in Spring 2020. His scholarly research concentrates primarily on Central Asia, relative to the Middle East and East Asia in the twentieth century, as a mode of understanding the complexities of geo-politics. Andres’ plan is to obtain his master’s in history to teach at his local community college, and eventually earn a PhD, in hopes of joining CSUSB’s History Department faculty. He would like to thank his peers and instructors for their unwavering support, vigorous discussion, and constructive criticism. A special thank you goes out to Dr. David Yaghoubian, Dr. Jeremy Murray and Dr. Yvette Saavedra for their constant guidance, without which, Andres believes, he would have been bereft of the confidence to engage with complex geo-political discussions, in a historically substantiated fashion.



## **The Untold Hero: A Review of *The Shadow of Vesuvius* and the Sacrifice of Pliny the Elder**

By Giovanni Gonzalez

The city of Pompeii is one of the greatest archaeological sites in the world today. It is also home to one of the best-preserved sites for understanding what daily life was like in the Roman Empire. The story we know of Pompeii began in 79 C.E. when Mt. Vesuvius erupted and destroyed Pompeii and the surrounding towns around the Campania region. The story of Pompeii can be told through the archaeological remains that were left behind at the site. However, the story of Pompeii before, during, and after the eruption is hardly talked about. In Daisy Dunn's book, *The Shadow of Vesuvius*,<sup>7</sup> she writes about the experience of the eruption from the eyes of Pliny the Elder who was killed at Pompeii. Dunn gives us insight into how Pliny the Elder shares his experiences before the Vesuvius eruption and how his nephew Pliny the Younger was able to finish his uncle's story.

*The Shadow of Vesuvius* tells us about the life of Pliny the Elder who sacrificed his life to save the citizens of Pompeii and the surrounding area. Dunn took written works found in Pliny the Elder's book *Natural History* to describe his experiences when he saw the volcano erupt. His book details the events as he began to notice Vesuvius was going to erupt at any moment and people - mostly soldiers - stationed around the mountain saw signs of an inevitable eruption. Pliny's nephew, Pliny the Younger, knew that his uncle was going to the heart of the disaster to save some of Pompeii's citizens from peril. The Younger was left with the task of finishing his uncle's story of his courageous efforts and knowing he is going to die. One thing that Daisy Dunn has done with

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<sup>7</sup> Daisy Dunn, *The Shadow of Vesuvius: A Life of Pliny* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2019).

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writing her book is that she makes connections to both Pliny's story and Virgil's book, *Aeneid*.

Daisy Dunn compared her book to the *Aeneid* with how similar both Pliny the Elder and Aeneas are with the characters and locations of where Pliny takes place. The city of Misenum is named after Misenus, the trumpeter of Aeneas, who fought alongside Hector in the Trojan War. Their journeys are similar because Pliny the Elder travels to the burning site of Pompeii while Aeneas travels to the burning location that is the Underworld. Another point that Dunn draws on from Virgil's *Aeneid* is that both main characters were told not to go on their journey by the people close to them. For Pliny, it was his mother who begged him not to go to Pompeii and, for Aeneas, his wife Creusa told him not to leave her side as Troy was beginning to fall, but he did anyway. Dunn describes the scenery of Pompeii as to the Virgilian Underworld with fire everywhere and the screaming of people being caught on fire by their surroundings. Dunn draws on Virgil to talk about how both of their main characters are willing to risk their lives for the sake of others to tell their stories once they are gone.

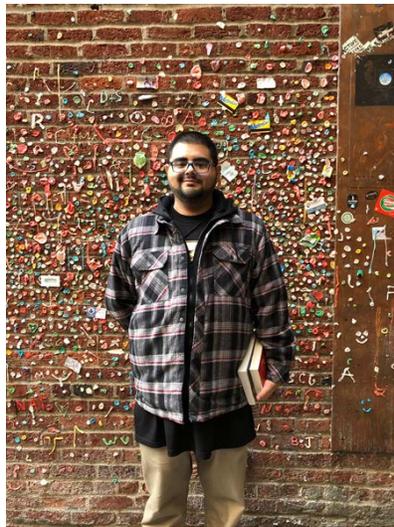
*The Shadow of Vesuvius* is one of the best accounts of the eruption of Pompeii through the lives of people that lived it. Daisy Dunn was able to tell the story of Pliny the Elder and how his nephew Pliny the Younger was able to finish his story for his uncle and the aftermath of the eruption. Dunn drew connections with Virgil's *Aeneid* and how both Pliny the Elder and Aeneas went through similar situations with their loved ones and their journey to their destination. Dunn's book is a strong example of telling the story of Pompeii and how Pliny the Elder became a hero that was willing to die for the sake of saving people from Mt. Vesuvius. With her book, we have a better understanding of how life was in the surrounding areas that were impacted by the eruptions, coupling with the archaeological evidence, to fully grasp life at Pompeii.

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## **Author Bio**

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## Review of the Norton Simon Museum

By Megan Kyriss

The Norton Simon Museum, located in the center of Pasadena California, spans almost eight acres of the land originally settled by the Carr family in the late 1870s. Transformed into a park with an astounding garden, it slowly was passed through the hands of many different owners and families until finally, in 1941, it was deeded to the city of Pasadena under the restriction and guidelines that it would become the Pasadena Art Institute.<sup>8</sup> The Pasadena Art Institute was originally under the local city government's control as it began to grow its collection and transition into the museum it is today. Eventually, it became the Pasadena Art Museum and was redesigned. Then in 1974, Norton Simon, an art collector, took control over the museum and added a selection from his own personal collection. With this, a new board of trustees was brought in and organized to take control over the museum and its collections. Norton Simon took over the management of the Pasadena Art Museum, and it became a modern art museum that was a rising contender to other major American art museums. The original museum buildings were designed in 1969 by famed architects Ladd & Kelsey and included a reflecting pool. The red brick with an onyx glaze curved siding, designed by Edith Heath, made the building flow, and it had a white concrete base to match the stark white roof. The brick design even won Edith Heath the highly prestigious Industrial Arts Medal award granted by the American Institute of Architects, the first of its kind handed out to a non-architect.<sup>9</sup> The building housed a massive collection of modern contemporary art with an avant-garde inspired interior,

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<sup>8</sup> "Museum History," Norton Simon Museum, accessed April 28, 2020, <https://www.nortonsimon.org/about/museum-history/>

<sup>9</sup> "Gold Medal," The American Institute of Architects, accessed April 29, 2020, <https://www.aia.org/awards/7046-gold-medal>

broken by brief interludes of nature between each collection of pieces.

When Norton Simon acquired and took control of the Pasadena Art Museum with his newly reorganized Board of Trustees in 1974, it was just the beginning of new and exciting changes for the museum. Norton Simon, born in 1907, was an exceptional businessman, who established one of the first international consumer product corporations that spanned from Canada Dry, to Avis Car Rental, to even a publishing firm. Norton Simon had an exuberant passion for art and had collected many pieces including Impressionist paintings, contemporary art, and some unique pieces from India and Southeast Asia. He sadly died in 1993 but wanted to preserve his collection, and with the acquisition of the Pasadena Art Museum and the creation of the Norton Simon Museum in 1974, he made sure that there was a home for his extensive collection. The stark changes began in 1977 with architect Craig Ellwood, who began the redesign of the building's interiors.<sup>10</sup> Craig Ellwood was not the only architect involved, and between 1996 and 1999, Frank Gehry drastically altered the interior with his re-design. All of these architects lead to massive changes and continued progress. The changes did not stop when the interior was finished in 1999. Nancy Goslee Power redesigned the landscape changing the main focal point of the entrance and removing the massive reflecting pool, focusing on a more organic and simple design.

Today the Norton Simon Museum holds a unique collection of art and artifacts, that span from approximately the first century to today. It encompasses many unique items such as paintings, altarpieces, statues, sculptures, books, prints, drawings, photographs, and everything in between. They have not lost the roots of the land and have kept many pieces of the garden-like landscape intact. They even have a special garden area sectioned off containing a statue of the Buddha Shakyamuni in a peaceful

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<sup>10</sup> "Museum History," Norton Simon Museum, accessed April 28, 2020, <https://www.nortonsimon.org/about/museum-history/>.

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quiet section off the lower level Asian exhibit.<sup>11</sup> There is an extensive collection of art from South and Southeast Asia that ranges from the first century to the nineteenth century C.E. These are parts of the museum's extensive permanent collection from a range of countries including India, Pakistan, Nepal, Tibet, Cambodia, and Thailand, along with a few specially chosen pieces from China, Vietnam, Bangladesh, Indonesia, Burma (Myanmar), Sri Lanka, and Afghanistan, all part of the museum's permanent Asia exhibit.



*Chess Set, c. 1850*<sup>12</sup>



*Sita (?), c. 1100-1150*<sup>13</sup>

The Asia exhibit also often features a traveling collection of Japanese woodblock prints, from the personal collection of Frank Lloyd Wright.<sup>14</sup>

The vast permanent collection does not stop there. It includes masterworks of European art from the fourteenth through eighteenth centuries, including many altarpieces and impressionist art. One of the pieces, *Venus and Cupid in a Landscape* (c.1515) (Pictured Below) by Jacopo Palma (also known as Palma

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<sup>11</sup> The Norton Simon Foundation (NSF), <https://www.nortonsimon.org/art/detail/F.1975.17.03.S>.

<sup>12</sup> NSF, <https://www.nortonsimon.org/art/detail/F.1978.20.01-33.S>.

<sup>13</sup> NSF, <https://www.nortonsimon.org/art/detail/F.1975.17.04.S>.

<sup>14</sup> NSF, <https://www.nortonsimon.org/exhibitions/1970-1979/frank-lloyd-wright-collection-of-japanese-prints/>.

Vecchio), is especially unique, as conservationists found during a restoration in the 1970s that at some point the baby Cupid was painted over to leave Venus alone in the scene. The painting was restored to its former glory removing the layer of paint over Cupid.<sup>15</sup>



*Venus and Cupid in a Landscape* (c.1515)<sup>16</sup>

The Collections include such distinctive items like *Fidelity* (c.1485) by Francesco di Giorgio Martini, a fresco that was transferred to canvas. These items are exquisite examples of the diverse and wonderful collection of European classics held in the Norton Simon Museum. The museum's newer art includes nineteenth century Impressionist and Post-Impressionist pieces, including from artists such as Monet, Degas and Van Gogh.<sup>17</sup> These paintings are accompanied by bronze sculptures and lead into modern twentieth century art. Picasso and Matisse adorn the walls scattered with other modern art, including a unique post-World War II collection that is adorned with artists such as Warhol and Rauschenberg. The museum also holds a special selection of California art from between the 1950s and the 1970s that contains pieces by Henry Moore and many others, works of bronze, lead,

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<sup>15</sup> "Venus and Cupid in a Landscape." Norton Simon Museum, January 1, 1970. <https://www.nortonsimon.org/art/detail/M.1996.1.P>.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> NSF, "In Focus", <https://www.nortonsimon.org/art/in-focus/>.

and marble. The Norton Simon had a temporary exhibit through March of 2020 called *By Day & By Night*.<sup>18</sup> It is a collection from Paris in the Belle Epoque (or “Beautiful Era”) from late nineteenth and early twentieth century Paris.

The museum’s extensive collection caters to a broad audience, especially when one considers their temporary exhibits. They have historically influential and unique art pieces in an array of mediums, and with a modern art section, the museum maintains a flow of paintings to guide one through the ages. The museum offers two audio tours, one for children and one for adults. The children’s audio tour does not cover every single painting and sculpture but instead covers a carefully chosen selection with interesting facts for children. The second audio tour covers almost every piece of art and shares the history and facts of many of the paintings. The museum also offers a ‘Family Guide’ that serves as an activity book for kids to help them engage with the art containing a map, facts, trivia, quizzes, and other activities, including a postcard in the back featuring a piece of art. This goes above and beyond as many art museums do not cater towards children. The steps the museum has taken to drive children’s interest in art, rather than focusing on just admiration<sup>19</sup> is wonderful and refreshing. Kids are not the only audience that the Norton Simon caters to, and with the Southeast Asian exhibit the Museum draws in a unique audience by sharing the history of some Southeast Asian cultures. The artifacts from temples and shrines along with numerous figurines and sculptures<sup>20</sup> that give light to a far-off culture that many may never have the chance to

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<sup>18</sup> NSF, “Exhibitions: By Day & by Night: Paris in the Belle Epoque”, Oct 4, 2019-March 2, 2020. <https://www.nortonsimon.org/exhibitions/2010-2019/by-day-and-by-night-paris-in-the-belle-epoque/>.

<sup>19</sup> Where many museums focus on the art and history and the reverence the pieces deserve, the Norton Simon tries to engage kids and teach them about the art and its history. The Norton Simon also has tours for adults and children with special needs.

<sup>20</sup> The exhibit takes up most of the basement of the museum and encompasses its own garden section. <https://www.nortonsimon.org/art/explore-the-collection/south-and-southeast-asian-paintings-and-sculpture/>.

visit or explore. The pieces, some the size of one's hand and others closer to the size of a small car, are so unique and have such astonishing detail that they are hard to just pass by. Even high school and college students can find something interesting especially with the vast collection of Impressionist and Post-Impressionist paintings.

The Norton Simon collection is vast but can be a lot to see in just one day as it spans such a wide variety. The museum has a great collection of historical pieces and would satisfy the requirement for any art history class, or history class for that matter. The expanse of their collection of European paintings and sculpture is an excellent base for the collection, and an awe-inspiring aspect for history lovers. The South/Southeast Asia exhibit was stunning and is a must visit; it shows such a beautiful aspect of this part of Asia's vast and expansive history. The Garden attached to the South/Southeast Asian exhibit is simple but beautiful and radiates a peaceful, calm aura that is often associated with Buddhism. The exhibitions are a great addition to the museum as a whole and rotate often enough that it adds a fresh aspect and perspective so museum-goers can always find something new and interesting. The modern paintings incorporate so many different artists that anyone can find something they like or that intrigues them. The Norton Simon is an excellent museum and is an excellent example of what a vast collection looks like. It strays from the basics of European art with its South/Southeast Asia exhibit, and delves into the twenty-first century with its modern pieces. This museum caters to so many different people and is an excellent example of how to look at the world of art.

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