

# **HISTORY IN THE MAKING**

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

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*History in the Making*

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## **Introduction**

Welcome to the seventh edition of *History in the Making*, the History Department of California State University, San Bernardino's annual journal. Every year, California State University, San Bernardino students donate their time and efforts in writing, editing, and managing the journal. The board strives to produce a journal that delves into fascinating and important topics in history. Our hope is that the journal will ignite passions in readers to further pursue historical knowledge. This year's board is honored to present to our readers seven full-length articles, two articles on students' travels, six reviews, and two articles in our new "In Memoriam" section.

In our first article, "Racial Theory: José Martí, José Vasconcelos, and the Beliefs that Shaped Latin America," Jose Renteria compares the racial theories of José Martí and José Vasconcelos. He analyzes how social conditions led to their racial understandings and political agendas, and how nationalistic movements developed due to their influential ideologies. Finally, he evaluates how influential their ideologies continue to be.

Our second article moves from examining racial theories to comparing revolutionary ideologies. In "Mao Zedong and Mohandas Gandhi: Revolutionary Pragmatists?" Kevin Wheeler examines Mao and Gandhi in the pre-1949 era, and explains how the two men are far more alike than previously believed. It discovers that Mao was indeed a pragmatist before the founding of the People's Republic of China and it would be an over-simplification to represent him as only a violent revolutionary. Both men were equally pragmatic in the promotion of their ideals, in order to garner the support of the masses in their respective countries. Even though they utilized different methods to achieve victory, they did so for the identical reason of it being in the best interests of the Indian and Chinese freedom organizations.

The next two articles explore topics relating to the Holocaust. Our third article, "The Goose-Step is Only Functional for Geese: Perspective on the Intentionalist/Functionalist Debate on Nazi Germany and the Holocaust, and its Implications for Humanity's Advancement through Modernity," Richard Butler uses a new perspective, known as modified Intentionalist, to assert that the intentions of leadership created a society of functionaries. Ancillary to this goal, the article also offers commentary on what implications Nazi Germany has had on humanity's progression through modernity. Our fourth article, "Holocaust Ghettos," by Rebecca Parraz, shifts from debating who was responsible for the Holocaust, to examining the Lodz and Warsaw ghettos; by focusing on their

construction, geography, and transition from a Jewish community into a Holocaust ghetto. The work discovers that the ghettos were merely designed to contain the Jews at the outset of their relocation, and only became Holocaust ghettos as the Second World War progressed.

In article five, “The Role of the Prison-Industrial Complex in Demilitarization, Corporate Outsourcing, & Immigration Policy,” Shellie Shimmel discusses how the goals of the American justice system have been twisted and distorted from rehabilitation of criminals to one centered on a corporate model of mass punishment based on profits, expediency, and the exploitation of free labor.

Article six, “Iranian Receptivity to CIA Propaganda in 1953,” by Alex Ponce, provides a commentary on the U.S. and CIA perceptions of Iranian receptivity to propaganda from 1950 to 1953, in order to better understand the blowback caused by Operation Ajax.

Our last full-length article, “Development in Southern California after World War II: Architecture, Photography, & Design,” is written by Joshua Edmundson. In this piece, midcentury modernity and architecture, from its source in the Bauhaus to its heyday in Palm Springs during the 1950s and 1960s, is explored in depth.

Importantly, the study of history is not just about the exploration of events in time, but also the experience of living the history as well. This idea is illustrated in our section, “Travels Through History,” where we feature a pair of articles written by those who have personally visited the places about which they have written. First, Moriah Schnose takes us on a trip to Kenya. She spent time in the capital city of Nairobi, the village of Kakuyuni, and a few days on a safari in the Masai region. While discussing this journey, she better clarifies the actual history of Africa, and how Western views and beliefs have shaped their development since the 1600s. Our other travel piece is authored by Richard Butler, who also wrote one of the Holocaust full-length articles. Going with that theme, he discusses his trip to Norhausen, Germany, where he toured the Mittlebau-Dora concentration camp, and conducted work with an organization to keep the histories of the camps alive in the cities which house them.

Our new “In Memoriam” section features two retrospectives on the lives of Ariel Sharon, written by Sean Switzer, and Margaret Thatcher, by Todd Broaddus. Both Sharon and Thatcher recently passed away, and these articles offer a more balanced perspective on their lives than ones which the media may give. Furthermore, they discuss how influential

their work was to shaping the histories of Israel, Great Britain, and the world in general, during the twentieth century.

Rounding out this year's journal are three film reviews, one exhibit review, one book review, and a review of the current archival practices in place at presidential libraries. The latter is placed first, and is authored by Cassie Grand. Following that is a book review of Greg Gordon's *When Money Grew on Trees: A.B. Hammond and the Age of the Timber Baron* by Cody August Vrba and the three film reviews: one on *The Attack*, written by Steven Anthony, another on *42*, authored by Alexandra Martin, and a third on *12 Years a Slave*, co-authored by members of the History Club. Finally, Charmaine Galley, Shawn Martinez, and Stephanie Reilly review the Silk Roads exhibit on display at the Los Angeles Museum of Natural History.

We hope that you find these articles as informative and compelling as we do, and sincerely thank you for reading the 2014 edition of *History in the Making*.

Kevin Wheeler,  
Chief Editor



## **Acknowledgements**

Without the hard work and dedication of many individuals, this journal would not have been possible. From cover to cover, staff, faculty, and especially students, have donated their time and efforts in its development and completion.

The editing process can be a difficult one, and the editorial staff would like to thank faculty members and staff who helped during this process. Among them, but not limited to them, were: our Faculty Advisers, Dr. Cherstin Lyon and Dr. Tiffany Jones, as well as Dr. Jeremy Murray, Dr. Timothy Pytell, and Dr. David Yaghoubian. Thank you for the help and insightful feedback, which you have given to authors and editors alike. Additionally, thank you to Danielle Jones for providing the cover photo for the journal.

Thanks to all students, especially those who submitted their papers for review and possible publication. The response to the “call for papers” was rather impressive, and I would like to thank you for your interest and support. Furthermore, thank you to authors for working with your assigned editors, and congratulations on your publications. Most importantly, my utmost appreciation goes to the editorial board for their time and efforts. You have done significant jobs with the reading, selection, and editing processes over this past academic year. Your work is highly valued, and I am proud of each and every one of you.

Once again, thank you.

Kevin Wheeler,  
Chief Editor



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# Articles

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## **Racial Theory: José Martí, José Vasconcelos, and the Beliefs that Shaped Latin America**

By Jose Renteria

*Abstract: This essay compares and contrasts the racial theories of José Martí and José Vasconcelos. It analyzes the social conditions each experienced in their respective time period and location, as well as explaining how such exposures led to their racial understandings and political agendas. The study primarily reveals how nationalistic movements developed due to their influential ideologies, and how both intellectuals influenced other prominent Latin American figures. Lastly, it sheds light on the elements of Martí's and Vasconcelos' ideals that continue to survive.*

Latin America's vibrant culture and ethnic mixtures have shaped the region's models of cultural and racial understanding presented by prominent intellectuals such as José Martí and José Vasconcelos. The racial theories presented by these two scholars created forms of cultural fusion that confronted traditional ideas about race in Latin America. Furthermore, their ideologies greatly challenged political institutions and socio-economic concepts that helped shape new domestic and international perspectives on race throughout the region. This paper will compare and contrast Vasconcelos' and Martí's racial theories, and examine the nationalistic movements their ideas affected. It will also discuss the influence on other prominent Latin Americans through their personal understanding of racial ideology, as well as examines what elements of their racial theories remain extant in the region.

Contemporary beliefs on how to interpret race have created extensive discussions that have spawned conflicting views. According to Joseph Healy, the present-day definition of race exists as the visibly distinguished, physical characteristics within the human species (i.e., skin color). He also differentiated the idea of ethnicity as being the cultural, customary upbringing that is commonly confused with the definition of race. While race and ethnicity hold two different meanings,

aspects of both may overlap to create social constructions of race.<sup>1</sup> Some may dismiss Healy's interpretations by arguing that no pure race exists, because physical characteristics continue to blend with constant assimilation and mixture within different groups. If so, where can the initial level of a certain race begin in history? Also, due to assimilation and constant alteration in physical characteristics, do races exist as groups that evolve and mix with one another? Certainly, no two people would have the same answer to these questions, but with a better understanding of these concepts, one can begin to distinguish Vasconcelos' and Martí's approach to race, ethnicity, and how such views shaped their theories.

The unique conditions of colonial Cuba contributed to the social experiences that influenced Martí. Racial discrimination in the Spanish colony reinforced the institution of slavery and its impact throughout the region. According to Ada Ferrer, more slaves arrived in Cuba between 1816 and 1867 when compared to the modern United States' entire period of slave trade.<sup>2</sup> A small percentage of Cuba's population consisted of free slaves, but they too faced restrictions within the social hierarchy that had been strengthened by prevalent racial notions. Such conditions influenced the model for Cuba's social order.

The common "civilized" dynamic played a major role in determining what had been considered "backwards" and progressive in Cuban society. Not only were European fashions, architectures, languages, and etiquettes the perfect models to emulate, but also notions of Yankee superiority had begun to emerge in Cuba by the early to mid-nineteenth century. In the words of Joseph J. Dimock, an 1859 U.S. traveler, "Cubans do not possess the energy and independence of Northern races, but they are brave and generous, and only need an infusion of our Anglo-Saxon blood to make them stand equal to any nation..."<sup>3</sup> In other words, the Cuban race was not civilized unless it contained civilized blood. Therefore, notions of proper racial hierarchy had been cemented into acceptable forms of social order that justified racial discrimination in Cuban society.

While Martí encountered the social settings that reinforced Cuba's colonial state, Vasconcelos had been affected by the 1910 Mexican Revolution. The movement emerged as lower classes demanded property reforms and engaged in agrarian land disputes, but following a decade of revolutionary violence, elements of class distinction and racial

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<sup>1</sup> Joseph F. Healy, *Diversity and Society: Race, Ethnicity, and Gender*, 4th edition (Los Angeles: Sage Publications Inc., 2014), 18-21.

<sup>2</sup> Ada Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868-1898* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 2.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph J. Dimock, *Impressions of Cuba in the Nineteenth Century: The Travel Diary of Joseph J. Dimock*, ed. Louis A. Perez (New York: SR Books, 2011), 103.

classification developed. Unified Indian consciousness did not exist during the armed phase of the revolution, but pre-determined group categorization created a sense of identity among these lower classes. Alan Knight explained that racial classification among lower classes emerged through caste-like ways of branding the inferior *Indio* and *mestizo* in colonial Mexico. Indigenous groups had been tagged as racially inferior, and this concept reinforced their place in society over time.<sup>4</sup> Subsequently, the revolutionary agenda manifested significant racial concepts among rural populations. One must note that race did not stand as a contributing element to the revolution, but racial beliefs emerged through prior social labeling. Vasconcelos would help alter the negative association among peasant groups with the development of *indigenismo* and his interpretation of *mestizaje*.

### Formulating Racial Theories

Martí has long been regarded as the most prominent Cuban patriot who fought for his country's independence from Spanish rule, and the struggles he experienced contributed to his racial beliefs. Although slavery had been diminishing in Cuba by the late 1870s, negative racial concepts remained highly existent. Ferrer explained that not only were insurgent recruits during the Ten Years' War (the first of three anti-colonial Cuban movements for independence) branded with racial labels, but the female perception in the province of Camagüey, for example, remained loyal to Spanish cultural and racial roots as they signed a public declaration in an effort to preserve White nationality.<sup>5</sup> Racial perception within Cuban society extended beyond intellectuals and armed revolutionaries, and such views would have an impact on the involvement of a united Cuba. The increased awareness of the "Black threat" within the anti-colonial struggle led to "...thousands of surrendered insurgents [who] signed a public denunciation of the movement in December 1871."<sup>6</sup> Efforts by the movement's opposition further contributed to Martí's unique theory that promoted a unified Cuba. He believed that "in Cuba, there is much greatness, in both Negroes and Whites,"<sup>7</sup> and these ideals would greatly influence the struggle for Cuba's independence. Instead of accepting racial distinction,

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<sup>4</sup> Alan Knight, "Race, Racism, and Indigenismo: Mexico, 1910-1940," in *The Idea of Race in Latin America: 1870-1940*, ed. Richard Graham (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 75-77.

<sup>5</sup> Ferrer, 49-50.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 50.

<sup>7</sup> José Martí, "My Race," in *José Martí Reader: Writings on the Americas*, ed. Deborah Shnookal and Mirta Muniz (New York: Ocean Press, 2007), 174.

Martí knew the independence movement would benefit by their convergence.

While Martí promoted his racial ideals for *Cuba Libre* (free Cuba) in the late nineteenth century, Vasconcelos' ideas emerged through a decade of cultural development for Mexican national identity in the 1920s. The so-called prophet of race became Minister of Education under President Álvaro Obregón. Nationalism played a major role in creating positive concepts of *mestizaje* through the political project of *indigenismo*, which Knight described as unifying, nationalistic, mobilizing, and fitting for the self-image of elites.<sup>8</sup> *Indigenismo* aimed to attract the masses into a modern realm that would allow the peasant population to unite with the nation, and have their indigenous past promoted. Notions of cultural and ethnic identity also developed with the dismissal of emulated European models replaced by indigenous themed fine arts, cuisine, and fashion. These ideas contributed to new ways of viewing the Mesoamerican past in Mexico. As a result, indigenous groups did not seem so backwards, and Vasconcelos used these evolving interests to reject scientific racism. Scientific racism stood as the widely accepted scientific approach that justified racial categorization and racial superiority among ethnic groups, which prevailed during the late nineteenth century into the early twentieth century. Similar to Martí, Vasconcelos relied on emerging interpretations of cultural concepts to develop his racial ideology.

Vasconcelos' opinions on race challenged racial discrimination through his understanding of racial competition in Europe prior to the Spanish conquest. His book, *The Cosmic Race*, stood as the backbone for Latin America's racial reinforcement that gained recognition in the 1920s. It argued against Latin American inferiority by supporting Latin American racial attributes through a description of racial competition between Anglo-Saxons and Latins. Both stood as dominant groups in Europe that carried over an ethnic struggle to the Americas, and this rivalry continued during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>9</sup>

Latin America developed differently from its northern Anglo-Saxon neighbor. Vasconcelos stated that "the one [the U.S.] wants exclusive dominion by the Whites, while the other [Latin America] is shaping a new race, a synthetic race that aspires to engulf and to express everything human in forms of constant improvement."<sup>10</sup> Due to the influx of different groups in Latin America, racial mixture was unavoidable, and the all-inclusive, cultural fusion created a unique blend of the new and evolving race. Vasconcelos argued that "Spanish

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<sup>8</sup> Knight, 86.

<sup>9</sup> José Vasconcelos, *The Cosmic Race: La Raza Cósmica*, trans. Didier T. Jaen, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 17-18.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

colonization created mixed races, this signals its character, fixes its responsibility, and defines its future.”<sup>11</sup> He supported the idea that the Spanish mixed with the Indians and Blacks to develop a progressive race.

Some scholars have questioned Vasconcelos’ mixed race theory by arguing that he later contradicted himself. According to Luis A. Marentes, “During the 1930s Vasconcelos took a sharp turn, as he rejected his early racial theories and became a radical Hispanophile.”<sup>12,13</sup> Marentes viewed this shift as a form of accepting the colonial caste system, but others viewed Vasconcelos’ interpretation of colonization as a way to challenge racial discrimination. As Marilyn Miller put it, the main idea behind *The Cosmic Race* had always been to challenge Social Darwinism. She also argued that Vasconcelos did “...denounce scientifically proven theories of racial superiority by focusing on the spiritual benefit and enrichment of people of mixed descent.”<sup>14</sup> Therefore, Vasconcelos’ central focus in *The Cosmic Race* was that race mixture created a new human race, and to tackle issues of scientific racism by praising indigenous ancestry.<sup>15</sup>

Vasconcelos believed that the adaptation of a new race had been significant for Latin America’s future development. As the Anglo Americans of the north sustained themselves with notions of racial purity, the south became the reinforced, mixed region of a new continent. He also depicted a continuous development of race rather than believing one no longer existed due to its evolving process. Vasconcelos noted that “no race returns...The Indian has no other door to the future but the door of modern culture, nor any other road but the road already cleared by Latin civilization.”<sup>16</sup> The large Latin society created an endless path and continuous marker of advancement. Although the Anglos “advanced” from their method of cleansing, Vasconcelos believed the Latin race also progressed from its blend. These ideas began to develop a strong, convincing racial theory with the potential for nationalistic influences.

While Vasconcelos’ concepts supported the idea of a continuous race, this core belief greatly differed from Martí’s views which held that there had been no such thing as race. As he argued in his essay *Our*

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 17-18.

<sup>12</sup> Hispanophile: Accepting of Spain/Spanish elements.

<sup>13</sup> Luis A. Marentes, *José Vasconcelos: and the Writing of the Mexican Revolution* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 2000), 79-80.

<sup>14</sup> Marilyn Grace Miller, *Rise and Fall of the Cosmic Race: The Cult of Mestizaje in Latin America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 42.

<sup>15</sup> While it is necessary to note the criticism, this paper will continue to focus on Vasconcelos’ theory of the 1920s.

<sup>16</sup> Vasconcelos, 16.

America, there was “no racial hatred because there [were] no races.”<sup>17</sup> He understood a form of collective civilization that encompassed global humanity, and created Latin America’s identity. One must consider the impact Social Darwinism had on racial competition during the late nineteenth century. The so-called competition between races had been perceived as an offense against humanity; a problem that significantly burdened Cuba’s struggle for independence.<sup>18</sup> Martí’s belief of universal humanity challenged racially distinguishing justifications present in Cuba. Like Vasconcelos, Martí’s idea of an all-inclusive humanity attempted to reject racism.

Similar to Vasconcelos, Martí also faced criticism for his racial theory. According to Oscar Montero, “...while recognizing and admiring cultural plurality, Martí proposed if not an idealized erasure of racial difference then at least its deferral for the sake of unity in the struggle for Cuban independence.”<sup>19</sup> Therefore, if the merging of Blacks and Whites could not take place for racial ideology, their alliance must occur for Cuba’s independence struggle. This questioned Martí’s two-way strategy by looking beyond the ideological belief, and interpreting it as a true political agenda. Scholars may also view Martí’s expressed notions of Western acceptance in Cuba as a significant contradiction to his anti-colonial ideals. Martí’s motives for racial collectiveness, however, can be understood as an improvement of modern education and intermarriage in Cuban society. Aline Helg described Martí’s principles as a form of progress by stating that “...people of African descent were to embrace Western culture rather than reassert the value of their African Heritage.”<sup>20</sup> Martí did not validate a dependent Cuba, but rather presented a method of obtaining equality through a form of cultural unification that would improve Afro-Cubans’ socio-economic status. Helg also argued that “Cuba could not be saved without strengthening its links with the United States and without Anglo-Saxon education based on reason.”<sup>21</sup> Therefore, similar to Vasconcelos, Martí tackled racism by strategically countering the concepts of racial inferiority through the promotion of Western customs in a nation with a strong Afro-Cuban culture.

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<sup>17</sup> José Martí, “Our America,” in *The Cuba Reader: History, Culture, and Politics* ed. Aviva Chomsky, Barry Carr, and Maria Smorkaloff (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 127.

<sup>18</sup> Oscar Montero, *José Martí: An Introduction* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 62.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

<sup>20</sup> Aline Helg, *Our Rightful Share: The Afro-Cuban Struggle for Equality, 1886-1912* (London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 45.

<sup>21</sup> Aline Helg, “Race in Argentina and Cuba, 1880-1930: Theory, Policies, and Popular Reaction,” in *The Idea of Race in Latin America: 1870-1940*, ed. Richard Graham (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 48.

Martí's political career led him to regions that would reinforce his racial beliefs. Though originally jailed in the Spanish colony of Cuba for treason, Martí's sentence had been converted to exile (from 1869-1894) where he continued his struggle for *Cuba Libre* abroad.<sup>22</sup> Martí completed his studies in Spain and worked throughout Latin American countries, such as Mexico and Guatemala. He returned to Havana before being expelled to Spain once more in 1879 for his insurrectional participation. In 1880, Martí arrived in New York City where he became a delegate of the Cuban Revolutionary Committee.<sup>23</sup> During his time in the U.S., Martí recognized racism as a demeaning limitation for all humanity. The struggles of Native Americans and Blacks in North America had been no different than other major movements for racial equality. To progress, however, Martí also believed racial injustices should not be committed by those fighting against such discriminations. Not only had the oppressed been burdened, but racial discrimination also created resentment towards the oppressors, and this mentality produced a two-way distribution of injustices. Additionally, Martí admired Helen Hunt Jackson's 1884 novel *Ramona* because it attempted to save California Soboba Indians from being driven off of their land by the U.S. government. This issue epitomized the Indian situation of the Americas and he applied this example to his efforts. As an "all-inclusive" thinker, Martí examined different struggles, and closely analyzed situations in the U.S. similar to those that led to his exile.

### Setting the Stage for Regional Movements

The beliefs of Martí and Vasconcelos built strong nationalistic ideologies. As Minister of Education for Mexico, Vasconcelos entered an era of ethnic revival. As mentioned before, the post-armed phase of the Mexican Revolution set the stage for the intellectual project he had in mind. Vasconcelos promoted the nationalistic ideals of *mestizaje* and *indigenismo* through education. According to Rosario Encinas, "The energy he was to invest into the project spread to a whole generation of teachers and university students who regarded themselves as bearers of good news, and who took to the streets to spread this news with an enthusiasm which has never again been equaled."<sup>24</sup> Decreasing illiteracy in Mexico also stood as one of Vasconcelos' main objectives. Native imagery became an instrument in grasping the attention of rural communities while promoting the nation's history. As Encinas put it,

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<sup>22</sup> Martí, "My Race," 4-5.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 5-7.

<sup>24</sup> Rosario Encinas, "José Vasconcelos: (1882-1959)," *Prospects: Quarterly Review of Comparative Education* 24, no. 3-4 (1994), 2.

Vasconcelos developed "...a pseudo-philosophical argument according to which a national spirit could only be attained by rediscovering the native values of a people."<sup>25</sup> To do so, Vasconcelos turned to pre-Hispanic art in order to encourage native heritage in Mexico.

Muralists, such as Diego Rivera and José Clemente Orozco, showcased the elements Vasconcelos required for the foundation of *indigenismo*. Interest in Mexican culture, society, and art developed for *Indio* enthusiasm in the 1920s, and attracted many foreign travelers to discover such marvels. Helen Delpar explained that "the harmony and communal orientation [travelers] associated with Indian culture seemed especially appealing in contrast to the selfish individualism of capitalist society and indeed of Europeanized Mexico."<sup>26</sup> Travelers sought out the alluring aspects of indigenous Mexico that created positive beliefs in pre-Hispanic culture. In addition, Rivera and Orozco were among many talented artists who traveled to the U.S. for sponsored exhibits and galleries. Their presence, "coupled with the promotional efforts of their supporters, contributed to the explosion of interest in Mexican art."<sup>27</sup> Mexican artists gained a sense of international respectability while promoting Mexican national identity.

Mexican nationalism increased with *indigenismo*, and Vasconcelos required recognition of ancestral origins, because Mexican roots ran deeper than the widely accepted forms of its colonial legacy. He explained that *mestizaje* would be nothing without considering the places of Cuauhtemoc and Atahualpa<sup>28</sup> (the last Aztec and Inca emperors), both of whom had bravely resisted Spanish *conquistadores* until their dying breath in the sixteenth century. Therefore, Latin America's accomplishments must not be rooted with the freedom struggles of Simón Bolívar, the liberator of the majority modern South America, and Father Miguel Hidalgo, who many still consider the father of Mexican independence.<sup>29</sup> Vasconcelos wanted the nation to understand that *mestizaje* ran deeper than Latin America's triumph over colonialism.

As *indigenismo* swept throughout Mexico, Martí's agenda for Cuba struggled in the late nineteenth century after the abolition of slavery, because Afro-Cubans could not unite during the mid-1880s and mid-1890s. According to Helg, "Full participation [in social unification] was, in fact, impossible."<sup>30</sup> Afro-Cubans who retained their roots

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>26</sup> Helen Delpar, *The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican: Cultural Relations between the United States and Mexico, 1920-1935* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1992), 25.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 86.

<sup>28</sup> Vasconcelos, 11.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Helg, *Our Rightful Share*, 33.



confronted a growing Latin world, while those who chose to integrate into Spanish civilization faced a constant life of proving their allegiance to White society. The social divide only increased class and cultural differences. Many Afro-Cubans chose assimilation, which granted them higher social status and allowed them to experience less discrimination. As a result, Afro-Cuban disunity and inequality had a major impact in Cuban society.

Despite such set-backs, in 1892, Martí continued his struggle to unite Cuba where he established a newspaper, *Patria*, in New York City; which became the voice for *Cuba Libre*. He raised political awareness and discussed the social and economic issues that hindered the Cuban struggle through these writings. For example, “My Race” stands as one of Martí’s most persuasive essays. It argued that “it is alleged that slavery does not imply inferiority in the enslaved race, since Gauls with blue eyes and blond hair were sold as serfs with shackles around their necks in the markets of Rome.”<sup>31</sup> Racism did not prove or disprove rights or inequalities of a certain race, but rather only justified the ignorant political and social agendas of inferior men. Such concepts countered the issues of social unification between different racial groups during the late nineteenth century. Martí’s goal of unifying Cuba, however, did not become his most lasting influence.

Martí’s views gained international support as he warned Cuba of growing U.S. capitalism. His essay, *The Truth about the United States*, described growing materialisms that embodied the U.S. while it defended the cultural character of Latin America. He summed up his argument in the following sentence:

[T]he North American character has gone downhill since the winning of independence, and is today less human and virile; whereas the Spanish-American character today is in all ways superior, in spite of its confusion and fatigue, to what it was when it began to emerge from the disorganized mass of grasping clergy, unskilled ideologists and ignorant or savage Indians.<sup>32</sup>

Martí recognized the unwanted values of the U.S. while upholding Latin America’s desirable and civilized character. He shared these concepts with other influential Latin American writers, such as Uruguay’s José Enrique Rodó, another supporter of the values that created a positive representation in Latin American culture, and exposed the evils of the U.S. in his 1900 essay, *Ariel*. Such views would later give charge to one of the most significant contemporary movements in the region.

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<sup>31</sup> Martí, “My Race,” 173.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 189.

While Martí's writings on Latin American uniqueness were being shared by his contemporaries, acceptance of Vasconcelos' racial theory declined. Encinas argued that by the mid-1930s "...all that remained was worn-out revolutionary rhetoric."<sup>33</sup> The essence of *mestizaje*, however, did not disappear completely, but rather transformed. Miller described *mestizaje* in the twenty-first century as a term describing multicultural elements that transformed from the multiracial makeups Vasconcelos argued.<sup>34</sup> The present variation of *mestizaje* appeared to be inevitable considering the changing demographics of Latin and Anglo-Saxon assimilation throughout the adjoining regions of the U.S. and Mexico. The present Chicano development has allowed for more of a cultural interpretation of *mestizaje* rather than one defined by race.<sup>35</sup>

Vasconcelos' concepts may have influenced the way many view issues on race in Latin America, but no contemporary situation can equate to that of Martí's influence on Castro's Cuba.<sup>36</sup> The Cuban Revolution exists as one of the largest anti-capitalist movements in Latin American history. Its core concepts stem from Martí's beliefs on the U.S. imperial system that developed Cuba's economic dependency. His views proved truthful through the 1901 Platt Amendment, which became legally bound to the Cuban constitution of 1901, and made Cuba a protectorate of the U.S. that consented much of its diplomatic dealings (foreign and domestic) in exchange for Cuban sovereignty.<sup>37</sup> Although a majority of the amendment's provisions were later abolished in the early 1930s, U.S. influence in Cuba continued well into the mid-twentieth century. Driven by Martí's warnings, a college student named Fidel Castro gained credibility for his failed 1953 attack on the *Moncada* Barracks (a Cuban military facility) in attempt to start an uprising, overthrow President Fulgencio Batista, and end Cuba's economic dependency. Castro defended himself during his trial with the speech "History Will Absolve Me," which presented five laws for a revolutionary government, and referred to Martí as the Apostle of the Revolution.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Encinas, 6.

<sup>34</sup> Miller, 152.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 37.

<sup>36</sup> Martí died in 1895 on the battlefield, but this essay continues with his future influence.

<sup>37</sup> Louis A. Pérez Jr., "Incurring a Debt of Gratitude: 1898 and the Moral Sources of United States Hegemony in Cuba," *American Historical Review* 104, no. 2 (1999): 16.

<sup>38</sup> Fidel Castro, "History Will Absolve Me," in *The Cuba Reader: History, Culture, and Politics*, ed. Aviva Chomsky, Barry Carr, and Maria Smorkaloff (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 313.

Castro's desire for a revolutionary government backed by the Cuban people had been driven by a need for reforms in unemployment, education, and land, to name a few.<sup>39</sup> He sought to improve the living conditions of peasants, students, and other lower-class social groups. His struggle followed the color-blind concept of Martí that represented a collective movement driven by social equality. Castro was released after a short prison term, and returned from exile to establish a communist regime in 1959 that fought to maintain Cuba's economic independence. Throughout Castro's political career, the legacy of Martí was used to carry the Revolution's agendas. Due to Cuba's prevailing Communist party, the opposition has been silenced, and the apostle's ideals continue to be used as support for the Cuban government.

## Conclusion

To this day, José Martí and José Vasconcelos are credited with developing persuasive ideologies and sparking mass movements in Latin America. The cultural fusion of *mestizaje* confronted traditional, colonial forms of viewing race in Latin America that justified racial discrimination, while Martí's ideals of racial unification and political freedom influenced a revolutionary Cuba. Vasconcelos' personal understanding of racial ideology gave rise to *indigenismo*, a philosophy that set the foundation for the contemporary concepts of the new *mestizaje*.<sup>40</sup> His philosophies have shaped Mexican nationalism, as well as Hispanic heritage beyond Mexican borders. Ilan Stavans noted that although Vasconcelos may have no present-day followers, he has impacted the self-definition of Chicano activists, intellectuals, and political leaders during crucial moments in Mexican history; both north and south of the U.S./ Mexico border.<sup>41</sup> Martí's symbolism and personal understanding of racial ideology left strong, lingering concepts of liberation that greatly influenced Cuba's future movements. As Lillian Guerra put it, "At the center of these struggles, the figure of Martí has remained the central image through which political elites and activist groups have fought over the direction of the nation."<sup>42</sup> Both men confronted social and political barriers and paved the way for other

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 308-309.

<sup>40</sup> For a contemporary analysis of *mestizaje*, refer to Maria L. Amado's 2012 essay "The 'New Mestiza,' the Old Mestizos: Contrasting Discourses on Mestizaje."

<sup>41</sup> Ilan Stavans, *José Vasconcelos: The Prophet of Race* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2011), 4-5.

<sup>42</sup> Lillian Guerra, *The Myth of José Martí: Conflicting Nationalism in Early Twentieth-Century Cuba* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 257.

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prominent figures to leave their mark on Latin American history. Many challenged Martí's and Vasconcelos' ideas, but these strong concepts continue to persist with the longstanding legacy they have left behind.

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## **Mao Zedong and Mohandas Gandhi: Revolutionary Pragmatists?**

By Kevin Wheeler

*Abstract: Before 1949, both China and India experienced protracted struggles to gain freedom from their respective governing bodies. Although the Chinese and Indian Revolutions occurred during the same time period, and on the same continent, little energy has been spent on comparing the two in any appreciable manner, even less so when it comes to the leaders of the movements themselves. Granted, the reasoning for this is due to the belief that Mao Zedong and Mohandas Gandhi are too dissimilar for any fruitful analysis to be obtained by juxtaposing them, but this paper's focus is on proving that they are far more alike than anyone has ever given them credit. Both men were pragmatic revolutionaries who adapted to the needs of their movements, and were willing to be flexible to new developments which could potentially alter fundamental underpinnings of their uprisings. With the preexisting notions of class struggle and violence which have so characterized Mao Zedong in the past, it may be absurd to claim him as a pragmatist, but in reality, he was in fact a powerful coalition builder before the People's Republic of China was founded. Furthermore, Mohandas Gandhi is seen as the principal advocate of non-violence in recent memory, but he accepted violence to avoid cowardice, and only came to the stance of non-violence after observing firmer approaches earlier in his life. Even though the two men arrived at different conclusions of how to best achieve victory, they did so for the identical reason of it being in the best interests of the Indian and Chinese freedom organizations. Most importantly, both revolutionaries came to personify their movements, and that accounts for their "god-like" standing in historical texts. This paper is intended to bring Mao and Gandhi down from their mythologized status and to see them for who they were during their revolutions, ordinary human beings who were pragmatic enough to sustain the momentum of their individual movements. Without their realism, the Indian and Chinese Revolutions would have been radically different.*

## **Introduction**

Adapting to current conditions is a necessary feature of any revolution, but this creates internal conflicts which are inherently different. Failing to adapt leads to rigidity, which in turn causes a near-certain failure to the insurrection and a possible collapse of the entire revolutionary movement. Strong leaders who are able to adapt to existing situations are vital to the success of any uprising, and both Mohandas Gandhi (1869-1948) and Mao Zedong (1893-1976) were consummate pragmatists in their respective countries. They are among the most important figures in Asia during this time period, and little has been done to compare their views. While both men had fundamentally different philosophies on how to bring about revolutionary change, which might make comparison seem fruitless, research has shown that they may be more similar than previously believed. Essentially, they chose those different ideals for identical reasons.

The purpose of this paper is to show that without the flexibility and modifications of Mao Zedong and Gandhi to better conform to their environments, the Indian and Chinese Revolutions would have been radically different, because there was no other individual who could have taken their place and maintained the level of revolutionary fervor they engendered. As a result, the time period examined here will be almost exclusively pre-1949 due to: the Indian Revolution succeeding with the withdrawal of the British in 1947 and Gandhi being assassinated in 1948, and Mao Zedong overthrowing the Nationalist Party and proclaiming the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949.

In addition, this endeavor is further aimed at discussing the similarities and differences between their theories and ideologies in order to arrive at a clearer understanding of why Mao and Gandhi, although contemporaries in Asia, chose radically different philosophies but were nonetheless still able to succeed. The reason for their success stems from their ability to conform to the needs of the time. It is entirely likely that they were only ones capable of accomplishing this vital task.

A great deal of Gandhi's beliefs and convictions stemmed from his studies in England and from his involvement as a member of the ambulance corps during various wars in South Africa. During return trips to India, he became increasingly embroiled in the struggle of his people against British rule, which led him on the path to becoming a revolutionary. While he was the embodiment of the term "revolutionary," he was far more like a social reformer and diplomat which caused him to become the leader of a revolutionary movement. Gandhi did not seek the leadership of the Indian organization, but accepted it because he possessed the charisma to deal with the British on their terms in order to obtain a favorable conclusion to their existing strife. Unlike him in a vast variety of ways, Mao Zedong remained

radical throughout his entire life. His beliefs in “permanent revolution” and violent upheaval led to constant political problems and bordered on anarchism at times. Mao had never studied outside of China and only went as far as Beijing University, the place where his actual Communist ideals took root under the tutelage of the Chinese innovator of Marxism and Beijing University librarian, Li Dazhao (1888-1927).

Mohandas Gandhi and Mao Zedong personified their revolutions. Even though there were other skilled leaders present, such as Jawaharlal Nehru and Zhou Enlai (who were more behind-the-scenes contributors to their movements), they were the only likely candidates able to lead their revolutions effectively. The reasoning for this assertion is the result of their ability to adjust their ideologies to best represent their respective peoples. In essence, Mao and Gandhi created a dependency on their presence, because of the pragmatism they espoused. The sheer amount of similarities revealed here between one of the most violent revolutionaries in history, and the greatest advocate of non-violence in the twentieth century, is remarkable.

### **The Path to Pragmatism**

At their core, both revolutionaries fought for, and even against, similar concepts and figures. Gandhi was a man of compromise and understanding, while Mao was radical and violent for the most part. The former was a student of the British who found that the best way to get them to leave his country was working with them (In a *diplomatic* sense, i.e. through compromise and understanding. This is true even with the reality that the movement as a whole obviously worked against British interests through *non-cooperation* with laws they disagreed with.) toward that goal based on his extensive experience with the police in South Africa<sup>1</sup> instead of using force as the latter believed was necessary.<sup>2</sup> Much of this stemmed from Gandhi’s spirituality, which drove him to live his life in a way which would not bring shame to him or anyone else; he chose to live by the principle of “Hate the sin, not the sinner,”<sup>3</sup> and believed that “To slight a single human being is to slight those divine powers, and thus to harm not only that being but with him the whole world.”<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, Gandhi still retained the seemingly contradictory feeling that “where there is only a choice between cowardice and

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<sup>1</sup> Mohandas Gandhi, *An Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957), 275-76.

<sup>2</sup> Mao Tse-Tung, *On Revolution and War*, ed. M. Rejai (Garden City New York: Doubleday and Company Inc., 1969), 57.

<sup>3</sup> Gandhi, 276.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

violence, I would advise violence.”<sup>5</sup> In his country, Mao felt that “Without armed struggle the proletariat and the Communist Party would have no standing at all in China, and it would be impossible to accomplish any revolutionary task.”<sup>6</sup> The point is, however, that both men were the products of whatever circumstances they found themselves in (as will be discussed next) and had learned to adapt to what they believed was necessary to further their personal and public goals.

From his youth, Gandhi had made the conscious decision to become a vegetarian and follow the instructions of his mother vehemently while studying law in London<sup>7</sup> and while in South Africa where he participated in the Boer War and the Zulu Rebellion as an ambulance attendant.<sup>8</sup> This, for lack of a better phrase, strict adherence to instructions and a policy of not hurting animals by refusing meat, laid a firm foundation for his later beliefs in non-violence and peaceful non-cooperation. Regardless, Gandhi was not a revolutionary in the common understanding of the word (i.e. “rebel,” “insurrectionist,” or “renegade”), for a number of reasons. For instance, he believed that even if his people had the weapons to seize the country by force, they most likely would not have chosen to do so because it was not in the nature of the majority of the Indian people.<sup>9</sup> While he may have led a movement against them and was anti-imperialistic, Gandhi never saw the British people themselves in a negative light, something which he believed had been misunderstood by the government in London. “India has no quarrel with the British people. I have hundreds of British friends. Andrews’ friendship was enough to tie me to the British people. But both he and I were fixed in our determination that British rule in India, in any shape or form, must end.”<sup>10</sup> In fact, due to those cordial relations, many Englishmen in India began seeing the British presence there in the same way that Gandhi and his movement did; it was not a benevolent force, but a burdensome overseer.<sup>11</sup> This growing sentiment, along with his own experiences with them in England and with the police in South

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<sup>5</sup> Mark Juergensmeyer, *Gandhi’s Way A Handbook of Conflict Resolution* (USA: University of California Press, 2002), ix.

<sup>6</sup> Mao, 57.

<sup>7</sup> Gandhi, 38-39.

<sup>8</sup> Samuel Farber, “Violence and Material Class Interests: Fanon and Gandhi,” *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 16, no. 3/4 (1981): 202.

<sup>9</sup> Robert Blackey and Clifford Paynton, *Revolution and the Revolutionary Ideal* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing Company, 1976) p. 147.

<sup>10</sup> Mohandas Gandhi, *My Appeal to the British*, ed. Anand T. Hingorani (New York: John Day Company, 1942), 19.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 18-19, 24, 37.

Africa, made him come to see them as capable of both reason and cooperation.<sup>12</sup>

Mao never had such amicable relations with an imperial power, or even his family for that matter. Much like Gandhi, Mao's mother meant a great deal to him (some scholars, such as Lowell Dittmer, have claimed he had an Oedipus complex),<sup>13</sup> but his father was a deep-rooted source for his inclination toward conflict.<sup>14</sup> Growing up in a small village in a rural area of Hunan Province in southern China, Mao's many neighbors still lived under the same backward technological, social, and economic conditions that existed in the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), and his father came to symbolize that old way of life to Mao, politically and socially.

My mother was a kind woman, generous and sympathetic, and ever ready to share what she had. She pitied the poor and often gave them rice when they came to ask for it during famines. But she could not do so when my father was present. He disapproved of charity. We had many quarrels in my home over this question. There were two "parties" in the family. One was my father, the Ruling Power. The Opposition was made up of myself, my mother, my brother, and sometimes even the laborer. In the "united front" of the Opposition, however, there was a difference of opinion. My mother advocated a policy of indirect attack. She criticized any overt display of emotion and attempts at open rebellion against the Ruling Power. She said it was not the Chinese way.<sup>15</sup>

Mao became frustrated with the selfish rigidity of his father's feeling that his son should serve the family in accordance with Confucian values. With this inflexible attitude, and the rebellious tendencies of a youth, Mao acted out against his father on numerous occasions,<sup>16</sup> a tendency that never subsided. It follows that when faced with a similar wall later in his life, that of the state of his country and people, he would again defy authority; in his case, this included several imperialistic countries and eventually the Nationalist Party under Chiang Kai-shek as well. This was

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<sup>12</sup> Kamlesh Mohan, "An Assessment of the Gandhian Attitude towards Militant Nationalists in the 1920's," *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies* 18, no. 2 (1978): 103.

<sup>13</sup> Lowell Dittmer, "Mao and the Politics of Revolutionary Morality," *Asian Survey* 3, no. 27 (1987): 317.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 317-18.

<sup>15</sup> Edgar Snow, *Red Star Over China* (New York: Grove Press Inc., 1968): 132.

<sup>16</sup> Dittmer, 318.

a task that Mao described as: “the overthrow of three mountains—feudalism, imperialism, and the comprador bourgeoisie” (the latter being the indirect imperialism through Chiang Kai-shek).<sup>17</sup> Multiple foes, with multiple agendas, helped pave the way for Mao to accept violent revolution as the only possible solution to the existing state of China.

Both men were ideally suited to lead given the context of their regions, but it was still necessary for them to adapt their ideologies to the circumstances of the people themselves by being pragmatic about their situation, in order to win them over. As with any revolution, there are always numerous ideas, figures, and avenues people wish to support in order to succeed in achieving political power. It is essential that either a single person, or idea, predominates over others, or that all of the different plans to bring about change are reconciled with one another at some point. Gandhi and Mao were able to do this and consequently became the unquestioned leaders of their revolutionary movements by committing a great deal of time and effort toward that goal.

Of the two men, Mao, had the hardest time achieving party dominance, but Gandhi did have some difficulty as well. The Chinese Revolution had a great many people who could possibly lead it, and many did at varying times. This caused disunity and fragmentation within the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), characteristics which Communism and Leninism were not supposed to have. The largest hurdle that Mao had to contend with, and the one which brought him to dominance once he overcame it, was defeating Wang Ming, Li Lisan, the “28 Bolsheviks,” and the Comintern representatives (most notably Otto Braun) who wanted to “Bolshevize” the party and get them away from relying on the peasants instead of adapting to what the movement actually needed.<sup>18</sup> These men had been trained in Moscow by the Soviet Union and felt they knew what was best for the party to succeed against the Nationalists. However, their short stints as leaders of the party ended after their policies failed to protect the Jiangxi Soviet from Chiang Kai-shek’s extermination campaigns, because they insisted on utilizing conventional warfare against Nationalist armies. Mao had always advocated for guerilla tactics to be used in pairing with other forms of warfare, and this had mainly worked in holding off numerous attacks on their base areas, both before and after he rose to power.<sup>19</sup> As Mao told Edgar Snow: “This does not mean the abandonment of vital strategic points, which can be defended in positional warfare as long as profitable.

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<sup>17</sup> Tan Chung, “Chinese History and the Chinese Revolution: On the Dynamism of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought,” *China Report* 26, no. 1 (1990): 7.

<sup>18</sup> Nick Knight, “Working Class Power and State Formation in Mao Zedong’s Thought 1931-1934,” *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 32, no. 1 (2002): 33.

<sup>19</sup> Mao Tse-tung, *On the Protracted War* (Peking: People’s Publishing House/Foreign Language Press, 1960): 104.

But the pivotal strategy must be a war of maneuver, and important reliance must be placed on guerilla and partisan tactics. Fortified warfare must be utilized, but it will be of auxiliary and secondary importance.”<sup>20</sup> Otto Braun and Wang Ming, however, managed to convince the party that they instead had to adopt the same conventional military blockhouse tactics being employed by Chiang Kai-shek in order to gain decisive victories over him. They wanted to *exclusively* use conventional warfare, instead of it being used in the background as Mao had planned. Following this policy led to the famous “Long March” and the Zunyi Conference of 1935 where Mao rose to unquestioned party dominance due to his successful tactics, charisma, and advocacy that the peasants had to be the main revolutionary apparatus rather than the small and weak urban proletariat.<sup>21</sup>

Thus, his admiration for the revolutionary potential of the peasants was balanced by a realistic assessment of their shortcomings as a class, and their urgent need for leadership by the working class and its vanguard party. His words then were certainly not those of a revolutionary who willingly embraced rural revolution and uncritically revered the revolutionary potential of the peasantry. They were, rather, the words of one who finds himself forcibly separated from the cities and the working class, and compelled to find a strategy which could exploit the dissatisfaction of the peasantry and channel their revolutionary impulse in the direction of a modernising revolution. Mao did not, therefore, lose sight of the need for working class leadership of the Chinese revolution, and his words and policies of the Jiangxi Soviet are consistent with those of both the 1927-30 and post-1949 periods.<sup>22</sup>

This pragmatism was vital to installing Mao in the position of party leader following the failures of his peers. Even as early as 1936, under his leadership, “the Communists (and the Comintern) had radically changed their position. In a search for broad national unity, they included the Kuomintang and even Chiang Kai-shek...provided that the latter would agree to ‘establish democratic representative government, resist Japan, enfranchise the people, and guarantee civil liberties to the

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<sup>20</sup> Snow, 112.

<sup>21</sup> Mao, *On Revolution and War*, 10-11.

<sup>22</sup> Knight, “Working Class Power and State Formation in Mao Zedong’s Thought 1931-1934,” 33-34.

masses.”<sup>23</sup> Claiming Mao was a pragmatist, “whose genius consisted not only in a brilliant clarity of mind but in an almost uncanny understanding of Chinese peasant problems,”<sup>24</sup> and who carefully and thoughtfully altered his beliefs to the circumstances of his movement, may sound inherently absurd with the ideas of violence and class struggle which has so characterized people’s memories of him in the past; but during critical times of conflict in the pre-1949 era, he continually distinguished himself as a pragmatist and coalition builder.

In India, there were fewer people who could have taken the reins of leadership than there were in China, mainly due to the country having been a fully absorbed crown colony of the British for so long, unlike China which had endured centuries of dynastic and quasi-imperial/colony status by several different nations. One of the only noteworthy examples of who could have led were the Militant Nationalists,<sup>25</sup> and with the nervousness of the Indian people in this time period toward open conflict (a nature which Gandhi shared, even admitting that he himself was a rather shy person for most of his life, something which he “never completely overcame”),<sup>26</sup> few could resist in an overtly militaristic way as they advocated. Gandhi may not have been a particularly charismatic man, but he did know how to speak with ordinary people and make them understand that they had to work together in order to defy British rule. Unity was absolutely necessary due to how fragmented the country was along religious and caste lines, and because “he was also convinced that the people’s united struggle alone could overthrow colonialism.”<sup>27</sup> In his eyes, only a concerted effort that had the backing of the entire country could force the British to accept the desire of the Indian people to rule themselves, and this would encourage them to withdraw willingly, and peacefully.<sup>28</sup>

Both men were able to dominate the leadership of their respective movements by unseating the opposition with the pragmatic promotion of their ideals. While other people may have led the Chinese and Indian Revolutions at one point or another, only Mao and Gandhi personified those revolutions by eventually emerging as the ones who could meet the needs of the people and take advantage of the climate of the time. As a result, they succeeded not only in bringing the desired revolutionary change, but also being the only ones who adjusted to the

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<sup>23</sup> Snow, 102.

<sup>24</sup> Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby, *Thunder out of China*, (USA: Da Capo Press, Inc., 1980): 238.

<sup>25</sup> Mohan, “An Assessment of the Gandhian Attitude towards Militant Nationalists in the 1920’s,” 103-104.

<sup>26</sup> Gandhi, *An Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth*, 59-61.

<sup>27</sup> Mohan, “An Assessment of the Gandhian Attitude towards Militant Nationalists in the 1920’s,” 105.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.



necessities of their movements in order to bring about that change to begin with.

### Convergent Pragmatism

Although both men had different ways of accomplishing the changes they desired, they had similar views on the need to utilize all levels of society to succeed in gaining autonomy from foreigners. This view can be seen in Mao and Gandhi's use of the peasantry and the masses, one of the few, but important, similarities that can be found between them. China and India in general were similar in that they were subordinated to imperial powers: India directly as a British crown colony, China indirectly through the rule of the Guomindang/Kuomintang and through the system of treaty ports/concessions with foreign nations throughout the twentieth century. Both countries had been violently suppressed by force of arms in the past, and this created a seething desire to rid themselves of colonizers. In India, on April 13, 1919, General Dyer ordered "the firing of 1,650 rounds of ammunition without warning at a peaceful crowd, [and] regarded it as an opportunity to show people the might of the British Empire for he imagined that 'the Lord hath delivered them into my hands.'"<sup>29</sup> This event, which became known as the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre (or more commonly, the Amritsar Massacre) left 379 dead, and possibly 1,200 wounded.<sup>30</sup> The killing did not end on that day, and continued for several more throughout the area. "Henceforth, political awakening and disillusionment with British rulers grew at a rapid pace."<sup>31</sup> Similarly, on May 30, 1925, demonstrators (who were demanding the release of a number of imprisoned students that had been arrested for protesting against work closures at a Shanghai textile mill) were fired upon by a British inspector; "eleven were killed and at least twenty wounded."<sup>32</sup> A month later, another 52 were killed and over 100 more were wounded protesting these original deaths. "The humiliation of having foreign troops on Chinese soil who could kill with impunity led to an unprecedented anti-imperialist explosion that considerably increased the visibility of the CCP and the Guomindang."<sup>33</sup> The May 30<sup>th</sup> Movement (as it became known as) and the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre fostered an intense anti-imperialism and caused a surge

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<sup>29</sup> Mohan Kamlesh, "The Jallianwalla Bagh Tragedy and its Impact as a Catalyst of Indian National Consciousness," *International Journal of Punjab Studies* 3, no. 2 (1996): 164.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 168.

<sup>32</sup> R. Keith Schoppa, *Revolution and Its Past: Identities and Change in Modern Chinese History* (U.S.A. Pearson/Prentice Hall, 2010): 191.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

of nationalism and revolutionary fervor among the Chinese and Indian people. These events (and the outrage caused by them) laid crucial groundwork which Gandhi and Mao expanded on and would utilize to further stimulate their movements. Both men were anti-imperialistic, and even though they saw different ways of dealing with it, they chose to adapt to these existing circumstances within their organizations. By doing so, they were able to make use of not only the peasantry, but also the nation as a whole. To put it succinctly, living under the occupation of foreign troops was rapidly becoming intolerable for everyone involved.

On the topic of peasantry and class roles, one must begin with Mao Zedong because the topic is invariably linked to him. That said, however, the common belief that he exclusively relied on the peasantry and was not a Marxist-Leninist at all (instead only forming a Maoism) is unfounded.<sup>34</sup> The reason for this lies in the overall point that he had to adapt to China's existing state of affairs and be a more "pragmatic Marxist."<sup>35</sup> As Mao put it many times, building on the words of the deceased first leader of the Nationalist Party, Sun Yat-sen, China had a "semi-feudal and semi-colonial status"<sup>36</sup> in the world, and the vast majority of the population were farmers and peasants. As a result, the proletariat/urban working class was simply too small to be an effective revolutionary force on their own,<sup>37</sup> something that traditional Marxists believed was required to succeed in an uprising. Even though it can be questioned if Mao actually possessed an "admiration for the innate 'wisdom' of the peasantry" and acknowledged an "ardent faith in the revolutionary creativity of the rural masses,"<sup>38</sup> he came to rely on them regardless, whether he was mystified by them or not. Due to this, "Mao supposedly revealed a singular and conscious disregard for the theoretical strictures of Marxism,"<sup>39</sup> and consequently, it is more appropriate to call Mao a Leninist rather than an outright Marxist or Maoist. This is because Lenin advocated a more pragmatic view that utilized everyone in Russia and turned the focus away from the proletariat as the sole group for revolutionary action during a time when it was still in a much similarly backward state as in China.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Nick Knight "Mao Zedong and the Peasants: Class Power in the Formation of a Revolutionary Strategy," *China Report* 40, no. 49 (2004): 50-51.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 50.

<sup>36</sup> Mao, *On Revolution and War*, 74-75.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>38</sup> Knight, "Mao Zedong and the Peasants: Class Power in the Formation of a Revolutionary Strategy," 50.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

<sup>40</sup> Arif Dirlik, "The Predicament of Marxist Revolutionary Consciousness: Mao Zedong (Mao TseTung), Antonio Gramsci, and the Reformulation of Marxist Revolutionary Theory," *Modern China* 9, no. 2 (1983): 192.

Knowing that China was so dependent on the peasantry and that its industrial class would not support a revolution, Mao advocated the use of the peasantry as the primary force for their insurrection. While he did have a great deal of support from other members of the CCP on this, he was continually opposed by many people (mentioned earlier) who adhered to a more “orthodox” version of Marxism that called for a proletarian revolution alone and who did their best to steer Mao away from his reliance on the peasantry. Regardless of this opposition, Mao was able to win over leadership of the party for a number of reasons, but the most relevant here was his confidence in the peasantry, and his compromise in which he still called for a revolution that was proletarian led, even if the membership was not proletarian dominated. One noteworthy example was the way he organized the CCP with “democratic centralism” and the “mass line” in which everyone’s ideas would ultimately be filtered and controlled by only a small number of people.<sup>41</sup> This compromise, which was one of many before he became more authoritarian in 1942 during the Rectification Campaign (this will be discussed further in the following section), led to his becoming the unquestioned leader of the party and his eliminating of anyone else who could have led during this time period; this essentially created a dependency on Mao’s guidance in order to maintain the same revolutionary fervor that had begun to wane at the outset of the Long March.

Returning more to the peasantry and masses specifically, though, “Mao developed a model for revolution that was successful in encouraging mass peasant support while making clear the revolution would not be led by the peasantry.”<sup>42</sup> Simply, he could only see them as conservative and difficult to work with,<sup>43</sup> but also necessary to win the revolution.<sup>44</sup> Ultimately, even though he wanted to make use of everyone and had advocated a peasant-centric CCP since nearly the beginnings of the party, and especially after the White Terror and subsequent collapse of the First United Front in 1927, Mao remained in the position of having a proletarian-led revolution.<sup>45</sup> Much like a true Marxist, he still viewed the proletariat as a better choice for revolutionary leadership, because:

The Chinese proletariat is more resolute and thoroughgoing in revolutionary struggle than any other class because it is subjugated to a threefold oppression

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 198.

<sup>42</sup> Knight, “Working Class Power and State Formation in Mao Zedong’s Thought 1931-1934,” 43.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 30.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 43.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 42-43.

(imperialist, bourgeois, and feudal) which is marked by a severity and cruelty seldom found in other countries...the Chinese proletariat came under the leadership of its own revolutionary party-the Communist Party of China-and became the most politically conscious class in Chinese society...the Chinese proletariat by origin is largely made up of bankrupted peasants, it has natural ties with the peasant masses, which facilitated its forming a close alliance with them.<sup>46</sup>

While the merits of this philosophy can be debated, the innate conservativeness of the countryside is an accurate supposition, due in part to Chiang Kai-shek only extending his direct rule over the cities and the areas directly surrounding them. Mao picked up on this point early on and knew that the countryside was where the revolution would ultimately begin because it could, and would, be used as a base area to organize the majority of the population into a force to bring communism to the nation.<sup>47</sup> In essence, even though Mao was pragmatic enough to realize that he needed to rely on the peasantry and the masses to effect revolutionary change, the title “peasant revolutionary” may not be an accurate one to assign to him due to his continual support for a proletarian leadership over them. Ultimately though, the Chinese Revolution still took on an aura of Mao-centrism, later termed “Mao Zedong thought” or “Maoism” in Yan’an,<sup>48</sup> proving that without Mao, the CCP likely would not have had the same identity because it had become dependent on him as their leader.

Even though Mao Zedong chose to live among the peasants during the revolution, he never truly meshed with them and lived as they did, which resulted in difficulties in getting them to agree with his notions of land reform and personal revolutionary ideals. This is a topic that will be discussed further in the next section. Gandhi, however, decided upon a Spartan lifestyle and full integration with the peasants.<sup>49</sup> “Gandhi had an uncanny, mysterious gift which kept him at all times in tune with the prevalent feelings and emotions of India's inarticulate peasants.”<sup>50</sup> What made this even more unifying for the Indians was that Gandhi was from a relatively well-off family and had a decent law career that he chose to give up in favor of living among the poorer

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<sup>46</sup> Mao, *On Revolution and War*, 149.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 36.

<sup>48</sup> Thomas Kampen, *Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, and the Evolution of the Chinese Leadership* (Great Britain: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, 2000), 108.

<sup>49</sup> Mohan, “An Assessment of the Gandhian Attitude towards Militant Nationalists in the 1920’s,” 106.

<sup>50</sup> Baldoon Dhingra, “Gandhi and Permanent Revolution,” *Internationales Jahrbuch fur Geschichts- und Geographie- Unterricht* 14, (1972): 99.

groups/castes,<sup>51</sup> all in order to get the general populace involved and to lift them out of their circumstances. Most importantly, Gandhi held a similar view of both the peasantry and working class that Mao had in China.

Comparable to the makeup of the Chinese, the Indian peasantry made up a majority of the population, and even though the working class was not as tiny as it was in China, it was still rather small to say the least. Gandhi advocated that the peasantry should be fully involved in the political and revolutionary processes and in democracy as a whole, but must be led by the intellectuals/working class of the country.<sup>52</sup> While Mao would not have openly approved of the leadership of intellectuals as a class, as was shown when he ordered the execution of liberal intellectual Wang Shiwei in 1947 during the evacuation of Yan'an,<sup>53</sup> he wholly agreed with the domination by the proletariat and urban working class over the peasantry, and for the same reasons that Gandhi espoused. Although Bolshevik ideas spread throughout India after Lenin's death in 1924, there is no evidence that Gandhi himself was affected by Marxism or Leninism beyond his saying:

India does not want Bolshevism. The people are too peaceful to stand anarchy. They will bow to the knee who restores so called order. Let us recognise the Indian psychology....The average Mussalman of India is quite different than the average Mussalman of the other part of the world. The Hindu is proverbially, almost completely mild. The Parsi and the Christian love peace more than strike. Indeed, we have almost made religion subservient to peace.<sup>54</sup>

After stating this clear understanding of the Indian people and being pragmatic enough to mold himself into the preexisting feelings in order to achieve success in their movement, Gandhi refused to accept invitations to visit the Soviet Union in the 1920s,<sup>55</sup> but the similarity of his ideals to the underlying concepts of Marxist thought, especially proletarian dominance over the peasantry, is striking.

In addition, both Gandhi and Mao were anti-imperialists, as mentioned above, but even though Mao entirely despised imperialism, Gandhi hated it because he felt that the practice had been perpetuated to

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<sup>51</sup> Mohan, "An Assessment of the Gandhian Attitude towards Militant Nationalists in the 1920's," 106.

<sup>52</sup> Dhingra, 99.

<sup>53</sup> Schoppa, 287.

<sup>54</sup> N. M. P. Srivastava, "Lenin and the Indian Revolutionaries," *United Asia* 23, (1971): 318-319.

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

divide and destroy the consciousness of the Indian people.<sup>56</sup> As a result, Gandhi chose to eat frugally and shed a safe home and career in order to live in the simple dress (he only owned one shirt) and poor sanitary conditions that the peasants were forced to toil under. He further gained the admiration of the peasants by trying to restore Indian self-respect<sup>57</sup> and by utilizing symbols that would get everyone involved in one way or another. The Spinning Wheel, which is now on the flag of India, was used to gain the support of women and promote equality for them,<sup>58</sup> (Gandhi understood that “no mass movement could be successful without the ‘muted’ sections of society” and heavily encouraged female involvement because they fell into that category.)<sup>59</sup> something Mao was attempting to accomplish as well. This was also aimed at stimulating a national interest, and nationalism specifically, in Indian cloth over that which came from England. Their fabric could easily be created by Indian women on their own spinning wheels with the huge quantities of domestic cotton, the main reason for Gandhi seeing the imports as asinine and unnecessary.<sup>60</sup> Not doing so, “was to Gandhi's mind a waste of both substance and opportunities of poor people in a country where cotton abounded;”<sup>61</sup> as a result, he believed that “the dumping down of foreign cloth in India has reduced millions of my people to pauperism.”<sup>62</sup> The term used by Gandhi to describe this was *Swadeshi*, which roughly refers to an emphasis on domestic production and consumption, as well as the rejection of foreign-made goods.<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, the famous violation of the Salt Tax by Gandhi, which everyone suffered from because salt was one of the few seasonings that Indians could afford and produce on their own, achieved a mass following that succeeded in garnering the support of most of the masses.<sup>64</sup> Again, most importantly, the disobedience in choosing to create their own salt despite the ban encouraged crucial female involvement. These symbols were coined, and these actions executed, to show the British that they were more than capable of, and interested in, running their own economy and country.

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<sup>56</sup> Mohan, “An Assessment of the Gandhian Attitude towards Militant Nationalists in the 1920's,” 104.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 105.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Mohan, “The Jallianwalla Bagh Tragedy and its Impact as a Catalyst of Indian National Consciousness,” 159.

<sup>60</sup> Clifton B. Kroeber, “Theory and History of Revolution,” *Journal of World History* 7, no. 1 (1996): 35.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Gandhi, *Non-Violent Resistance*, 146.

<sup>63</sup> D.S. Chauhan, “Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi: Reconstruction, Revolutionary Thought, and Action Strategy,” *Asia Quarterly*, no. 1 (1974): 70.

<sup>64</sup> Gandhi *Non-Violent Resistance*, 220.

Gandhi was completely committed to promoting equality and democracy in India in order to continue keeping mass involvement in the important events of the country and to facilitate better communication among the people. As mentioned earlier, Gandhi utilized symbols to not only engage women in the struggle, but to make them feel included and consulted in the revolutionary process; and not “ignorant of the prevalent political situation”<sup>65</sup> currently underway. Also, he envisioned a society that was not necessarily a utopia of collaboration, but one based on the need for teamwork; not on a government that told everyone what to do. This led Gandhi to accept a *de-centralized* democracy because he felt that industry must work cooperatively with farmers and that society must not treat any individual as untouchable,<sup>66</sup> two things that having a *centralized* democracy like Mao had in China did not do. In essence, he believed that “individuals and groups must function non-violently through mutual aid and cooperation”<sup>67</sup> to bring about a lasting peace, not violence and rigid conformity to party doctrine.

This is why much of Gandhi’s ideologies were based on some level of understanding, compromise, and cooperation. As a result, he felt it was possible to persuade the British to leave voluntarily through diplomacy and that it was possible to include everyone in the struggle for freedom, not just a single class that would simply take over and continue oppressive policies. Most importantly, he also promoted collaboration between the Muslims and Hindus, because despite their differences, Gandhi knew that in order for a revolution to succeed there had to be an “Indian United Front” of not only the different social classes but also of the different religions and economic backgrounds.<sup>68</sup> As he argued: “Muslim-Hindu unity must be our creed to last for all time and under all circumstances.”<sup>69</sup> With this mass movement, non-violence and peaceful non-cooperation could be successful; without it, the British would continue to be able to divide and control the Indian people. In many ways, Mao and the CCP felt the same way about the necessity of a mass movement, and this is why they promoted such a diverse coalition against not only the Japanese and other imperialists, but also the Nationalist Party during the civil war and World War II.

To both figures, a revolution had to be a popular movement of the peasantry, led by the proletariat (and also the intellectuals in Gandhi’s case), that would affect revolutionary change. Without the unity among the classes and the masses, the revolutionary movement

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<sup>65</sup> Mohan, “The Jallianwalla Bagh Tragedy and its Impact as a Catalyst of Indian National Consciousness,” 159.

<sup>66</sup> J. B. Kripalani, “Gandhian Thought and its Effect on Indian Life,” *Cahiers d’histoire mondiale* 5, no. 2 (1959): 411-14.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 415.

<sup>68</sup> Gandhi, *Non-Violent Resistance*, 128.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

would be less likely to succeed. While class roles were far more strictly enforced in the Chinese Revolution, the Indians did utilize a loose class structure because “as it is, the rich are discontented no less than the poor,” and this alliance was aimed at promoting equality and cooperation to succeed in the struggle against an occupying force.<sup>70</sup> Both of these men were powerful and innovative coalition builders who were able to unite their fragmented organizations, despite preexisting notions of who Mao was during the time period in question. Essentially, the ideals of Gandhi and Mao embodied their respective revolutions and were especially applicable above all other alternatives, and this made them indispensable to their countries, their peoples, their revolutionary movements, and the contexts of their time in general.

### **Divergent Pragmatism**

This paper will now compare the most divisive characteristic which delineates Gandhi and Mao, that of advocacy for non-violence and violence, respectively. While this has been briefly touched upon already, it will be covered more in-depth here. It is important to note that this discussion will not be aimed at debating the merits of either ideology, but will show that even though violence and non-violence are obviously antithetical, both figures arrived at their philosophies for the same reason: that their chosen approach was best for their movements, even though the same reasons led to diverging conclusions. As a result, they were willing to do whatever was necessary to win power for their organizations, and did so in order to maneuver into the position of using any desirable instrument to their advantage. Seeing the two men in this manner pulls them down from the mythical status assigned to them and shows who they truly were, pragmatic men who used ideologies which would foster both unity and support within the confines of their fragile alliances.

Many people, including a number of Maoists, have viewed Gandhi’s use of non-violence as a sign of weakness which led to India remaining in a state of perpetual colonialism modeled on the former British administration,<sup>71</sup> a perspective that is simply not true. “In general, violent overthrow of the government has been the popular method adopted by revolutionaries irrespective of their creed, nationality, or race,”<sup>72</sup> but there is no prerequisite that all must be; Gandhi has been the notable exception to that rule. No two revolutions are the same, because

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 46.

<sup>71</sup> Priyamvada Gopal, “Concerning Maoism: Fanon, Revolutionary Violence, and Postcolonial India,” *South Atlantic Quarterly* 1, no. 112 (2013): 121.

<sup>72</sup> Chauhan, 69.



even if one replicated the same circumstances, there would probably be different results due to the unpredictability of human nature. Gandhi saw the need for a “constructive revolution” which would build a new state, not a destructive one that would delay progress.<sup>73</sup> “The constructive program was an essential component of Gandhian revolutionary struggle for Indian independence. It was the constructive program which gave content to the *satyagraha* framework and applied the Gandhian principles to the Indian circumstances.”<sup>74</sup> Being constructive, rather than destructive, was a vital piece of the Indian struggle for freedom, and Gandhi was pragmatic enough to realize this; non-violence was necessary not only because of the nervous nature of those in their movement, but also because they did not want to destroy their own society in the process of gaining independence. Whereas on a base level, all revolutionary leaders would probably agree with this, most would see the constructive aspect of the revolution being the *result* of the destructive one because it is necessary to destroy in order to create; Mao would of course agree with this stance. Gandhi, however, felt that the use of colonial violence against colonizers, in order to free themselves from the colonizer (the exact idea the Militant Nationalists were advocating), was an oxymoron and that it would undermine the goals of the Indian people.<sup>75</sup> “Secrecy and terrorism led to demoralisation and wastage, while Gandhi sought to bring revolution by converting the adversary to his point of view and enlisting him in the brotherhood of man.”<sup>76</sup> This is why Gandhi cultivated so many relationships with British people living in South Africa and India, because he did not want to lead an underground movement, but one that had a moral creed and did things in the light of day; not in dark alleyways. He essentially believed (and so did the Indian people of course) that clandestine/armed operations to gain their freedom would fail, and consequently make it even more difficult to achieve independence due to the duplication of the death and violence used by imperialists and colonists.

As a result, it is more appropriate to look upon Gandhi as a diplomat and social reformer, rather than an outright revolutionary; at least when one is employing the modern sense of the word. A pivotal aspect of the revolution for him was to bring the colonizer over to his way of thinking peacefully, not through direct conflict, and he worked with the British tirelessly to achieve this goal. In addition, he not only forced himself, but also convinced all of his followers through careful deliberation, to practice self-restraint and control when dealing with the

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 70.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 71.

<sup>75</sup> Mohan, “An Assessment of the Gandhian Attitude towards Militant Nationalists in the 1920’s,” 108-109.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 108.

English throughout their everyday lives and during the revolution.<sup>77</sup> Due to this, the word *diplomat* can be assigned to Gandhi because he wanted to work within the bounds of the established system in order to be able to defy and defeat that system.

To Gandhi, non-violence meant “infinite love.”<sup>78</sup> The most accurate way to explain this would be to *loosely* think of the old Hippy adage: “Make love, not war.” Gandhi was nowhere near the *type* of enemy to the British that Mao was to the Nationalists, and knew that he could work with them toward an amicable solution that would benefit both their peoples. He felt, and promoted, the feeling that the British should not be ashamed to bow out of India, even if it was during the Second World War. As Gandhi said in June, 1942:

If British Power is withdrawn from India in an orderly manner, Britain will be relieved of the burden of keeping peace in India, and at the same time gain in a free India an ally not in the cause of Empire-because she would have renounced in toto all her imperial designs-but in defense, not pretended but wholly real, of human freedom.<sup>79</sup>

This was because even though India would remain neutral, the Allies would still be allowed to use Indian rail and supply lines to benefit their war efforts.<sup>80</sup> Added to this, even if the Japanese were able to succeed in their invasion of Indian Territory, they would be non-violently resisted in the same manner that the British currently were, and this would be equally effective against them as it had been against the English.<sup>81</sup>

With regards to the Japanese and allowing India to be a quasi-supporter of the British and their allies during the war if they pulled out, Gandhi actually took the time to acknowledge others’ contributions against their mutual enemies. Even though he may not have agreed with either’s ideals, he said the cost that the Russians and Chinese had paid to fight the Axis powers had been enormous, and he sympathized with their plight.<sup>82</sup> Gandhi disapproved of Japanese aggression as much as anyone in China, but said that “China never tried any experiment with non-violence. That the Chinese remained passive for some time is no proof that it was a non-violent attitude.”<sup>83</sup> Consequently, their violence against the Japanese (and others) only caused more pain and suffering, and led to

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<sup>77</sup> Gandhi, *Non-Violent Resistance*, 5, 79.

<sup>78</sup> Dhingra, 97.

<sup>79</sup> Gandhi, *My Appeal to the British*, 27.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 27-28, 31-33, 39.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 11-15, 20.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 21.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 68-69.

further suppression during their occupation. While many in India had grown impatient with the non-violence that Gandhi advocated and desired quicker results (something similar to the assertiveness of Mao in China),<sup>84</sup> most still agreed that violence, especially when the British were in a state of war, would get them nowhere and that self-restraint was a watchword for their success.

This paper has been intentionally general with the exact terminology that Gandhi employed to describe his ideals because a thorough discussion of the *application* of the concepts and ideals themselves, not the names, would lead to a better understanding of his beliefs; but some are nevertheless unavoidable, namely, *Satyagraha* and *ahimsa*. For all intents and purposes, these were the words that Gandhi used in all aspects of his revolution, and the former basically meant a general focus on the pursuit of truth and firmness while the latter can be interpreted to mean non-violence.<sup>85</sup> All of his followers were required to take vows of (translated to their English equivalents): truth, non-violence, chastity, non-possession, fearlessness, palate control, non-stealing, bread-labor, equality of religions, anti-untouchability, and use of locally made goods.<sup>86</sup> To Gandhi, all of these related to truth and were aimed at making people understand that “man is not capable of knowing the absolute truth and, therefore not competent to punish;”<sup>87</sup> hence, non-violence and non-cooperation/civil disobedience with laws they found corrupt and immoral were what was necessary to win the revolution.

Most of this was linked to how Gandhi promoted an all-encompassing use of religion as well. Although it is important to reiterate that he encouraged cooperation between both Muslims and Hindus (another uncommon belief that Gandhi promoted in the pursuit of unity for his movement), it is crucial to note that he said that every *Satyagrahi* (i.e., a person who practices *Satyagraha*) must have an unshakeable faith in God.<sup>88</sup> This is because he saw that life persists in the midst of destruction and violence, and that there must be a higher power and law than any that humanity could impose.<sup>89</sup> All of his ideals and thoughts were aimed at creating a spirit among the Indian people that would wish to gain their freedom with minimal bloodshed and in a manner which was applicable to the mood of the time. India had always been a rather religious society, but never had a violent revolutionary culture. Gandhi was one of the few who was truly able to grasp this and be pragmatic

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<sup>84</sup> Kroeber, 35-36.

<sup>85</sup> Chauhan, 77.

<sup>86</sup> Gandhi, *Non-Violent Resistance*, 37.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-2.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 364.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 383.

enough as to apply his philosophy in a way that would engender mass popular support.

In contrast, the Chinese people had not necessarily always been as violent as Gandhi claimed, but had indeed chosen over thousands of years to use force of arms to remove a dynasty or ruler that had lost its “mandate of heaven.” This is the exact reason why Gandhi said that China had never attempted a non-violent solution to a governmental or imperial problem, and is also the reason why so many people agreed with Mao’s feelings that a violent revolution was necessary; because it had become so engrained in the consciousness of the Chinese people. Consequently, pursuing a course of action which included armed insurrection was in the best interests of Chinese Communist Party doctrine.

To succeed in assimilating the support of the people, Mao pursued what Arif Dirlik has termed the “Sinification of Marxism,” or the “Marxification of Chineseness.”<sup>90</sup> The ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin were excellent *templates* for Mao, but his pragmatism made him realize that it was necessary to gain popular support by having a rural revolution, as mentioned earlier. This required modifying Marxism to the Chinese situation, even though the roots that called for a violent upheaval remained unaltered. Essentially, this became the nationalization of Marxism in order to give a Chinese identity to the revolution that people there could relate to.

As Mao saw it, “the seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries.”<sup>91</sup> This exact concept was what should be the driving force and central task to any insurrection as he understood it, and the CCP followed it accordingly. While this *may* have fundamentally been more violent than what much of the peasantry were accustomed to, it does not negate the fact that Mao knew the idea was already there, he just had to encourage the growth of it. Mao believed that imperialists, colonizers, or any other type of occupiers *in general* would never relinquish their control or lay down their weapons without the people forcing them to do so with some form of violent attack.<sup>92</sup> Even though the idea that China’s problems could only be solved through armed force was an integral CCP stance from the beginnings of the party, Mao was the one who applied it to the peasantry and not just the urban working class; this made him an important figure in the eyes of the masses and capable of leading because he had garnered their support.

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<sup>90</sup> Dirlik, 188, 199.

<sup>91</sup> Mao, *On Revolution and War*, 54.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 68, 74.

Furthermore, this adds an additional link to why the topic of land reform was so important to Mao and the Communists, it was to placate the peasantry. Taking lands from lords and wealthy land-owners that had been using it to collect oppressive and impoverishing taxes from the rural classes (and then to redistribute it among them) would significantly improve their chances of gaining the trust of China's masses. By reallocating the land, the peasants would have more of a say in their everyday lives and thus would be motivated to follow the CCP in revolutionary endeavors. Mao's charisma continued to sell this policy, and it reaped him a great deal of power and prestige among the masses, something that no other party member could muster in a comparable quantity that would have challenged Mao during the revolution.

The arguable culmination of pre-1949 Maoism was the Rectification Campaign in 1942. Principally, the point of the campaign was to root out corruption within the party that had surfaced while at Yan'an, and a great deal of this was done violently.<sup>93</sup> Class struggle itself was advocated by many members of the CCP (Liu Shaoqi being a noteworthy example)<sup>94</sup> and while it was meant to be a way to eliminate classes altogether and promote a forum in which all members of the party could express their opinions, it became a battleground for factional fighting and bitter political division. Mao aimed the Rectification Campaign at destroying the contradictions within the party caused from this and to forcefully reform the new wave of recruits received as a result of the Mass Exodus from the urban areas during the Japanese invasion to make sure they were more in line with party doctrine. To do this, he departed from the conservative and pragmatic land reform policies that the CCP had been utilizing before toward radical ones that were intended to force the peasantry to adapt to *Mao's* thinking, instead of the other way around. There was vicious backlash from this shift to immediate change, as opposed to the moderate program the peasants had been accustomed to, and this caused Mao to realize that he had to re-adapt his ideals to better suit the people once again. After learning from his mistakes, Mao reasserted his pragmatism in the mid-1940s; had he not done so, he could have lost a great deal of support, and the movement may well have faltered. This event, nevertheless, marked the point where Mao began to move away from his pre-1949 realism. Afterwards, he indeed became the devoted advocate of class struggle in the People's Republic of China period which people remember him for, and have chosen to incorrectly apply to his entire life. This exact illusion is the one in which this paper has been attempting to dispel.

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<sup>93</sup> Yinghong Cheng, *Creating the "New Man": From Enlightenment Ideals to Socialist Realities* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 65.

<sup>94</sup> Wm. Theodore de Bary and Richard Lufrano, *Sources of Chinese Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 435-441.

This is why Mao continued to promote a theory that called for *continuous revolution* (as can be seen in the Cultural Revolution of 1966-1976)<sup>95</sup> after this campaign, and this was an essential extension of the idea that rectification of the party was necessary, all in order to make sure that the revolution would continue advancing with the people and be on-going to deny individuals the possibility of becoming lax with Communist philosophy. Surprisingly, Gandhi also advocated “permanent revolution,” but it was only aimed at adapting to the everyday changes of Indian society to make sure that the revolution would not remain static,<sup>96</sup> rather than attempting to enforce some dogma over a prolonged period of time. Mao and Gandhi understood the necessity in this period to not only adjust their ideologies to better suit their environments and then to advocate for them, but both men also grasped that they had to continue the revolution in spirit after it was physically over, because the task of nation-building would then begin in the aftermath of the withdrawal/defeat of an occupier or subversive governing body.

### **A Pragmatic Post-Mortem**

Mao became preoccupied with the constant need for violent upheaval, both during and after the revolution. He saw a future for his people that included a destruction of any last vestige of colonialism or oppression, as well as a lasting society that was devoid of the kinds of classes that could potentially promote capitalism and endorse a return to the Nationalist Party’s decadence. Mao believed in mass participation in politics and complete conformity to party doctrine and ideals. Additionally, he was a charismatic individual who was able to win over leadership of the party and guide the CCP, and the revolution, in a direction which would follow a modified Marxian framework that was spearheaded by a desire for violent, rapid, and immediate change to their present circumstances. Although he may have left his pre-1949 pragmatism by the wayside once he gained power, he undeniably made realistic contributions to their movement before the PRC was founded.

Gandhi, likewise, was an anti-imperialist who longed for the day when the Indian people would no longer live under British rule and could manage their own affairs. He also believed in involving everyone in the society, including those from every caste and religious background. This was aimed at creating an atmosphere of internal cooperation first in order to be able to cooperate with England and convince them to leave their country. Unlike Mao, Gandhi and the Indian people were non-violent, and he adjusted his ideology to better suit that reality. Even though it is

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 474.

<sup>96</sup> Dhingra, 99-100.

difficult to discern if Gandhi would have also abandoned his pragmatic nature after independence, because of his assassination, it seems unlikely that would have been the case with his long record of non-violence and peaceful non-cooperation up to that date.

Simply put, even though the nature and beliefs of the Indian and Chinese freedom organizations toward the type of revolution required were completely different, they were both led by men capable of working with the people at the peasant level and who amended their ideas and thoughts to better conform to the feelings of that class. Without the presence of these two figures, the Indian and Chinese revolutions would have had radically different ideologies, as no other person could have taken their place and fostered the same kind of revolutionary fervor and cooperation which Mao and Gandhi's pragmatism were capable of creating. Even though there were others who led at various points during the revolutions, most were either unwilling or unable to adapt to what the general mood of the time required, and chose instead to pursue a philosophy that the majority could not rally behind. Furthermore, even though each group had other important leaders (because no one person can lead a movement on his/her own), such as the examples of Jawaharlal Nehru and Zhou Enlai who were mentioned in the introduction to this paper, these other leaders were dwarfed by Gandhi and Mao and came to be men who worked behind-the-scenes instead of in the forefront.

Whether Nehru or Zhou could have taken over and become the figures that Mao and Gandhi were in the event of their deaths or absences before independence is pure speculation. It does raise interesting questions, however, about whether the two men explored in this paper were absolutely vital to their revolutions, or just that the people had become psychologically dependent on them, because they had adapted to what the country needed when no other person had been able to in a comparable fashion. This may well be a topic which can be explored further and would shed additional light on these two figures, but it outside the purview of this examination.

Mao Zedong and Mohandas Gandhi, nevertheless, personified their revolutions because the masses came to rely on them as their respective leaders as time passed and when no other person rose to challenge them with a comparable pragmatism or ideology which would have competed with the popularity of theirs. Although it is an easy exercise to say that they were the *only* people who could have led the Chinese and Indian revolutions, this argument cannot be substantiated. As this paper argued, however, they did come to characterize their movements and were the only ones *able* to adapt their beliefs, in the same way and at the same time, to the atmosphere present in their country's revolutionary alliances. This resulted in Mao and Gandhi becoming integral figures in the minds of their people, hence the

mythical status which has been assigned to them, and explains why this paper tried to bring them down from that pedestal and see them for who they were, revolutionary pragmatists.



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**Author Bio**

Kevin Wheeler served as Chief Editor of this year's volume of *History in the Making*. He graduated Magna Cum Laude from California State University, San Bernardino in March, 2014, and holds a Bachelor of Arts in History, with a European History Emphasis. Kevin intends to obtain a Single Subject Credential as a graduate student at CSUSB, and teach at the High School level. In the future, he plans to obtain an M.A. and PhD, and become a university professor. He has journeyed to France, Italy, England, and Ireland, and desires to continue traveling to the continent which has become such a part of his studies. Though his work in this journal is not in his specific field of study, he believes Mao Zedong and Mohandas Gandhi embody the mythical status historians have placed upon many historical figures; and are useful tools in dispelling that illusion throughout the world. Kevin wishes to extend his gratitude to Dr. Robert Blackey, who has not only consistently challenged him to become a better writer and historian, but also was pivotal in his role as Chief Editor. Dr. Blackey's inspiration as Kevin's adviser in past years has been vital to his educational successes, and both Dr. Murray and Dr. Keating have also been continually helpful. Additionally, Kevin would like to thank his family for their continued support in his academic career, and his girlfriend, Riley Pate, for always being the caring and wonderful woman she is.



## **The Goose-Step is Only Functional for Geese: Perspective on the Intentionalist/Functionalist Debate on Nazi Germany and the Holocaust, and its Implications for Humanity's Advancement through Modernity**

By Richard A. Butler

*Abstract: This article aims to examine the nuances of both the Intentionalist and Functionalist perspectives as they relate to Nazi Germany and the Holocaust. While acknowledging the ongoing debate between the two ideological camps, a new perspective is suggested as being a more appropriate means to understanding the event. This new perspective is heavily influenced by the research done by authors such as Timothy Snyder, Donald Bloxham and Christopher Browning. The research conducted suggests that instead of the two perspectives competing for prominence, a synthetic approach is more effective in analyzing Nazi Germany and the resulting atrocities. The new perspective is labeled as modified Intentionalist in the article, a perspective which asserts that the intentions of leadership created a society of functionaries, and with this realization, a more comprehensive understanding of the subject matter can be gained. Secondary to the examination of the perspectives, the article also offers commentary on what implications Nazi Germany has had on humanity's progression through modernity.*

### **Introduction**

Does modernity bring out the worst in men, or do men bring out the worst in modernity? Modernity and the so-called "enlightenment" of humanity seems to have removed what it truly means to be human; its force has introduced systems like capitalism (which is a greatly successful economic ideology), but it propagates the loss of our basic humanity. In modernity, we see the objectification on ourselves as individuals moving increasingly towards becoming a statistic of some sort. The diminishment of society's humanity towards one another is a key contributor which has led to the phenomenon of nationalism, which seeks to mobilize groups of people who identify with each other for a common national goal at the expense of individualism. This new found power of modernity and nationalism was heavily utilized by the Nazi

party, and Hitler in particular. Hitler had the profound ability to orate, and motivated masses into fervent support of such a radically destructive ideology. How he was able to harness this power has been cause for energetic debate, especially in the newer generation of scholarship on Nazi Germany and the Holocaust. The traditional school of thought, the Intentionalist argument, asserts that in basic theory everything flowed through Hitler and he was solely responsible; however, the Functionalist approach argues that Hitler was not as paramount and it was society's ills that caused the calamity. Simply, the truth is that neither of these approaches is sufficient for explaining the complexities of Nazi Germany's policy, and it is advantageous to view Nazi Germany and the Holocaust through a modified Intentionalist lens in order to gain a more complete understanding.

In the most simplistic analysis of the arguments on what the real cause behind the success of the Nazi ideology in Germany and the subsequent eugenically inspired conquest of Europe, the first inclination is to support the Intentionalist faction. The correlation between espoused ideology and action is undeniable (that much is sure), which is the primary reason behind touting a "modified Intentionalist" perspective versus a "modified Functionalist." Operating under an Intentionalist umbrella helps reign in a sprawling Functionalist ideology, which seeks to explain Nazi Germany and the Holocaust through an abstraction. With the benefit of 20-20 hindsight, the Functionalist approach places the lion's share of blame on a deeply anti-Semitic society that had permeated not only Germany, but the European continent. Anti-Semitism was undeniably present in society before the Nazis came to power, however, the presence of anti-Semitism does not automatically vindicate the Functionalist perspective. Just because societal norms loaded the proverbial gun, does not mean that societal norms pulled the trigger, because it still needed its hit man. That hit man was none other than Adolf Hitler, but, before delving too far into the Intentionalist/Functionalist debate, it is important to lay the ground work, and to examine how one of the greatest tragedies in human history came to be realized.

While traditional Functionalism is largely a defunct perspective on how to view Nazi Germany and the Holocaust, the more progressive Functionalism that is espoused by historians such as Donald Bloxham and Timothy Snyder radically shift the perspective to understand the phenomenon in a revolutionary fashion. Bloxham's analysis in *The Final Solution: A Genocide* explores the idea that in order to comprehend Nazi Germany and subsequent genocide, scholars must expand the historical vision of the subject. His main argument is that the "shatter zones" created by the collapse of the Romanov, Ottoman, and Hapsburg Empires set off a series of genocidal incidents on the European continent and that the Holocaust was a genocide in a series of outbreaks caused by

these shatter zones. Snyders' analysis focuses on enhancing the spatial understanding of Nazi Germany focusing on the "bloodlands" between Germany and Russia. This spatial perspective aids in understanding why Hitler put such an emphasis on expanding East, especially when subsequent failure to do so led to the accelerated progression of the Final Solution as alternatives dwindled and industrialized killing was utilized. Both Snyder and Bloxham offer refreshingly new Functional perspectives which have reaffirmed the perspectives' validity, but only as a complementary faction to the overarching Intentionalist side.

One important fact to realize is that anti-Semitism was not a philosophy exclusive to the Nazis, and had long been present on the European continent before they assumed power. This is why Hitler knew that anti-Semitism was a popular and pre-existing sentiment in Germany. Thomas Fuchs asserts that "it is true that anti-Semitism was generally popular and therefore eminently serviceable as a Nazi rallying point and on at least one occasion Hitler admitted that had there been no Jews, it would have been necessary to invent them. 'It is essential,' he said, 'to have a tangible enemy, not merely an abstract one.'"<sup>1</sup> If we accept that Hitler was a revolutionary figure in the German political landscape, we must ask the question: what was the spark that lit the revolutionary fire? The answer for Germany is born from the aftermath of World War I. As a result of the crippling sanctions placed on Germany by the Versailles treaty, the subsequent government thrust Germany into a state of immense dysfunction. The treaty was constructed in such a way that the allies sought to attribute blame to Germany for the devastation of World War I. Along with Germany having to admit guilt, the treaty imposed paralyzing sanctions which limited Germany's ability to militarize and called for them to bear the cost of reconstruction in the form of reparations. These sanctions, particularly the economic ones, were aimed to keep Germany as weak as possible, but what the Allies did not anticipate was the unintended consequences of such a heavy handed "peace" treaty.

Even though the treaty was begrudgingly signed by Germany, it took on a heavily punitive and harsh characteristic, as prescribed by the French and English parties. Thus, the French and English achieved what they desired and the treaty had the intended effect: Germany's economy was thrust into a tailspin. The treaty was successful in its aim, but often times it is the unanticipated reaction that sparks an uncontrollable fire; such was the case in post-World War I Germany. The effects of the treaty led to a growing disenfranchised poor, whose blame was levied at the inept Weimar Republic leadership and meddling outsiders. This is the precise environment that becomes a breeding pool for revolutions and

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Fuchs, *A Concise Biography of Adolf Hitler* (New York: The Berkley Publishing Group, 2000), 164.

revolutionaries alike; it was the environment that gave birth to possibly the most infamous revolutionary in history, Adolf Hitler. Hitler, in response to the Treaty of Versailles and its effects on Germany, asserted in his *Secret Book*:

the source of a people's whole power does not lie in its possession of weapons or in the organization of its army, but in its inner value which is represented through racial significance, that is racial value of a people as such, through the existence of the highest individual personality values as well as through healthy attitude toward the idea of self-preservation.<sup>2</sup>

Hitler's reasoning places the impetus not on the physically tangible but on the socially constructed concept of race and the supposed superiority of the German. Buttressing his assertions in what would be a reoccurring theme in Hitler rationale, every ill to society was to be burdened by the racially inferior. Though he does not directly blame the Jews for the treaty this instance, the Jews are behind most, if not all, of the ills of society in Hitler's mind.

Hitler used the treaty and its aftermath as a lightning rod to garner support from the lower classes which were the most affected by the failing economy. He was a political genius in this sense, and was able to penetrate and mobilize a power bloc that had rarely been utilized. The key to this strategy was his ability to calibrate ideology in a way that it united and mobilized the formerly neglected. Hitler was able to do this through the networking of Nazi ideology, by promoting the National Socialism to the working classes who were being crushed under the weight of the economic sanctions prescribed in the Treaty of Versailles. Hitler's target audience largely dictated how he would utilize the platform of National Socialism to suit those receiving it. "Adolf Hitler and his party, the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP). The prime motive was...the party's promise to restore the lower-middle class to its former assured position."<sup>3</sup>

Hitler gained notoriety in his movement for his direct leadership in the attempted coup known as the Beerhall Putsch in Munich, an event that would canonize Hitler in the Nazi movement. While in prison for high treason, he capitalized on his increased prominence in the Nazi movement wrote his famous manifesto, *Mein Kampf* or *My Struggle*. In this rambling diatribe, Hitler blamed all of Germany's many economic

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<sup>2</sup> Adolf Hitler, *Hitler's Secret Book* (New York: Grove Press, 1961), 27.

<sup>3</sup> Richard F. Hamilton, "Hitler's Electoral Support: Recent Findings and Theoretical Implications," *The Canadian Journal of Sociology/Cahiers canadiens de sociologie* 11, no. 1 (1986): 1.



problems on the treaty and Jewish influence, by accusing Jews of being subversive, and ultimately noting that the Jews were the reason for the popularity of Marxism. This is in addition to the myriad of Germany's hardships following its defeat in World War I.<sup>4</sup>

Unlike most other revolutionaries throughout history, Hitler's revolution was not primarily driven by violence, it was based in ideology and garnering support from the lower classes of society. Hitler knew that simply getting up on the podium was not enough to convince the entire country that his ideals were the best way forward; he took a more pragmatic approach to garner support. He had to identify himself as someone who was part of the movement, not above it; using this tactic Hitler was able to get his targeted power bloc to accept his ideological philosophy organically. It was this approach to propagating his revolutionary ideals that essentially launched Hitler into a Messiah-like position amongst his followers. Hitler was able to harness the sentiment of his followers and the economic environment of Germany to facilitate his slow-burning progression to ultimate power. Hitler's ascent to power was not born from blood, but a marked progression through the established political system.

With Hitler firmly cemented in party leadership, it is now time to move on to the ideology that propelled him to the precipice of society. Nazi ideology, from the beginning, was an extremely right-wing philosophy, and was at heart resolutely anti-Semitic. Even though Hitler is inextricably linked to Nazism, he was not its founder; he latched onto its platforms and then once he occupied a prominent position he shifted the ideology. Under his leadership, it became more internalized in Hitler himself, and thus "Nazism's uniqueness was Hitler, no less. Nazism was Hitlerism, pure and simple."<sup>5</sup> This shift to an ideology that was so beholden to one man is largely the reason Hitler became a Messianic figure and *Mein Kampf* became its holy book. *Mein Kampf* attempts to diagnose the problems that affected German society, per Hitler's perspective. Through racial axioms; he emphasizes the superiority of the Aryans in the face of Jews. Hitler's rationale in racism is obviously self-serving, but is assumed that his rationale had almost scientific certainty; "The result of all racial crossing is therefore in brief always the following: (a) Lowering of the level of the higher race; (b) Physical and intellectual regression and hence the beginning of a slowly but surely progressing sickness."<sup>6</sup> Hitler later appealed to people's intrinsic instinct to rid themselves of parasites, and frequently referred to the Jews as such. So much so, that it is a chapter title, in which Hitler states:

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<sup>4</sup> Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1999), 37-65.

<sup>5</sup> Ian Kershaw, "Hitler and the Uniqueness of Nazism," *Journal of Contemporary History* 39, no. 2 (2004): 242.

<sup>6</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 286

The Jew's life as a parasite in body of other nations and states explains a characteristic which once caused Schopenhauer, as has already been mentioned, to call him the 'great master in lying.' Existence impels the Jews to lie, and to lie perpetually, just as it compels the inhabitants of the northern countries to wear warm clothing.<sup>7</sup>

Hitler was intent on ensuring that anti-Semitism was ingrained, and that it would progress in intensity throughout his political career. *Mein Kampf* was only one of the early steps in establishing a fervent ideology based largely on racial superiority and the castigation of Jews.

Initially, after his seizure of power, Germany did not have codified laws which marginalized the Jews, however, the Jews were still discriminated against on the basis of the "unwritten laws" implied by the now official German ideology. Any ambiguity that may have existed in the Third Reich was erased September 15, 1935, when the Nuremburg Laws were legitimized; the marginalization of the Jews was cemented legally into Nazi society. The Nuremburg Laws consist of the Reich Citizenship Law, which includes the statute: A citizen of the Reich is that subject only who is of German or kindred blood and who, through his conduct, shows that he is both desirous and fit to serve the German People and Reich faithfully. While Jews are not explicitly mentioned in the statutes that constitute the Reich Citizenship laws, they are the primary aim nonetheless. In order to solidify this point, however, the second law, the Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor, was adopted. The statutes of the aforementioned law prohibits: marriage between Jews and citizens of German or kindred blood, sexual relations outside marriage between Jews and nationals of German or kindred blood, Jewish employment of German or kindred blood under forty-five years of age as domestic servants, and Jews from displaying Reich and national flags or the national colors.<sup>8</sup>

While the Nuremburg laws did not call for violence against Jews explicitly, the laws were a profound step in the progression towards the Final Solution, even if in 1935 the Final Solution as we know it had not yet been conceived. The Nuremburg laws set a distinct precedent for Nazi Germany, one that established that Hitler's anti-Semitic rhetoric was not merely talking points on a campaign; they were words with weight that would find their foothold in the policies of Nazi Germany. Post-Nuremburg laws Germany would follow a progression in intensity of anti-Jewish policies, which Christopher Browning chronicles in the

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 305.

<sup>8</sup> "The Nuremburg Laws," last modified March 11, 2009, <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Holocaust/nurlaws.html>.

progressive marginalization of Jews through measures that restricted their access to society: 1939 saw radios confiscated, '40 private telephones, '42 the ability to purchase newspapers and magazines. The Nazis also sought to economically cripple the Jewish population through a multitude of policies, beginning in 1938, which progressively restricted the Jews' ability maintain themselves.<sup>9</sup> The progression of the malicious anti-Semitic laws towards the ever evolving Final Solution to the Jewish Question lends to a somewhat functional understanding of the catastrophe often associated with Nazi Germany. The intent for the destruction of the Jews, however, coupled with the environment of Nazi Germany, suggests that the functionaries were created by ideological intent.

### **Demystifying Nazi Germany and the Holocaust**

There is no questioning the gravity of disaster that surrounds Nazi Germany and the Holocaust, but it is necessary to remove and overcome the significant stigma surrounding such a momentous event in human history. As scholars, it is necessary to break it down and analyze it for its reality, rather than be enamored by its aura; in order to provide a purer understanding of the stakes and progression of Nazi Germany. From this perspective, it is vital to understand how the Nazi policy, which was normatively hostile towards Jews and other undesirables, progressed from discrimination to destruction. In order to understand this, a variety of issues must be explored: whether the the policies of Nazi Germany, Operation Barbarossa and conquest, economics, or the Final Solution itself are at fault.

It is of central importance to understand not just how the Final Solution evolved into what we now know it became, but to peel back the layers even more to see why such violent policies were allowed by the public to be enacted. Kershaw attributes this progression to indifference:

...depersonalization of the Jew had been the real success story of the Nazi propaganda and policy...the 'Jewish Question' was of no more than minimal interest to the vast majority of Germans during the war years...Popular opinion, largely indifferent and infuse with latent anti-Jewish feeling further bolstered by propaganda provided the climate within which spiraling Nazi aggression towards the Jews could take place unchallenged. But it

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<sup>9</sup> Christopher R. Browning, *The Origins of The Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, September 1939-March 1942* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 173.

did not provoke the radicalization in the first place...the road to Auschwitz was built by hatred, but paved with indifference.<sup>10</sup>

While Kershaw is correct in the sense that indifference was a major factor in the road to atrocity, indifference does not explain just how the Nazis were able to gain so much political capital to enforce these policies with expected indifference of the German population. The basis of this obscene indifference was born from the initial success of the Nazi party; following the reasoning that successes are veneration of ideology, Bloxham's analysis echoes this sentiment when he states: "Hitler achieved huge popularity in the mid-1930s as a result of general improvement in the German economy and bloodless foreign policy triumphs, and that was certainly a key factor in increased public acceptance of Nazi domestic programmes."<sup>11</sup>

Hitler knew that he had to gain the general public's favor before launching into the radical destructive policies that would define his final years in power. He nevertheless mused about the destruction of the Jews early on in his secret book (which was never published during his life), where he stated "In view of the endowment of Jewry, which after all is only destructive, it will operate even here only as the historical 'ferment of decomposition.' It has summoned to its help spirits of which it can no longer rid itself, and the struggle of the inwardly anti-state Pan-Slav idea against the Bolshevik Jewish state idea will end with the destruction of Jewry."<sup>12</sup> Hitler knew the political power of utilizing the so-called "other," and knew that if he overplayed his hand he could very well lose control of the power he had procured. It is also fair to assume that he was aware that he needed the political capital gained by success to be the catalyst of the progression to the Final Solution, as he found out when everything was falling apart in the Third Reich. His failures in the war became apparent to all those who had been disillusioned by propaganda when:

The Belarusian Front of the Red Army began to shell Berlin on 20 April 1945, Hitler's birthday, by early May it had met the Ukrainian Front in the German capital. Berlin fell and the war was over. Hitler had ordered subordinates to apply a scorched earth policy to Germany itself, but he was not obeyed. Although much

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<sup>10</sup> Ian Kershaw, *Popular Opinion and Political Dissent in the Third Reich: Bavaria 1933-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 277.

<sup>11</sup> Donald Bloxham, *The Final Solution: A Genocide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 149.

<sup>12</sup> Hitler, *Hitler's Secret Book*, 139.

young German life was wasted in the defense of Berlin, Hitler could effect no further policies of mass killing.<sup>13</sup>

The tightrope of extremist ideology was fundamentally tied to the success of the state; Hitler's early successes essentially validated the radical Nazi ideology, but as Germany was crumbling around him, Hitler's mandate on influence rapidly deteriorated along with the country.

In order to gain a more honest understanding of Nazi Germany and the Holocaust, we must peel back the shroud of Auschwitz and recognize that the story does not begin and end in what has become the harrowing symbol of Nazi atrocity. The fact of the matter is that the implications were much larger than what occurred at Auschwitz. It is not that big of a stretch that most people assume that the concentration camps in Germany which often characterize the Holocaust were where the highest body counts were collected. This, however, is untrue as "the German prisoner-of-war camps in the East were far deadlier than the German concentration camps. Indeed the existing concentration camps changed their character upon contact with prisoners of war."<sup>14</sup> For conventional knowledge of the legacy of Nazi Germany, the realization that while the concentration camps were horrible, they were not the be all, end all, of Nazi atrocity. This is a new, important concept, which Donald Bloxham and Timothy Snyder, have developed.

Bloxham and Snyder alike are able to demystify Nazi Germany and the Holocaust largely through a spatial understanding of the events that occurred during the Nazi reign. Bloxham, however, diverts into a more functional position by using history of the region as the shifting point for explaining The Final Solution. What makes this spatial understanding so important to gaining a full understanding of the entire episode is that it allows us to see a tangible progression of ideology and the functionaries created by the intentions of party. Even while most of the killings associated with the Nazi regime were committed outside the camps, another important aspect to understand about the Holocaust and how it was situated spatially, is that most of it happened outside of Germany proper. "Most of the killing of Jews after 1939 happened outside Germany and away from the eyes of most Germans; most of the victims were not German nationals, meaning there were few residual bonds of connectedness between the groups; genocide happened while Germany was at war, with all of the introspection and bifurcation of the world into 'friends' and 'enemies' that that context brings."<sup>15</sup> The area of

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<sup>13</sup> Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin* (New York: Basic Books, 2010), 311.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 183.

<sup>15</sup> Bloxham, 154.

Europe in which most of the killings took place, whether in the concentration camps or as a result of Germany's conquest of Eastern Europe, Snyder appropriately labels, the "bloodlands" for the sheer amount of destruction of human life by Hitler and Stalin.

Although it would be too simplistic to describe the Eastern conquest by the Germans as purely one to rid Europe of the Jews, Hitler did know just how useful a tool they were in garnering support for an all-out eugenically inspired conquest of undesirables. "Nazism was a ceaselessly dynamic system that needed conflict, enemies, and 'inferiors' to justify its own ideology, and would always find more people to fight and kill."<sup>16</sup> This sentiment largely defines Operation Barbarossa (the codename for the German invasion of the Soviet Union) and how the events played out in the East, as Jews were the catalyst for conquest; the Nazis proceeded in eliminating ethnic Poles and Russians in their conquest. The pall of the Holocaust distorts the fact that "German plans envisioned even more killing. Hitler wanted not only to eradicate the Jews; he wanted to also destroy Poland and the Soviet Union as states, exterminate their ruling classes, and kill tens of millions of Slavs."<sup>17</sup> Equally important to realizing the complexity of the Nazi motivation for conquest was that it was not merely to remove the undesirables from existence. Hitler knew that Germany could not remain dependent on itself within its set borders, especially if it was to fight a war of great proportions. Thus, the conquest of the East was a form of Imperialistic expansion.

Economics were equally as important to Hitler as the conquest of the East and the ethnic cleansing that took place during those invasions. The two main targets for Hitler were Russia and the Ukraine. The motivation behind going after Russia was that "Hitler wanted Germany, as he put it, to be 'the most autarkic state in the world.' Defeating Britain was not necessary for this. Defeating the Soviet Union was. In January 1941, Hitler told the military command that the 'immense riches' of the Soviet Union would make Germany 'unassailable.'"<sup>18</sup> Russia was a primary target because of the many resources it possessed, namely oil. The impetus placed on Ukraine by the Nazi brass, Hitler included, was paramount.

The German army general staff concluded in an August study that Ukraine was 'agriculturally and industrially the most valuable part of the Soviet Union.' Herbert Backe, the responsible civilian planner, told Hitler in January 1941 that 'the occupation of Ukraine would

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 24.

<sup>17</sup> Snyder, ix.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 159.

liberate us from every economic worry.' Hitler wanted Ukraine 'so that no one is able to starve us again, like in the last war'...in the long run, the Nazis' Generalplan Ost involved seizing farmland, destroying those who farmed it, and settling it with Germans.<sup>19</sup>

Propaganda may have suggested that the main underpinnings of Operation Barbarossa were racially based, but it is more than abundantly clear that racism was primarily a sales pitch and side effect of German assault on the East.

Despite Operation Barbarossa's initial success, it is widely known for its phenomenal failure and subsequent importance as the turning point for the Nazi war machine. More than its failure, though, was what it meant to the Nazi state and the Jewish Question. Hitler's prophecy, one that centers on faulting the Jews because: "'the world war is here,' Hitler told some comrades on 12 December 1941; 'the annihilation of Jewry must be the necessary consequence.' From that point forward his most important subordinates understood their task: to kill all the Jews wherever possible...Jews were now blamed for the looming disaster that could not be named."<sup>20</sup> This was the key pivot point in the course to the Final Solution. Previous plans had included deportations to places like Madagascar, which was one of the favored locations early on in the evolution of the Final Solution. "What might appear from a post-Holocaust perspective as a centrally planned and uniformly applied pattern of stigmatization, dispossession, concentration and annihilation was in the first months of Operation Barbarossa an incoherent, locally and regionally varied sequence of measures characterized on the part of German officials by increasing violence and its acceptance as normality in 'the east.'"<sup>21</sup> Acknowledging that the Final Solution was not some stone cast monolithic entity from its inception, but the result of the chaos that pervaded Nazi ideology, aids in breaking down the barriers of the enormous stigma surrounding the event. This leads us into determining what drove Nazi Germany into the annals of history and begs the question: was it the intent of ideology or the function of society?

### **Intentionalist/Functionalist Debate**

Make no mistake, the responsibility for the myriad of atrocities committed by the Nazi party is held in the hands of Hitler himself and

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 161.

<sup>20</sup> Snyder, 214.

<sup>21</sup> Browning, 259.

the upper echelon of the Nazi party. While that is clearly the case, some argue that the actions of the Nazi party were merely the next step in advancing the deep rooted anti-Semitism in Europe, in essence, removing the impetus of Hitler's direct involvement in the process. This stance is dangerously irresponsible when trying to explain just why the Holocaust was allowed to take place. By removing Hitler and the ideology that he represented as the sole cause of the Holocaust, the enormity of what transpired is significantly diminished, which is a dangerous sentiment that comes to light when looking at genocides through a Functionalist lens. That is not to say the Functionalist approach does not have a seat at the table when examining Nazi Germany and the Holocaust, however, because nothing is as black and white as many portray it to be. The fact of the matter is that the Holocaust was not a function of society, but was instead a purely intentional event spurred on by a totalitarian regime headed by Adolf Hitler.

When looking at an event as momentous in history as the Holocaust, it is important to realize that nothing can be reasoned with absolutes (though many try to define it that way), which is where the Intentionalist/Functionalist debate arises. The first and most reasonable, if a bit flawed, the Intentionalist approach asserts:

Intentionalists focus on the frequently and explicitly stated ambition of Hitler to eliminate German Jewry and his role in the actual process. Anti-Semitism, the antimodern ideology par excellence, was the core of the Nazi regime, and when the time came, the vast machinery of government was directed by Nazi elites to prosecute the 'war on the Jews.' By this theory the explanation of the Holocaust coincides neatly with the agency of those responsible for its perpetration. Act followed intention in a linear diachronic fashion. The Holocaust was anything but an accident, and there is no question of who was responsible for it.<sup>22</sup>

The Intentionalist approach to explaining the Holocaust unabashedly, as it should, places the responsibility of the Holocaust at the feet of the Fuhrer and the upper echelon of the Nazi party.

One need only to examine Hitler's own rhetoric to establish the intent. It is no secret how inflammatory his hate was for the undesirables, with Jews at the forefront of his vitriol. Hitler was a self-serving philosopher when it came to rationalizing and articulating his feelings for the Jews, and often utilized analogy as a tool to castigate them. For some

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<sup>22</sup> A. D. Moses, "Structure and Agency in the Holocaust: Daniel J. Goldhagen and His Critics," *History and Theory* 37, no. 2 (1998): 201.



reason, Hitler seemed to believe that Jews had some sort of super natural power that was outside their own conscious control:

Jews are not aware of the destructive power they represent. Now, he who destroys life is himself risking death. That's the secret of what is happening to the Jews. Whose fault is it when a cat devours a mouse? The fault of the mouse, who has never done any harm to a cat? The destructive role of the Jew has in a way a providential explanation. If nature wanted the Jew to be the ferment that causes peoples to decay, thus providing these peoples with an opportunity for a healthy reaction, in that case people like St. Paul and Trotsky are, from our point of view, the most valuable.<sup>23</sup>

While this may just be a single instance of how Hitler invoked nature and historical precedence for his reasoning on why he was justified in his intense anti-Semitism, his rhetoric, whether in writing or speech, is often littered with the same sort of reasoning.

If there had been no rhetoric or propaganda preceding the actions of the Nazi party in its conquest of the Jews, then the Functionalist approach would have a leg to stand on when trying to explain Nazi Germany and the Holocaust holistically. Obviously that is not the case, and to try to argue in abstraction detracts from the task at hand. Even though the Functionalist approach is deficient in a major area of understanding, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust, one cannot assume that the Intentionalist perspective is pristine and without fault. Both approaches are fundamentally flawed, but that does not mean that they are entirely devoid of merit. They both exhibit a strong understanding of certain aspects of Nazi Germany and the Holocaust, but as stand-alone theories they cannot hold up as viable avenues to understanding the complexities inherent in the Nazi epoch.

The Intentionalist approach finds its greatest merit in explaining the macro-effects of Nazi Germany and in turn is rather deficient in explaining its micro aspects. Those micro aspects consist of the mid to lower level members of the party which made up the large majority of the population who stood by, towed the party line and were not among the Nazi elite. Where the Intentionalist argument succeeds, the Functionalist fails, and conversely the Intentionalist argument fails where the Functionalist argument succeeds. The Intentionalist perspective is able to explain the driving force of the ideology and grasps the momentous importance of Hitler and the upper echelon of the Nazi party

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<sup>23</sup> Martin Borman, *Hitler's Table Talk* (Burlington: Ostara Publications, 2012), 60.

to society under its influence. It is nonetheless grossly lacking in its ability to understand the state of the people who were being driven by the ideology of the totalitarian government that had a phenomenal propaganda machine and arguably one of the most charismatic leaders of all time. Functionalism is the exact opposite, which for the most part misses the mark on how much “Hitler was irreplaceable in Nazism.”<sup>24</sup> It is still true though that the Functionalist perspective succeeds in its ability to analyze how the great majority of the population under the Nazi party was able to commit the dehumanizing acts of the Holocaust.

The Functionalists argue that the deep seeded anti-Semitism in Germany, let alone the European continent, was the bedrock for the progression of anti-Semitism in Nazi ideology that resulted in the Holocaust; and shows that Hitler himself was not imminently responsible. The Functionalist approach has prescribed arguments that seem to suggest that Hitler was largely not responsible for the Holocaust. Notions produced by this approach seem almost nonsensical, considering Hitler’s place in the Nazi regime: which suggests, “Hitler furnished the legitimating ideology, to be sure, but the actual substance of the Holocaust was the achievement of bureaucrats, eager to please their master, and willing to undertake any measure to advance their careers.”<sup>25</sup> In response to the previous statement or John Weiss’ assertion that “It is time to stop believing that ‘without Hitler, no Holocaust,’”<sup>26</sup> an Intentionalist would assert “In the long evolution of Nazi Jewish policy to the Final Solution, Hitler had been of course not only ‘champion and spokesman’ but also the necessary and pivotal decision maker.”<sup>27</sup> There are two types of Functionalists, responsible and irresponsible. Responsible Functionalists, such as Bloxham, recognize that “The Holocaust, like every other genocide, there was no inevitability to its occurrence.”<sup>28</sup> The responsible Functionalists are able ascertain the impetus of Nazi Germany and the Holocaust, but what scholars like Bloxham and Snyder are able to do, through careful analysis of the facts rather than the stigma, is provide a demystified perspective, even if their Functionalist base does not grasp the macro-effects as well as an Intentionalist base would. Bloxham and Snyder’s destigmatized approach to scholarship is a great and useful tool in gaining purer understanding.

Taking the two perspectives into account for their merits and deficiencies, it is abundantly clear that in moving forward, neither approach is a sufficient route to a more complete, honest understanding

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<sup>24</sup> Ian Kershaw, “Working Towards the Führer: Reflections on the Nature of the Hitler Dictatorship,” *Contemporary European History* 2, no. 2 (1993): 110.

<sup>25</sup> Moses, 203.

<sup>26</sup> Donald L. Niewyk, *The Holocaust* (Boston: Wadsworth, 2011), 23.

<sup>27</sup> Browning, 428.

<sup>28</sup> Bloxham, 7.

of Nazi Germany and the Holocaust. When dealing with a situation this complex, standing on opposite poles will blind the eyes of the researcher to what the opposite pole has at its center. This problem is apparent in the analysis of the two perspectives and is the precise reason we need to move to a moderating perspective that allows us to see the whole picture. Moving forward with a modified Intentionalist perspective, that incorporates both perspectives under an Intentionalist umbrella provides the vantage point that illuminates as close to the whole picture as possible.

### **Modified Intentionalist Perspective**

Though it is important to establish that the Holocaust and the many atrocities committed by the Nazis were directly influenced by the intentions of the ideology espoused by Hitler and the Nazi elite, it is equally important to address the issue of the functions that ideology created. It would be easy to take the Goldhagen eliminationist anti-Semitic approach and claim that everyone in the Third Reich was directly responsible for the actions they took, no matter the external factors, and were responsible for the choices they made. The significance of the issue is that the environment Hitler and the Nazis created was one characterized by terror and paranoia. The propaganda machine of the Nazi regime was fantastically effective at inundating the masses with party ideology and facilitating the phenomenon of mob mentality, a skill Hitler himself employed in his oration; this skill was remarked on by Hans V. Klatenborn after an interview with Hitler, "It is evident...He has the orator's instinct for exaggeration and popularization, and is utterly without conscience or restraint when he is speaking for effect. He knows mob mind, and his one concern is to win it and hold it."<sup>29</sup> Hitler's totality as dictator, coupled with his charismatic leadership and effusive support of his propaganda machine created a society of functionaries of Nazism/Hitlerism.

The psychological state of those committing the atrocities for the Nazi regime seems distant from rational thinking due to them being in such a totalitarian state. Once taking into account the way the Nazi party operated, the totality in which it ruled, it is not hard to imagine how paranoid the masses must have been. This can be heard in the commentary of *Triumph of the Will*, "dictators want your body, your actions but, totalitarian governments want your mind."<sup>30</sup> Dissent was most definitely not allowed, and this only enhanced the paranoia and need to remain

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<sup>29</sup> Adolf Hitler, interview by Hans V. Kaltenborn, "An Interview with Hitler, August 17, 1932," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 50, no. 4 (1967): 289.

<sup>30</sup> Leni Riefenstahl, Walter Ruttmann, and Eberhard Taubert, *Triumph of the Will*, directed by Leni Riefenstahl, Leni Riefenstahl-Produktion, 1935, DVD.

faithful to the Fuhrer. “Assistant Secretary Friedrich Gauss, formerly the highest legal officer in the German Foreign Office. He offered many reasons for the acquiescence of the Germans to the mass murder of Jews; some feared to lose their position, others to be arrested and brought to a concentration camp, ‘and we did not act. We had lost our courage and every concept of morality.’”<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, in the vein of what effect the state ideology had on the individual as far as ability to make decisions, policeman Kurt Mobius stated:

We police went by the phrase, “Whatever serves the state is right, whatever harms the state is wrong.”... it never ever entered my head that these orders could be wrong. Although I am aware that it is the duty of the police to protect the innocent I was however at the time convinced that the Jewish people were not innocent but guilty. I believed all the propaganda that Jews were criminals and subhuman... The thought that one should oppose or evade the order to take part in the extermination of the Jews never entered my head either.

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The establishment of the lower levels of the Nazi regime as functionaries of the party is by no means an attempt to absolve them of guilt. It is however, meant to bring to light that there is an absence of absolutes when dealing with an issue as enormous as the Holocaust. Additionally, it is also meant to accentuate the intentions of Hitler and the influence he and the elite held over masses. The vehicle of this power was the ability of Hitler and the Nazi propaganda machine to utilize the appeal of nationalism. “The other” is inherent to Nazi nationalism, and these two concepts acted concurrently, because the majority of Nazi ideology was racially based.

The concept of the “other” was central to the Nazi agenda and the fact that it had no place in the Fuhrer’s Germany.

Nazi ideology despised otherness; it could not tolerate any presence that might subvert blood purity and the genetic ideals of an essentialism positing German culture and blood as the supreme representations of race. The Jews constituted “destabilizing sources of phobic anxiety and quasi-ritual contamination”... The Jewish out group,

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<sup>31</sup> Kurt R. Grossman, “The Final Solution,” *The Antioch Review* 15, no. 1 (1955): 55.

<sup>32</sup> Edward B. Westermann, “‘Ordinary Men’ or ‘Ideological Soldiers’? Police Battalion 310 in Russia, 1942,” *German Studies Review* 21, no. 1 (1998): 41.

perceived as “both a hygienic and a ritual threat to a pure Nazi identity,” disturbed the racially constructed political ideal, its images and practices, and therefore had to be eliminated.<sup>33</sup>

Hitler himself set the agenda when it came to the dealing with the “others” that had polluted “his Germany.” He more often than not was not one who dealt in subtleties either, and his intentions towards the Jews were made abundantly clear in his January 30th, 1939 speech to the Reichstag in which Kershaw saw as a defining moment for him. As he included in the speech in “Hitler’s Decisive Role,” which reads:

I have very often in my lifetime been a prophet, and was mostly derided. In the time of my struggle for power it was in the first instance the Jewish people who received only with laughter my prophecies that I would some time take over the leadership of the state and of the entire people in Germany and then, among other things, also bring the Jewish problem to its solution. I believe that this once hollow laughter of Jewry in Germany has meanwhile already stuck in the throat. I want today to be a prophet again: if international finance Jewry inside and outside Europe should succeed in plunging the nations once more into a world war, the result will be not the bolshevization of the earth and thereby the victory of Jewry, but the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe!<sup>34</sup>

The fact that the Functionalist argument found a receptive audience with indisputable evidence of the intent to destroy the Jewish people such as the previous speech is unfathomable. It was clear as day how Hitler regarded the Jewish people, and he was clearly on a mission to stamp out the Jews of Europe.

Even though Hitler had a taste for the theatrical when he gave speeches, given his record of violence in the face of impurity within the Reich, the Functionalists have no leg to stand on when it comes to attributing the blame to factors other than Hitler. Hitler was on a mission from the start to purge until he achieved the purity of blood, race, and ideology. His first purge was not against a group he perceived as a racial threat to the Germans, he purged members of the party whom he felt had overstepped their bounds. This, of course, was the purge of the SA police

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<sup>33</sup> James M. Glass, “Against the Indifference Hypothesis: The Holocaust and the Enthusiasts for Murder,” *Political Psychology* 18, no. 1 (1997): 132.

<sup>34</sup> Niewyk, 28.

force in June and July of 1934 which was a “self-cleansing and reorganization...in response to the chaotic expansion of the SA since 1931 or 1932.”<sup>35</sup> The purge of the SA was not the most violent purge, but it did establish a precedent in which “Hitler’s purges clarified that the rule of law was subject to the whims of the Leader...Hitler ordered terror as a way to develop his own favored paramilitary, the SS, and assert its superiority over the various German state police forces.”<sup>36</sup> If violence was the answer for his own party members, it seems fairly obvious that what transpired in the Holocaust was a function of Hitlerism, not some abstraction extrapolated by Functionalists that society at large was to blame for its long history of anti-Semitism.

The Intentionalist approach more accurately captures Hitler’s significance to the Holocaust, and rightfully so, because to assert that he was anything less than essential to the Nazi goal of racial purity is absurd. The Functionalist approach tries to rationalize the phenomenon by arguing an abstraction that can never be proved, which is irresponsible scholarship of the Holocaust, because it diminishes the enormity of the event. Even though neither approach is absolutely correct or adequate in explaining the complexity of the Holocaust, one thing is clear through the comparative analysis of the Intentionalist/Functionalist debate; that while they both claim to have rationalized the irrational, neither of them can fully answer the simple questions of how and why. Both arguments attempt to answer in the absolutes of black and white, but the question is far too complex to be answered in absolutes. To get as close as possible to the complete answer, one has to acknowledge that there are gray areas, and that the best way to answer the why and the how is to synthesize the two arguments by focusing on the intentions of one man, one party, one ideology, and how it created functionaries under the umbrella of that man and party.

It could be argued that creating functionaries was Hitler’s intent, which would seem to validate the Intentionalist argument, but that is the precise reason for operating under the Intentionalist umbrella. Just because it was caused by intention does not exclude the important role of Functionalism; the two terms should not be seen as mutually exclusive. Working with this combined perspective allows for a deeper understanding of the situations and psyche of those committing the atrocities. A prime example of the function of intent is what happened in Garsden Lithunania, June 24, 1939. After the execution of Jews “for crimes against the Wehrmacht on order of the Fuhrer” the “Memel Schutzpolizei men discussed what they had done. In reassuring each other, comments were made like ‘Good Heavens, damn it, one

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<sup>35</sup> Bruce B. Campbell, “The SA after the Rohm Purge,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 28, no. 4 (1993): 660.

<sup>36</sup> Snyder, 76.

generation has to go through this so that our children will have a better life.”<sup>37</sup> When the sentiment of the functionaries mirrors that of the ideological agents running the society, creating functionaries from the intent of ideology has been achieved. People feeling that they were doing what was necessary for the betterment of society was the quintessential goal of Hitler-led Nazi Germany.

## **Conclusion**

When dealing with a subject as complex as Nazi Germany and the Holocaust, it is important to recognize the legacy that is associated with such an infamous event in human history. Equally as important, is recognizing that legacy is not being constrained the quest to gain a fuller understanding of how humanity devolved to institutional savagery. In the interest of pragmatism, no matter what perspective taken, whether it be a modified Intentionalist, Intentionalist, or Functionalist, it must be understood that there will never be a completely pure understanding of what happened. Even though there will never be a perfect analysis, it is the duty of interpreters of history to get as close as possible. At this juncture, the vehicle to get to that point is analyzing Nazi Germany and the Holocaust through a modified Intentionalist perspective.

The modified Intentionalist understanding provides a perspective that still allocates the lion's share of the blame with the Hitler and his ideologies. Working under the umbrella of an Intentionalist perspective synthesized with elements of Functionalism, shifts the assumption that genocide is not a disease of function. Functionalism is, however, a symptom of genocide. By approaching Nazi Germany and the Holocaust this way, it eliminates the ability of the Functionalist to manipulate the historical record in a fashion to suit their platform. This is important because cherry picking history to fit a narrative places the Holocaust on a dialectical pattern, suggesting that history and events are working towards a goal. This dialectical pattern, when reigned in and applied within the confines of Nazi Germany, assists in understanding how the people went along with a radical ideology and how the Final Solution evolved within the chaos of the Nazi state.

There are many who would allocate the Holocaust as the defining moment of the twentieth century, and to a point they would be right, even if that perspective is a bit short sighted. It would be more accurate to assign that allocation to World War II as a whole. The many theaters of war forever shifted our view of humanity, and shows just how destructive we as citizens of the world can be. This is largely a product of humanity's progress into modernity, as the regard for human life has

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<sup>37</sup> Browning, 254.

been continually devalued. One need only look to the atrocities of war, whether it is the Holocaust, Operation Barbarossa, Stalinist Russia, the Atomic bombs or the actions of the Japanese in China. Simply, World War II was largely an assault on humanity.

This concept of modernity and humanity's ever vigilant search for a higher dose of it has led to people being only seen as numbers. "The Nazi regime turned people into numbers, some of which we can only estimate, some of which we can reconstruct with fair precision. It is for us as scholars to seek these numbers and to put them into perspective. It is for us as humanists to turn the numbers back into people. If we cannot do that, then Hitler has shaped not only our world, but our humanity."<sup>38</sup> The legacy of modernity and the quest to keep progressing should not be defined by the loss of humanity, because the legacies of evil overshadow those in the past, but the present and future's appeal to humanity. Why is it easier for us to turn our humanity over to a statistic, rather than to strive as a collective entity, united in our humanity to exist? In the immortal words of Abraham Lincoln, "with malice towards none and charity for all"?<sup>39</sup> If it is possible to move in that direction, we can begin to assure ourselves that humanity, in the face of modernity, has not been defined by someone as malevolent as Adolf Hitler.

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<sup>38</sup> Snyder, 408.

<sup>39</sup> Abraham Lincoln, "Second Inaugural Speech," last modified June 12, 2009, <http://www.abrahamlincolnsclassroom.org/Library/newsletter.asp?ID=17&CRLI=94>.



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*The Goose Step is only Functional for Geese*

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### **Author Bio**

Richard Butler is currently a student in the M.A. of Social Sciences program at California State University, San Bernardino, and is a 2012 graduate from California State University, San Bernardino with a Bachelor's in History, which focused on modern Europe and China. After completion of his Master's, he intends to teach history at the high school level, eventually moving on to the community college level. Richard enjoys traveling to the places that he has studied and coaching baseball at a local high school. He would like to thank Dr. Pytell and Dr. Murray of the History Department at California State University, San Bernardino, as they have been incredibly influential on his educational path, and providing opportunities that would not have been possible without their guidance. Richard would also like to thank his family and friends for their unwavering support throughout his educational journey.





## **Holocaust Ghettos**

By Rebecca Parraz

*Abstract: In Nazi Germany, the Jewish people were forced into segregated areas that would ultimately evolve into “Holocaust ghettos.” Thousands of these ghettos were built across Europe, and within these ghettos Jews were under complete control and forced to follow severe regulations. These ghettos soon became overpopulated, and resources became scarce. By the end of World War II, thousands of Jews had died within the walls of the ghettos. Causes of death ranged from starvation to disease, and even murder. It is evident that as the war progressed, the Nazis began to use the ghettos as a tool in the Final Solution. The ghettos, however, were not initially intended as a stage in the Final Solution; rather, as they evolved, the Nazis began to use them as another tool to solve the Jewish Question. At the start of war, Jews were forced into areas, primarily slums, in order to expel Jews from German communities which created a “Jewish Absence.” The slums usually consisted of older districts that harbored rundown warehouses and buildings; they became a “Jewish Place.” The Jews, under extreme stress, utilized the area by implementing highly organized communities which aided in the adjustment of life within the ghettos. Then, as a means to further control and concentrate the Jews, the Nazis decided to build walls around the cities with the purpose of segregating them from the German population. The walls completely isolated the Jews and contributed to the formation of a Jewish community within the ghettos. The intent of this research will be to examine the Lodz and Warsaw ghettos by focusing on their construction, geography, and transition from a Jewish community into a Holocaust ghetto.*

### **Introduction**

Throughout the Holocaust, Nazis forced Jews into specified areas that became known as the Jewish Ghettos. By 1940, the Lodz and Warsaw ghettos were established and thousands of Jews were promptly forced to leave their homes and livelihoods behind to live in them. The ghettos were placed in specific areas, such as slums, because they were primarily located on the outskirts of the “German cities” and contained fewer “Aryans.” Additionally, these slums contained neglected buildings often filled with trash, and were less populated by the Germans. The

conditions in the Lodz and Warsaw ghettos were brutal; they were overcrowded, unsanitary, and epidemics of disease claimed lives daily. As a result, and due to a lack of sanitation services, corpses were often left on the streets. Furthermore, the Nazis supplied little food and supplies to the ghettos. In order to cope with the stress and horrible conditions, Jews began to form a community. These communities were headed by Jewish leaders who negotiated with the Nazis on behalf of those within the ghettos. Thus, they became a “Jewish place.” As the Jews began to settle, the ghettos became a new home, and there was hope that the terror was over. However, as conditions worsened, the number of deaths increased daily and the Nazis began to use the ghettos to solve the “Jewish Question.” Subsequently, the ghettos transitioned into “Holocaust ghettos.” More specifically, by 1942, the Lodz and Warsaw ghettos were no longer meant to sustain life. The intent of this paper is to argue that ghettoization began as a way to create a “Jewish Absence” in the “German Empire,” and only transitioned into “Holocaust ghettos” to more efficiently implement the Final Solution.

Shortly after the German Occupation of Poland in 1939, Germans began to force Jews into the ghettos as an attempt to create a “Jewish absence” within the cities. Adolf Hitler, Heinrich Himmler, and Reinhard Heydrich “envisioned a vast demographic reorganization of the newly conquered territories,” and as a part of this plan, Jews “were to be concentrated in urban centers then expelled to the furthest corner of the German empire.”<sup>1</sup> Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbles stated in 1939 that the Jews, “must be isolated completely, otherwise all of Europe will be poisoned.”<sup>2</sup> By expelling the Jews, the Nazis were creating a “German empire” that primarily consisted of “pure blooded Germans.” Evidence shows that in 1939 the attempt to expel the Jews to the “furthest corner of the German empire” was a means of creating a “Jewish absence,” rather than a means of initiating the Final Solution. During ghettoization, Jews were given a short notice of evacuation, and then were forced to leave most of their belongings behind. Thousands of Jews were expelled into specified areas outside major cities.

This process later became known as ghettoization, which can be defined as: “the drawing of boundaries (whether physical facades or imaginary dividing lines) which separate ‘Jews’ from ‘non-Jews.’”<sup>3</sup> Simply, ghettoization was a process of removing Jews from German cities and placing them in specified areas for the sole intent of

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<sup>1</sup> Christopher Browning, “Nazi Ghettoization Policy in Poland: 1939-1941,” *Central European History* 19, no. 4 (1986): 345.

<sup>2</sup> Phillip Friedman, “The Jewish Ghettos of the Nazi Era,” *Jewish Social Studies* 16, no. 1 (1954): 66.

<sup>3</sup> Tim Cole, *Holocaust City: The Making of a Jewish Ghetto* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 37.

“cleansing” the “German Empire.” As Tim Cole argued, “Ghettoization can therefore be a means of gathering all the ‘Jews’ in the city together in one particular place (‘Jewish presence’), and/or it can be a means of making the remainder of the city *judenfrei* (‘Jewish absence’).”<sup>4</sup> The Germans created a “Jewish absence” by removing the Jews from cities, and created a “Jewish presence” within the ghettos as a result. Therefore, ghettoization resulted in the formation of “Jewish cities,” (usually located within larger “German cities”) which later became known as the Jewish ghettos. Essentially, they became a city within a city.

After the Nazis decided ghettoization was necessary in order to create a “Jewish absence” within the “German Empire,” the question of where to place the Jews arose. As Cole argued, one must take the location of the ghettos seriously and, “recognize that the doctors of space involved in implementing ghettoization in the locality made decisions over where the ghetto boundaries were drawn and where they were not drawn within the Holocaust city.”<sup>5</sup> The placement of the ghettos was thought out carefully to ensure they would not interfere with the success of the “German Empire.” For example, the Germans had to insure that the placement of the ghettos would not interfere with active markets, business districts, or heavily populated Aryan apartment buildings. Cole recognized that “there was clearly an architecture for ‘Aryans’ and an architecture for ‘non-Aryans,’ and, more broadly, distinctive ‘Aryan’ and ‘non-Aryan’ spaces.”<sup>6</sup> The “non-Aryan” architecture and spaces would include the poorer districts and a small Aryan population. Consequently, the outdated slums were chosen for the ghettos, because the area was poor, trashed, and undesirable to Germans; they were a “non-Aryan” space.

In February 1940, the Chief of Police in Lodz issued a decree stating, “in order to concentrate all the Jews residing in the city of Lodz in one separate quarter, a residential area will be established in the part of the city northward from Deutschland Square.”<sup>7</sup> Friedrich Uebelhoer, *Regierungspräsident* (Chief Administrator) for the Lodz region, stated “the creation of the ghetto is of course only a transitional measure. I shall determine at what time and with what means the ghetto and thereby also the city will be cleansed of Jews.”<sup>8</sup> Hence, the establishment of the Lodz ghetto was simply a means of “cleansing” the city of the Jews by deportation and complete expulsion from the “German Empire.” By April 1940, Lodz was completely separated from the rest of the city<sup>9</sup> and

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 36.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>7</sup> Alan Adelson and Robert Lapidés, *Lodz Ghetto* (New York: Viking, 1989), 31.

<sup>8</sup> Browning, 346.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

was surrounded by a fence with barbed wire to prevent people from escaping the ghetto. Further, the fence kept the Jews inside the ghetto and under complete control of the Nazis. Jews were not permitted to leave unless they worked outside the ghetto, otherwise they would be punished; usually they were shot on the spot. The Lodz ghetto was placed in the northern districts of the city, which was known as “Baluty” and “the Old City.”<sup>10</sup> Although the northern districts of Lodz included several factories and warehouses, the area was nevertheless considered poor, because the buildings had heavily deteriorated in the years prior. Most were in danger of being torn down, and were filled with dirt and trash.<sup>11</sup> Additionally, the “Baulty” had crooked alleys, no street lights, and had no fire, sanitation or zoning regulations; essentially it was a breeding ground for disease.<sup>12</sup> Essentially, they were the most unappealing areas to the Germans. Furthermore, it was a “non-Aryan” space; it was an ideal place for the Lodz ghetto.

Similar to Lodz, the Warsaw ghetto was located in a rundown area and was established shortly after the German occupation. On October 2, 1940, L. Fischer, the governor of the district, signed an order “for the formation of a separate Jewish district in Warsaw;” the details of the construction and placement of the Warsaw ghetto was planned in the headquarters of the chief in Warsaw.<sup>13</sup> As the capital of Poland, and according to the 1931 Polish census, Warsaw contained 352,659 Jews, 30.1 percent of the total population.<sup>14</sup> Consequently, the Nazis quickly had to create a space to concentrate all of the Jews and remove them from the city or “Aryan” space. Throughout the Holocaust, the Warsaw ghetto was the largest ghetto in Poland. By 1941, the ghetto was divided up into three sections and, at one point, contained around 500,000 Jews.<sup>15</sup> To maintain control of the large number of Jews (and to keep epidemics down) residing within the Warsaw ghetto, walls were put up. Nazis specifically placed the Warsaw ghetto in the “Seuchensperrgebiet,” an area that was threatened by an epidemic in the northern district of the city.<sup>16</sup> The southern borders were altered several times to exclude further streets, and between October and November 1941, the border adjustments left around 75,000 people without shelter.<sup>17</sup> It is clear the Nazis initially saw the Warsaw ghetto as a means of creating a “Jewish

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<sup>10</sup> Roman Mogilanski, *The Ghetto Anthology* (Los Angeles: American Congress of Jews from Poland and Survivors of Concentration Camps, 1985), 161.

<sup>11</sup> Adelson and Lapidés, 36.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>13</sup> Mogilanski, 309.

<sup>14</sup> Howard Fertig, *The Jewish Communities of Nazi-Occupied Europe* (Howard Fertig, 1982), 3.

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

<sup>16</sup> Mogilanski, 309.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 310.



absence” within the city of Warsaw, and to create this absence, they looked to the most disease-ridden and unwanted section of the city; once more, it was a “non-Aryan” space.

Evidently, the establishment and placement of the Lodz and Warsaw ghettos were clearly planned and thought out. Phillip Friedman argued that “the purpose of the ghettos became apparent from the manner of their formation.”<sup>18</sup> The Nazis specifically placed the ghettos in slum areas on the outskirts of major towns. As in the case of Lodz and Warsaw, walls were built and boundaries were established months after Germany occupied Poland, and Jews were forced to abandon their homes and move into these areas immediately. Upon establishment, the Germans planned to impoverish the Jews. As a result, the Nazis allowed Jews to carry few personal belongings, and in the cases of Warsaw and Lodz, businesses located outside the ghetto had to be completely abandoned.<sup>19</sup> The Nazis took much of what the Jews left behind for the economic gain of the “German Empire;” such as, jewelry and gold. Thus, upon entering the ghettos, the Jews were at an economic disadvantage. Once in them, the Jews were forced to live in overcrowded buildings and poor conditions. Therefore, immediately forcing the Jews into the ghettos, stripping them of all economic opportunities, and most importantly, quality living conditions, were indications that the ghettos were not intended to sustain life.

The conditions in Lodz were horrible. The buildings were in danger of being torn down and only 382 of the apartments had water pipes and drains; 294 had toilets, and only 49 had a toilet, drain and a bath.<sup>20</sup> Many of the people could not shower or use a toilet in their home; they lived in conditions that were fit for wild animals. Many people rarely showered, and were forced to relieve themselves in other places. Subsequently, Lodz became extremely unsanitary, and diseases broke out and killed thousands. In 1941, Lodz had severe typhoid fever and spotted typhus epidemics, resulting in 1,080 Jewish dead within three weeks.<sup>21</sup> As a response to the horrible conditions, Lodz citizens posted a bulletin that demanded all the trash to be cleaned up, all the toilets needed to be repaired, baths provided, disinfections for those infected, and free laundry for the poor.<sup>22</sup> Obviously, these demands were not met.

Similarly, in Warsaw the conditions were appalling. There was a lack of sanitation, and a shortage of soap, disinfectant, and medical supplies. Diseases spread quickly in Warsaw, because like Lodz, it was very overcrowded and the living conditions were filthy. The lack of

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<sup>18</sup> Friedman, 75.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 75-76.

<sup>20</sup> Adelson and Lapides, 36.

<sup>21</sup> Fertig, 44.

<sup>22</sup> Adelson and Lapides, 161.

plumbing and hygienic supplies resulted in irregular baths and improper disposal of human waste, resulting in the spread of disease and vermin. "During the last week of March, 1940 there were 281 cases of typhus in Warsaw, 268 among Jews and 13 among non- Jews. The first week of April brought 305 new cases, 293 among Jews..."<sup>23</sup> Lice also became a major problem within the ghettos; medical records from Warsaw stated that out of 12,164 children examined during August 1941, 19% suffered from lice; and in September 1941, out of 11,580 children examined, 20% had lice.<sup>24</sup> As time passed, the chances of survival within the ghettos became slimmer as the Nazis continued to overcrowd the ghettos and make conditions even worse.

In addition to living like animals, the Jews were treated like animals. Jews were forced to labor and were harassed on a daily basis. Nazis attacked Jews psychologically; for example, there were cases when Nazis would enter Jewish households and rape young girls and women in front of their husbands and parents.<sup>25</sup> There were several other reports of Nazis who would take women from the ghettos and send them to public houses in Germany or Poland, and force them into prostitution.<sup>26</sup> Many Jews within the ghettos broke down mentally, because of the horrid conditions and treatment. Moreover, the Nazis dehumanized the Jews. In Warsaw, on November 21, 1941, Emmanuel Ringelblum noted, "A Jew was ordered to kneel, and they urinated on him. They beat women, too, at Chlodna Street."<sup>27</sup> Germans viewed the Jews not as human beings, but as a disease. The constant harassment deteriorated the self-worth of Jews. Howard Fertig stated "Apathy, resignation, lack of will power and suicides occurred frequently, as did psychic collapse and insanity."<sup>28</sup> Jews were constantly dehumanized, and to a majority, this stripped them of any idea of self-worth and survival. In 1941, five times as many Jews committed suicide in Warsaw as in pre-Nazi occupied Poland.<sup>29</sup> For many Jews, suicide was an escape from the horrors; however, it was also an action motivated by fear. Occasionally, Jews committed suicide because they would rather end their own life than be killed by the Nazis. This type of suicide, nevertheless, occurred more during 1943 (when the Nazis began to liquidate the ghettos), than in any earlier year. At the end of summer 1942, a new wave of suicides began and families began to put an end to their lives together.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Fertig, 44.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 45.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 55.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Jacob Sloan, *Notes from the Warsaw Ghetto* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1958), 91.

<sup>28</sup> Fertig, 45.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

Although thousands died from diseases, the biggest threat was starvation. All economic ties with the outside world were broken after the ghettos were isolated from the rest of the city, and supplies within the ghetto were quickly exhausted.<sup>31</sup> Many Jews could not afford food, because they had few economic means and the prices were so high. Dawid Sierrakowiak, who lived and died in the Lodz Ghetto, wrote “Vegetables even potatoes are supposed to arrive this week, but even if they do arrive, I have no idea where to get cash for them.”<sup>32</sup> Food, and the fear of starvation, were on the minds of many of the Jews residing in the ghettos. Dawid and thousands of other Jews often starved waiting for a shipment of food to arrive in the ghetto, even though they had no money to buy it. The lack of nourishment weakened the Jews and made them more susceptible to the constant threat of epidemics. The Nazis were aware that many Jews were starving, yet they rarely increased the rations and did nothing to provide the Jews with opportunities for economic gain. Average rations amounted to about 230 calories, and by 1942, 100,000 Jews died from hunger in the Warsaw ghetto.<sup>33</sup> Governor of the Warsaw district, Dr. Ludwig Fischer, declared, “After the war the Jewish question will receive a uniform solution in all Europe. Until then the ghettos must fulfill their aim.”<sup>34</sup> By 1942, the “aim” of the ghettos became more apparent as the number of deaths increased. Hence, the Lodz and Warsaw ghettos evolved into Holocaust ghettos; they were a tool in the Final Solution.

For many, in the beginning, the ghettos became a “Jewish place” and the prisoners of Lodz became a community. In 1941, the ghettos were a “Jewish place.” Jozef Zelkowicz, a man who lived in the Lodz ghetto wrote:

These were the first days in the ghetto. People did not yet comprehend the evil which had befallen them. The population was, so to speak, in the honeymoon of the ghetto life, and behaved therefore like a young, freewheeling bride-groom, eating well and spending one banknote from his dowry after another. Everything in the ghetto, therefore, was for sale. Everything that could be procured. After the turmoil in the city, after the killings inside the homes during the ‘planned resettlement,’ after the grabbing of people on the streets for forced labor, after the scare about what was going to happen

<sup>31</sup> Browning, 348.

<sup>32</sup> Alan Adelson, Kamil Turowski and Lawrence Langer, *The Diary of Dawid Sierakowiak* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 118.

<sup>33</sup> Mogilanski, 312.

<sup>34</sup> Friedman, 7.

tomorrow, or even in a few hours, the Jews in the ghetto,  
among themselves, rejoiced in *dolce far niente*.<sup>35</sup>  
Crowds gathered in the street and exchanged good news.  
Cards were played outdoors, and food was stashed  
away.<sup>36</sup>

After being taken from their homes and forced into the ghettos, there was an attempt to form a community. Moreover, by creating a community, the Jews attempted to adjust to life within the ghettos, and this created a hope for survival. Moshe Fass argued that the resumption of cultural activities, such as performances and theater, began in small households because there was still a fear that large groups that assembled would be punished and forced into labor.<sup>37</sup> Performances and theater were used as a source of entertainment, as well as a means to cope with life within the ghettos. Additionally, theater was used to maintain their identities and cultural values. "The situation [in the ghettos] slowly stabilized, calm and quiet returned, patches of green began to cover the ghetto's grounds, benches were placed on Lutomierska Street. The rejected community began to look like an island of self-government."<sup>38</sup> For the most part, this sense of community united the Jews in Lodz.

Jacob Sloan argued, "There were many who, imbued with the best tradition of Jewish altruism, retained their humanity. Soon after, the ghetto was established, these people, [Emmanuel] Ringelblum among them, organized House Committees."<sup>39</sup> The committees were created to serve the community of Warsaw and aid them when needed. For example, the committees "tried to support the impoverished residents, particularly the children, with food and clothing."<sup>40</sup> Additionally, the committees helped strengthen the spirits of the community of Warsaw by providing aid and giving the people hope for survival. As the conditions worsened in Warsaw, the committees grew larger. People from all classes, ages, and occupations joined, and particularly in 1942, Emmanuel Ringelblum, a prisoner of the Warsaw ghetto, noted that women played an important role in the committees when the men were exhausted.<sup>41</sup> Ultimately, the committees signified the will to survive in the Warsaw ghetto by the community uniting and providing aid for one another.

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<sup>35</sup> Italian for: Sweet Frivolity.

<sup>36</sup> Adelson and Lapidès, 65.

<sup>37</sup> Mosche Fass, "Theatrical Activities in the Polish Ghettos during the Years 1939-1942," *Jewish Social Studies* 38, no. 1 (1976): 54.

<sup>38</sup> Adelson and Lapidès, 45.

<sup>39</sup> Sloan, 101.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

In Lodz, the leader of the community was the Eldest of the Jews, Mordechai Chaim Rumkowski. Adelson stated that “the Eldest of the Jews is the head of the ghetto and, also, the intermediary between the ghetto and the outside world. He had been given absolute power over the ghetto from the very first moment. . .”<sup>42</sup> Thus, Rumkowski controlled the Lodz ghetto. He issued proclamations, orders, and the community of Lodz was subjected to his rule. The question arises, however, if Rumkowski had complete power over Lodz, or if the Nazis held the power and simply used Rumkowski as a puppet. Adelson argued that Rumkowski was responsible for everything that happened in the ghetto, and the German authorities dealt straightly and solely with him.<sup>43</sup> Additionally, they considered Rumkowski the “executive organ for all their orders, but he was also the one they held responsible if something failed to meet their wishes.”<sup>44</sup> It is clear Rumkowski held a great deal of responsibility and power. Every decision he made affected the lives of thousands of Jews in the Lodz ghetto. If he went against the wishes of the Nazis, however, his (and his family’s) lives would be at stake.

Rumkowski was an ordinary man. He “had received his position by chance” and “his schooling was equivalent to that of the elementary grades.”<sup>45</sup> Adelson argued, however, that Rumkowski was born to be leader of the Lodz ghetto, because he “was always ready. Without discussion, to carry out orders, even those measures with grave consequences.”<sup>46</sup> Although Rumkowski was not educated, he was a smart man that attempted to find a balance between appeasing the German authorities and keeping the community of Lodz alive. “In the ghetto, other sides of his character also showed themselves; his intense vitality, admirable in a man of 63; his constant vigilance, day and night, for problems to be averted or overcome; his wish to hold power in his hands at all times, willing to surrender none of it to anyone.”<sup>47</sup> Therefore, Rumkowski was an ordinary man that had many flaws, and as the Lodz ghetto transitioned to a Holocaust ghetto, his position became more demanding.

By the end of 1941, much of the Lodz community began to distrust Rumkowski. Dawid Sierakowiak mentioned that Rumkowski had not given the community wood, and the food allocations had shrank.<sup>48</sup> Then, a few days later, Sierakowiak and much of the Lodz community began to distrust Rumkowski, when he noticed that he had “grown fat

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<sup>42</sup> Adelson and Lapides, 51.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 53.

<sup>48</sup> Adelson, Turowski and Langer, 81-82.

and looks incredibly younger.”<sup>49</sup> Instead of aging due to the stress of horrible conditions, and losing weight because of the food shortage, Rumkowski was quite healthy when compared with the rest of the Lodz community. Clearly, Rumkowski was eating plenty, and was somehow living a better life than the Lodz community. Therefore, he was not a part of the community of Lodz, he was simply a dictator. According to Rumkowski, “Dictatorship is not a dirty word. Through dictatorship I earned the Germans’ respect for my work. And whenever they say, ‘Litzmannstadt Ghetto,’ I answer them, ‘*Das ist kein Getto sondern eine Arbeitsstadt*’ [Ger.: ‘This is not a ghetto but a work town’].”<sup>50</sup> Though Rumkowski was in fact a dictator of Lodz, he did not have the respect of the Germans. He was simply another Jew within the ghetto that would ultimately become another victim of the Final Solution.

In September 1942, the Nazis announced that they wanted the children and elderly from Lodz and Rumkowski complied. Rumkowski stated in a speech responding to the order from the Nazis to give up their children and elders, “Yesterday afternoon, they gave me the order to send more than 20,000 Jews out of the ghetto, and if not—‘We will do it!’ . . . I must perform this difficult and bloody operation—I must cut off the limbs in order to save the body itself!”<sup>51</sup> To give up members of their family affected everyone in the ghetto. Although an unethical decision, Rumkowski believed that by giving up 20,000 children and other Jews, the rest of the Lodz community would survive. It is not clear if Rumkowski was aware he was sending the children and elderly to their deaths. The decision to send them was difficult, however, and they were victims nonetheless. In the same speech, Rumkowski stated:

I understand you mothers; I see your tears, all right. I also feel what you feel you feel in your hearts, you fathers who will have to go to work the morning after your children have been taken from you, when just yesterday you were playing with your dear little ones. All this I know and feel. I share your pain. I suffer because of your anguish, and I don’t know how I’ll survive this—where I’ll find the strength to do so. . . A broken Jews stands before you. Do not envy me. This is the most difficult of all orders I’ve ever had to carry out at any time. I reach out to you with my broken, trembling hands and I beg: Give into my hands the victims, so that we can avoid having further victims, and a population of a hundred thousand Jews can be

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 84.

<sup>50</sup> Adelson and Lapidés, 146.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 328-329.

preserved. So they promised me: if we deliver our victims by ourselves, there will be peace...”<sup>52</sup>

The Lodz community had completely broken by this point. The loss of the 20,000 children and elderly Jews broke the community physically and psychologically. Lodz had fully transitioned into a Holocaust ghetto.

Similarly, the Warsaw community had an elder Jew, Adam Czerniaków. The Jewish community was often known as the Jewish council, and in his diary Czerniaków often mentioned that he was a part of the community.<sup>53</sup> Although he often made such claims, Czerniaków is known for his collaboration with the Nazis during his time in Warsaw. He was an important figure in Warsaw, however, his method of survival involved collaborating with the Nazis rather than choosing to revolt, like a majority of those in Warsaw. In other words, Czerniaków worked with the Nazis by giving into their demands. For instance, when the Nazis demanded he send Jews to be deported, he gathered members of the community and sent them to their deaths. Though Czerniaków was the leader of the Warsaw community, he was more of a puppet to the Nazis. Joseph L. Lichten and Ludwik Kryżankowski argued that because of his collaboration with the Nazis, “Czerniaków was a type of Polish Jew about whom many speak with a bad grace, grudgingly, neglecting the historical and psychological background of the person.”<sup>54</sup> The question then arises if Czerniaków was involved with the Jewish community, why did he choose collaboration rather than revolt? Joseph L. Lichten and Ludwik Kryżankowski argued that Czerniaków identified himself as Polish and Jewish, and “for him they constituted a whole.” Furthermore, he was equally devoted to Polish and Jewish matters.<sup>55</sup> For instance, shortly after Germany occupied Poland, Czerniaków had the opportunity to flee despite the pressure from his wife and friends. As a response, Czerniaków stated, “No, you others may leave, for you do not bear the responsibility that I bear. . . I am the only one who must stay to the end. . . Either I stay and survive with my community or die with it.”<sup>56</sup> Czerniaków was devoted to the community in 1939, however, as the conditions of the ghettos worsened and the Nazis became more demanding, the stress overwhelmed him.

In 1942, Czerniaków committed suicide after deportations to Treblinka began, and before the uprising in Warsaw. Lichten and Kryżankowski argued that, “For Czerniaków the liquidation of the

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 330.

<sup>53</sup> Joseph L. Lichten and Ludwik Kryżankowski, “Adam Czerniaków and His Times,” *The Polish Review* 29, no. ½ (1984): 75.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 74.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 76.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 78.

Warsaw Ghetto was a personal blow, the ruin of all his efforts and his work of almost three years. More, it was the defeat of his philosophy of survival.”<sup>57</sup> Czerniaków was psychologically defeated and knew that death was imminent. His collaboration with the Nazis aided in the Final Solution, and further, aided in the extermination of his community. Before committing suicide, he wrote a letter to his wife; and a section of it stated “they demanded from me that I kill with my own hands the children of my people...there is nothing for me to do but die.”<sup>58</sup> Evidence indicates that Czerniaków felt guilty, however, he did not feel guilty about collaboration. He felt guilty that he had sent people from his own community to their deaths. Lichten and Kryżankowski suggest that Czerniaków “suspected that the deportations actually indicated annihilation, thought the hypocritical Germans assured him with their ‘word of honor’ that they were only performing a ‘resettlement’ to another place.”<sup>59</sup> By 1942, however, it was clear Czerniaków was aware that those who were being deported were being sent to their deaths. In a letter he wrote the Council of Warsaw before he committed suicide, he stated:

Werthoff and his associates (the resettlement staff) came to see me and demanded that a transport of children be prepared for tomorrow. This overfills my cup of bitterness for I cannot deliberately deliver defenseless children to death. I decided to leave. Do not treat this as an act of cowardice or an escape. I am powerless, my heart breaks with pain and sorrow I cannot bear this any longer. My deed will show the truth to everyone and perhaps lead to the proper course of action. I realize that I leave you with a heavy heritage.<sup>60</sup>

Mentally, this broke Czerniaków and he could no longer cope with consequences of the decisions he made, and would have to continue to make if he had lived as an elder Jew. After discussions with the Gestapo, Czerniaków took a cyanide pill; this is believed to have been in his desk since the first day of his tenure.<sup>61</sup>

After the Great Liquidation in the Warsaw ghetto, many realized that a strong, organized resistance group was necessary in order to survive. By 1942, the community realized that Jews taken from the ghetto were being deported to extermination camps, such as Treblinka,

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 88.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 89.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 88.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 89.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 88.



rather than labor camps. As the people of Warsaw became aware that Jews were being exterminated in concentration camps, they realized that larger acts of resistance were necessary. Rueben Ainsztein noted:

Perle, another chronicler of the Great Liquidation, who wrote October 1942, 'We could have defended ourselves and resisted the slaughter. If all the Jews had left their houses, if all the Jews had broken through the walls, if they had invaded all the streets of Warsaw, both the Jewish and non-Jewish streets, shouting, with axes, stones, and choppers in their hands, then 10,000, 20,000 of them would have been shot down—but 300,000 could not have been gunned down at once. We should have died with honor. Those who survived would have scattered all over the country, in all the townlets and in all the villages. The Nazi murderer would not have found it so easy to exterminate us.'<sup>62</sup>

Soon after, the Jewish Fighting Organization (Żydowski Organizacja Bojowa or ŻOB) and the Jewish National Committee (Żydowski Komitet Narodowy or ŻKN) were formed.<sup>63</sup> The resistance groups received help from other groups outside the ghetto and they signified the realization that single acts of resistance did little to increase the chance of survival. Much of the funding for the resistance groups was from wealthy Jews, which allowed them to obtain weapons for an armed resistance.<sup>64</sup> After 1942, the uprising was primarily fueled by the will to survive. Many Jews who participated believed that if they did not resist, they would be deported to an extermination camp or die within the ghettos. A resistance fighter in Warsaw stated, "These actions weren't exactly my pride and joy. Naturally, I preferred to work against the Germans, but circumstances dictated our methods. . . 'Taking care of' those who denounced and turned Jews in was not to my liking either. But did we have a choice?"<sup>65</sup> Nazis and Jews were both killed during the uprising, and in the end, the Jews failed. Ultimately, many resisted in order to avoid extermination in the concentration camps or a slow death within the ghetto walls themselves. More importantly, the resistance signified the strength of the Jewish community to unite and their will to survive.

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<sup>62</sup> Rueben Ainsztein, *The Warsaw Ghetto Revolt*, (New York: Holocaust Library, 1979), 58.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 60.

<sup>64</sup> Imha Rotem (Kazilk), *Memoirs of a Warsaw Ghetto Fighter* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 25.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

Although the community of Lodz did not carry out an armed resistance, they did resist with other methods. Similar to that of Warsaw, in 1942, many Jews within Lodz realized that the ghettos were being used as an extermination tool, and to be deported was to be sent to one's death. On September 5, 1942, Jozef Zelkowicz wrote, "on Rybna Street the police have to take people out of their apartments. There they are encountering resistance... And what strength the ghetto people have. After three years of hunger, after three years of bitter enslavement, they still endure such days as this one."<sup>66</sup> Refusing to obey the commands of the Nazis and trying to escape were the main forms of resistance in Lodz. Not many people of Lodz resisted, because it was believed that if they worked hard and were productive, the Nazis would let them live longer. This plan worked to a certain extent; "The factories bought time for tens of thousands, but the Jews were playing a pre-determined game in which the out-come was always under German control."<sup>67</sup> Ultimately, there was no organized armed resistance, like in Warsaw. Rather, there were individual forms of resistance primarily, because there was little contact with those outside the ghetto in Lodz, hence, they did not receive much aid. Isaiah Trunk argued that "This absolute isolation from the outside world and the awareness of powerlessness were not conducive to creating a combative mood inside the Ghetto."<sup>68</sup> Moreover, the people of Lodz believed that if the community remained together, strong, and continued to be productive, they would survive. The mentality for an armed resistance did not exist, but a mentality of resistance in a general sense did.

In the final years of the ghettos (1943-1944) the Nazis began the final liquidation process. Most of the Jew which remained in the ghettos were sent to concentration camps. In Lodz, between "December 1943 and January 1944 tens of thousands were deported from there to their deaths" and there were only 80,000 Jews left in Lodz in May 1944.<sup>69</sup> On August 2, 1944 Rumkowski posted an announcement in the ghetto that declared 5,000 "evacuees" must report daily to the Radogoszcz station and the first transport left at 8:00 AM.<sup>70</sup> Thus, by 1943, those who survived the epidemics, starvation, and the executions were being liquidated and sent to die at the extermination camps. In Warsaw, a year earlier, the final attempts of liquidation occurred and they were either killed on the spot or sent to die at the extermination camps. In January

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<sup>66</sup> Adelson and Lapidés, 342.

<sup>67</sup> Raul Hilberg, "The Ghetto as a Form of Government," *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science* 450, (1980): 103.

<sup>68</sup> Isaiah Trunk, "Why Was There No Armed Resistance Against the Nazis in the Lodz Ghetto?" *Jewish Social Sciences* 43, no. 3/4 (1981): 329.

<sup>69</sup> Adelson and Lapidés, 412.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 440.

1943, 40,000 Jews were left in Warsaw and on January 18 the Nazis began their second “extermination operation.”<sup>71</sup>

Ultimately, ghettoization began as a process of creating a “Jewish absence” in the cities. By 1939, Nazis created a plan to expel Jews from the “German Empire.” Thus, at the same time, this created a “Jewish absence” and a “Jewish presence.” The latter was located within the walls of the Jewish ghettos. Essentially, the ghettos became a city within a city. In both Lodz and Warsaw, the people began to unite and form a community. They would play cards, have small gatherings in homes, and watch performances. The community looked out for one another, and just as in the Warsaw ghetto, groups, such as the House Committee, were formed and gave aid to those who needed it.

Ultimately, the formation of a community within the ghettos united the Jews, and for many, the creation of a community resulted in a stronger will to survive. This fueled many of the forms of resistance in the ghettos. Resistance within the ghettos was common as Jews began to recognize the destruction of their community. The people of Lodz chose smaller acts of resistance, such as disobedience, rather than armed resistance like in Warsaw. There was no one type of resistance within the ghettos and those who chose to act against the Nazis and assert their right to live resisted. However, with the swarming epidemics, constant threat of starvation, the executions, random shootings, cramped living quarters, and poor conditions in the Lodz and Warsaw ghettos, the number of daily deaths increased and thousands died within the walls. The rising number of deaths within the ghettos marked the transition to “Holocaust ghettos.” Within a “Holocaust ghetto,” death was imminent and there was no sense of a community. By 1943, the liquidation process had begun and thousands more were deported to concentration camps and killed. The communities that once existed within the walls were completely destroyed and death loomed over the people of Lodz and Warsaw. Thus, the ghettos had transitioned into “Holocaust ghettos” and became another tool used in the Final Solution.

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<sup>71</sup> Sloan, 358.

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**Author Bio**

Rebecca A. Parraz is a recent graduate of California State University, San Bernardino and completed a B.A. in History during the fall quarter of 2013. Currently, she is working on her M.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton and is expecting her first child in August 2014, a boy to be named Gabriel. At CSUF, Rebecca plans to further her studies on the Holocaust and Nazi Germany. She began her pursuit for a higher education at Mt. San Jacinto College where she earned an AA in Liberal Arts with an emphasis on Social and Behavioral Sciences, and an AA in Liberal Arts with an emphasis on Humanities. After Rebecca obtains her teaching credentials, she plans to teach history on a secondary education level and one day plans to teach classes about the Holocaust at two year colleges. Rebecca wants to thank everyone who supported her, especially Dr. Pytell, who inspired her to reexamine and question history, as well as encouraged her to continue working in Holocaust Studies.



## **The Role of the Prison-Industrial Complex in Demilitarization, Corporate Outsourcing, & Immigration Policy**

By Shellie Anna Shimmel

*Abstract: The traditional system of justice in the United States, based on the goals of retribution, incapacitation, rehabilitation, deterrence, and restitution, has been replaced with a corporate model of mass punishment based on profits, expediency, and the exploitation of free labor. This corporation is known as the “Prison-Industrial Complex” (“PIC”), and is made up of an enormous, interweaving system of correctional institutions, profit-driven corporations, and politicians. Some question whether the builders of the Prison-Industrial Complex could have predicted the outcome of their actions, but in fact their actions were orchestrated to produce certain results. Corporate executives and politicians are well educated and intelligent people. The Prison-Industrial Complex did not just happen by chance, but was planned out. The goal of the PIC is not the social good of imprisoning the minimum number of inmates possible for the least amount of time necessary to maintain public safety, deter crime, and rehabilitate offenders. Rather, the PIC profits from having as many prisoners as possible, incarcerating them long-term, providing little-to-no rehabilitation services, and caring for them as cheaply as possible. Our criminal justice system has been hijacked to increase the wealth and power of politicians and corporations, as well as to replace low-to mid-range jobs lost to military downsizing and corporate outsourcing.*

### **The Current Crisis**

The United States currently has the largest prison system in the world, and incarcerates more of its own people than China, and even Russia.<sup>1</sup> Roughly 1,000 new jails and prisons have been built across the U.S. over the past few decades, including almost two dozen in California, but the U.S. correctional system is more overcrowded today than it was when the building spree first began.<sup>2</sup> The prison system in California has been kept packed to the rafters with inmates since the 1990s, incarcerating

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<sup>1</sup> See Figure 1.

<sup>2</sup> Eric Schlosser, “The Prison-Industrial Complex,” *The Atlantic Monthly*, accessed June 20, 2012, [www.theatlantic.com/doc/prem/199812/prisons](http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/prem/199812/prisons).

almost 175,000 inmates at its peak in 2006, and is the most overcrowded prison system in the U.S.<sup>3</sup>

In studying overcrowding in California's prison system, the Criminal Justice Center at Stanford Law School found that "California's prison population has grown from 20,028 in 1975 to 167,264 in 2010 (an increase of approximately 735%). During that same time period, California's overall population grew from 21,537,000 to 36,961,664 (an increase of roughly 72%)."<sup>4</sup> As a result, the California Department of Corrections is now one of the state's largest employers with 33 state prisons, and 33,000 employees.<sup>5</sup> Likewise, the California Correctional Peace Officers Association is now the largest and most powerful labor union not only in California, but also in the entire United States.<sup>6</sup>

The cost of supporting the massive growth in California's prison system is at the expense of higher education. It costs California taxpayers approximately \$10 billion dollars annually to support the Prison-Industrial Complex, and since funding for both the state prison system and the state university system comes from the same General Fund, funding for higher education has been cut to help pay for more prisons.<sup>7</sup> According to former California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger, prison spending has increased over the past 30 years from 3% of the General Fund to 11%. During the same time period, spending for higher education was reduced from 10% to 7.5% with students having to make up the difference in the form of record tuition increases. In a speech made in January 2010, the former governor also said, "Spending 45% more on prisons than universities is no way to proceed into the future."<sup>8</sup>

With regard to the effects of prison overcrowding, several lawsuits for civil rights violations have been brought by California inmates in recent years citing cruel and unusual punishment due to the

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<sup>3</sup> Joseph M. Hayes, "Just the Facts: California's Changing Prison Population," Public Policy Institute of California, accessed May 14, 2012, [www.ppic.org/main/publication\\_show.asp?i=702](http://www.ppic.org/main/publication_show.asp?i=702).

<sup>4</sup> Stanford Law School Criminal Justice Center, "California Corrections Facts and Figures," accessed May 3, 2012, [www.law.stanford.edu/display/images/dynamic/events\\_media/CaliforniaCorrectionsOverview.pdf](http://www.law.stanford.edu/display/images/dynamic/events_media/CaliforniaCorrectionsOverview.pdf).

<sup>5</sup> National Public Radio, "California Budget Held Captive by State Prisons," accessed June 9, 2012, [www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=106606909](http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=106606909).

<sup>6</sup> UC Berkeley Institute of Governmental Studies, "California Correctional Peace Officers Association," accessed May 9, 2012, [www.igs.berkeley.edu/library/research/quickhelp/policy/social/ca\\_prison\\_union.html](http://www.igs.berkeley.edu/library/research/quickhelp/policy/social/ca_prison_union.html).

<sup>7</sup> National Public Radio.

<sup>8</sup> Derrick Z. Jackson, "Common Sense on Prison and Education Funds," *The Boston Globe*, accessed May 26, 2012, [www.boston.com/bostonglobe/editorial\\_opinion/oped/articles](http://www.boston.com/bostonglobe/editorial_opinion/oped/articles).



severe overcrowding. One of these cases, *Brown, et al. v. Plata, et al.* (2011) was appealed all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court by the PIC, which refused to comply with orders from the lower courts. It required a ten-year legal battle, and repeated intervention by the U.S. Supreme Court, to force the PIC to start the process of releasing inmates to ease the inhumane overcrowding. After sending investigators, the Court was shocked to discover, among other things, that prisoners were being held in cages the size of telephone booths, the state was routinely failing to provide at least minimal health care to inmates, and that 15-20 inmates were forced to share a single toilet. In order to restore the prison system to compliance with the Eighth Amendment, the Court ordered that the prison population, which was at over 200% of design capacity, be reduced to 137.5% of design capacity within 2 years.<sup>9</sup>

In response to the U.S. Supreme Court's order, California Governor Jerry Brown signed AB 109 and AB 117 in early 2012. These bills ordered that low-level, non-violent inmates be transferred from the state prison system to county jails. Being that California's jails were also suffering the plight of severe overcrowding, the state soon began releasing inmates from custody altogether, and putting them on probation instead.

Why did the PIC fight so hard for so long to hold onto the people in its custody? The reason is because not only does the PIC provide desperately needed jobs for correctional officers and prison staff, as well as economic support to their local communities, but it also provides prison labor to dozens of large U.S. corporations. Labor formerly performed by unionized U.S. citizens is now performed by convicts in U.S. prisons instead.<sup>10</sup>

Slavery was officially abolished in the U.S. with the passage of the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment in 1865. California's State Constitution, Article 1, § 6,<sup>11</sup> like all other U.S. states, has an exception to abolition in the form of penal servitude, however. Every state in the U.S. currently takes advantage of this exception by owning and operating prison industries.<sup>12</sup> Eve Goldberg and Linda Evans, prisoners at the Federal Correctional Institution in Dublin, California wrote:

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<sup>9</sup> *Brown, Governor of California, et al. vs. Plata, et al.*, Appeal for the United States District Courts for the Eastern and Northern District of California, no. 09-1233, argued November 30, 2010 - decided May 23, 2011.

<sup>10</sup> Tracy F.H. Chang & Douglas E. Thompson, "Corporations Go to Prisons: The Expansion of Corporate Power in the Correctional Industry," *Labor Studies Journal* 27, no. 1 (2002): 45-69.

<sup>11</sup> California State Constitution, accessed May 12, 2012, [http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/.const/.article\\_1](http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/.const/.article_1)

<sup>12</sup> Chang & Thompson, 45-69.

For private business, prison labor is like a pot of gold. No strikes. No union organizing. No health benefits, unemployment insurance, or worker's compensation to pay. No language barriers, as in foreign countries. New leviathan prisons are being built on thousands of eerie acres with factories inside the walls. Prisoners do data entry for Chevron, make telephone reservations for TWA, raise hogs, shovel manure, make circuit boards, limousines, water beds, and lingerie for Victoria's Secret – all at a fraction of the cost of 'free labor.'<sup>13</sup>

Other U.S. corporations, such as: Microsoft, Motorola, Texas Instruments, Honeywell, Boeing, IBM, and Revlon, also take advantage of prison labor.<sup>14</sup> Many of the empty factories and office buildings now common on the U.S. landscape are a result of the shift to prison industries.

## **Background**

How did all this happen? Let us take a look at some recent history. Former U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower warned us in his famous 1961 speech, *Farewell Address to the Nation*, against creating a "Military-Industrial Complex." He feared the growing fusion between corporations and the armed forces posed a serious threat to democracy.<sup>15</sup> President Eisenhower explained that the rivalry between the U.S. and the former Soviet Union during the years following World War II (the "Cold War" era) "compelled the United States to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions." As a result, he said, "We annually spend on military security alone more than the net income of all United States corporations combined." He further warned, "The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist. We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes." The U.S. government, however, paid no heed to these warnings and built an enormous war industry anyway. C. Wright Mills described it as being "a coalition of generals in the roles of corporation

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<sup>13</sup> Angela Davis, "Masked Racism: Reflections on the Prison- Industrial Complex," ColorLines News for Action, accessed June 19, 2012, [http://colorlines.com/archives/1998/09/masked\\_racism\\_reflections\\_on\\_the\\_prison\\_industrial\\_complex.html](http://colorlines.com/archives/1998/09/masked_racism_reflections_on_the_prison_industrial_complex.html).

<sup>14</sup> Chang & Thompson, 45-69.

<sup>15</sup> James Kurth, "Military-Industrial Complex," in *The Oxford Companion to American Military History*, ed. John Whiteclay Chambers II (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 440-42.

executives, of politicians masquerading as admirals, of corporation executives acting like politicians.”<sup>16</sup>

After the end of the Cold War in the late 1980s, continued financial support for the Military-Industrial Complex became difficult to justify politically. At this point, the government began downsizing the Armed Forces by closing several military bases. California was hit hardest, shouldering the loss of almost 100,000 military and civilian jobs within the Department of Defense, and suffering 53.8% of the military cuts for the entire country.<sup>17</sup>

The Prison-Industrial Complex soon replaced the Military-Industrial Complex,<sup>18</sup> and several events were coordinated to facilitate this transition. The drug laws signed in 1973 by former New York State Governor Nelson Rockefeller are the starting point of the PIC. They established strict mandatory prison terms for the possession or sale of illegal narcotics based on the drug’s weight. The U.S. prison population quickly began to skyrocket as a result.<sup>19</sup>

Former U.S. President Ronald Reagan continued the movement by declaring a “War on Drugs” and appointing a “Drug Czar” to oversee the battle. The passage of President Reagan’s Anti-Drug Abuse Acts of 1986 and 1988 established much tougher mandatory prison sentencing for crack cocaine versus powdered cocaine. Crack cocaine is used primarily in lower class African American and Latino communities, while powdered cocaine is more prevalent among middle to upper class Whites. Therefore, these biased laws worked to ensure an overrepresentation of lower class African Americans and Latinos in the prison population, and helped drive the most massive wave of imprisonment in United States history.<sup>20</sup>

Largely as a result of these racially biased laws, African Americans comprised 46% of the prison population at the national level in 2001 while only comprising 12% of the total U.S. population.<sup>21</sup> In 2008, California’s prison population was 29% African American<sup>22</sup> even

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<sup>16</sup> Andrew J. Bacevich, “The Tyranny of Defense Inc.,” *The Atlantic Monthly*, accessed February 28, 2014, <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2011/01/the-tyranny-of-defense-inc/308342/2>.

<sup>17</sup> Michael Freedman and Tim Ransdell, “California Institute Special Report: California’s Past Base Closure Experiences and the 2005 BRAC Round.” California Institute for Federal Policy Research, accessed July 2, 2012, [www.calinst.org/defense/base1a.pdf](http://www.calinst.org/defense/base1a.pdf).

<sup>18</sup> Davis.

<sup>19</sup> See Figure 2.

<sup>20</sup> Chang & Thompson, 45-69.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> California Department of Corrections & Rehabilitation, “California Prisoners and Parolees 2009; Summary Statistics on Adult Felon Prisoners and Parolees,

though African Americans comprised only 6.6% of the total population in California.<sup>23</sup> Nationally, African Americans were incarcerated at five times the rate of Whites, and Latinos were incarcerated at three times the rate of Whites.<sup>24</sup>

Additionally, an estimated 60-80% of prison inmates in the U.S. have substance abuse problems. Since the PIC profits from recidivism, however, drug treatment programs have been cut by more than half since 1993. This has turned California's prison system into a revolving door for "poor, highly dysfunctional, and often illiterate drug abusers."<sup>25</sup>

While the U.S. government was downsizing the Military-Industrial Complex in the late 1980s to mid-1990s,<sup>26</sup> the U.S. corporations had already begun downsizing by outsourcing manufacturing jobs to Third World countries. Nationally, 5.3 million manufacturing jobs were lost from 1979 through 2007. U.S. corporations have created windfall profits for themselves by exploiting cheap labor, including child and prison labor, in foreign countries such as China, Mexico, and India.<sup>27</sup>

Manufacturing was the mainstay industry for blue collar workers in the U.S., a disproportionate number of whom were African American. Many workers who were laid off due to corporate outsourcing resorted to selling drugs, particularly crack cocaine, because it was inexpensive to make, in order to provide for their families. This led to the now-infamous "Crack Wars" of the 1980s.<sup>28</sup>

African Americans and Latinos, the segments of the U.S. population hit hardest by manufacturing outsourcing,<sup>29</sup> were then used for political and corporate profit by the PIC. These people were the intended targets of President Reagan's anti-drug legislation which was created by politicians in cooperation with corporate executives to further

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Civil Narcotic Addicts, and Outpatients," Offender Information Services Branch, Sacramento, accessed May 3, 2012, [www.cdcr.ca.gov/Reports\\_Research/Offender\\_Information\\_Services\\_Branch/Annual/CalPris/CALPRISd2009.pdf](http://www.cdcr.ca.gov/Reports_Research/Offender_Information_Services_Branch/Annual/CalPris/CALPRISd2009.pdf).

<sup>23</sup> United States Census, 2011, accessed May 12, 2012, [www.quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/06000.html](http://www.quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/06000.html).

<sup>24</sup> Chang & Thompson, 45-69.

<sup>25</sup> Schlosser.

<sup>26</sup> Freedman & Ransdell.

<sup>27</sup> James H. Johnson, Jr. et al., "Economic Globalization and the Future of Black America," *Journal of Black Studies* 38, no. 6 (2008): 883-899.

<sup>28</sup> Craig Reinerman & Harry G. Levine, "Crack in the Rearview Mirror: Deconstructing Drug War Mythology," *Social Justice* 31, no. 1/2 (2004): 182-199.

<sup>29</sup> Johnson, Jr. et al., 883-899.

the expansion of the PIC.<sup>30</sup> This racist repression and exploitation eroded the legitimacy of the U.S. criminal justice system.<sup>31</sup>

In order to continue the expansion of its prison-for-profit empire, the PIC launched the “Tough on Crime” movement in the early 1990s. They utilized a media campaign of scare tactics to frighten voters into passing harsh new state legislation. Their use of inaccurate inmate stereotypes in disturbing political ads, as well as the politicizing of the disturbing Polly Klaas child abduction and murder case in Sonoma County, California in 1993, caused Californians to believe that harsher prison sentences were needed in order to keep the public safe from predatory career criminals.<sup>32</sup>

By this time, the PIC was showing significant profits, and small companies such as Wackenhut and the Correctional Corporation of America (CCA) were turned into mega-corporations.<sup>33</sup> With money comes power, and the PIC obtained enough to send lobbyists to Washington, D.C. to lobby for stricter laws to keep those already behind bars in prison for longer periods of time, and to increase the penalties for recidivism.<sup>34</sup> These new laws condemned millions of Americans, mostly poor African Americans and Latinos,<sup>35</sup> to longer prison terms with the passage of the “Truth in Sentencing” and “Three Strikes” laws in 1994.<sup>36</sup>

The “Truth in Sentencing” Law requires that prison inmates serve a minimum of 85% of their sentence before becoming eligible for parole. Time off for good behavior (“good time credits”), work furloughs, halfway houses, and even the model of rehabilitation itself became a thing of the past. The “Three Strikes” Law, before it was later modified by the U.S. Supreme Court, mandated a 25-years-to-life prison sentence for any third offense, even something as minor as stealing food, which resulted in “third strikers” receiving life sentences for petty theft or drug abuse.<sup>37</sup> The debate continues over Three Strikes being an

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<sup>30</sup> Chang & Thompson, 45-69.

<sup>31</sup> Reinerman & Levine, 182-199.

<sup>32</sup> Public Broadcasting System, “The Legacy: Murder & Media, Politics & Prisons,” accessed March 4, 2012, [www.pbs.org/pov/thelegacy/film\\_description.php](http://www.pbs.org/pov/thelegacy/film_description.php).

<sup>33</sup> Chang & Thompson, 45-69.

<sup>34</sup> Tanya Golash-Boza, “The Immigration Industrial Complex: Why We Enforce Immigration Policies Destined to Fail,” *Sociology Compass* 3, no. 2 (2009): 295-309.

<sup>35</sup> Chang & Thompson, 45-69.

<sup>36</sup> National Public Radio.

<sup>37</sup> Schlosser.

effective crime deterrent, and whether it was responsible for the subsequent drop in crime rates in the late 1990s.<sup>38</sup>

Additionally, former President Bill Clinton did his part to keep the PIC's empire growing by advocating for, and signing, the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994. This act created new federal crimes, and mandated even more severe prison sentencing. It also budgeted \$30 billion dollars to hire more police officers, and to build more prisons.<sup>39</sup>

### **The Major Player**

The PIC's largest corporation, the Correctional Corporation of America (CCA), is headquartered in Nashville, Tennessee. It was co-founded by Thomas W. Beasley, the former chairman of the Tennessee State Republican Party. Mr. Beasley's political connections gave CCA the positioning it needed to aggressively lobby for lucrative government contracts. Several high-ranking state government officials own stock in CCA, giving state government leaders a financial incentive to imprison their own citizens.<sup>40</sup>

As of 2012, CCA had custody of approximately 80,000 prisoners in 64 facilities across the United States, and has profited so greatly from political cronyism, the "War on Drugs," and massive new legislation they have expanded globally. CCA now provides full management services for prisons in countries such as Puerto Rico, Venezuela, the U.K., France, Australia, and South Africa. They openly market prison building as a way to replace lost manufacturing jobs, and to create economic development in impoverished rural areas. Additionally, there are more than 1,000 private vendors profiting from the PIC, providing everything from food to toilet paper.<sup>41</sup>

### **Immigration Profits the PIC**

Stricter laws created and support the Prison-Industrial Complex, and today immigration does as well. With the build-up of the Military-Industrial Complex during the Cold War, the enemies were the

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<sup>38</sup> Mike Males, et al., "Striking Out: The Failure of California's 'Three Strikes and You're Out' Law," Justice Policy Institute, accessed May 9, 2012, [www.cjcj.org/files/strikingout.pdf](http://www.cjcj.org/files/strikingout.pdf).

<sup>39</sup> Chang & Thompson, 45-69.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 50.

<sup>41</sup> Corrections Corporation of America, "Facilities," accessed June 19, 2012, <http://www.correctionscorp.com>.

Communists. During the expansion of the Prison-Industrial Complex in the 1990s, the enemies were criminals; mostly lower class African American and Latino males with substance abuse problems.<sup>42</sup> Today, with the construction of the Immigration-Industrial Complex, the enemies are undocumented immigrants who are criminalized by being labeled “illegal aliens,” and have been described in the media as freeloaders, predatory villains, drug traffickers, and even terrorists.<sup>43</sup> For all three of these industries, the creation of an enemy of the state, or as sociologists call it, “other-ization,” was necessary to garner popular support for massive government spending of taxpayer dollars under the guise of safeguarding the nation. This tactic provides huge money-making opportunities for politicians and the corporations they do business with, such as MCI, Lockheed Martin, Unisys, and not surprisingly, Halliburton.<sup>44</sup>

Shortly after the attacks of September 11, 2001, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) was renamed Immigration & Customs Enforcement (ICE), and was placed under the newly-created Department of Homeland Security (DHS). It was at this point the U.S. government made immigration an issue of national security and began criminalizing undocumented immigrants. Soon media commentators such as Lou Dobbs, Glenn Beck, and Bill O'Reilly were sounding the alarm that our country was being “over-run” by “hordes of invaders” carrying out the “*reconquista*” of the American Southwest.<sup>45</sup> Also, during this time, many Americans found undocumented immigrants to be appropriate scapegoats for our current economic troubles, blamed them for taking jobs from Americans, and causing wage deflation.<sup>46</sup>

In order to fight off the invasion by these newly-defined enemies of the state, the budget for U.S. Customs and Border Patrol was nearly doubled from \$5.8 billion in 2003 to \$10.1 billion in 2008. Similarly, the budget for ICE was increased from \$3.2 billion in 2003 to \$5 billion in 2008. The budget for ICE alone in 2008 was double what the entire INS budget was in 1996. These massive budget increases, however, have not

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<sup>42</sup> Schlosser.

<sup>43</sup> Leo R. Chavez, “The Minuteman Project’s Spectacle of Surveillance on the Arizona-Mexico Border,” in *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 132-151.

<sup>44</sup> Tanya Golash-Boza, “A Confluence of Interests in Immigration Enforcement: How Politicians, the Media, and Corporations Profit from Immigration Policies Destined to Fail,” *Sociology Compass* 3, no.2 (2009): 283-294.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 285.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 289.

resulted in a decrease in the population of undocumented immigrants in the U.S.<sup>47</sup>

As of 2009, the number of undocumented immigrants in this country totaled over 12 million (that we know of), and Congress has failed to pass effective immigration reform to deal with them because of the profits being made from detaining them.<sup>48</sup> Almost 300,000 people are currently being held in immigrant detention centers in the U.S.,<sup>49</sup> and the California state prison at Lompoc is now entirely devoted to the detention of undocumented immigrants.

In addition to immigrant detention centers run by the states, some are run by ICE and others by private corporations such as CCA, which won its first government contract to build an immigrant detention center in Houston in 1984. CCA later saw its annual revenue increase from \$50 million in the early 1990s to \$462 million in 1997. It was at this point CCA began building speculative prisons – excess prison space for inmates who did not yet exist. Their expectation was that the harsh new crime laws, such as “Three Strikes,” would provide a steady stream of warm bodies in the years to come.<sup>50</sup>

Prison incarceration rates, however, began to level off a few years later. By 2000, CCA was left with 8,500 empty prison beds, and over \$1 billion dollars of debt. Teetering on bankruptcy, their saving grace was the U.S. government’s criminalization of immigration after 9/11. CCA was able to use federal lobbying to gain more government contracts, and soon their empty prisons were filled with thousands of newly apprehended undocumented immigrants.<sup>51</sup>

To be specific, CCA’s lobbying expenses skyrocketed from \$410,000 in 2000 to \$3 million in 2004, and this spending in Washington was effective for not only filling their empty beds, but also for gaining new contracts to build even more prisons. In 2007, CCA spent \$2.5 million lobbying on legislation and regulations related to the private prison industry, and in 2008 they built a new 3000-bed detention facility in San Diego, California. CCA and their prison-for-profit competitor Wackenhut are paid about \$100 per day by the DHS for each detainee in their custody, and now continue to show annual revenue increases. Not

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<sup>47</sup> Golash-Boza, “The Immigration Industrial Complex: Why We Enforce Immigration Policies Destined to Fail,” 295-309.

<sup>48</sup> Chang & Thompson, 45-69.

<sup>49</sup> Aarti Kohli, et al., “Secure Communities by the Numbers: An Analysis of Demographics and Due Process,” The Chief Justice Earl Warren Institute on Law and Social Policy, October, 2011, unknown access date, [https://www.law.berkeley.edu/files/Secure\\_Communities\\_by\\_the\\_Numbers.pdf](https://www.law.berkeley.edu/files/Secure_Communities_by_the_Numbers.pdf).

<sup>50</sup> Golash-Boza, “A Confluence of Interests in Immigration Enforcement: How Politicians, the Media, and Corporations Profit from Immigration Policies Destined to Fail,” 283-294.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 290.



only has lobbying Washington greatly benefitted CCA, but their political connections have as well. The former head of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, J. Michael Quinlan, is one of CCA's top executives.<sup>52</sup>

In a related study conducted by UC Berkeley Law School in 2011, it was found the U.S. immigration system processes people into detention facilities very quickly without giving them the opportunity to legally challenge their detention and/or deportation. It was also discovered a large number of the people in immigration detention should never have been taken into custody. For example, approximately 3,600 U.S. citizens have been held in ICE detention for undocumented periods of time, and in secretive conditions, from the inception of the agency through 2010.<sup>53</sup>

Further, profiling is suggested by the over-representation of young Latino males in immigration detention. Latinos comprise 93% of the individuals arrested for undocumented status although they comprise only 77% of the undocumented population in the United States.<sup>54</sup> Also, little is known about what happens to people once they are booked into ICE detention centers, or privately-run immigrant detention facilities, as authorities do very little record keeping regarding the duration of immigrant detentions, what is done with immigrants while in detention, or even why immigrants are in detention in the first place.<sup>55</sup>

Unlike criminal defendants, immigration detainees are not afforded the basic procedural protections and transparency that comes with U.S. criminal proceedings. They are denied access to attorneys, many are denied bail due to harsh mandatory detention laws, and they do not have the right to trial in the venue where they were arrested, but rather are routinely transferred thousands of miles away to remote detention facilities in far off jurisdictions. Many detainees have been transferred numerous times among various facilities, and this has had devastating effects on their families.<sup>56</sup> In addition, ICE fails to follow its own risk-based policies and guidelines when determining whether or not someone should be detained; instead choosing to arbitrarily detain people for unspecified periods of time.<sup>57</sup> This constitutes a total lack of due process, and provides unlimited fodder for the Immigration-Industrial Complex.

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 290-91.

<sup>53</sup> Kohli, et al.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 4-6.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 9.

## **Conclusion**

In understanding the creation and interconnectedness of these three huge industries, it becomes clear there must have been some grand design for the predicament the U.S. criminal justice system finds itself in today. Motivated by desire for financial and political gain, powerful U.S. politicians have created structural inequalities in our social and justice systems to marginalize the poor, the non-white, and the non-citizen.<sup>58</sup> These politicians, along with corporate executives, have built fiefdoms for themselves off the profits of processing these marginalized people through the Prison-Industrial Complex<sup>59</sup> and the Immigration-Industrial Complex.<sup>60</sup> They have also been willing to routinely violate the civil and constitutional rights of American citizens by subjecting our prison inmates to torturous living conditions on a daily basis to maximize their profits.<sup>61</sup>

Additionally, it required repeated intervention by the U.S. Supreme Court over a period of ten years to force the PIC to begin the process of bringing our state prison system back into U.S. Constitutional compliance.<sup>62</sup> Hopefully, the action taken by the Court, combined with California's current economic struggles (of which the PIC is largely responsible), will force the PIC to restore our prison system to its proper and intended purpose, rather than continuing to use it as a means to exploit the poor and enrich themselves.

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<sup>58</sup> Golash-Boza, "A Confluence of Interests in Immigration Enforcement: How Politicians, the Media, and Corporations Profit from Immigration Policies Destined to Fail," 283-294.

<sup>59</sup> Schlosser.

<sup>60</sup> Golash-Boza, "A Confluence of Interests in Immigration Enforcement: How Politicians, the Media, and Corporations Profit from Immigration Policies Destined to Fail," 283-294.

<sup>61</sup> *Brown, Governor of California, et al. vs. Plata, et al.*

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

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Figure 1: "Prison Populations by Country." International Centre for Prison Studies. 2006.

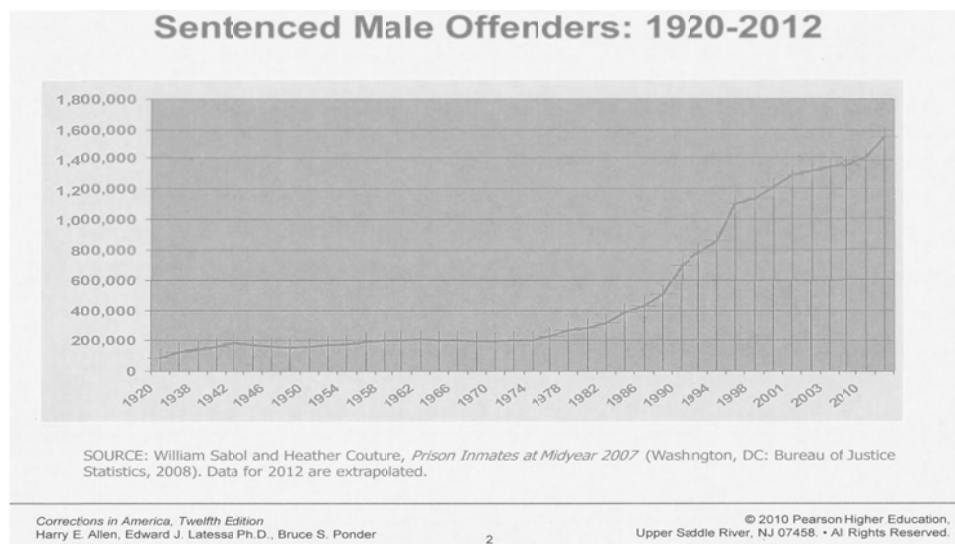


Figure 2: "Sentenced Male Offenders:1920-2012"

| <b>Race:</b>  | <b>1974</b> | <b>1991</b> | <b>2001</b> |
|---------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| White Male    | 2.2%        | 4.4%        | 5.9%        |
| White Female  | 0.2%        | 0.5%        | 0.9%        |
| Black Male    | 13.4%       | 29.4%       | 32.3%       |
| Black Female  | 1.1%        | 3.6%        | 5.6%        |
| Latino Male   | 4.0%        | 11.1%       | 17.2%       |
| Latino Female | 0.4%        | 1.5%        | 2.2%        |

Figure 3: T.P. Bonczar. "Prevalence of Imprisonment in the U.S. Population, 1974-2001." Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics. 2003.

**Author Bio**

Shellie Shimmel earned her bachelor's degree in Criminal Justice from California State University, San Bernardino in 2012, and will graduate from CSUSB in 2014 with a second bachelor's degree in Psychology. Ms. Shimmel is currently serving an internship through the CSUSB Psychology Department where she works with inner-city at-risk youth in an afterschool theatre arts and music program, and is enjoying learning more about the African American community. She plans to enter graduate school at CSUSB in Fall 2014 to earn a Master of Science in Clinical Counseling Psychology. Her long-term goal is to become a licensed Marriage & Family Therapist, and to work with crime victims, veterans with post-traumatic stress disorder, and their families. Ms. Shimmel lives in San Bernardino, California with her Chihuahua Lupe Lou, and hopes this article will help bring about much-needed reform in our criminal justice system.





## Iranian Receptivity to CIA Propaganda in 1953

By Alex Ponce

*Abstract: In 1953, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), together with the British Secret Intelligence Service (MI6), organized a coup to overthrow the democratically elected Prime Minister Mohammad Mossadeq (1882-1967). While much has been written about the coup, little attention has been given to the U.S. propaganda that preceded the operation. From 1950 to 1953, the U.S. launched a series of propaganda campaigns in Iran. Drawing from U.S.-Iranian correspondences, memoirs, journal articles, and secondary sources, this paper seeks to shed light on the U.S. and CIA perceptions of Iranian receptivity to propaganda from 1950 to 1953. What did CIA officials like Kermit Roosevelt and Donald Wilber learn from this coup and why did they consider it a success? What were Henry F. Grady's perceptions of the effects these propaganda tactics would create and why were they ignored or silenced? Going beyond our understanding of the coup and the reasons for why it was carried out, this research will deepen and enrich our knowledge of U.S. interventionist policies and the blowback that can come as a result of those policies.*

### Part 1 – Introduction and Historical Context

In 1948, the Iranian parliament rejected a Russian oil concession in northern Iran.<sup>1</sup> The National Front, the party to which Mohammad Mosaddeq belonged, and representatives who sympathized with the British were worried about Russian influence in Iran and they were the major opponents of the concession.<sup>2</sup> Not to be outdone, the representatives who sympathized with Russia's effort for an oil concession called for a bill to terminate the 1933 oil contract between Britain and Iran. While the proposal was immediately rejected by British sympathizers, Mossadeq and the National Front only opposed the bill at first.<sup>3</sup> In 1949, however, Mossadeq and the nationalists would reintroduce the proposal after they opposed the Supplemental Oil agreement, which was to increase royalties from oil to Iran from 17 to 24

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<sup>1</sup> Ervand Abrahamian, "The 1953 Coup in Iran," *Science and Society* 65, no. 2 (2001).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

percent.<sup>4</sup> Mossadeq and the nationalists were not content with the proposal, especially because it did not address what they considered to be the country's most important grievances. This momentum sparked the effort to nationalize Iran's oil.

After the assassination of Prime Minister Ali Razmara on March 7, 1951, the push for nationalization was underway. In fact, the *Majlis* passed a bill the next day authorizing the nationalization of Iran's oil. Mohammad Mosaddeq was elected prime minister in April and in May he declared all AIOC assets nationalized, cancelling the company's oil concession.<sup>5</sup> To enforce the new law, the *Majlis* sent deputies to Abadan, where the largest AIOC refinery was located, marking the beginning of the dispute.<sup>6</sup>

Since the beginning of the oil dispute, there were always two very different perspectives on the issue. On one side, the Iranians articulated their political right to control their country's assets and based it on their desire for national independence from foreign influence.<sup>7</sup> The British, however, viewed Iran's effort to nationalize their oil as a breach of contract, calling out Iran on disrespect for the AIOC and Britain's controlling stock of the company.<sup>8</sup> What Mossadeq and the nationalists were concerned about was not so much the royalties, or lack thereof, that they were receiving from the AIOC, but rather the control over the oil industry process, everything from extraction to distribution.<sup>9</sup> The British, in turn, saw the nationalist desire for control as a direct threat to their position as a world power.<sup>10</sup> In their effort to maintain control of Iran's oil, Britain arranged for a Western boycott, which delivered a devastating blow to Iran's economy.<sup>11</sup>

In the midst of this dispute, the United States (under the Truman administration) stepped in as mediator between Britain and Iran. Mary Ann Heiss, a U.S. foreign relations scholar, would argue that the role that Orientalism played in US-Iranian relations was more important than U.S. intervention in the dispute. According to Edward Said, Orientalism is a

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ervand Abrahamian, *Iran between Two Revolutions* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), 266.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Mary Ann Heiss, "Real Men Don't Wear Pajamas: Anglo-American Cultural Perceptions of Mohammad Mossadeq and the Iranian Oil Nationalization Dispute," in *Empire and Revolution: The United States and the Third World Since 1945*, ed. Peter L. Hahn and Mary Ann Heiss (Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 2001).

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Abrahamian.

<sup>11</sup> Mark J Gasiorowski, *Mohammad Mossadeq and the 1953 Coup in Iran* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2004).

Western perception of the people and culture of the Orient, heavily infused with notions of Western superiority of lifestyle and culture.<sup>12</sup> Heiss argues that this Orientalist view played a heavy hand in the eventual orchestration of the coup, stating that, “the end result of orientalization of Mossadeq was an increasingly rigid Anglo-American position on the oil crisis that eschewed compromise or concessions and ultimately saw removing him from office as the only acceptable course of action.”<sup>13</sup> As a note on the topic, Orientalism is often assumed to be based on prejudice or racism and that the Orientalism that Heiss refers to did not necessarily come from racial prejudice. While it is tempting to assume racism on behalf of the United States and Great Britain, Ervand Abrahamian explains that the pervasiveness of this Orientalist perception came not as a result of prejudice, but “because of the clash of economic interests between imperialism and nationalism.”<sup>14</sup>

After numerous attempts to negotiate a settlement between Britain and Iran, the United States under the Eisenhower administration opted to use covert action. The 1953 coup, under the supervision of Allen W. Dulles (1893-1969), would become the first covert operation by the CIA. As part of the effort to carry out the coup, propaganda projects were actively used to set the stage. These tactics were carried out with the intent to influence politics and society in a way that would create hostility toward the nationalists and, more specifically, Mohammad Mossadeq.

## **Part 2 – The Content and Purpose of Propaganda**

When considering U.S. propaganda abroad, it is important to remember that the history changed significantly in 1948. During the First and Second World Wars, there were already limited international information exchange services being carried out as war measures.<sup>15</sup> In times of peace, however, the United States had generally opposed government propaganda and information services, both domestic and foreign. Burton Paulu, who wrote extensively on the Smith-Mundt Act (1948), a law that dealt specifically with dissemination of propaganda abroad, gave several reasons for the delay in government broadcasting: (1) the U.S. had no incentive to promote propaganda, (2) the U.S. was not politically isolated like Russia, (3) there was no U.S. system of colonies to bind together, and (4) the privately owned radio broadcasters were opposed to

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<sup>12</sup> Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

<sup>13</sup> Heiss.

<sup>14</sup> Abrahamian.

<sup>15</sup> Burton Paulu, “The Smith-Mundt Act: A Legislative History,” *Journalism Quarterly* (1953).

government broadcasting out of fear that they would not be able to compete.<sup>16</sup> When anti-American propaganda from Germany and Italy in the 1930s was being disseminated, however, the U.S. reluctantly and gradually began to respond.<sup>17</sup>

After World War II and during the Cold War, propaganda became entrenched in an anti-Soviet and anti-communist agenda. More importantly, it became a critical component of U.S. foreign policy. Pitting Western powers against the Soviet Union and its allies, U.S. foreign policy became much more about containment and isolation. As Richard W. Cottam noted in his work, the geographic location of Iran, being that it shared a border with the Soviet Union and was essentially a gateway into other Middle Eastern countries, was of primary concern for the United States.<sup>18</sup> As learned in the previous section, Iran was also an important source of oil for the West.

Due to anti-communism becoming the dominant structure of U.S. foreign policy, the need to strategically spread Western ideas was addressed in Congress. In 1947, Senator H. Alexander Smith (1880-1966) and Representative Karl Mundt (1900-1974) presented a study of the ideological state of Europe and the Middle East. The study concluded that the United States was losing what they called the “battle of ideas.” In response to this crisis, congress approved a counter-communist, propaganda program called the U.S.I.E., formally known as the Smith-Mundt Act of 1948.<sup>19</sup> For the first time in history, the new law authorized the use of U.S. propaganda activity abroad and gave the State Department permission to conduct cultural and informational exchange programs on a long term basis.<sup>20</sup> Interestingly, the legislation did not permit the program to use propaganda in the United States.<sup>21</sup>

The USIE program made its way to Iran in the 1950s through a short term ambassador named Henry F. Grady. A close friend of George McGhee, Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern, South Asian and African affairs, Henry F. Grady had previous experience with propaganda projects in Greece and was sent by Secretary of State Dean Acheson to direct the USIE program in Iran.<sup>22</sup> Grady was a staunch anti-communist, anti-imperialist, and firm supporter of Iranian nationalism. His vision for

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Richard W. Cottam, *Nationalism in Iran: Updated through 1978* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, c.1979)

<sup>19</sup> United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948, Pub. L. No. 402, § 2 (1948).

<sup>20</sup> Paulu.

<sup>21</sup> United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948.

<sup>22</sup> Stephen Kinzer, *All the Shah's Men: An American Coup and the Roots of Middle East Terror* (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2003), 86-87.

the USIE in Iran was not only to fend off the influence of the Soviet Union but to assist in the social and economic improvement of Iran.

Much like Richard Cottam, Ambassador Grady understood the importance of the strategic location of Iran and the value of its national resource. In his memoirs he states that:

Iran is on the periphery of Russia and is important not only because of its strategic location but also because it has extraordinarily valuable natural resources...Iran is the corridor through which the Soviets could move into the Middle East, to Africa, to Pakistan, India, and Southeast Asia. The Soviet Union needs the great oil resources of this area to achieve its ambitions of world domination. Iran is therefore strategic in both a geographic and raw material sense.<sup>23</sup>

Based on this assessment, we can conclude that two of Grady's main concerns were securing the borders and oil fields of Iran and preventing Soviet encroachment. In order to accomplish this, Grady proposed that the propaganda tactics that were to be used in Iran needed to be concentrated in areas where Iranians were most susceptible. For Grady, the most susceptible places were ones with the poorest economic conditions, and therefore it should not come as surprise that he would target both urban and rural populations where economic conditions were in that state.<sup>24</sup>

Assisted by Edward C. Wells, another state department official, Grady put together a plan in Tehran and delivered it to the Department of State.<sup>25</sup> In a correspondence to the Department of State in July of 1950, Grady listed his objectives for the program:

Objective: To ensure that Iranians are informed about and understand U.S. policy, particularly with regard to the following:

- a.) Extending the effectiveness of U.S. support for Iran's security and the assurance that "Iran does not stand alone."
- b.) Providing monetary aid to Iran.

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<sup>23</sup> Henry F. Grady, *The Memoirs of Ambassador Henry F. Grady: From the Great War to the Cold War* (Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 2009), 159.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 140.

<sup>25</sup> Henry F. Grady and Edward C. Wells, *Proposed New Program for USIE, Iran* (Washington D.C.: 1950), Document 6, <http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB78/propaganda%20006.pdf>

- c.) Firmness toward USSR and determination to prevent further encroachment on free nations.
- d.) U.S. is anti-imperialist, has no colonial aspirations, and determined that each nation has the right to work out its destiny.
- e.) The free world is an interrelated whole with mutual interests.<sup>26</sup>

We can see in this plan that Grady put heavy emphasis on building an amicable relationship between the U.S. and Iran. In order to achieve this goal, Grady suggested that Iranians need to be informed about U.S. policy and convince them that it holds Iran's best interest. By "best interest," Grady was referring to the security of the country from the USSR and the financial assistance for economic autonomy. Further into the correspondence, Grady lists the methods by which each objective would be met, including the introduction of U.S. material into Iran's educational system, the promotion and use of U.S. materials, motion pictures, exhibits, pamphlets, radio programming, branch offices at consulates, establishing libraries, and the training of Iranians to maintain all these programs.<sup>27</sup>

Without belaboring the agenda that Grady set out, we can understand his intentions with the information at hand. As time passed, Grady sent more correspondences to Washington to update the State Department on what he perceived to be a successful campaign. In an October 1950 correspondence to Secretary of State Dean Acheson, evidence can be found of Grady's perception of Iranian receptivity of U.S. propaganda. According to the correspondence, the Iranian Propaganda department, which the USIE used to operate discreetly, was taking an "increasingly anti-communist pro-American line; the impression created among general public is simply that American aid is here; mullahs in two mosques publically sermonizing against communists, which have been repeated by Iran radio; more anti-communist newspapers are starting up; and the 'chins up Iran' campaign is standing by to be released by press, radio, and posters."<sup>28</sup> As we can see from Grady's assessment, his perception of Iranian receptivity to the covert actions of the USIE is a positive one, reinforced by the increase in anti-communist and pro-American activity. Even with regard to monetary aid, Grady is convinced that the general impression by the

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Henry F. Grady, *U.S.-Iranian Joint Propaganda Efforts* (Washington D.C.: 1950), Document 10, <http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB78/propaganda%20010.pdf>

public is that America is here to help. This notion of success will be revisited when the propaganda campaigns move in a different direction.

It was briefly mentioned earlier that radio broadcasts were one method of transmitting U.S. propaganda, but little explanation has been offered as to why radio propaganda was more important than other forms of dissemination. Unlike newspapers and other print materials, Iranian radio stations could reach a broader spectrum of society.<sup>29</sup> A 1951 study of Iranian males concluded that there was a prevalent ideological division in newspaper choices, meaning right-leaning men would not read left-leaning newspapers and vice versa.<sup>30</sup> Therefore, the use of print materials to propagandize Iranians was limited in its effects on an audience that was already committed to an ideology. In comparison to newspapers, radio broadcasting produced more effective results. As Mervyn Roberts would suggest, “physically controlling the stations in Iran was of greater importance to the overthrow of Mossadeq than the CIA propaganda program leading up to the coup, as station control disseminated messages farther.”<sup>31</sup>

After the collapse of negotiations and the approval of the coup, CIA director Allen W. Dulles approved a one-million dollar budget for the Tehran Station, which could use the money in any way that would contribute to the fall of Mosaddeq.<sup>32</sup> Often the radio programs that ran through Radio Tehran broadcasted messages that labeled Mosaddeq as a sympathizer of the Tudeh party, an enemy of Islam, and a fomenter of separatism.<sup>33</sup> In addition to the anti-Mosaddeq messages, the station at times also ran pro-shah messages. Regardless of the stations’ approach, there was one consistency that seemed to resonate with all Iranians, Iranian nationalism. Any reference to Iran’s glorious secular past or anti-colonial stance was perceived by the CIA as much more receptive to the Iranian people.<sup>34</sup> Even the competing radio stations that supported Mosaddeq attempted to sway public opinion by appealing to this notion.<sup>35</sup> When carefully and strategically disseminated to the public, the CIA learned that anti-imperial and pro-Iranian messages could garner far more support than any other talking point they pushed on the radio.

What is important to remember when assessing the success of this radio propaganda is that it did not operate inside of a vacuum. The CIA review after the coup, which was written by Dr. Donald Wilber, stresses the idea that the covert propaganda tactics used did not directly

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<sup>29</sup> Mervyn Roberts. "Analysis of Radio Propaganda in the 1953 Iran Coup." *Iranian Studies* 45 (2012): 759-777.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 759

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 761.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 762.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 777.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

lead to the success of the coup.<sup>36</sup> There were times when the CIA was limited in their ability to insert propaganda in Iranian media and there were times when the CIA's efforts backfired. Wilber makes reference to a post-operation, CIA study in *Newsweek* magazine, which described the overall effort of the CIA as a "relatively ineffectual venture" and that there was room for "improvement of capabilities."<sup>37</sup> In the end, the effectiveness of propaganda was a matter of trial and error on behalf of CIA operatives, who had to learn the complex media culture in order to mobilize and direct latent passions at critical moments.<sup>38</sup> Often what factored into success were the actions of Mosaddeq and the Tudeh combined with controlled radio broadcasting, which swayed public opinion to oppose Mossadeq in the end.<sup>39</sup>

### **Part 3 – Comparing Perceptions Before and After 1953**

After the nationalization of oil in 1951, Henry F. Grady was replaced as Ambassador to Iran by Loy Henderson. The decision to replace him came partially as a result of the bad relationship that Grady developed with Dean Acheson. Also, Grady was increasingly outspoken about the United States' dealings with Britain on Iran. The coming of Henderson and the dismissal of Grady foreshadows a very significant shift in the direction of foreign policy in Iran and consequently the propaganda used for its implementation.

One of the main concerns that the U.S. had about the nationalization of oil was the opportunity it might give the Soviet Union to exert influence on Iran's distribution. If they could not get Iran to come to an agreement with Britain it would threaten "the free flow of Iranian oil into the economy of the free world," as President Truman would say.<sup>40</sup> At the same time, the U.S. did not want to appear to be completely partial to the British side on this issue. As Secretary of State Dean Acheson wrote to the U.S. embassy in Tehran, "while in general the U.S. does not favor nationalization, U.S. recognizes the right of sovereign states to nationalize provided prompt payment for just

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<sup>36</sup> Donald Wilber, *Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran, November 1952-August 1953* (Washington D.C., March 1954), 85, <http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB28/#documents>.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, 86.

<sup>38</sup> Mervyn, 777

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> "President Truman to Prime Minister Attlee (No 25)," in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 60.



compensation is made.”<sup>41</sup> Interestingly, the Secretary of State did not want to make this policy public because there was genuine concern that other nations might want to nationalize their oil as well. These circumstances subsequently put the U.S. in a difficult situation for next two years, resulting in the eventual siding with British policy.

If anyone could see the dangerous consequences that would result from siding with the British on this oil issue it was Henry Grady. In a letter to the State Department Grady wrote “it is my strong conviction that British policy has been and is one that may lead to disaster in this country [Iran]. If we decide to let them call all the plays, we will absorb a large part of the present deep antagonism toward the British.”<sup>42</sup> Grady considered British policy to be imperialist, using economic pressure in an effort to maintain control, and if the U.S. sided with Britain it would essentially support the same practices. Out of disillusion and frustration, he resigned from his post in September 1951 and left Iran.

Since the U.S. and Britain were getting nowhere close to reaching a settlement with Iran, talks of overthrowing Mossadeq and reinstating the shah increased. In an effort to accomplish that goal, a continuation and modification of the propaganda tactics that were already in place went into effect. As we will see in the subsequent paragraphs, the shah will become a much more important component, more discrepancy will be used, and the target audiences of propaganda will change.

In a November 21, 1951, correspondence between Loy Henderson and Dean Acheson, Henderson addresses the need to shield Iranian press and public from criticism of U.S. press regarding Iranian attitude in the oil dispute.<sup>43</sup> Instead, he suggests that Voice of America (VOA), a U.S. run international radio show, transmit U.S. press and public criticism of Prime Minister Mossadeq’s oil policy.<sup>44</sup> He argues that this would be wiser because it would “convey the idea that the U.S. is generally sympathetic with Iranian aspirations for full economic and political independence but inclined to think that Iranians have allowed themselves to be swept by emotions into a position which puts them in

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<sup>41</sup> “The Secretary of State to the Embassy in Egypt (No. 10),” in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 27.

<sup>42</sup> “The Ambassador in Iran (Grady) to the Department of State (No. 77),” in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954 vol. X Iran 1951-1954* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 149.

<sup>43</sup> Loy Henderson and Dean Acheson, *Iranian Oil Policy* (Washington D.C.: 1951) Document 41, <http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB78/propaganda%20041.pdf>

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

light unfair to themselves and renders it extremely difficult for their American friends to aid them without appearing to approve of their somewhat rash actions and rather unreasoning attitude.”<sup>45</sup> Henderson then went on to say that the Iranians would also be assured that the U.S. understands the “Iranian position for urging Britain to also show more flexibility.”<sup>46</sup> The most important part of the correspondence is in the last sentence, however, where Henderson makes mention of the Shah saying “we deem it equally helpful for VOA programs, whenever appropriate, to indicate the desires of people in the U.S. to help Iranian people in every possible way and to make a friendly reference to the Shah as their progressive leader.”

Most correspondences prior to this one by Henderson made little mention, if any, of the Shah, much less as a “progressive leader.” What begins to be seen in 1952 is a more repeated mention of the Shah. For example, in an April 28, 1952, correspondence between Edward C. Wells and Ambassador Henderson, Wells outlined a new propaganda plan for Iran. It was still based on much of the same objectives that were in place two years earlier, (e.g. anti-communism, anti-Soviet) but their priorities had changed in regards to who this propaganda was targeting. In his letter to Henderson, Wells stated that the target audience for U.S. direct anti-communist propaganda are:

1. The Shah, Royal Court, and wealthy landowners.
2. University professors and students, secondary school teachers and students, professional men, including government employees.
3. Leaders of public opinion amongst illiterate masses, Mullahs, village headmen, tribal chiefs, etc.
4. Labor leaders and army officers.<sup>47</sup>

Wells argued that this “conservative group [the Shah, his court, and landowners] is vitally interested in preserving Iran’s integrity, which if they could be stirred to more positive action would represent the strongest possible rallying point for all anti-communist elements. By reason of the strength of their position, they should be able to orient the country toward our direction.”<sup>48</sup> Wells then listed the secondary target groups, such as students and laborers, making mention of their higher susceptibility to Soviet influence while claiming that they represented the

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Edward C. Wells, *IIA: Country Plan* (Washington D.C.: 1952), Document 60, <http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB78/propaganda%20060.pdf>

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

“public opinion molders.”<sup>49</sup> It is ironic that Wells would say that these groups are at most risk of being influenced by communism and still argue that if the Shah, his court, and the wealthy elite “could be stirred to more positive action would represent the strongest possible rallying point for all anti-communist elements.”<sup>50</sup> The point that being made here is that, for whatever reason, a greater deal of importance was being placed on the Shah, especially when it came to who the USIE thought would be most receptive to U.S. propaganda.

When the U.S. and Britain finally decided to replace Mosaddeq with General Fazullah Zahedi, a massive propaganda campaign was organized to create and enhance public hostility towards Mosaddeq and the government by manufacturing the belief that Mosaddeq was sympathetic to communism. Putting aside the military success or failure of the coup, the CIA thought the worst result that the propaganda campaign could produce was instability for Mosaddeq. As per Wilber’s post-operation report, even if the operation failed, the dissemination of propaganda would at least make the “the position of Mosaddeq increasingly vulnerable and unsteady.”<sup>51</sup> Therefore, we can conclude that the purpose of propaganda just prior to the coup was ultimately to create instability.

The themes of the propaganda were very similar to the ones used when Grady was still ambassador. The difference, however, was that one of the main themes of this campaign was convincing the public that Mosaddeq was a communist and that he had close ties with the Tudeh.<sup>52</sup> Following in line with this theme was spreading the idea that he was dealing directly with the Soviets and that he was planning on surrendering the Northern provinces to the Soviet Union.<sup>53</sup> In addition to this false accusation, Mosaddeq was blamed for any downturn in the economy.<sup>54</sup> One new line of slant that was added to the collection, however, was that Mosaddeq “had become the unwitting victim of his unscrupulous personally ambitious advisors.”<sup>55</sup> In other words, he was becoming corrupt and dictatorial.

To fuel anti-Mosaddeq sentiment, the CIA also targeted religious leaders. Using false information, also known as black propaganda, attempts to rally their support were carried out spontaneously. For example, CIA agents would send fake statements from the Tudeh threatening religious leaders with severe punishment if the party learned

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Wilber.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

of any opposition to Mosaddeq.<sup>56</sup> Some agents even wanted to carry out terrorist attacks on a massive scale. In fact, details in the original plan included that, “on the appointed day, staged attacks will be made against respected religious leaders in Tehran.”<sup>57</sup> The attacks would then be supplemented with “U.S. station fabricated documents which prove and record in detail a secret agreement between Mosaddeq and the Tudeh, with the latter promising to use all their force in support of Mossadeq and against the religious leaders, the army, and the police”.<sup>58</sup> These plans reveal the CIA’s perception of religious leaders, which was that by continuously tying Mosaddeq to the Tudeh and instilling fear in these leaders, they could rally religious Iranians to the cause. By promoting divisions, the CIA made considerable strides in loosening Mosaddeq’s support base, especially the religious nationalists who were once on his side.

As mentioned previously, perhaps one of the most interesting developments at this point was the addition of a separate propaganda campaign that would invite the Shah to step up to the task. As Stephen Kinzer would remind us, the Shah was reluctant to comply with the U.S. and Britain. The Shah thought that unless they assured him that both governments would offer their complete support, he would not go through with the plan.<sup>59</sup> Dr. Wilber recounts in his report the frustration on behalf of the CIA in dealing with the Shah because of his “entrenched attitude of vacillation and indecision.”<sup>60</sup> Over time his personal defenses would fall and his compliance would be won. It can be argued that more than anything the Shah was forced to comply, especially when the U.S. and Britain threatened to do whatever necessary to prevent communist intrusion. To add to the threat, the U.S. and Britain also made it clear that if anything went wrong with the operation, he would face the repercussions and his dynasty would undoubtedly come to an end.

More importantly, this pressure on the Shah helps us understand why the propaganda campaign changed priorities in terms of its target audience. The Shah, the royal court, and the wealthy elite were targeted directly and indirectly to ensure not only that they would cooperate with the CIA and SIS, but to become convinced that the operation served their best interests. What this reveals is that the CIA and Britain perceived that the top tier of Iranian could be persuaded, whether it was by force or by threat.

After overthrowing of Mossadeq, the CIA and their Iranian collaborators were still entrusted to continue a propaganda campaign to

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<sup>56</sup> Wilber, 29.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Kinzer.

<sup>60</sup> Wilber.

return stability and retain a friendly image for the West. In September of 1953, Edward C. Wells, who was still heavily involved, laid out new recommendations for the propaganda projects to come. Wells makes it a priority to say that “‘allaying Iranian distrust’ should not be overstressed.”<sup>61</sup> It seems that the embassy and the USIE did not want to overdue their efforts to regain Iranian trust. Otherwise, they would begin to look more suspicious of their involvement in the coup. Among the recommendations that Wells made to the new Secretary of State, he suggested that the media use themes that stress “coordination and cooperation of Shah and Zahedi, which would benefit Iran; the Shah and Zahedi’s progressive social programs; and the praising of the August 19 events.”<sup>62</sup>

Dr. Donald Wilber and Kermit Roosevelt shared similar views about the success of the operation, especially with regard to the propaganda. In the final chapter of his report, Wilber said of the work done with the press that,

In July and early August every segment of the press with which we or the U.K. had working relations went all out against Mosaddeq. As judged by the public reactions on the days following 16 August, there can be no doubt whatsoever that this campaign had reached a very large audience and had directly influenced their thinking in a most positive way. A separate analysis of this press operation should be made to serve as a basic guidance in mounting future campaigns.<sup>63</sup>

Based on this excerpt, we can argue that Wilber not only thought that the propaganda was successful but exemplary as well. The last sentence is especially significant. Prior to this operation, there was no discussion of adopting these tactics and using them in other circumstances. Although Wilber was not necessarily suggesting that there would be another coup in the near future, he knew that the propaganda plans used in this operation could be used as a guide. About year after TPAJAX, in 1954, the CIA would perform another coup in Guatemala, where propaganda played a very similar role.

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<sup>61</sup> Edward C. Wells, *Media Guidance Regarding Iran* (Washington D.C.: 1953), Document 108, <http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB78/propaganda%20108.pdf>

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Wilber.

Kermit Roosevelt's view of success was based on what he called a correct assessment of the situation and the people they contracted for the job. In the final page of *Countercoup*, he says,

We were successful in this venture because our assessment of the situation in Iran *was* correct. We believed—and we were proven right—that if the people and the armed forces were shown that they must choose, that Mosaddeq was forcing them to choose, between their monarch and a revolutionary figure backed by the Soviet Union, they could, and would, make only one choice. With some help from us, but mostly because of Mosaddeq, the Tudeh and eventually the USSR itself, forced the choice upon them, the populace made a choice. And most convincingly. The people and the army came, overwhelmingly, to the support of the Shah. You can have no idea from here—you really had to be in Iran—of the heartfelt strength of that support.<sup>64</sup>

As we can see in his statement, Roosevelt thought that the success of the coup was based on the fact that people wanted Mosaddeq out and the Shah back in. This idea stands in stark contrast to some of the most basic facts about Mosaddeq and his popularity. While it is true that Mosaddeq's support base was not always cohesive, there is evidence to suggest that he was still more popular than the Shah. Henry Grady once pointed out that, "Mosaddeq had the backing of 95 to 98 percent of the people of his country."<sup>65</sup> Granted, this was before the operation commenced, but it is difficult to suggest that this base entirely fell apart because of artificially created uprisings and propaganda. Roosevelt argued that because the coup was successful, however, his assessment (and the CIA's assessment) about the people's attitude toward Mosaddeq were correct. Further in the chapter, he went on to say, "if our analysis had been wrong, we'd have fallen flat on our faces. But it was right."<sup>66</sup> Just like Wilber, Roosevelt thought that, "if we, the CIA, are ever going to try something like this again, we must be absolutely sure that the people and army want what we want."<sup>67</sup> When he was offered the opportunity to lead the Guatemalan operation, however, he turned it down.

<sup>64</sup> Kermit Roosevelt, *Countercoup: Struggle for the Control of Iran*, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1979), 210.

<sup>65</sup> Kinzer, 98.

<sup>66</sup> Roosevelt, 210

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

According to the State Department, there were three main propaganda problems that the U.S. faced after deposing the prime minister: (1) a charge that the U.S. had a hand in deposing Mosaddeq, (2) a charge that Zahedi was a U.S. puppet, and (3) the myth that Mosaddeq was the Iranian grand man.<sup>68</sup> To address these issues, the State Department made it their policy to deny their involvement in foreign domestic affairs. To prove their point, National Security Council 5428 (NSC 5428) was sent to all psychological programs in the Middle East, asking them to include the following in their agenda:

Convince local leaders and peoples that the age of Western Imperialism is over; and that Western positions are being willingly readjusted in an enlightened manner and with full respect for the national independence of sovereign equality of the Near Eastern states as rapidly as the interests of security allow.<sup>69</sup>

Contrary to what the policy states, the 1953 coup was still an act of imperialism, albeit a subtle one.

#### **Part 4 – Conclusion**

Since the beginning of the oil crisis, it was clear that securing Western control over Iran's oil supply was a top priority of both Great Britain and the United States. Subsequently, the decision to go forward with the coup was based on this premise, which runs contrary to the common knowledge that Cold War geopolitics was the main reason for overthrowing Mosaddeq. Although there is no reason to doubt that Cold War politics played some part in the decision, it was not the primary reason for interfering in Iran's internal politics. For this reason, the United States used propaganda to affect public opinion and stir up anti-Mosaddeq sentiment.

The United States and Great Britain got everything they wanted from the 1953 coup, including the denationalization of oil. Additionally, they kept the Shah as an ally, as compliant with their agenda in the region. The blowback of this operation, however, would come in the form of anti-American sentiment, boiling over in the 1979 revolution.

<sup>68</sup> Theodore C. Streibert, *Revitalized Propaganda Campaign for Iran; Attached to Transmittal Sheet* (Washington D.C.: 1953), Document 107, <http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB78/propaganda%20107.pdf>

<sup>69</sup> National Security Council. United States Objectives and Policies with Respect to the Near East (Washington D.C.: 1954), Document 127, <http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB78/propaganda%20127.pdf>

When the revolution came, the monarchy was toppled and the ties to Western interests were cut off. Essentially, the coup backfired over time, and greatly damaged Iranian trust in the United States.

While CIA officials like Wilber and Roosevelt saw immediate success and gain from the operation, Grady saw the long term consequences that coup would bring to Iran and the United States. He warned the coup would be “utter folly” and that it would push Iran into “a status of disintegration with all that implies.”<sup>70</sup> And although Grady was outspoken about the U.S. and Great Britain’s policy, his assessments were ultimately ignored, resulting in his reassignment. Richard Cottam, who was also a close observer of the coup and its aftermath, had a similar assessment to that of Grady. His post-1953 assessment of the coup was that “U.S. policy did change Iran’s history in a fundamental way...In helping eliminate a government that symbolized Iran’s search for national integrity and dignity, it helped deny the successor regime nationalist legitimacy.”<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Kinzer, 215.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.



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## **Development in Southern California after World War II: Architecture, Photography, & Design**

By Joshua Robb Edmundson

*Abstract: The midcentury architecture and design phenomenon was born as California's urban landscape exploded in the post-World War II era. It was driven by the arrival of millions of veterans as they returned from the war eager to begin new lives and families. The promise of great economic opportunity, as well as spectacular natural beauty and weather attracted many of these who moved to the Golden State. They attended colleges and universities and helped to build sprawling cities, freeway systems, and suburbs. This massive surge of development created a haven for a generation of architects, designers and photographers who introduced a new way of thinking about the way people lived. This paper explores midcentury modernity from its source in the Bauhaus to its heyday in Palm Springs, perhaps the world's greatest mecca of midcentury architecture. This time of growth sparked the development of entirely new styles in furniture design and manufacture, technology, and fashion that complimented that era of prosperity and optimism. There were many unique professionals who contributed to the legacy of midcentury architecture and design that we pursue, such as; in architecture, Richard Neutra, in photography Julius Shulman and Charles and Ray Eames, each has contributed to the legacy of the era.*

### **Introduction**

Being surrounded by spectacular and distinctive architecture in Palm Springs, as well as working as a guide on the Sunnylands estate, have sparked a passion in me for all things midcentury. In this paper, I have traced modernism as it appeared in architecture in Palm Springs to its historical roots, both in terms of the individuals who shaped a distinct midcentury modern aesthetic, and also the social historical context into which that aesthetic was introduced in Southern California. By tracing the emergence of modernist architecture in Palm Springs to its historical antecedents we see that architecture tells us more about a community than just an individual homeowner's or designer's sense of style; it tells us about how individuals viewed their place in the community and in the world at a particular moment in time.



Figure 1. Sunnylands, A. Quincy Jones, 1963, Photo by the author, 2013.

In the years following the end of World War II, the United States underwent a massive social, technical, and domestic transformation. The beaches and year-round sunshine in California attracted millions of veterans in this time of optimism and exponential growth, causing the population of the Golden State to soar. This necessitated a flurry of construction of every kind, from vast suburbs and freeway systems to hospitals libraries, museums, and schools. In this essay, we will explore this era of building, some of its notable architects, and Palm Springs, a midcentury architectural jewel in the California desert.

### **The Post WWII Years and the G.I. Bill**

Following the end of World War II, the G.I. Bill made it possible for veterans to attend college, and millions of them did. From this opportunity a new generation of upwardly mobile Californians arose, and a new phenomenon called suburbia appeared. This was an era in which anything was possible, from molded fiberglass furniture, to sleek modern steel and glass homes cantilevered over cliffs or canyons. These “space age” homes were filled with gadgets of every kind, each designed for easy living in the modern age. Journalist and architecture expert, Deborah K. Dietsch stated that in the postwar world, “unprecedented prosperity led to a consumer boom in both America and Europe that allowed ordinary people from California to Copenhagen to live better than ever before.”<sup>1</sup>

As million of servicemen and servicewomen returned from the war, President Franklin D. Roosevelt was concerned with the coming

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<sup>1</sup> Deborah K. Deitsch, *Classic Modern Midcentury at Home* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000), 12.

transition of a new generation of veterans who needed to assimilate into a society at peace. The president desired a smoother transition from the wartime to peacetime home front and economy than had occurred after World War I. According to a Special Series report on NPR Radio Diaries, during the Great Depression millions of World War I veterans across the United States became homeless; our wartime heroes were starving and desperate for help from the government for which they had sacrificed so much. As a result, thousands of veterans converged on Washington D.C. to demand early payment of a promised veteran's bonus, thus becoming known as The Bonus Army. They set up camps throughout the capitol, which soon caused panic in the Hoover administration. Federal troops were sent in to disperse the veterans, which led to bloody clashes, the death of two veterans, and the torching of the Bonus Army's encampments. Images of the mayhem quickly spread, causing outrage across the nation.

Understandably, President Roosevelt was eager to avoid another similar disaster. This led to the Servicemen's Readjustment Act, more commonly known as the G.I. Bill, which had unexpected popularity, and "more than 2,250,000 American veterans received...their college education as a result of legislation known as the G.I. Bill."<sup>2</sup> These college graduates became engineers, teachers, scientists, doctors, and other well-paid professionals, who were in many cases in positions to purchase larger and more luxurious private single-family dwellings than had previously been the case for many Americans. Midcentury architects like Richard Neutra, A. Quincy Jones, and William Cody provided the modern designs that became the homes of the new American workforce.

### **The Building Boom: New Styles for a New Generation**

The Great Depression had an enormous impact on the lives of people across America. Many lost their homes; those who did not often lived in multi-generational dwellings or remained in old housing. Due to these problems, housing construction slowed significantly and came to a near standstill during the war years when resources were funneled to support the war effort. The result of this phenomenon was that the affluent and growing generation of educated Californians after WWII found a shortage in housing, which created a demand for quick, easy-to-build single-family dwellings. According to the United States Census Bureau's website, the post-WWII surge in homeownership was remarkable. Specifically, "a booming economy, favorable tax laws, a

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<sup>2</sup> Michael D. Haydock. "The G.I. Bill," *American History* (March 1996): 52.

rejuvenated home building industry and easier financing saw homeownership explode nationally.”<sup>3</sup>

This demand for housing created a market for an innovative group of young, well-educated architects who were ready to provide an entirely new living experience at this time. The concept was based on a new way of thinking about how people live, about how people built their homes, and about our interaction with nature. There was experimentation with prefabricated modular housing units that included sections of walls and windows that could easily assemble on a flat concrete pad with a steel frame in a matter of days, as well as large, mass-produced housing developments.

Americans had been widely introduced to new industry during the war, and in the post-war environment the prevailing attitude was that anything was possible. It was the beginning of what is commonly known as the “Atomic Age.” This environment created a market in which, according to Dietsch, “buoyed by the victory of war and a booming economy, many consumers were attracted to the idea of starting afresh in spaces as sleek as a fighter plane.”<sup>4</sup> The combination of all these factors created what is today called the midcentury modern architectural movement, which will be referred to as midcentury moving forward.

Modern architecture flourished in California, as millions flocked to its beaches, mountains, and deserts to enjoy the sun, economic opportunity, and spectacular natural beauty for which it is renowned. The following is an eloquent passage that summarizes the aesthetics of the midcentury architectural movement: “American modernism was based on the international style, but rejected its austere rationalism in response to the fanciful and optimistic postwar art of living in the United States. Landscapes intermingle with inner spaces through the use of materials and techniques such as native rock, immense walls of glass, refined aluminum lines [and] ethereal butterfly-winged roofs.”<sup>5</sup> These elements complemented the dramatic and rugged natural environment of California, and the preface of *Beautiful Homes and Gardens in California* captures this spirit as well: “California architecture [expresses] forms of a new environment out of a freer way of life, out of a new totality of garden and house.”<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, “Historical Census of Housing Tables 1900-2000,” prepared by the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington, DC, 2011.

<sup>4</sup> Deitsch, 12.

<sup>5</sup> Alaine Coquelle, *Palm Springs Style*, trans. Sharon Grevet (New York: Assouline Publishing, 2005), 16.

<sup>6</sup> Herbert Weiskamp, *Beautiful Homes and Gardens in America*, trans. Herbert Weiskamp. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1964), 3.





Figure 2. Steel House, Donald Wexler, Early 1960's, Photo by the author, 2014

### **The Case Study House Program and Julius Schulman**

In the January 1945 issue of *Arts & Architecture Magazine*, owner and editor John Entenza wrote about proposing to begin the study, planning, design, and construction of eight houses, each to fulfill the specifications of a special living problem in the Southern California area. Nationally known architects, chosen not only for their obvious talents, but also for their ability to realistically evaluate housing in terms of need, were commissioned to create “good” living conditions for eight American families. Due to the popularity of the project, 36 homes were ultimately designed. In all, 24 houses were built in the Los Angeles area between 1948 and 1962.

When the first six Case Study houses were completed, they were furnished with modern furniture and opened to the public for display. This ingenuity in building design included entirely new concepts in furniture as well. Designers like Charles and Ray Eames, Eero Saarinen, and Harry Bertoia used new materials like molded fiberglass, plywood, plastic, and woven chrome to create designs that often looked like they might have come from a sculpture garden rather than a furniture showroom or catalogue. All this, along with new clothing, automobiles, and gadgets designed for every task helped to create the entirely new midcentury experience.



Figure 3. Kaufmann residence in Palm Springs, Richard Neutra, 1946, photograph by Julius Shulman, 1947

According to Esther McCoy, who was an editor at *Arts & Architecture Magazine*, the buildings were modular, rectilinear, and built on a flat slab; they were distinct from their sites, and they used standardized elements to reduce the costs, but that turned out to be unsuccessful. During the time the houses were open, a staggering 368,544 persons visited them, and the critical success of the houses removed more than one obstacle in the way of public acceptance for experimental design. McCoy declared in the magazine that the Case Study Houses influenced building practices across America during the 1950s and 1960s. Open floor plans, incorporation of materials such as plywood and plastic, built-in storage facilities, flat roofs, skylights, and steel framing were all legacies of the program.

Entenza used his magazine to promote modernism as a forum for designers and architects and challenged architects to design and build new homes that were revolutionary in their materials, design, and construction. "In 1945, the Case Study House Program...commanded the attention of the national and international community with its unprecedented visions of domestic space in Southern California."<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Pierluigi Serriano, *Julius Schulman Modernism Rediscovered* (Cologne: Taschen, 2009), 6.



Figure 4. Case Study House #22, Pierre Koenig, 1960, Photo by the author, 2012

Architectural expert Elizabeth Smith states that the Case Study House program remains one of America's most significant contributions to architecture at mid-century. Conceived as low-cost experimental modern prototypes, the thirty-six designs of the program epitomized the aspirations of a generation of modern architects. It was very much a lifestyle, marked by a focus on "the essentials, perhaps in recognition of the preceding years of recession and war...modernism is perhaps the best expression of the golden rules of Mies van der Rohe – 'Less is more' – and Charles and Ray Eames – 'Doing the most with the least.'"<sup>8</sup> The Case Study House program, *Arts & Architecture Magazine*, and the iconic photography of Julius Shulman were major vehicles driving midcentury architecture. Through his brilliant photography, Julius Shulman exposed the world to this chic new way of life.

Shulman's legendary photography captured the spirit of the era; his two most famous photos are of Richard Neutra's Kaufmann House (1947 in Palm Springs, and Pierre Koenig's Case Study House #22 (1960 in Los Angeles. These images are icons of post-WWII life in California and have been circulated extensively in print and film media worldwide. They were more than just photographs of houses – they included sleek modern furniture, the glamorous homeowners, and even their modern cars, which brought life to the vignettes Shulman was creating. The stylishly dressed models testified to the luxurious, elegant, and sun-filled lives of this new modern generation. Shulman's career far

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<sup>8</sup> Coquelle, 20.

exceeded those two residences: between 1936 and 1986, he “completed some 6,000 photographic assignments in North America.”<sup>9</sup>

Shulman was so well known, and so respected for his talents, that for decades he was the primary photographer to document significant new modern architectural projects. Shulman’s brilliant juxtaposition of architecture, furniture, and art intrigued and fascinated millions of people worldwide and made them want to emulate the subjects of his photos. Many of his photographs were shot in black and white and feature dramatic plays of light and shadow. Without Shulman’s photography, the midcentury modern movement, including not only architecture but also art and fashion, might not have grown into the international phenomenon for which it is famous.

### **The Roots of Midcentury Architecture**



Figure 5. Villa Savoye, Le Corbusier, 1931

The American midcentury architectural movement traces its roots to early twentieth-century Europe where artists and architects were reacting to the modernization of the industrial age. In 1919, Walter Gropius founded the Bauhaus, an art school in Germany which was famous for the way it combined crafts and the fine arts. The Bauhaus became one of the most influential precursors to modern architecture and design. According to midcentury architecture expert Janice Lyle, everything had to be “white, everything had to be smooth, the rooms had to be square. From his studio in Paris, architect Le Corbusier re-purposed utilitarian

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<sup>9</sup> Serriano, 6.

items like factory window frames and railings for use in homes and office buildings.”<sup>10</sup> A generation of intellectuals, including architects like Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Walter Gropius, and Marcel Breuer fled the Nazi regime in the 1930s, where the Bauhaus was “shut down under pressure from the ‘National Socialists.’”<sup>11</sup> These architects came to America and developed their craft into the midcentury architectural movement, taking cues from a prolific American architect, Frank Lloyd Wright, who turned away from conventional architecture and created a style of his own that is marked by craftsmanship, linear structures, and the use of native stone and wood.



Figure 6. Frank Lloyd Wright home, Oak Park, Illinois

The community of Oak Park in Illinois contains the largest collection of Frank Lloyd Wright structures in the world, including his home and studio. The author visited Oak Park and was struck by the simplicity and elegance of Wright’s designs. The spacious structures with their decorative carved wood and stained glass elements convey a sense of harmony. Fallingwater, the famous home Wright designed in 1935 for Edgar Kauffman Sr. in rural Pennsylvania is cantilevered over a waterfall. Falling Water is a remarkable precursor to the new midcentury architectural style that was on the horizon, with its flat roofs, and horizontal quality with wide overhanging eaves and ledges.

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<sup>10</sup> Janice Lyle, *Roots of Modernism* (California: Hillman & Carr Incorporated, 2012).

<sup>11</sup> Stiftung Bauhaus Dessau, “The Bauhaus Building by Walter Gropius,” accessed November 24, 2013, <http://www.bauhaus-dessau.de/bauhaus-building.html>.





Figure 7. Falling Water, Frank Lloyd Wright, 1935

Wright heavily influenced the new generation of designers like Richard Neutra, who worked for Wright for a few months before becoming disillusioned by his heavy style. Neutra moved to Los Angeles in 1925 to pursue his own interests. There he joined his old school friend R.M. Schindler. The two had attended the Vienna Technical University and together they founded the new school of Los Angeles modernism, until “professional and personal incompatibilities drove them apart.”<sup>12</sup> Architectural historian Sidney Williams wrote about how “their respective offices functioned as studios for young designers – both local and recent arrivals to Los Angeles. Neutra’s fame began with his widely published Lovell Health House (1927-1929) in the Hollywood Hills, considered to be the first steel-frame residence in America.”<sup>13</sup> Neutra and Schindler were the first of this group of young architects from around the globe, who would come to define what we today call the midcentury modern architectural movement. They were of varying degrees of education, and came from diverse backgrounds and ideologies. Many of them were outrageous in their ambitions and several were known for their tempers or uncompromising natures. They all believed in one thing, however, modern design using modern materials and American ingenuity.

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<sup>12</sup> Barbara Lamprecht, *Neutra*, (Cologne: Taschen, 2006), 9.

<sup>13</sup> Lauren Weiss Bricker and Sidney Williams, *Steel and Shade: The Architecture of Donald Wexler*, (Berlin: Kehrer Heidelberg Berlin, 2011), 11.



Figure 8. Lovell Heath House, Richard Neutra, 1929

In the end, these brilliant, futuristic homes turned out to be too iconoclastic for the average Californian. Most ordinary citizens, when given the choice between a sleek modernist home and a more familiar, traditionally designed home, chose the traditional. Thousands of Spanish bungalows and sprawling suburbs filled with ranch-style houses spread out across the urban landscape. Also, as inflation rates rose and prices soared, individually designed small homes became too expensive for most people, and so, the movement aimed at giving people a new living experience became more rarified; a luxury more in the reach of wealthier individuals. According to Esther McCoy, “by 1962 it became clear that the battle for housing had been won by the developers...only one Case Study House architect designed prototypes for a developer – A. Quincy Jones planned tracts for Eichler Homes which were models of good land planning and design.”<sup>14</sup> Even today, “the majority of houses...are still mostly wood stud, sheetrock, and stucco, appearing in a sprawl of unending suburbs.”<sup>15</sup> The urban sprawl continues to stretch further across the state, growing larger year by year, so much so, that the tiny resort town of Palm Springs may indeed become a suburb of Los Angeles in the near future.

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<sup>14</sup> Esther McCoy, *Case Study Houses: 1945-1962* (Los Angeles: Hennessey & Ingalls, 1977), 3.

<sup>15</sup> Cathy Lang Ho and Raul A. Barreneche, *House American Houses for the New Century* (New York: Universe Publishing, 2001).

### **Palm Springs and the “Golden Age of Architecture”**

Many of these modern architects who gained fame for their midcentury architectural innovation around the world had gravitated to California and later produced buildings in the tiny California desert community of Palm Springs. There they created what today is the greatest concentration of midcentury architecture in the world. This seasonal resort town had been filled with millionaires and movie stars for years. The earlier Spanish Colonial style, with its elaborate plasterwork, thick adobe walls, arched windows and doorways had fallen out of fashion. The leisure class who frequented Palm Springs wanted to build their homes and estates in the newest style, which produced a lively market for midcentury architecture. Elaine Coquelle wrote that it was not until “John Porter Clark and Albert Frey, as well as Richard Neutra, John Lautner, William F. Cody, Stewart Williams, Donald Wexler, A. Quincy Jones, and William Krisel [arrived] that modern architecture truly arrived in Palm Springs.”<sup>16</sup> This group of architects began to design not only private homes in Palm Springs, but also the commercial and civic infrastructure of the city. One of the most prolific, Donald Wexler, was the designer of numerous public buildings including the tent-like Palm Springs airport. Coquelle writes that to Wexler, modernism is an “interplay of multiple experiments with emphasis on new technologies: metal framing, steel joinery, sliding glass walls extending to infinity, prefabricated modules, concrete slabs, etc. Wexler called the era ‘the golden years of architecture.’”<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Coquelle, 16.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 18.





Figure 9. Palm Springs City Hall, Albert Frey, 1952, Photo by the author, 2014

To paraphrase from the book *Palm Springs Modern*, by Adele Cygelman, in the 1950s, golf was gaining popularity, and along with it, the idea of the golf course lifestyle. Homes would actually be constructed right on the fairway, with a whole culture built around this novel concept of living on the golf course, being part of a country club community, and being able to golf every day with ease. Developers planned seasonal golf resort country club communities and put the lots around the fairways up for sale with great success. Celebrities like Bob Hope, Frank Sinatra, Bing Crosby, Desi Arnez, and Lucille Ball, along with powerful politicians like Dwight Eisenhower and Gerald Ford all purchased homes in Palm Springs. Billionaire philanthropists Walter and Leonore Annenberg built a 200-acre walled estate with their own private golf course and invited their close friends, like Presidents Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan, to take working vacations from the White House to relax and golf in luxury and privacy. Even the Queen of England visited them at their iconic A. Quincy Jones-designed home in Rancho Mirage.



Figure 10. Sunnylands, A. Quincy Jones, 1963, Photo by the author, 2014

Through all these developments, the fame and luster of the enclave of Palm Springs became cemented in the American psyche forever. The creation of this entirely new community and luxurious way of life was brought about by a group of wealthy individuals who were accustomed to having their homes custom-built and decorated. They were a leisure class who could afford to invest in spectacular, innovative resort experiences, private walled estates, or austere glass pavilions filled with exquisite modern furniture. They golfed, swam, and played tennis daily, before balmy evenings spent dining poolside in the latest fashions purchased in the glamorous Wurdeman and Becket-designed Bullocks Wilshire on Highway 111 in downtown Palm Springs.

### **Palm Springs for the Average American**

According to the Palm Springs Bureau of Tourism's website, "with the advent of the air conditioner, the desert as a year-round destination and residential community became possible for the first time."<sup>18</sup> People who were not necessarily wealthy enough to own a home in the desert to occupy for a few months each year could now live in the desert full time, and the dynamics of the tiny community began to change to include a

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<sup>18</sup> Palm Springs Bureau of Tourism, "Visit Palm Springs," accessed November 24, 2013, <http://www.visitpalmsprings.com/page/palm-springs-history/8180.html>.

broader spectrum of residents beyond the wealthy and those in the service industry, who catered to the seasonal influx. Albert Frey was one of the midcentury architects who made his home permanently in Palm Springs, and for the rest of his life he lived in his own minimalist glass box perched on a cliff overlooking downtown Palm Springs.



Figure 11. Frey House II, Albert Frey, 1964

As Donald Wexler had discovered, the desert was a perfect vehicle for new building methods like prefabricated panels and units, and modern materials, such as steel, glass, and concrete. In an article published in the *Toronto Star* on Palm Springs modernism, Christopher Hume states that many of the new structures, from private homes to public and commercial spaces, were held up by steel beams; these structures contained large open spaces and had windows for walls. The casualness of American life was reflected in the architecture; the rigid hierarchy of traditional housing gave way to a human-scaled flow of rooms and a sense of connection, interior and exterior. E. Stewart Williams, one of the most prolific architects of Palm Springs' iconic public landmarks, had the philosophy that "the character of the site should be the generator of the form of the architect's solution. The architecture should be an expression of the form that surrounds it."<sup>19</sup> This is an excellent example of the sentiment of modernist architects, as opposed to traditional architecture. Williams is also quoted in the pamphlet from the Palm Springs Modern Committee on the Iconic Home Tour, February 2013, stating that he thought that a house ought to look like it grew from the ground, rather than falling from the sky.

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<sup>19</sup> Michael Stern, *E. Stewart Williams A Tribute to His Work and Life* (Palm Springs: Palm Springs Preservation Foundation, 2005), 2.



Figure 12. Private Home, E. Stewart Williams, 1959, Photo by the Author, 2014

The scene unfolded over years, as the population of seasonal wealthy elite converged on Palm Springs every winter, the year-round population slowly grew. Middle-class retirees moved into the valley to enjoy the hot climate, quiet life, and ample golf. The architectural experience continued to awe any who encountered it. Architects learned how to build in the heat and sun of the desert environment. “Don’t use wood on exteriors since it expands, contracts, and disintegrates rapidly. Avoid stucco and plaster – they crack easily. Use only steel, concrete, stone, [and] glass. Build the house low on the ground and let it conform to the landscape. Make the outdoors as much a part of the indoors as possible.”<sup>20</sup> This was the mantra of the time, but part of the human experience is that every generation wants to make its own mark, and so, by the 1970s, the midcentury style became dated.

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<sup>20</sup> Alaine Cygleman, *Palm Springs Modern* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 2009), 23.



Figure 13. Coachella Valley Savings and Loan, E. Stewart Williams, 1961

Palm Springs fell off the international radar. Many of the once-famous desert midcentury structures and dwellings fell into disrepair while some were destroyed to make way for newer developments and the city turned into a virtual ghost town, with empty shops filling the once-glamorous streets of downtown. The economic decline, however, actually saved an exceptional number of the historic structures from alteration. Many were abandoned, sat empty, or lived in as they were for decades, preserved in the desert heat.

In the past ten years, Palm Springs has become a popular destination for midcentury enthusiasts from around the world, as the design-minded community at large once again relishes the sleek, clean lines and minimalist design ethos of the midcentury era. A new generation is striving to recapture some of that bright optimism of America in the 1950s and 1960s, and they have been coming to Palm Springs to do it.

### **Conclusion: Restoration, Preservation, and Rebirth**

The midcentury era was a product of the post-World War II boom that swept across America and Europe. It was a time of optimism and change that manifested itself in architecture and design. This dramatically changed many aspects of people's lives, from their clothing, hairstyles, and furniture to their houses, cars, and more. This boom took ideas born in the Bauhaus and the designs of Frank Lloyd Wright and developed them into an architectural concept that was based on clean lines, simplicity, and industrially manufactured materials that were standardized for efficiency in a rapidly expanding society. Southern

California became home to millions of veterans, who built communities across the landscape, and brilliant architects were drawn to its sunny coasts and dramatic deserts. They designed a plethora of homes, libraries, airports, gas stations, and more before the fickle public eye turned to the next fad, the shag carpets and avocado appliances of the 1970s.

The desert oasis of Palm Springs had long been a haven for the wealthy who had flocked there to enjoy the warm winters for decades. They largely abandoned the town when the boom ended, however, and the sleek homes and chic designs of the era fell out of fashion. These homes sit largely unappreciated, but there is a vibrant community hard at work, concerned with preserving and restoring these relics of an optimistic and experimental time in Southern California history. Once more those interested in good design gravitate to Palm Springs, and a multitude of the surviving structures are being restored to their original state. We can be sure they will be appreciated for generations to come, and the ingenuity and optimism of the post-WWII boom in Southern California will not be forgotten. This is important because it reminds us that the modern built environment can be simple and effective as well as aesthetically pleasing. In our modern age of featureless strip malls and endless swathes of tract housing, this legacy may prove to be an enduring beacon of inspiration for the future.

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Southern California native Joshua Robb Edmundson is a senior at California State University San Bernardino and will graduate in June 2014 with a Bachelor of Arts degree in history with a concentration United States history. He plans to pursue a Ph.D. in museum studies with a concentration in curating and historic preservation. He is currently working on an honors thesis on Ming and Qing dynasty Chinese art history. Josh lives in Palm Springs with his partner Kenneth and dog Asta, where he serves his community as a commissioner on the Public Arts Commission. He also works as a guide at Sunnylands, the historic estate of Walter and Leonore Annenberg, a job that helped fuel his lifelong passion for the arts, history and architecture. Beyond his studies, Josh enjoys hiking, swimming, cooking, travel and improving his midcentury home in the desert. He would like to thank everyone at The Annenberg Foundation Trust at Sunnylands as well as the history department at CSUSB, particularly Dr. Cherstin Lyon and Dr. Jeremy Murray for their boundless inspiration, outstanding example, encouragement and support.





# Travels Through History

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## **African History, Western Perceptions, Development, and Travel in Kenya**

By Moriah Schnose

In the summer of 2012, I traveled to Kenya, where I spent time in the capital city Nairobi, the village of Kakuyuni, and a few days on a safari in the Masai region. During my visit, I observed the work of the organization, *Heavenly Treasures*, and witnessed the impact of the myths associated with the West's relationship with Africa. As far back as the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Western world has referred to Africa as the "Dark Continent." For centuries, this term evoked a sense of mystery about Africa and its peoples. Currently, the West continues to perceive and perpetuate a false image of Africa. Contrary to popular belief, countries which comprise the continent of Africa are some of the most culturally, economically, politically and historically diverse in the world. Unfortunately, the West continues to portray Africa as both a single country with a primitive, unstructured, and uniform culture.

Before visiting Kenya, I wondered why Africa seemed so vulnerable to war, corruption, poverty, and disease. My own worldview was greatly shaped by the media coverage surrounding Africa, which tends to be very unbalanced. Typically, it covers only the extreme and tragic cases, and fails to represent positive events in Africa. In turn, this view has been used to justify oppressive foreign policy. Moreover, I have come to the conclusion that the majority of the tragedies in Africa are a direct result of foreign influence, particularly by the United States and Europe. How the West views Africa has been socially constructed over centuries of controversial history. Perceptions of Africa from European and American governments have been used to justify exploitive political and economic agendas. Throughout Africa's existence, the West has ignored Africa's political, technological, and economic advances in order to perpetuate the image of Africa being inferior to the West. Understanding Africa's complex history is therefore essential in order to avoid further misunderstanding.

## **Depictions of East African History**

For thousands of years, societies in Africa possessed highly structured political systems, advanced commerce, and integral social systems. Before Europeans ever rounded the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa, contact had long been established between Africans living along the Swahili coast (and as far inland as what is now Uganda) and people living along the perimeter of the Indian Ocean (but particularly those in India). What started as merely an economic relationship based on mutual interest in trade, evolved into an intricate cultural exchange. Traders would move with the seasons, spending part of the year in their homelands and part of the year living near the Horn of Africa, including what is now Kenya and Tanzania. They would marry and start families along coasts throughout the Indian Ocean, trading not only monetary products, but also ideas, and religions, among others.<sup>1</sup>

The earliest interactions between Europeans and the Swahili Coast were drastically different from the way in which the West has framed Africa over the past few hundred years. The constructs of race upheld today did not exist when the Portuguese first arrived on the shores of what is now Kenya in the mid-seventeenth century. The Portuguese had a very inaccurate understanding about the size of the African continent, and because the people of the Swahili coast had complex trading systems with coastal people throughout the Indian Ocean that date back to around the year 1,000 C.E., the Portuguese did not view them as African. Instead, the Portuguese thought of the African populace as Arabs. The Portuguese relied heavily on Africans along the Swahili coast as translators with Indians, and they highly respected the ability to speak multiple languages. Thus, they did not approach relations with the people of the Swahili coast with a mindset of superiority. Instead, they saw great potential in maintaining strong economic ties with them.<sup>2</sup> This history is often overlooked.

Western radicalized discourse on Africa as we know it today, emerged during the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. Ideologies that have deemed black skin as inferior have helped justify chattel slavery in the Americas, can also be found in Jewish, Christian and Islamic texts.<sup>3</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> Jeremy Prestholdt, "Portuguese Conceptual Categories and the 'Other' Encounter on the Swahili Coast," *Journal of Asian & African Studies (Brill)* 36, no. 4 (2001): 383-406.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> David Goldberg, "The Curse of Ham," *The Curse of Ham: Race and Slavery in Early Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, 1 (2003): 168-177. Monotheistic religions have justified slavery by arguing that blackness and slavery are both curses from God. Ham was the son of the Biblical figure Noah who found Noah

negative views of Africa were solidified during the period of colonization during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As chattel slavery was abolished towards the end of the eighteenth century, Westernized countries (particularly Protestant Christians influenced by the Great Awakening), began to advocate for the exploration of Africa's interior. Unfortunately, due to misunderstandings of African culture, along with European's own superiority complexes, led to the partitioning of Africa.<sup>4</sup>

Western scientists, explorers, and missionaries were among the earliest Westerners to explore Africa's interior. The expansion within the field of biology during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries further promoted the ideology of African being inferior to European. Westerners justified their invasion with claims that Africans were biologically "uncivilized" and "primitive." Motivated by the view that Africans were inferior to them, Western scientists speculated that Africans were the "missing link." Historians John and Jean Comaroff pointed out that "the vocabulary of natural science was to strengthen and legitimize the association of the Dark Continent with black bodies and dim minds. Comparative anatomical schemes typically presented Africans as the most extreme contrast with Europeans...the 'link' between man and beast."<sup>5</sup>

The work of explorers in Africa was largely funded by Western governments.<sup>6</sup> Despite the fact that empires were seen as outdated and

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intoxicated and informed his brothers. Noah viewed this as a mockery and cursed Ham, along with his decedents, to servitude.

<sup>4</sup> Anthony Dachs, "Missionary Imperialism-The Case of Bechuanaland," *Journal of African History*, 4 (1973): 647-658.

<sup>5</sup> John and Jean Comaroff, "Africa Observed: Discourses of the Imperial Imagination," *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa*, 1 (1991): 86-125. Although their goal was to convert Africans to Christianity, missionaries often maintained close ties to colonial forces. Missionaries portrayed themselves as heroes from the "evil witch-doctor." Due to missionaries demanding that Africans convert to Christianity and denounce all tradition which were deemed unholy by their standards, Christian missionaries in Africa have been accused of cultural genocide. As missionaries moved further into the interior of Africa, they set up missionary posts and would receive military protection from their homelands. This helped justify early Western military involvement in Africa.

<sup>6</sup> Jan Pieterse, "In the Dark Continent," *White on Black: Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Popular Culture* (1992): 64-75. We can particularly see this in the case of Henry Morton Stanley. Stanley was born in Wales to a young, unwed mother. At age eighteen, he moved to the United States and served on both sides of the American Civil War. Commissioned by James Gordon Bennett Jr., son of founder of the New York Herald, Stanley set out to find Dr. David Livingstone. Livingstone, who was a famous missionary in Africa during the 1800's, traveled into the interior of Africa and re-named major geographical

costly to maintain, Europeans sat down specifically to lay claim to land in Africa at the Berlin Conference, in 1884. Otto Von Bismarck, first Chancellor of unified Germany, and host of the Berlin Conference, invited representatives from fourteen European nations including the United States, as in the words of King Leopold, to: “carve up ... that magnificent African cake.” Not a single African was invited, and yet these European powers drew new borders for African countries. They are recorded to have literally taken a ruler to a map of Africa and penciled in many of the countries we know today. In some cases, they attempted to follow geographical borders such as rivers and yet not a single cultural border was taken into consideration.<sup>7</sup> By 1900, the only non-colonized countries in Africa were Ethiopia and Liberia, with Liberia remaining under control of the United States.

In the Scramble for Africa, Kenya was claimed by the British Empire. Great Britain governed Kenya, like most English colonies, with indirect rule. Kenyans were allowed to maintain much of their own systems but were responsible for reporting back to the British. Kenya has been politically independent from Great Britain since 1963.<sup>8</sup> Following decolonization, several African countries, including Kenya, turned to the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Trade Organization to help rebuild their nations. In order for African nations to borrow money from these groups, they often had to agree to Structural Adjustment Programs. These programs made it nearly impossible for African countries to pay back the money they borrowed, and insisted that borrowers cut social spending, cut income taxes, expand privatization, liberalize trade, and restrict subsidization. Several organizations have responded to this by promoting debt relief. This form of aid has been proven to help temporarily, but does nothing to prevent the borrowing governments from having to borrow again.

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locations in the name of Great Britain. When Livingstone and Stanley met, Africans became the backdrop in their own land. This story has been propagated for centuries. In 1876, Stanley was commissioned by King Leopold of Belgium to establish an undercover organization that laid claim to the Congo, titled the *International African Association*. It was disguised as a scientific organization with the intent to “civilize” and “Christianize” Africans. Instead, Leopold turned the Congo into a work camp, which led to the estimated death of ten million Africans.

<sup>7</sup> Norman Etherington, “A False Emptiness: How Historians May Have Been Misled by Early Nineteenth Century Maps of South-eastern Africa,” *Imago Mundi*, 1 (2004): 67-87.

<sup>8</sup> It is too simple to say European nations “pulled out” of Africa. Some did, but in many cases black Africans fought long and hard to gain political and economic control. The greatest example of this is the Apartheid system in South Africa, a system that was not overthrown until 1995. Kenya has been politically independent of Great Britain since 1963.

Throughout Europe and North America, there is widespread perception that Africa needs to be saved or rescued, and that salvation cannot come from within Africa. The image of Africans on their knees begging for freedom and support is one that first appeared during the rise of missionaries in Africa. This image still remains prevalent today and has huge implications on how Africa is viewed.<sup>9</sup> “Kony 2012,” the U2 Live Aid Concerts, “Save Darfur,” and numerous other campaigns that appear to promote the betterment of Africa constantly bombard the Western media. Although some of these organization and individuals do genuinely make a positive difference in Africa, most only perpetuate the stereotype that the continent of Africa is helpless, pitiful, and hopeless without outside aid. Indeed, in Western media, it is difficult to escape the latest updates of famous celebrities holding concerts, adopting children, and developing entire clothing lines aimed at “saving” Africa to the point where “helping” Africa has become trendy. Infomercials interrupt air-time to tell the tragic story of orphan children dying of disease and malnourishment. The problem with these campaigns, organizations, and movements, is that they do little to empower Africans to change what they want within their communities, much less to create a positive and lasting impact. Instead, they often do more damage than good, and create a paternalistic relationship between the West and Africa.

### Assessing a Modern Development Project

In recent years, a new participatory approach for development has emerged: micro-enterprise, also known as micro-credit or micro-finance. Micro-enterprise consists of giving a micro-loan or micro-credit to a business of typically no more than ten people. As the business earns their money back, it is agreed upon that they also pay back their debtors. This is meant to help grow self-sufficient business. These “debtors” then are meant to go on to grow more micro-finance businesses. While in Kenya, I got to partner with and observe the work of a micro-enterprise organization based out of Glendora, California called *Heavenly Treasure*, founded in 1998. They are connected to thirteen countries worldwide, and three countries in Africa including; Ethiopia, Uganda, and Kenya. Currently, *Heavenly Treasure* is working with thirteen different micro-credit companies within Kenya.

Unlike traditional forms of Western aid in Africa that veer on the side of paternalism, the goal of the micro-finance is to provide “access to flexible, convenient, and affordable financial

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<sup>9</sup> This view of Africa directly correlates with the ethnocentric and racial ideology of Protestant missionaries over a century ago. Europeans knew so little about Africa, and yet they saw themselves fit to train them how to live.

services. This empowers and equips the poor to make their own choices and build their way out of poverty in a sustained and self-determined way.”<sup>10</sup> Criticism for micro-credit claim that it is on too small of a scale to make a significant difference, and that it does not give the poor the power to break the cycle of poverty in their own lives. In many cases, however, these same people often times invest their earning into their community despite such claims.

Although my experience in Africa took place solely in Kenya, I interacted with a diverse culture that carefully preserved its rich history, while maintaining a hopeful pride in the future of their nation and their continent. The capital city of Nairobi is reflective of the influence of globalization in Kenya, and the African continent in general. There is a huge divide between the wealthy and the poor, and similar to American city planning and development, the wealthiest neighborhoods are situated at the top of hills, complete with first class shopping destinations.

Juxtaposed to this lifestyle of luxury is a mix low income and impoverished communities in pockets throughout Nairobi. The Kibera slums in Kenya are one of the world's largest slum neighborhoods. In the few weeks prior to our visit, there had been a series of robberies in Kibera so we were cautious, and hired two armed mercenaries to walk us through the neighborhoods. After forty-five minutes, we arrived at a primary school that benefitted from the work of micro-enterprise. The headmaster welcomed us with fresh fruit, roasted nuts, and chai tea. Before we ate, his wife went around the table carrying a pitcher of water and a basin to clean our hands. The headmaster explained that the school recently suffered severe budget cuts that affected the school, teachers, and students. The budget cuts affected the amount of food given to the students, which created a lack of focus during school from hunger. The headmaster, his wife, and the teachers are the real heroes of Africa. These heroes have committed themselves to educating young Kenyans in the hope that they will make a better life in the future. The West glamorizes aid to Africa, which often overlooks all the unsung men and women that are making a positive difference on their own.

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<sup>10</sup> Elizabeth Littlefield, Jonathan Murdutch, and Syed Hashemi, *Is Microfinance an Effective Strategy to Reach the Millennium Development Goals?* (manuscript, 2003), [http://www.mikrofinanzwiki.de/file/570/is\\_mf\\_an\\_effective\\_strategy\\_to\\_reach\\_the\\_mdg\\_2003.pdf](http://www.mikrofinanzwiki.de/file/570/is_mf_an_effective_strategy_to_reach_the_mdg_2003.pdf).





Figure 1: Students looking outside the window, local primary school in Kikuyu, Kenya. Photo by Danielle Jones.

While walking through Kibera, many Kenyans were amazed to see us. The adults acted as if they had encountered a ghost. Children from other schools would rush to the windows yelling with excitement and disbelief that Westerners were walking through Kibera. I distinctly remember one boy shouting out “It’s like a movie!” We asked one of the mercenaries why their reaction was so strong. He explained that Kenyans rarely see *mzungu*’s or Westerners, in Kibera traveling on foot. Westerners that travel through Kibera typically use tourist companies that travel by bus. Tourists take pictures of the extreme poverty but never step out of their buses to speak with Kenyans. The process is called “slumming.” Tour companies promote what they call “the other side touring Kenya.” The act of slumming is offensive to the people living in Kibera. Tourist “observing” life in a Kenyan slum promotes a mentality of “us versus them” towards Africans. Slumming as a tourist attraction was one of the most heart-breaking things I witnessed in Kenya.

Although development projects have not been successful in improving lives, my experience with participatory development is that it can make a long-lasting positive difference in a community. While in Nairobi, I had the honor of meeting several people that were benefitting from micro-enterprise, but one story in particular speaks to the power these companies have to transform entire communities. As we drove through the unpaved red dirt road slums of Nairobi, Kenyans would walk along the side of the van tapping the window yelling “Mzungu! Mzungu!” When we finally reached Gongu Waya Designs workshop

there was nothing about the building that would denote anything extraordinary.

Abel, the founder of Gongga Waya, started his business in the living room of the house he shared with his wife and daughter. Barely able to gain enough profit to feed his family once a day, he was surviving but not to his business' full potential. After joining forces with *Heavenly Treasures*, Abel was able to move his business out of the family living room and into a permanent workshop. He currently employs eight year round employees and over the holiday season he hires over five times that amount. The result is over 500 people benefit directly from employment opportunities through his company. He went from an annual income of US\$500 to making over US\$40,000 a year. Within the first few minutes spent talking with Abel, he conveyed a profound sense of gratitude to God. After meeting Abel, I could not help, but feel humbled by his work.

The next part of my visit to Kenya was spent in the village of Kakuyuni, in the Kumba part of the country. International micro-credit organizations tend to target women, because globally, women typically have less economic opportunities and greater difficulty acquiring loans. Women also tend to be more likely than their male-counter parts to invest their earnings back into the community.<sup>11</sup> Although *Heavenly Treasures* does not exclusively assist women, in Kakuyuni, a rural town in Kenya, the group has partnered with the Sisal Sisters. Sisal is an agave botanical species where sisal weaving is a traditional craft in Kenya. The Sisal sisters weave beautiful bags and baskets with a variety of patterns and colors. It began with one woman, in Kakuyuni, and in less than ten years, they have grown to a group of almost 40 grandmothers. These women are on their second round of parenting, raising their grandchildren, on account that their own children have died of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. These women typically care for anywhere from six to ten children each, and collectively care for over two hundred children. The Sisal Sister's work is hard (they have calloused hands), and support the future of Kenya. Each of the women possesses a hopefulness that transcends their external circumstances. They have become completely self-sustaining with a stable source of income.

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<sup>11</sup> Littlefield, et. al.



Figure 2: Sisal Sister Ester, at her home in Kukuyni, Kenya. Photo by Danielle Jones.

Along with spending time with the Sisal Sisters, I had the honor of meeting several of the children and adolescents that they care for in Kakuyuni. Along the walls of the school were various charts, one was titled “Academic Board of Honour,” that celebrated the top students in English, Swahili, Chemistry, Biology, and Physics. Another sign had the schools motto that simply stated “Education Enlightens.” All of the students had plans to attend universities, and the majority of them dreamed of being chemist or doctors.

The last part of my trip was spent on the safari through the resort called Kichwa Tembo. Kichwa Tembo is a five-star oasis in the middle of a beautiful nature reservation in Kenya. A tour guide picked my team up in Nairobi and drove us across six grueling hours of rocky terrain into a region of Kenya that is occupied by the Masai. The Masai are famous for their draped red clothing and complex bead work. They have become one the most recognizable ancient cultures in the world. Our travel guide warned us not to take any pictures as we traveled through the Masai land on account that the Masai would write down the license plate of the car; leaving the guide responsible for the picture taken. He explained that the Masai would pose for a picture, but monetary compensation would be demanded.



Figures 3 and 4: View from the windshield on our way to Safari, and Giraffes during the evening Safari, Masai Mara National Reserve, Kenya. Photos by Danielle Jones.

The safari was broken into two parts. We went out with our guide at sunset, and again, at dawn the next day. After the evening safari and dinner, we were all gathered around a campfire for the evening's entertainment. There were people all over Europe and a few fellow

Americans. No one was sure what to expect, but out from the bushes, we heard the sounds of animal calls. Then young men wearing traditional Masai dress came out from the dark and began performing a traditional dance. They slowly came to a pause in which one of them stepped forward and introduced the group. He said that the dance they would be performing was the traditional coming of age dance for a young Masai warrior. They proceeded to dance and took turns jumping. Although their performance was absolutely incredible, it also left me with a heavy sense of irony. The Masai are so famous for its rich history, and yet they willing to sell performances of sacred dances to foreigners like myself. The Masai are aware of Westerners fascination with traditional African culture that they capitalized on it to fit the role assigned to them by the West.



Figure 5: Masai Warrior Performance, Kichwa Tembo, Masai Mara National Reserve, Kenya. Photo by Danielle Jones.

The way in which Africa is portrayed in the West as exotic and in turmoil is a perception that has lingered for generations. Unlike the early colonists who were unaware of African culture, we must take the time to understand and respect Africa. We have to stop demanding that Africa Westernize in order to meet the modern demands of world powers. Kenya, like so much of Africa's inhabitants, have a diverse past and a very bright future.

Despite the centuries of Western influence in Kenya, the influence of Arab culture is still prevalent in Kenya. This influence becomes clear when examining language. As previously mentioned, the ability to communicate cross-culturally became essential to trade between the two groups. To this day, Kenya maintains two official languages, English and Swahili. Swahili is a mix between various African languages and Arabic. Beyond language, evidence of Arab

influence in Kenya can be found in the cuisine and style of dress. While in Kenya, almost every meal I ate included chapati and chai tea. Both trace their roots to India, both are staples in the Kenyan diet, and both were introduced to Kenya centuries ago. Even the style of clothing worn in Kenya shares indisputable similarities to clothing styles often worn throughout parts of India and the Middle East.

As state earlier, the deepest flaw with aid programs is that they continue to create African reliance on Western nations, both politically and economically. Although the term “colonization” is not applied to the outside involvement in Africa today, the continuous exploitation of Africa's resources and people remains the leading cause crippling the continent. If Africa is ever to be given a fair chance at competing on the global political and economic stage, Africans must govern the African way, rather than the ways outside forces (Whether that be corporations or foreign governments). In the past twenty years or so, the use of micro-enterprise has emerged as a way to empower individuals that otherwise would not have access to business and possess limited employment opportunities. *Heavenly Treasures* expands on the talent and work ethic of the people they partner with. These partnerships put the power to transform communities into the hands of the people that live within those communities.

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## **Standing Where They Stood**

By Richard A. Butler

This past summer, I traveled to Germany and took part in a youth work camp that focused on researching topics associated with the Holocaust, and more specifically, the concentration camp Mittlebau-Dora in Nordhausen, Germany. The main focus of the organization, *Youth for Dora* is to make sure that young people are still engaging, discovering, and communicating the history of the concentration camp. Every year, the organization puts together a two week international work camp, of which I was lucky enough to be chosen to attend in August. As an undergraduate in history, focusing on Nazi Germany and the Holocaust, I have long awaited the chance to be in the places that I have become so invested in. Once the reality of the situation set in, I started to wonder what the experience was going to be like, a sense of trepidation became more prevalent as the departure date approached.

### **The Project**

The focus of these work camps is to undertake a project that spreads awareness about what happened in this city during the Nazi era, a history that the city does not like to confront or accept as I have come to learn. This year's project was meant as a protest and challenge to the common narrative, that the people of Nordhausen were victims rather than perpetrators. There is a monument which depicts the city of Nordhausen as victims of the allied bombing of the city. As the organization intended to shift the focus of this narrative onto the forced labor victims of the camp, this monument that stands at the city center represented the focus of our protest. Initially, the project consisted of a temporary monument made of Plexiglas encircling the existing monument memorializing the forced laborers who forcefully inhabited the city during the Nazi era. What motivated the organization to do this project was that one-third of the people living in the Nordhausen area were forced laborers, but the majority of the city's residents choose to not acknowledge it. Many Nordhausen businesses profited from the labor extorted from prisoners of Dora, and though some of these companies have owned up to their history, others continue to deny or ignore it. Similarly, many people in Nordhausen who have ties to this era also choose to not acknowledge the past. So, with that in mind, our group was to construct a temporary monument in an effort to memorialize those victims of forced labor. The

construction of this memorial would be an adventure in itself, because there were twelve minds, with twelve opinions on what the project should end up being.



Figure 1: Nordhausen, Germany. Photo by author.

After two days of discussion and deliberation on what the monument should say and look like, the group decided on a hexagonal structure that would have the Nordhausen skyline drawn, on the lower portion of the Plexiglas panels, but instead of a traditional drawing of buildings, we decided to use various sizes of human figures to make up an abstract but recognizable skyline. The other element to using these figures to form the skyline was that one-third of them would be drawn in a different color to represent the forced laborers among the population, as they walked the streets just as a normal citizen would (albeit with strict laws limiting personal freedoms), but this piece of the city's history has largely been ignored. The plan was to place text and information regarding forced laborers on the top half of these panels in order to bring awareness to what had happened, and also to provoke thoughts on why this is largely ignored by the citizens of the city. Projects of any sort rarely go exactly to plan, however, and this was no exception. The group ran into a myriad of problems in every phase of the project, whether it be materials, creativity, equipment, etc., but perhaps most importantly, where we would be able to place it once completed. The organization found out a few days later that the city revoked privileges to place our project around the existing monument. After becoming aware of this fact, the course of the project changed. The group decided to make a six paneled Plexiglas wall that would be placed inside the town hall next to the existing monument, and this proved to be an easier construction.

Monday started a hectic week of finishing up the project that we were to present on Friday. The people in the work camp split up into

different groups based on their interests and abilities. There was construction, research, design, and artists; being that I am not artistically inclined and cannot read German, I chose the construction crew. Although it came with a level of frustration, our group pretty much had free reign after we designed and planned the construction aspect of the project, to do what ever we wanted. Johannes (a member of the organization and my roommate throughout the trip) and another were also in the construction crew; our designing and planning stage took about two hours on the first day. The project went smoothly and the presentation to the town went a lot better than expected. There was a larger turnout than anticipated with positive feedback from the locals. As a group, we were wondering how it would be received as it was a direct challenge to popular belief, but it was received well, nonetheless. After the presentation, the project remained for two weeks in the town hall so that local passers-by would have the opportunity to view it and hopefully learn something about the towns' history. After the two weeks in the town hall, the display moved to the visitor center at the Mittlebau-Dora concentration camp where it will remain indefinitely.



Figure 2: The Finished Project. Photos by author.



Figure 3: The Finished Project. Photos by author.

### **Travel Experience**

I had traveled to Germany once before as a high school student, and even visited the Dachau concentration camp, so the trepidation alluded to earlier was not necessarily that I was nervous to travel somewhere important in a place where I do not speak the language, but it was in the sense of doing so with a feeling of isolation from familiar peers. Not knowing anyone else in the work camp, and discovering that I would be the only American participant, let alone one of only two non-German participants in the camp (as the other international participants canceled at the last minute) was a bit intimidating. I decided to make the trip anyway, however; it was also my first time traveling on my own, which made me rely on my own devices, and the aid of infinitely generous locals to get where I needed to be.

The sense of relief was a welcomed feeling after the stresses of traveling were mounting; the person to come to my rescue was named Johannes, someone who I became very close to over the course of the work camp. Johannes is a native of Nordhausen, who spoke fluent English, so being able to communicate in full sentences was very comforting because I was discovering how isolating the language barrier was (it would be a feeling throughout the trip). His calming and easy going demeanor made the stress of the day subside.

The first night was a blur, as it usually is after such a long day accompanied with countless introductions and trying to keep my bearings while conversations around me were all going on in German; needless to say it was a very restful night when my head hit the pillow for good. The participants of the work camps stayed at a local youth hostel for the duration of the work camp, and roomed with people we did not know. The morning set off what would be a very interesting day,

because we were to tour the Mittlebau-Dora concentration camp, the camp that the organization *Youth for Dora* was based.

Going into the work camp, I purposely did not research this concentration camp prior to arriving, because I wanted to be a blank canvas and learn from being there on such hallowed ground. The camp itself was mostly ruins, as allied attacks destroyed the majority of the city and the camp. Dora was not the most prolific or oldest of the camps, it was actually quite young compared to the others as it opened in 1944. Before that, it was a sub-camp to Buchenwald. What was so defining to this camp, aside from the horrors associated with concentration camps in general, was the intricate tunnel system. The tunnels, which extend miles into the hill that the camp rests into, were impressive both for their feat of engineering, and the unbeknownst brutality that these tunnels brought. These tunnels, which were massive, were built on the backs of slave labor (per the Nazi *motus operandi*), and were consistently eight degrees centigrade year round and moist. This deadly combination: cold, moist, inhalation of debris, and Nazi brutality was in essence a death sentence in itself. The water in the air, combined with the particles inhaled converged in the prisoners lungs, effectively creating cement in the lungs, gradually halting the ability to breathe. Construction of these tunnels cost many lives. All the while, the prisoners worked, slept, and lived in these tunnels day in and day out during construction of both the tunnels and the camp on the surface.



Figure 4: Mittlebau-Dora Tunnels. Photo by author.

To go to such lengths to construct such an intricate system was meant to keep hidden what the Nazi scientists were getting ready to construct, the V-1 and V-2 rockets. These rockets were at the forefront of weapons technology during this era, and were constructed in these tunnels; also notable about these tunnels/weapon factories was that the famous Dr. Werner Von Braun was the lead scientist at the site. The

tunnels and rocket, nevertheless, remained a stark reminder of what happened here, and what was always lurking as we toured the camp site. Compared to Dachau, Dora was more run down and rural, which was to be expected as Dachau is largely reconstructed, and Dora is mostly original construction. The most harrowing sections of Dora is the intact roll call square, firing squad wall with the adjoining camp prison, and of course the hallmark of all concentration camps, the crematorium/burning facility. The newness of this camp to me, in that I had no prior knowledge of it, somewhat dampened the emotional impact that such a site would normally have, as I was so caught up in learning about everything and soaking up as much information as I could.

After spending the first part of the work day in the camp, we went into the city and toured areas which had significance during the Nazi time period. Walking the streets where Adolf Hitler had step foot was unsettling, because there was a sense that such a monster walked the same street that I did, and saw the same buildings; the distance from which we study him now seemed to dissipate and the reality that he was also human was all too real. As I was wrestling with that feeling, we continued the tour until we ended up at the city square, where the monument stood in stark contrast to these feelings.

After the work week was concluded on Friday (the next morning), we went on a day excursion to the Buchenwald concentration camp, the vastly larger sister camp to Dora and better known. Buchenwald is an imposing complex simply in terms of its size, as it is the largest in the area. Being that I already knew some of the history of the camp, the impact this day had on me personally was vastly different from when I toured the Dora camp. Buchenwald consists of largely original construction with minimal restoration, which adds an eerie authenticity that I think Dachau lacks. The harrowing nature of Buchenwald hits you full force as you walk through the watch tower gates and into the massive roll call square where prisoners stood every day during their internment. Standing where they stood, seeing the watch tower that is so synonymous with Nazi concentration camps, with the iron gates that say in German “you get what you deserve,” and imagining what would be going through a prisoners mind, one realizes that there is no way to even scratch the surface of the harsh realities of the camp. Studying from afar, reading a book, and writing papers allows the student a shield from the reality to some extent, but standing there removes all mysticism and it becomes resoundingly real!





Figure 5: Buchenwald Main Watch Tower and Gate. Photo by author.



Figure 6: Camp gate with the inscription "Jedem Das Seine." Translation: "you get what you deserve." Photo by author.

As the tour progressed, this sense of reality, and the resounding brutality that occurred on the ground I walked on, brought forth profound emotions that I had not been accustomed to feeling. Walking through the site of the roll call square and the main barracks where mostly non-Jews were held, was like a calm before the storm in comparisons to what took place in the outskirts of this section of the camp. In the more forested area of this section is where they held the Jewish population and the

infirm, which by all accounts can only be described as hell on earth. The brutality was two-fold, the first being the obvious holocaust horrors, and the second being the neglect they suffered (which brought it to a whole new level). In the “infirm/ill” section of the camp, was a camp within the camp, where the sick were just left there to rot, suffer, and die amongst each other in unimaginably putrid conditions.

The tour then culminated in the viewing of the crematorium, which is where the experience truly became too heavy to handle. Walking in the building felt like trespassing onto hallowed grounds, because so much evil that had occurred at the hands of fellow humans culminated in this building. It was the body cart immediately at the entrance, it was the basement with the dead body chute, the hooks on the walls where corpses hung until moved to the elevator, then finally the ovens that are all too infamous and identifiable with the tragedy that occurred in these camps. The tour itself was an all-out assault on emotion, but it was in the crematorium where it finally became too much and I had to find a wall outside to go behind, away from the group, as the emotions I had been suppressing overcame my ability to contain and wept. The experience was so powerful, so moving it is hard to describe and give it justice in text; it truly is one that should be encountered first hand, because I believe it is a unique experience for each individual. After the main tour of the camp, groups broke off and had the choice to go directly to Weimar or go view the memorial at Buchenwald celebrating the liberation of the camp on the site where the mass graves were. I chose to delay going to Weimar and visit the memorial which was draped in Soviet propaganda, but still very impressive and powerful.



Figure 7: Buchenwald Crematorium. Photo by author.



Reflecting on this experience, the one thing that stands out to me personally is that I gained a new, and different perspective on a multitude of things, whether it be academic, personal, or connections formed with strangers. As far as academically, it is definitely one thing to sit at home or a library reading about something that you are passionate about, but that kind of education can only take you so far. This experience of being on the ground, “Standing Where They Stood” adds an invaluable dimension to my education that I hold very dear, because there is a certain legitimacy an experience such as this adds to the time spent studying the events that took place. Furthermore, being in a camp I had no prior knowledge of, and working on a project that brought to light an issue that I was not well versed in, was a great learning experience. Finally, the friendships I made over the duration of the camp is a testament to that the fact that as indifferent as humans may act towards each other, humanity is not lost, and there is still hope.



# In Memoriam

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## Obituaries, Subjectivities, and Perceptions of Ariel Sharon

By Sean Switzer

### Introduction

The day after his brother's death in April, 1888, Alfred Nobel opened a Parisian newspaper only to discover his own obituary. The erroneous obituary, which confused Alfred for his late brother, Ludvig, disheartened him as he realized the gloomy state of his legacy. The article's headline read, "*Le Marchand de la Mort est Mort!*" ("The Merchant of Death is Dead!"). Nobel was dumbfounded. His invention of dynamite had backfired on him. He had never intended for dynamite to kill human beings; yet, brutal assertions such as, "Dr. Alfred Nobel, who became rich by finding ways to kill more people, faster than ever before, died yesterday," highlighted this obituary. Those words condemned Nobel by proclaiming him to be the liaison between dynamite and its victims. The blood spilled by the victims of dynamite was on his hands.<sup>1</sup>

Nobel was grateful for this mix-up because he was then inspired to create a new, positive legacy for himself. Though the world currently deemed him as an avaricious scientist, Nobel yearned to give the world a chance to look back at his life with positive memories. Thus in, 1895, Nobel uniquely and unconventionally drafted his own obituary through his Last Will and Testament. He left a majority of his wealth to create a prize bearing his name. The Nobel Prize reshaped Nobel's fame. No longer named "the Merchant of Death," Nobel is now considered to be the father of a prize that commemorates outstanding contributions to science and peace.<sup>2</sup>

The above narrative illustrates the power of an obituary. Unlike a biography or memoir, it packs an immediate punch aimed at direct accessibility to a broader audience. It can shatter or celebrate the memory of an individual's life. Its force lies in the fact that it is an epilogue, a last

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<sup>1</sup> Ken Makovsky, "Nobel: How He Built His Reputation," *Forbes*, November 7, 2011, <http://www.forbes.com/sites/kenmakovsky/2011/11/07/nobel-how-he-built-his-reputation>. (Accessed April 10, 2014).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

summary of a person's life remembered. When the remembered person is a historical figure, obituaries written from opposing viewpoints can serve as valuable tools in uncovering greater historical insight and understanding.

When presented with two conflicting obituaries, the reader views historical events and people from different angles, which allows one to see the validity of both perspectives. This exposure, therefore, discourages the skewing of the reader's perception of history and encourages the development of a critical eye in analyzing historical leaders and events. Different perspectives challenge readers to question their own biases, and by doing so, gain a fuller grasp of various concepts that are instrumental in solving on-going conflicts.

Though the above statement is true, it makes history too simplistic. It trivializes the fact that humans are amazingly complex and consequently, so is history. This is where the obituary holds its actual power. The writer can reshape history because an obituary is physically short, limiting the writer to choose what content to include in their summation. Negation of negative complexities surrounding a person's life is an easy way for the writer to expound on a deceased person's positives throughout their life. This is commonly done by way of omitting abysmal details from the narrative, or scapegoating the negative, which in turn, sanctifies the person of topic. In quite the other way, the writer can demonize their subject by emphasizing the negative, or diving deep into the closet of a person's past and pulling out every bone from every skeleton in existence. In addition, using certain terminology and phrases can also shape the reader's perspective on the topics presented in an obituary; the well rounded complexity of an individual's history is rarely, if ever, presented in obituaries. In either case, both positive and negative narratives are ostensibly true and appear, to the reader, to be objective in nature. Quite frankly, this is not reality, and unfortunately, rarely would one read a multitude of obituaries in order to see the hidden biases and subjectivity.

In the recent passing of Ariel Sharon, a slew of obituaries flooded the newsstands as well as the internet. Each obituary was not all that unique, as many covered the same events throughout his life. The main difference that actually stood out was the writer's subjectivity in terminology and omission or insertion of a few carefully chosen key events. Authors often portrayed Sharon's life from a single side of the conflict, negative or positive, without any gray zone. Some painted a bleak picture of Sharon where he was a villain and war criminal.<sup>3</sup> Others

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<sup>3</sup> "The World Reacts to Ariel Sharon's Death," *Aljazeera*, January 12, 2014, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2014/01/world-reacts-ariel-sharon-death-2014111133236765101.html>. (Accessed April 10, 2014).

made him out to be a war hero and saint.<sup>4</sup> Few obituaries, however, made some attempt on taking a purely neutral stance where Sharon was both a war hero and a murderer, depending on the event discussed.<sup>5</sup> In writing on such a controversial figure, the authors of Sharon's obituaries look as though they are neutral, but in reality, either read up on Sharon prior to writing the obituary and formulated their own opinion, or were previously educated on the Arab-Israeli conflict and grasped the opportunity to create a last standing memory of his life through their own preconceived notions of Sharon. These obituaries were historically correct and seemed to be neutral, but the subtle phrasing that creates a positive or negative memory of Sharon is evident.

In the following two obituaries, the picture of Ariel Sharon's life is framed quite differently. Both obituaries are doggedly subjective and use a certain language that is commonly used in examination of Sharon among scholars of the Arab Israeli conflict. In one obituary, he is perceived as a criminal and war-monger; in the other one, he is viewed as a savior and war hero. After reading both obituaries, a cognitive dissonance sets in and one is forced to answer the question: which one holds the greater truth? At this point, the validity is seen in both perceptions; an unbiased analysis can then take place with a clearer understanding of history.

### **Israel Mourns the Passing of Beloved War Hero and Political Leader: Ariel Sharon, 1928-2014**

Ariel Sharon, the former Prime Minister of Israel, died Saturday, January 11, 2014, at the age of 85. Sharon was in a coma for eight years following a severe stroke. Present-day Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, expressed his "deep sorrow" following Sharon's death.<sup>6</sup> United States President Barack Obama sent his "deepest condolences," while the United Kingdom Prime Minister David Cameron commemorated Sharon for his stalwart leadership and dedicated pursuit for peace.<sup>7</sup>

Sharon fought for Israel's right to exist as an independent Jewish state from the front lines as a soldier in 1948, until his incapacitating stroke while Prime Minister. Though met with criticism, Sharon always

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<sup>4</sup> Tovah Lazaroff, "Obituary: Ariel Sharon-A Bulldozer in War and Peace," *The Jerusalem Post*, January 11, 2014, <http://www.jpost.com/National-News/Ariel-Sharon-A-Bulldozer-in-War-and-Peace-337663>. (Accessed April 10, 2014).

<sup>5</sup> Jonathan Lis, "Ariel Sharon, Former Israeli Prime Minister, dies at 85," *Haaretz*, January 11, 2014, <http://www.haaretz.com/news/national/1.546747>. (Accessed April 10, 2014).

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

had a complete intolerance for acts of terrorism. Sharon's disgust for terrorists often led to topics of controversy. He was a man of decisive action, with an incredible stalwart passion for Israel's security. Sharon's masculine charisma, matched with his assertive confidence, led many Israelis to admiringly dub him the "bulldozer."<sup>8</sup> Additionally, he is remembered for his quick judgment while in the midst of chaos during battle. With a goal in mind, Sharon would occasionally refuse direct orders, trivializing his disregard for authority with an astonishing success in combat. It is indisputable that Ariel Sharon greatly influenced Israel, molding the country into the political and geographic landscape that the world observes today.

Ariel (Arik) Sheinerman, who later replaced his surname with Sharon, was born March 1, 1928, to Jewish-Russian emigrants, Deborah and Samuel, who were part of the Third Aliyah (wave of immigration to Eretz Israel), in the town of Kfar Malal, Palestine.<sup>9</sup> As a young man, Sharon joined a Jewish militia group known as the Haganah, sparking his career in the military. Despite his brute physical appearance and warrior like attitude, Sharon spent time educating himself in the arts of history and Middle Eastern Studies at the Hebrew University located in Jerusalem. He soon returned from leave and continued to serve in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF).

A plethora of raids plagued Israel during the 1950s. Attacks by one group, either Israeli or Palestinian, were quickly answered by the other. The young state of Israel yearned for retaliation in order to maintain its legitimacy as a country in the region. The answer was the creation of a retaliatory force. Ariel Sharon had a huge hand in establishing this force; he gained command of the small Israeli Special Forces group known as Unit 101. Their goal was to respond to acts of terrorism through strategic and covert operations.

On the night of October 12-13, 1953, a terrorist group crossed the Jordanian-Israeli border and infiltrated a small Jewish settlement in the West Bank.<sup>10</sup> There, the assailants lobbed grenades into a Jewish home, murdering an innocent sleeping mother and two of her children, while injuring a third.<sup>11</sup>

Sharon bolstered his men and orchestrated a retaliatory raid on the Jordanian village of Qibya where the suspected terrorists harbored

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<sup>8</sup> Lazaroff.

<sup>9</sup> "Ariel Sharon dies at 85, Eight Years after Stroke that Felled him," *Ynet News*, January 11, 2014, <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4472203,00.html>. (Accessed April 10, 2014).

<sup>10</sup> Benny Morris, "The Israeli Press and the Qibya Operation, 1953," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 25, no. 4 (1996): 40.

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

themselves.<sup>12</sup> Though Unit 101 inflicted substantial collateral damage and innocent lives were lost in the raid, they demonstrated that violent acts of terror against Israeli civilians would not be tolerated, and that any terrorist plot would be met with military intervention by the IDF.

Sharon was promoted to major-general in 1966, at the age of 38, due to his strong leadership skills and relentless dedication to the state of Israel; he served in many conflicts with the Palestinians and neighboring Arab nations.<sup>13</sup> Though Sharon frequently neglected direct orders from his commanding officers, he only did so because he lacked faith in the IDF leadership. He felt that many military promotions were conducted on the basis of political motives rather than on empirical military merit.<sup>14</sup> For this reason, Sharon took onus for the men he commanded. With occasional negation of orders, he made firm decisions to ensure Israeli victory.

When the Six Day War broke out in June, 1967, Sharon proved his intuition and talents as a leader through brilliant combat strategies. Forced to take a defensive stance on the Southern Front, Sharon seized an opportunity to crush the opposing Egyptian enemy forces at Um-Katef and Abu-Ageila.<sup>15</sup> He rounded up his men and formulated a complex maneuver that required the use of tanks, infantry, paratroopers, helicopters, and planes.<sup>16</sup> He crushed his foes with flawless precision in the offensive attack, which greatly contributed to the swift success of the war. The victory was not only big for Israel, but also for Sharon; as it earned him popularity and spurred him on to gain political momentum. Sharon's success also allowed him to maintain a consistent level of command in the IDF until well after the Yom Kippur War.

In the 1973 War, also known as the Yom Kippur War, Sharon again proved his strength as a combat tactician. On October 17<sup>th</sup>, Egyptians launched an attack on the Israeli Army near Alligator's Lake and Great Bitter Lake.<sup>17</sup> The Israeli's took surprisingly heavy losses in the heat of combat. While other IDF generals pulled back from the frontlines, Sharon stood firm, vehemently opposing the order to

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<sup>12</sup> Charles D. Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 8th ed. (Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 2013), 227.

<sup>13</sup> "Prime Minister and Defense Minister, General Ariel (Arik) Sharon (Scheinermann) (02.26.1928-01.12.2014) Commander, Statesman and Leader," IDF Archive, <http://www.archives.mod.gov.il/pages/Exhibitions.asp>. (Accessed April 10, 2014).

<sup>14</sup> Eric Rouleau, "The War of the Generals," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 3, no. 3 (1974): 175.

<sup>15</sup> Lis.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Riad Ashkar, "The Syrian and Egyptian Campaigns," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 3, no. 2 (1974): 27.

withdraw his troops from their positions.<sup>18</sup> His decision to hold onto the position, despite what seemed like eminent defeat, enabled a successful crossing of the Suez Canal. Sharon's valor earned him a new nickname given by his men, "'Malech Israel' (King of Israel)."<sup>19</sup> Sharon unquestionably emerged from the Yom Kippur War as a hero. He then turned to politics, and eventually became Israeli Defense Minister in 1981.<sup>20</sup>

During the Lebanese Civil War, Sharon, as Israeli Defense Minister, aided the Phalangists (a group that largely consisted of Maronite Christians), in rooting out suspected terrorists in retaliation for the assassination of their leader, Bashir Gemayel.<sup>21</sup> The targets were the Palestinian refugee camps, known as Sabra and Shatilla. Sharon did not permit Israeli soldiers to enter Sabra and Shatila; instead, he required them to support the Phalangists from outside the villages. On September 16, 1982, the IDF lit up the sky over West Beirut with flares while the Phalangists spearheaded an assault into the Sabra and Shatila camps in an attempt to cleanse the area of any suspected Palestinian terrorists.<sup>22</sup> The Phalangists were unforeseeably ruthless in combat and killed many innocent people.<sup>23</sup> Sharon took the brunt of the blame for what happened in Sabra and Shatila, and after taking responsibility, eventually resigned from his position as Defense Minister following the massive condemnation by domestically, as well as internationally; especially with the Kahan Commission.<sup>24</sup> This unfortunate event, however, did not hinder Sharon from still involving himself in politics. He continued to serve his country and climb the political ladder until he was elected Israeli Prime Minister in 2001.

In September 2000, Sharon announced that he intended to exercise his legal right as an Israeli citizen to visit the holiest site in Judaism, The Temple Mount. The Palestinian's used his visit as an excuse for violence. Sharon's Jewish heritage was deeply rooted at the site where the last Jewish temple once stood during the Herodian era. With the progressive breakdown of the Oslo Accords (which were set up to eliminate the conflict between Palestinians and Israelis), Palestinians took umbrage in Sharon's visit. They picked up rocks and began hurling them at Sharon and his fellow spectators in defiance of his valid visitation of the Temple Mount.<sup>25</sup> On that day, 362 Israelis were injured

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Rouleau, 176.

<sup>20</sup> "Prime Minister and Defense Minister, General Ariel (Arik) Sharon (Scheinermann) (02.26.1928-01.12.2014) Commander, Statesman and Leader."

<sup>21</sup> Lis.

<sup>22</sup> Smith, 373.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Lis.

<sup>25</sup> Smith, 469.



along with many Palestinians.<sup>26</sup> Sharon concluded his visit by stating that he visited the Temple Mount “with a message of peace. I do believe we can live together...I was more affected by the hatred than anything else.”<sup>27</sup> Foreign Minister at the time, Shlomo Ben-Ami, insisted that if Sharon had known that there was going to be violence, he would have refrained from going.<sup>28</sup> The conflict subsequently escalated exponentially, and the Palestinians’ hostile response threatened the security of Israel. Consequently, the Israelis needed a leader with a military background who would ensure the safety of the Israeli people amidst the egregious fighting. Thus, Israel elected Ariel Sharon as Prime Minister that following year.

As Prime Minister, Sharon took advantage of forming an unlikely coalition to address the Second Intifada that afflicted Israel. He joined forces with the Labor Party and appointed Shimon Peres as Foreign Minister and Benjamin Ben-Eliezer as Defense Minister. One of the first decisions he made was to target suspected terrorists who orchestrated the intifada.<sup>29</sup> Amongst those ousted by Sharon’s hard line of defense was Hamas leader, Sheikh Ahmed Yassin.<sup>30</sup> As tensions receded, Sharon’s militaristic side took a U-turn as his attitude towards Palestinians softened. Sharon announced in 2003 that all settlements in Gaza would be removed, and that four settlements in the West Bank would also be removed.<sup>31</sup> A total of nearly 7,000 settlements existed in Gaza.<sup>32</sup>

In December, 2005, at the height of his career, Sharon suffered a debilitating stroke. He received a treatment of blood thinners, but was soon rendered comatose on January 4, 2006 when he suffered a crippling brain hemorrhage.<sup>33</sup> After spending time in the hospital, doctors eventually allowed the enervated Sharon to return home. He received treatment for a short time before having to be moved back to the hospital where he spent the remainder of his life.<sup>34</sup> He is survived by his two sons, Omri and Gilad.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>Ibid., 498.

<sup>27</sup> Correspondent, Mathew McAllester, Middle East, 2000, Clash at Temple Mount/Violent Reaction to Visit by Likud Leader Ariel Sharon, *Newsday*, 04.

<sup>28</sup> Greer Fay Cahsman, “Sharon Says His Temple Mount Visit Was an Excuse for Violence,” *Jerusalem Post*, 2000.

<sup>29</sup> Lis.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Lazarof.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> “Ariel Sharon dies at 85, Eight Years after Stroke that Felled him.”



Figure 1: Separation Barrier, which protects Israeli citizens.

### **The World Observes the Passing of the “Butcher of Beirut”: Ariel Sharon, 1928-2014**

Ariel Sharon, the former Prime Minister of Israel, passed away Saturday, January 11, 2014, at the age of 85. A severe stroke had placed Sharon in a coma for over eight years. Present-day Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, expressed his “deep sorrow” following Sharon’s death.<sup>36</sup> United States President Barack Obama sent his “deepest condolences,” and the United Kingdom’s Prime Minister, David Cameron, commemorated Sharon for his stalwart leadership and dedicated pursuit for peace.<sup>37</sup>

Contrarily, Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas abstained from sharing his sentiments directly following Sharon’s death, but Jibril Rajub a prominent Palestinian figure head, announced his disappointment of Sharon’s death, claiming that he had hoped to one day see Sharon tried in International Court for the war crimes that he had committed.<sup>38</sup> Gaza’s Hamas leader, Khalil al-Hayya, described Sharon as having his hands covered in Palestinian blood, and stated that “we will remember Ariel Sharon as the man who killed, destroyed and caused the suffering for several Palestinian generations.”<sup>39</sup> Both loathed and loved by many, few would disagree that the history of Ariel Sharon’s life was synonymous with controversy.

Ariel Sheinerman, who later changed his last name to Sharon, was born March 1, 1928, to Jewish Russian emigrants, in the town of

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<sup>36</sup> “The World Reacts to Ariel Sharon’s Death.”

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

Kfar Malal, Palestine.<sup>40</sup> Beginning as a young man, Ariel Sharon gradually made his climb to power when he joined a Jewish militia group known as the Haganah in the early 1940s.<sup>41</sup> With a Zionist *weltanschauung*, he helped lead Israel to an independent state in 1948. He quickly proved to be a strong, yet reckless military leader, reveling in contentious combat situations. As he gained popularity, Sharon transitioned out of the military and into politics where he took a firm stance against “terrorism” by way of ethnic cleansing.

On October 12-13, 1953, armed Palestinians from Jordan snuck across the Israeli border and infiltrated an illegal settlement where they killed an Israeli mother and her two children.<sup>42</sup> Soon after the raid on the settlement, Ariel Sharon received orders to retaliate. Thus, Sharon orchestrated a “retaliatory raid” that took place on the night of October 14-15, 1953.<sup>43</sup> Sharon’s Special Forces group, which he dubbed Unit 101, combined forces with the Paratroop Battalion 890 and launched a surprise attack on a small Jordanian Village known as Qibya, along with the surrounding villages.<sup>44</sup> Unit 101 cleared the houses of its inhabitants, either by using gunfire after kicking down doors, or by lobbing grenades through windows.<sup>45</sup> Those innocent people found fleeing their homes were quickly shot on sight in the alleyways of Qibya.<sup>46</sup> These houses were then demolished with dynamite.

In the eyes of many Israelis, his valor in the raid was indubitable; however, the success of the Qibya raid is debatable and was quickly scrutinized. The news later announced that Sharon’s devastating raid on Qibya led to the slaughter of sixty innocent Jordanian women and children, in addition to the destruction of fifty houses at the hands of Unit 101.<sup>47</sup> The raid meant better stability in the region for the Jewish state, as Israel finally flexed its military muscle; Jordanians and Palestinians, however, considered the raid unnecessary collective punishment and a war crime due to the deaths of innocent civilians. Unit 101 eventually merged with the 890 Airborne Battalion, and Sharon continued his military career by serving in the 202 Paratroopers Brigade.<sup>48</sup>

In the 1960s Sharon served his country as a major-general in the Israel Defense Forces. In both the 1967 Six-Day War and the 1973 Yom

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<sup>40</sup> “Ariel Sharon dies at 85, Eight Years after Stroke that Felled him.”

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Morris, 40.

<sup>43</sup> Smith, 227.

<sup>44</sup> Morris, 41.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Ian J. Bickerton, and Carla L. Klausner, *A History of the Arab Israeli Conflict*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall), 114.

<sup>48</sup> “Prime Minister and Defense Minister, General Ariel (Arik) Sharon (Scheinermann) (02.26.1928-01.12.2014) Commander, Statesman and Leader.”

Kippur War, Sharon proved his skill at command, as well as his reckless insubordination. First, in the 1967 Six-Day War, he became annoyed by his assignment to a defensive position on the Southern Front and intervened, blatantly against direct orders. He quickly bolstered his brigade with tanks, infantry and paratroopers carrying an all-out offensive maneuver that was successful in trouncing Egyptian forces in the region.<sup>49</sup> Ariel Sharon contributed to the victory of the Six Day War, yet his insubordination should not be swept under the rug, because of this fact.

In 1973, the Yom Kippur War broke out, and Sharon experienced a repeat of the Six Day War. Again his commanding officer placed him on the Southern Front. As the Israelis were crossing the Suez, they began to take heavy fire from Egyptian forces. Sharon was ordered to abandon his position and fall back, but he declined; he held his position and eventually broke through the canal.<sup>50</sup> Many critics suggest that Sharon disobeyed the command because General Gonen received his promotion just a few months before the outbreak of the war. Sharon showed umbrage in the fact that Gonen was promoted over him. Sharon even went as far as to ignore his phone calls in the midst of the battle which led, unfortunately, to the decimation of a score of tanks including all their crew members.<sup>51</sup> General Gonen described Sharon as boastful about his successes in the war.<sup>52</sup> Sharon arrogantly claimed that his breakthrough across the Suez Canal “was the only brilliant operation in the whole Yom Kippur war.”<sup>53</sup>

Regarding his political career, Sharon believed that his superiors were trying to undermine his chance in the general election.<sup>54</sup> Sharon did win his fame, however, and eventually became Defense Minister in 1981, after serving as an adviser to a few prime ministers. He also filled the position of Minister of Agriculture for a short time.<sup>55</sup>

As Israeli Defense Minister, Sharon faced war and controversy yet again. In September of 1982, Sharon took the initiative in forming a joint operation against two Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon. The operation was called Operation Peace in the Galilee.<sup>56</sup> Sharon intended to remove 2,000 PLO “militants” from within the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps following the assassination of Israel’s Maronite Christian ally in Lebanon, Bashir Gemayel. The assassination was suspected to have been

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<sup>49</sup> Lis.

<sup>50</sup> Ashkar, 27.

<sup>51</sup> Rouleau, 177.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 176.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 177.

<sup>55</sup> "(Prime Minister and Defense Minister, General Ariel (Arik) Sharon (Scheinermann) (02.26.1928-01.12.2014) Commander, Statesman and Leader."

<sup>56</sup> Lis.

perpetrated by the Palestinians.<sup>57</sup> Without consulting the Israeli cabinet, Sharon severed a truce by ordering Israeli forces to invade Beirut.<sup>58</sup> On September 16, 1982, Israeli troops shot flares, illuminating the Lebanese sky over Sabra and Shatila. Maronite Christian militants, also known as Phalangists, safely marched into the camps and butchered its inhabitants, earning Sharon the infamous title, “the Butcher of Beirut.” The death toll was an estimated 800 non-PLO members; many of them were women and children.<sup>59</sup> Nearly 400,000 protesters subsequently flooded the streets of Tel Aviv hurling insults and calling Sharon a “Murderer!”<sup>60</sup> The Kahan Commission was sent in to investigate, finding that Sharon should have tried to hinder the Phalangists from murdering innocent people, and thus Ariel Sharon was indirectly held liable for the carnage.<sup>61</sup> Following the harsh scrutiny, Sharon resigned as Defense Minister, but maintained an active hand in politics.

The early 1990s showed a glimmer of hope for a peace process through the Oslo Accords of 1993. Both states finally recognized the legitimacy for one another’s existence in what is known as the Declaration of Principles (DOP). This glimmer was eventually snuffed out nearly seven years later. The derailment of the peace process was gradual and grim. Former Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, who signed the DOP in the Oslo Accords, was assassinated, and settlements, internationally recognized as illegal, grew and prospered. As tensions continued to rise, Sharon buried the nail into Oslo’s coffin by visiting what Jews consider to be the “Temple Mount,” and what Muslims consider to be the “Haram al-Sharif (Noble Sanctuary).

Nearly everyone viewed Sharon’s visit to the Haram al-Sharif or Temple Mount on September 28, 2000, as a way of provoking violence. Sharon denied these claims by vocalizing that “every Jew has the right to ascend onto the temple Mount.”<sup>62</sup> A majority of Muslims viewed Sharon’s visit as a desecration of al-Haram al-Sharif, an Islamic holy site, as well as a Jewish one. Many Israelis and Palestinians, including then Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak, believed that Sharon’s presence could spark quarreling and maybe even shed innocent blood.<sup>63</sup> Controversies portrayed in headlines indicated that Sharon, without any plausible deniability, knew prior to his visit that he would be provoking

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<sup>57</sup> Smith, 373.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Lis.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Norma Percy, *Elusive Peace*, directed by Dan Edge, (2005; Alexandria, VA: PBS Home Video), DVD and *Nightline: True Believers*, directed by ABC News, (1999), Film.

violence.<sup>64</sup> Jabril Rajoub, who is in charge of preventing terror within the Palestinian Authority (PA), claimed in a 2000 article that Palestinians saw Sharon's planned visit as a "political provocation."<sup>65</sup> Marwan Barghouti, a leader of Fatah, who is now a political prisoner in Israel for his involvement in the first and second Intifadas, claimed that Sharon's visit was "at such a sensitive time in the peace process."<sup>66</sup> The visit "may spoil everything" in terms of furthering the peace process.<sup>67</sup> Sharon's visit was inevitably followed by an escalation in protests that quickly evolved into a long period of violence known as the al-Aqsa, or Second Intifada.

In February 2001, Sharon won the prime minister elections over Ehud Barak with 62 percent of the votes.<sup>68</sup> Instead of negotiating with the Palestinians, Sharon took a firm militaristic approach to the escalating violence, and formed an unlikely coalition with the Labor Party to aid in defending Israel from Palestinian attacks.<sup>69</sup> His method inevitably led to the re-occupation of Palestinian cities within the West Bank by the IDF, as well as the isolation of his arch nemesis, Yasser Arafat, in his Muqata compound in Ramallah.<sup>70</sup> In 2005, Sharon pulled nearly 7,000 settlers out of Gaza.<sup>71</sup> At first, this action seemed to be a U-turn in Sharon's policies that were often backed by comments such as, "Grab more hills, expand the territory. Everything that's grabbed will be in our hands, everything that we don't grab will be in [Palestinian] hands." He then showed his true motives when he placed more settlements, numbering in the thousands, in the Israeli occupied West Bank.<sup>72</sup> Furthermore, he began the implementation of walls throughout the country. This essentially turned Gaza into an open air prison and established a cathartic foothold in ethnically cleansing the West Bank; widening the gap in the peace process between Israelis and Palestinians.

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<sup>64</sup> Etgar Leftkovits, *Sharon's Planned Visit to Temple Mount*, 2000.

<sup>65</sup> "Moslem Demo Against Sharon's Planned Visit to Temple Mount," 2000, *Mideast Mirror*, 1.

<sup>66</sup> Lamia Laoud and AP, Etgar Leftkovits and Nina Gilbert Contributed to this report, 2000, Rajoub Warns.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Lis.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Lazarof.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.



Figure 2: Checkpoint at Separation Wall. It encloses the Palestinians and infringes on their land. It also makes life difficult for those on the West Bank.

Later that year, in December, Ariel Sharon suffered a stroke. He was treated with blood thinners, but was rendered comatose on January 4, 2006, when he suffered a crippling brain hemorrhage.<sup>73</sup> He was eventually allowed to return home where he received treatment for a short time, but was eventually moved back to the hospital where he eventually passed away. His two children survive him.

### **The Power of Perception**

If Ariel Sharon were to read his own obituary, what would his reaction be? What would he attempt to change, if anything? Will he be remembered for the good he did, or for the bad he committed? An obituary is the epitome to a person's life; it holds the remembrance of who that person once was, what they valued most, and the legacy that that individual will leave after their death. Alfred Nobel's legacy illustrates the power of perception. In quite the same way, digging into Ariel Sharon's life unleashes torrents of antipathy from one side, yet simultaneously gives forth a surge of legitimacy for Jewish nationhood and the struggle that enveloped Sharon to maintain Israel's existence. For Sharon, there is a dichotomy to his legacy, based upon one's perception of the events throughout his life. Indeed, many Israelis perceive Sharon as a hero and warrior, who fought for Israel's right to exist after nearly two millennia of persecution and Diaspora. On the other hand, most if

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

not all, Palestinians view Sharon's goal as a way to ultimately annex the whole of Palestine, which they too believe is rightfully theirs. The conflict cost both sides thousands of innocent lives without any resolution being reached, a price that will never be forgotten. To favor Sharon's policies, or to demonize them, hampers historical insight on his life and the events encompassing it. Skewed perceptions perpetuate problems by limiting a reader's understanding of history, but juxtaposing both perspectives (as in the case of Sharon), is enlightening, because it enables one to see all angles of his life, critically analyze his history, and then fully grasp a wide variety of concepts that are instrumental to solving this ongoing conflict.

Critically listening to voices coming from different perspectives can potentially open-up the reader to greater truths and understanding regarding historical events and leaders. Obituaries hold those opposing voices that need to be heard. Alfred Nobel was able to add light to his shadow; however, obituaries are more than negative or positive remembrances. They are harbingers of historical insights.



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## **Recalcitrance or Redemption? The Contested Legacy of Britain's Iron Lady**

By Todd Broaddus

"Where there is discord, may we bring harmony," uttered Margaret Thatcher as she stood on the doorstep of 10 Downing Street in May, 1979.<sup>1</sup> Despite the solemnity of her Franciscan supplication, rarely has a prayer so manifestly gone unanswered in both life and death. As flags at Parliament, Buckingham, and across the United Kingdom were lowered to half-staff, Prime Minister David Cameron lauded Thatcher as having "saved our country."<sup>2</sup> Salvation, however, is a relative term these days, and for those who, upon hearing of the baroness' death, celebrated in the streets of Brixton or for the working-class coal mining families of Yorkshire and the Humber in the North Country, Thatcher's erstwhile cauterization of Britain's industrial sectors brought only condemnation. "The Queen was sad to hear the news of the death of Baroness Thatcher. Her Majesty will be sending a private message of sympathy to the family," Buckingham Palace dutifully reported.<sup>3</sup> The Queen, along with the National Health Service, shared the distinction as essentially the only two bodies that Thatcher had failed to privatize during her stretch as prime minister. The latter attempt, at least, was not from a lack of want. She was "The Woman Who Divided a Nation," wrote one Labourite tabloid, the *Daily Mirror*. Millennials did what they do best and took to Facebook, and blitzed YouTube with an anti-Thatcher campaign that netted the seventy-four-year-old song, "Ding Dong! The Witch Is Dead;" top spot on UK charts (not quite the reappearance Dorothy had envisioned). Always one to keep the political rhetoric close to the privy, Member of Parliament (MP) George Galloway irreverently added,

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<sup>1</sup> "1979: Election Victory for Margaret Thatcher," *BBC News*, May 4, 1979, accessed June 8, 2013, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/may/4/newsid\\_2503000/2503195.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/may/4/newsid_2503000/2503195.stm). Thatcher paraphrases a stanza from the Prayer of Saint Francis (English version).

<sup>2</sup> Erin McClam, "Margaret Thatcher, 'Iron Lady' Who Led Conservative Resurgence in Britain, Dies at 87" *NBC News*, April 8, 2013, accessed June 8, 2013, [http://worldnews.nbcnews.com/\\_news/2013/04/08/17653388-.html](http://worldnews.nbcnews.com/_news/2013/04/08/17653388-.html).

<sup>3</sup> "Queen Saddened by Thatcher's Death," *MSN News*, April 8, 2013, accessed June 8, 2013, <http://news.uk.msn.com/uk/queen-saddened-by-thatchers-death>.

“Tramp the dirt down” on his Twitter feed.<sup>4</sup> For many, the soul-snatching economic bargain that the baroness had struck with the British people, brought to mind the Devil’s visit to Faust.

### **Composing a Legacy: Historiography and Hagiography**

In Europe’s post-war era, there were few individuals who were as polarizing as Margaret Hilda Thatcher. Although entrepreneurs have sung dirges for many of her contemporaries, her own legacy, in many ways, remains a divided house. Without question, Thatcher has had a seismic impact on the British scene. Not even Galloway would dispute this. How has Thatcherism shaped our world, however? What, in fact, is her legacy? Attempts to galvanize her story began early.<sup>5</sup> In 1987, Dennis Kavanagh, Professor of Politics at the University of Liverpool, chided the so-called “Thatcher experiment” for having sounded the death knell for the post-war Keynesian consensus.<sup>6</sup> Apparently, one could do worse, at least according to Martin Holmes, who hailed the prime minister’s monetarist principles as an “impressive economic achievement.”<sup>7</sup> Despite an exhaustive reading of Thatcher’s initial economic policies, Holmes’ first-term impressions nearly border on the quixotic, as the mounting unemployment rate and onerous deregulatory practices are noticeably omitted in favor of his own government assessment, that is, predictably, one of “sustained success.”<sup>8</sup> In his door-stopping biography, *The Iron Lady*, Hugo Young presents Thatcher as an indomitable, yet flawed, political force.<sup>9</sup> Perhaps an even greater personalized depiction of Thatcher can be found in Peter Jenkins’ *Mrs. Thatcher’s Revolution*. The author, by virtue of being a former lobby

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<sup>4</sup> “Anger at George Galloway’s ‘tramp the dirt down’ Twitter Remark after Thatcher’s Death,” *London Evening Standard*, April 8, 2013, accessed June 8, 2013, <http://www.standard.co.uk/news/politics/anger-at-george-galloways-tramp-the-dirt-down-twitter-remark-after-thatchers-death-8564876.html>. Galloway’s quip, “Tramp the dirt down,” was the title of a 1988 Elvis Costello song berating the then-prime minister.

<sup>5</sup> James Douglas, “The Changing Tide-Some Recent Studies of Thatcherism,” *British Journal of Political Science* 19, no. 3 (1989): 399–403.

<sup>6</sup> Dennis Kavanagh, *Thatcherism and British Politics: The End of Consensus?* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 6–10.

<sup>7</sup> Martin Holmes, *The First Thatcher Government* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1985), 68.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* For an overview of Holmes’ work, see Philippe Sands, review of “*The First Thatcher Government*, by Martin Holmes and *Thatcher: The First Term* by Patrick Cosgrave,” *Boston College International & Comparative Law Review* 9, no. 2 (1986): 453.

<sup>9</sup> Hugo Young, *The Iron Lady: A Biography of Margaret Thatcher* (New York: Macmillan London, 1989).

correspondent, attributes the sui generis “Thatcher Factor” as the primary catalyst for Britain’s economic and geopolitical policies.<sup>10</sup> In contrast, Joel Krieger, William Keegan, and to a lesser degree Kavanagh, argue that the centralizing agents of Thatcherism had more to do with the widespread breakdown of the post-war consensus, and less with a “simple provincial [Thatcher] looking for an uncomplicated philosophy.”<sup>11</sup> In 2005’s widely read *Postwar*, Tony Judt masterfully tailors Thatcher to fit within the milieu of the 1980s before settling on an evenhanded legacy of economic efficiency offset by social fragmentation.<sup>12</sup>

In an effort to develop a greater understanding of her legacy, two determinative events during Thatcher’s tenure as UK prime minister are revisited and examined. First, Thatcher’s prosecution of the war to reclaim the Falklands in 1982 is explored. The result of the conflict led to an ensuing groundswell of popularity for Thatcher, which propelled her to success during the elections of 1983. Throughout the literature, there is a parting of ways when it comes to the Argentinian affair and the so-called Falklands Factor, its redeeming role within the British psyche, and its novel influence on England’s connection to Thatcher. In large part, the tactical considerations of the engagement have become intertwined within disparate political interests, further complicating the issue; nevertheless, these are the strings that will be pulled. Secondly, Thatcher’s engagement in the UK miners’ strike of 1984–85 is considered. It is quite possible that without the victory in the Falklands, Thatcher’s curbing of union power would not have transpired following the year-long standoff with the coal industry in places like Yorkshire, County Durham, and Nottinghamshire. It did, nonetheless, and became for many—especially those on the far left—an unpardonable sin. In examining these two determinative events, it is suggested that Thatcher emerged as a polarizing, yet unique political phenomenon, whose legacy of determination and intransigence was shaped by her self-identification as a political outsider.

### **The Falklands Crisis**

During the winter of 1981, General Leopoldo Galtieri’s military junta seized control of Buenos Aires. Argentina’s aggression nearly eight

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<sup>10</sup> Peter Jenkins, *Mrs. Thatcher’s Revolution: The Ending of the Socialist Era* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Press, 1988).

<sup>11</sup> William Keegan, *Mrs. Thatcher’s Economic Experiment* (London: Allen Lane, 1984), 82; and Joel Krieger, *Reagan, Thatcher and the Politics of Decline* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1986).

<sup>12</sup> Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (New York: Penguin Books, 2005), 543.

thousand miles away, mobilized the languid British government and provided Thatcher with a dress rehearsal for a decade of confrontation, both at home and abroad. For Thatcher, who was already embroiled in panoply of parliamentary issues in London, while simultaneously monitoring the decolonization of Rhodesia in southern Africa, the Argentinian crisis initially found her ill-prepared and reluctant to prosecute a war on foreign soil. In large part, Buenos Aires' saber rattling and martial overtures to the Foreign Office had fallen on deaf ears, and following the 1981 Defence Review's budgetary recommendation to withdraw the HMS *Endurance* from its maritime coordinates near the Southern Cone, the Argentinians invaded.<sup>13</sup> The subsequent war to reclaim the Falkland Islands (April 2- June 14, 1982) left an indelible impression upon the Iron Lady, as it claimed the lives of 255 British and over 650 Argentinians:

Nothing remains more vividly in my mind, looking back on my years in No. 10, than the eleven weeks in the spring of 1982 when Britain fought and won the Falklands War. Much was at stake: what we were fighting for eight thousand miles away in the South Atlantic was not only the territory and the people of the Falklands, important though they were. We were defending our honour as a nation, and principles of fundamental importance to the whole world—above all, that aggressors should never succeed and that international law should prevail over the use of force. The war was very sudden. No one predicted the Argentine invasion more than a few hours in advance, though many predicted it in retrospect. When I became Prime Minister I never thought that I would have to order British troops into combat and I do not think I have ever lived so tensely or intensely as during the whole of that time.<sup>14</sup>

Part revisionist, post-colonial romanticist, heroine, apologist, and polemicist—even in perpetuity—Thatcher's historical seating chart makes for contentious dinnertime conversations. Within her private recollections, compiled a decade after the conclusion of the war, it is as if she is still on the floor of the House of Commons, staring down the opposition party across the aisle, sparring with—and even attacking—her

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<sup>13</sup> Margaret Thatcher, *The Downing Street Years* (New York: Harper Collins, 1993), 174. Thatcher attributes the date of the Argentinian invasion to the 150th anniversary of formal British rule on the archipelago.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 173.

Labourite interlocutors; and defending herself against the charge of unpreparedness.<sup>15</sup> The charge, however, was not completely unfounded. Besides, the Falklands were not exactly the crown jewel of what was left of the empire, and the size of the garrison at Port Stanley was far from Napoleonic (the London Philharmonic Orchestra could field more men than the Royal Marines garrison there).<sup>16</sup>

Following Argentina's invasion on April 1, a BBC radio producer, catching wind of the rumored offensive, made an inquiry at the Foreign Office, in London, only to be told by the duty officer that Port Stanley remained a haven of tranquility.<sup>17</sup> Unalarmed, both men went their separate ways as Argentine commandos stormed the Moody Brook barracks eight thousand miles away. Appearing before the Commons two days later, in what Thatcher described as "the most difficult [debate] I ever had to face," she reported that the Argentinian landing had not been confirmed until 8:30 that morning (following a conversation with Sir Rex Hunt, governor of the Falkland Islands).<sup>18</sup> Needless to say, the chamber erupted in a fit of "bulldog outrage."<sup>19</sup> Yet, the MPs knew what was at stake, especially those who painfully recalled Prime Minister Anthony Eden's ill-fated adventurism in the Sinai Peninsula, which had fettered the collective conscience of a generation of British to the broadcasted humiliation of the Suez Crisis in 1956.<sup>20</sup> To be sure, the weight of the

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 183.

<sup>16</sup> Robin Harris, *The Collected Speeches of Margaret Thatcher* (New York: Harper Collins, 1997), 154. Misplacing colonial territories in the South Seas had not been without precedent. In late 1976, the Argentinian junta, apparently in need of a military victory, invaded the barren British dependency in the far-flung territory of Southern Thule, "boldly" capturing a number of its penguin and petrel inhabitants. Despite the Argentinian Air Force setting up shop on sovereign British territory, David Owen, the foreign secretary under Callaghan at the time, decided to cover up the incident rather than complicate relations with Buenos Aires. The House was not informed until a British Antarctic survey ship, the ice-strengthened RRS Bransfield, finally cruised past Southern Thule two years later and noticed the Argentinian regulars. Losing the territories that you know about was quite disconcerting, but to be made aware of your downsizing two Christmases later was particularly dreadful.

<sup>17</sup> Young, *The Iron Lady*, 264.

<sup>18</sup> Thatcher, *The Downing Street Years*, 180.

<sup>19</sup> Young, *The Iron Lady*, 264.

<sup>20</sup> While the Union Jack emerged from World War II at half-staff, it took the ill-advised Anglo-Franco clandestine incursion (1956) into the Suez to demonstrate to Britain what the world already knew: despite retaining some vestige of imperialism, Britain success ultimately depended on US consent; and, clearer still, imperialists and their intrigues linger long after their seat of power has gone. This appeared particularly obvious to everyone, but the British and their tripartite conspirators. Perhaps, not since the Children's Crusade to the Holy Land, has an undertaking invited such calamity and embarrassment as Eden and

moment was not lost on the prime minister, who was well aware that a military defeat in the Falklands would be devastating to the United Kingdom. Thatcher's strategy during the debate on the House floor that night was twofold: first, remind the Chamber that territory in the South Sandwich Islands had also been lost under Callaghan's watch; and second, dispel any attempt to link her tardy response to the foreign policy foibles of the previous administration. To ensure that the Iron Lady was not about to dilute her ore, Enoch Powell stood in the Chamber and reminded everyone of the prime minister being dubbed the "Iron Lady," and that now was the time to "learn what metal she is made of."<sup>21</sup>

There is no doubt that for supporters of Thatcher, retaking the Falklands by force would be a seminal moment of her legacy. With that in mind, and amidst a crisis in domestic unpopularity, Thatcher leapt onto the well-traveled path to Britain's War Room, anxious to exorcise the demons of the past. The former research-chemist from Lincolnshire, however, appeared remarkably well equipped for repelling the Galtieri junta and defending Britain's honor on the high seas. After British forces defeated the Argentinians in South Georgia on April 25, Thatcher beseeched Londoners to praise the effort and sacrifice of the British Task Force.<sup>22</sup> Her celebratory proclamations soon proved prophetic as the Falklands campaign, following the controversial sinking of the Argentinian light cruiser, *General Belgrano*, by the British submarine, HMS *Conqueror*, drew to a close in mid-June as white flags were hoisted over Port Stanley. Soon after learning the news that weary Argentinian troops had thrown down their arms and begun to retreat, Thatcher addressed the nation:

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Guy Mollet's false-flag theatrics along the Sinai Peninsula. Moreover, not only was President Eisenhower excluded from Britain's Suez ambitions, but also Eden's face-off with Gamal Nasser over the "jugular vein of the empire" coincided, almost to the hour, with the Soviet invasion of Hungary. Eden's chronological misstep—which doubled as his political gravedigger—infuriated Eisenhower, and collectively saddled Britain with an identity crisis that, in some cases, was not rehabilitated until Thatcher crossed swords with Argentina over the Falklands in 1982. Besides, the cold warriors in Washington had little patience for the parlor room colluding of Paris and London, especially when Soviet tanks were simultaneously rolling over barricades in Budapest. For other samples of Britain's perspective of the Suez, in particular, those exhibited by the Suez group, see Leon D. Epstein, *British Politics in the Suez Crisis* (Urban, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1964), 51-60.

<sup>21</sup> Thatcher, *The Downing Street Years*, 184. In a footnote, Thatcher explains that Powell returned and made the subject a Parliamentary Question. Not surprisingly, the report showed her substance to be of the highest quality. After Powell's findings were printed and framed, they were hung on Thatcher's office wall.

<sup>22</sup>Young, *The Iron Lady*, 273.



And so today we can rejoice at our success in the Falklands and take pride in the achievement of the men and women of our task force. But we do so, not as at some flickering of a flame which must soon be dead. No—we rejoice that Britain has rekindled that spirit which has fired her for generations past and which today had begun to burn as brightly as before. Britain found herself again in the South Atlantic and will not look back from the victory she has won.<sup>23</sup>

### **The Spirit of the Falklands**

Indeed, the shadow of the Falklands conflict would loom over Thatcher more than any other event during her tenure as prime minister. In retrospect, it is clear that the Falklands spirit was never meant to be geographically confined to a rocky archipelago in the South Atlantic; instead, it was to be a salve for the British psyche, which, if embraced, would collectively lift the English from their post-colonial malaise.<sup>24</sup> Britain had been suffering from a self-imposed imperial coma ever since Winston Churchill had enjoyed his last *habanos* and now, following a quarrel over an unwelcoming windswept rock in the southerly part of the dependencies, the empire was ready to get back to what empires do: *rule*.<sup>25</sup> This pursuit was one that Margaret Thatcher was more than

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<sup>23</sup> Thatcher, *The Downing Street Years*, 235.

<sup>24</sup> Hulmut Norpoth, "The Falklands War and Government Popularity in Britain: Rally without Consequence or Surge without Decline?" *Electoral Studies* 6, no. 1 (1987): 7-13.

<sup>25</sup> Fueled by an awakened nationalistic fervor, the process of decolonization became the post-war reality for the former great powers: England, France, and the Netherlands. Indeed, by 1960, Conservative Prime Minister Harold Macmillan's concessionary "Wind of Change" speech in Cape Town stood in stark contrast to the ostentations of Cecil Rhodes' "Cape to Cairo" goal from a generation before. The British Empire's topographical fetishism, proudly inculcated in the English youth upon entering grammar school, and infamously portrayed in the sketch of Rhodes, seen straddling the African continent, had unceremoniously collapsed into sheer bourgeois nostalgia in less than twenty post-war-years. This was only one side of the coin, however, in respect to Britain's incapacity to maintain its territorial holdings. The other side was the post-war ascendancy of the US, which despite sharing the ideological spoils of war with its ally, fortuitously failed to share Britain's dire need for fiscal prophylactics and post-war damage control, especially following Japan's insertion into the "Impregnable Fortress" in the British stronghold of Singapore in 1942 (Churchill christened the fall of Singapore as the "largest capitulation" in British history). Winston Churchill, *The Hinge of Fate*, vol. 4 (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1950), 81. Henceforth, Britain found itself

obliged to accept. In the aftermath of the war, Thatcher's approval ratings sharply climbed to forty-four percent which, given her basement-dwelling approval ratings from the previous year, nearly suggested *revolution*.<sup>26</sup>

For many, however, there was a darker side to the legacy of the Falklands spirit. For the naysayers, Thatcher's triumphant adventurism on the high seas had more to do with sheer serendipity than sound leadership. Curiously, the Madame Prime Minister's luck appeared to be transatlantic.<sup>27</sup> At home, she had reached the top of the greasy pole, as Benjamin Disraeli called the game of politics, by running against an inept Labour Party, in 1979, which was spoken for by the political leper, Michael Foot. While abroad, her coterie of opponents appeared to have curiously fallen from the same sick tree. This unified front of futility allowed Thatcher to seamlessly transfer her Downing Street manners and political temperament into the War Cabinet with relative ease. Giving traction to this back-story was the revelation, that on multiple occasions, Argentinian shells fortuitously failed to detonate after penetrating British steel on the stormy South Seas.<sup>28</sup> Considering its lauded maritime bullishness and the flow of US-supplied Sidewinder missiles and logistical support, Britain's routing of the junta's Armada was not as inspiring as it was once thought to be.

Almost everything the government attempted was in some way interconnected with the Falklands factor. For Thatcher, who had already been given the sobriquet *The Iron Lady* by a Moscow propagandist no less, the Falklands triumph legitimized her military prowess, emboldened her electorate base, and perhaps, most significantly, reaffirmed her conviction to remake the domestic scene. Yet, not all shared the post-war afterglow. If Thatcher's thick-skinned indifference and notorious harshness toward her cabinet members was barely tolerable before Argentina's surrender during her first term, then what was one to expect from her second term? Even after her death, Thatcher's fidelity to the spirit of the Falklands remains a point of variance among dyed-in-the-wool Thatcherites, jilted-maudlin Labourites, and fellow-travelers. Following her death, Gary Younge, writing in *The Nation*, scolded Thatcher for the "petty nationalism" that was on display during the

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parrying "client state" accusations, as post-war reshuffling now compelled London to consult Washington prior to acting on the global stage. For a further treatment of post-war Britain's imperial demise, see Guy Arnold, *Britain since 1945: Choice, Conflict and Change* (London: Blandford, 1989), 41-49.

<sup>26</sup> Young, *The Iron Lady*, 280.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 279-280.

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

Falklands War.<sup>29</sup> Further tarnishing her reputation was the surfacing of details regarding the authorized sinking of the *Belgrano* (in which 368 sailors drowned) while it was outside of the Exclusion Zone near the Falklands. Later, at Chequers, while entertaining a prominent group of artists, including Andrew Lloyd-Webber, Thatcher, while surveying the furniture, proudly noted the corner chair in which she had sat when she elected to scuttle the *Belgrano*.<sup>30</sup> Her triumphal bearing is noticeably missing in *The Downing Street Years*, in which she describes the *Belgrano* sailing on the edge of the Exclusion Zone while the ship's "poor state of battle readiness greatly increased the casualties."<sup>31</sup> She goes on to blame the *Belgrano*'s escorts for failing to rescue the drowning seamen. No longer writing from the "*Belgrano* chair," the once warrior-queen had seemingly become a queen apologist. The same spear that was used to claim her greatest victory had now splintered in her hand. The immediate effect that the Falklands had on Thatcher, however, was much less fragmented.

In the aftermath of victory, the prime minister gloried in her newfound Churchillian radiance. The nation, it seemed, had been reborn. Whatever doubt remained in Thatcher's mind regarding the rectitude of her intentions, either foreign or domestic, and her ability to superintend those aims, was soon to join the *Belgrano*. Meanwhile, after the eleven-week campaign had ended, and Thatcher returned to more civil matters, she appeared unable to temper the tenacity that she had enthusiastically displayed within the War Cabinet. The transition was unsettling. After the hated governing junta had capitulated, Thatcher's gunboat diplomacy turned its bowsprit north, navigated away from the South Atlantic, and sailed straight up the Thames. Torpedoing the hull of an Argentinian cruiser required a particular type of mettle, alleviating public squalor in Bristol and Manchester another. Or did it?

### **The Falklands Reconsidered**

Once the Parliamentary backslapping abated and the singing of "Rule Britannia" had been drowned-out by economic woes, questions began to surface regarding the Falklands' pre-history and Thatcher's retaking of the islands. The questions and details surrounding the decision to sink the *Belgrano*, curiously became murkier as the fog of war lifted. Predictably, the prime minister was not about to open the door to such solicitations. It may have begun to drizzle, but Thatcher was not quite done parading.

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<sup>29</sup> Gary Younge, "How Did Thatcher Do It?" *The Nation*, April 29, 2013, accessed June 8, 2013, <http://www.thenation.com/article/173732/how-did-margaret-thatcher-do-it>.

<sup>30</sup> Young, *The Iron Lady*, 277.

<sup>31</sup> Thatcher, *The Downing Street Years*, 215.

Nonetheless, thunderclouds were appearing. Once it surfaced that the *Belgrano* had been sailing away from the Falklands and not toward the islands, as the British people had been mistakenly led to believe, the pretext for sinking the moribund vessel came into question. When pressed regarding the discrepancy during a BBC Television interview, a visibly annoyed Thatcher nearly sparked a political grease fire when she protested that the ship “was not sailing away from the Falklands.”<sup>32</sup> Apparently, her compass needed recalibrating. When it was later revealed that a senior civil servant in the Ministry of Defense, Clive Ponting, had secretly leaked incriminating details of what had actually happened to the vessel in the cold waters of the South Atlantic, he was swiftly prosecuted under the Official Secrets Act of 1911.<sup>33</sup> Although Ponting was later acquitted, the Iron Lady emerged from her televised fit of vapors having lost some of her luster. For many, Ponting’s indictment and trial evidenced another attempt by Mrs. Thatcher to ghostwrite her post-Falklands hagiography, a narrative, which largely due to a yeoman’s work of editing, would read well during her re-election in 1983.

For Thatcher’s supporters, the Argentinian campaign reflected her ability to make top-level decisions, take risks, and confront tremendous obstacles. During the crisis, she noticeably eschewed her own diplomats for the company of admirals and generals. Having been the only female member of the Carlton Club since 1975, she was well versed in the posing and overcompensation typically characteristic at all-male gatherings. Thatcher was as comfortable on the shop floor as she was with shoptalk. Parliament soon discovered, to the dismay of many, that she was better suited for administering the gladiatorial thumbs-down to the beleaguered *Belgrano* than negotiating with trade unions. These traits served her well during wartime, as certain occasions require specific skill sets. According to Anthony King, could anyone other than de Gaulle have pulled France’s chestnuts out of the fire in Algeria? Would either Heath or Callaghan have engaged in a fight with the Galtieri junta?<sup>34</sup>

On the other hand, much of this triumphalism was a mere papering-over of the cracks in the edifice. Amidst accusations of having mismanaged the war and misleading the public, victory nevertheless convinced Thatcher of her own righteousness. “The Old Testament prophets did not say, ‘Brothers, I want a consensus,’” she once remarked. “They said, ‘This is my faith. This is what I passionately believe. If you

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<sup>32</sup> “Margaret Thatcher on *Nationwide* Questioned over the *Belgrano*,” 5:49, from a televised interview for “*Nationwide*” on BBC Television May 24, 1983, posted by “harmlessdrudge1986,” May 5, 2013, accessed June 8, 2013, YouTube video, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3JZlP5qQVtE>.

<sup>33</sup> Young, *The Iron Lady*, 287.

<sup>34</sup> Anthony King, “The Outsider as Political Leader: The Case of Margaret Thatcher,” *British Journal of Political Science* 32, no. 3 (2002): 453.

believe it, too, then come with me;" coincidentally, not long after His Holiness, Pope John Paul II, would pay her a visit in London.<sup>35</sup> At the height of her post-Falklands acme, Thatcher's outsider-rebel status was smelted and fashioned into a formidable weapon, wielded at friend and foe alike. When it came to describing the relationship with her European ministerial colleagues, *swimmingly* would not have been the operative term. Political fratricide was never beneath her. She held an acute disdain for Conservative "wets" who, as W.H. Auden said of poets, make "nothing happen."<sup>36</sup> Anthony King reminds us "Thatcher became the first prime minister in British history to sack cabinet ministers on a large scale, not because they were incompetent, but because they disagreed with her."<sup>37</sup> The lady, who was famously "not for turning," was also not for moderating, placating, or conceding. Either no one told her that the lion's share of Old Testament prophets were killed by their own people, or she simply did not care. "But what Thatcherism stood for more than anything else was the 'smack of firm government.'"<sup>38</sup>

### **Thatcher and the UK Miners' Strike of 1984–85**

If West Africa was known as the "white man's graveyard" during the late nineteenth century, then the coal union's bargaining table was the Conservative man's graveyard in the late twentieth century. As Thatcher dispensed the quinine and readied her cabinet in the spring of 1984, there were plenty of political scars still visible from the 1973–74 miners' strike that had coughed up Conservative Prime Minister, Ted Heath. Despite Thatcher's prophylactics, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and its Marxist president, Arthur Scargill, held an almost Cromwellian power to make or break British governments, or at the very least, browbeat and threaten policymakers with their collection of Conservative pelts. Coal production had been in decline since the First World War, and by the time the post-war Labour Government, under Clement Attlee, had carried out their commitment for nationalization in 1947, production had decreased from 292 million tons to 187 million tons.<sup>39</sup> "By the 1970s the coal mining industry had come to symbolize everything that was wrong with Britain," grizzled Thatcher.<sup>40</sup> Having had her moral clarity recently

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<sup>35</sup> Margaret Thatcher, "Speech to Conservative Rally in Cardiff," Margaret Thatcher Foundation, accessed June 8, 2013. <http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/104011>.

<sup>36</sup> W.H. Auden, "In Memory of W.B. Yeats," in *Collected Shorter Poems 1927-1957* (New York: Random House, 1966), 142.

<sup>37</sup> King, 447.

<sup>38</sup> Judt, 540.

<sup>39</sup> Thatcher, *The Downing Street Years*, 340.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

honed in the Falklands, Thatcher looked at the NUM with the eyes of a hunter who had already tasted blood. The NUM was uncompetitive, inefficient, overstaffed, and domineering. Not only had they parasitized the post-war Keynesian welfare state, but as representatives of the British working class, they wielded powerful political cudgels as well. Thatcher, with the zealotry of an Old Testament prophet, wasted little time in conspiring to cut down the NUM. A blueprint for dealing a fatal blow to the unions had been floating about since the mid-1970s. The so-called Ridley Plan, named after Nicholas Ridley, a fellow Conservative who had held hands with Heath while heading toward electoral disaster in 1973–74, called for a cold-blooded battle of attrition. Ridley's script, no less, was a splendid slice of Machiavellian statecraft. The arrangement called for economic siege warfare combined with a well-trained, mobile police force, available to maintain order once desperate workers began to cross picket lines. To be sure, the plan was radical, perhaps too radical for Thatcher, at least during her first term.

To no one's surprise, and everyone's anticipation, Scargill, short on stature and memory, described Thatcher's re-election as "the worst national disaster for a hundred years."<sup>41</sup> Thatcher braced for a political duel. By autumn, both camps began to size up one another. Ian MacGregor, the man who had recently put British steel back in the black, was tapped by Thatcher to chair the National Coal Board (NCB) and participate in the difficult task of negotiating with the NUM. Thatcher and MacGregor's prescription for the coal industry included cutting the workforce by sixty-four thousand over three years, decreasing coal output by twenty-five million tons, and closing a number of uneconomic pits on a pit-by-pit basis (i.e., by 1983, roughly seventy-five percent of coal pits were losing money).<sup>42</sup> The prospect of closing uneconomic pits was anathema to Scargill, and any attempt by the union to doff its hat to conciliation was akin to mining a bad tooth.

Meanwhile, as the standoff began to play out on the evening news, the NUM circulated the story that Thatcher had a secret hit list of pits due for closure--an accusation that Thatcher denies in *The Downing Street Years*.<sup>43</sup> Forgoing the requisite national ballot, which required a fifty-five percent majority vote, Scargill instead called for a strike in Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire in March of 1984. By mid-year it was clear that MacGregor, then aged seventy, was beginning to tire. The man who Thatcher once described as her only equal had proven the prime minister's excessive praise to be just that.<sup>44</sup> The use of the Ridley Plan, however, now allowed Thatcher and the NCB to escape disaster and

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 367.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 343.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Young, *The Iron Lady*, 365.

redouble their efforts. The plan—akin to moves in a game of chess—called for: storing coal at the power stations and not the pit heads, check; for setting aside the funds necessary to maximize oil-fired power stations in order to offset diminishing coal output, check; for importing alternative power from France and Scotland, check; for cutting-off financial support to mining families, forcing the union to provide for them, check; and, finally, for deploying a substantial number of well-trained riot police, checkmate.

### **The Strike Ends**

In September, the government's negotiations were interrupted when Patrick Magee, a member of the Irish Republican Army (IRA), detonated a long-delay time bomb next to Thatcher's suite at the Grand Hotel in Brighton as she prepared to deliver a speech at a Conservative Party conference. The explosion waylaid the Conservative leadership, killing five and wounding thirty-one. Thatcher, who was working on her speech, at 2:54 a.m., barely skirted the blast as it buckled the second floor of the Grand Hotel and rearranged the prime minister's lavatory.<sup>45</sup> England was appalled; not since the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 had conspirators so brazenly attempted to assassinate a British head of state. Thatcher emerged unscathed, undaunted, and unyielding as she redoubled her convictions the following morning and delivered her speech as scheduled. In retrospect, her survival had less to do with the rectitude of her Victorian morals and more with the resilience of Victorian architecture. The IRA's handiwork might have left a heavy footprint on the Grand Hotel, but the old façade's structural integrity proved salvific for the Iron Lady. The entire sordid affair was disastrous for Scargill and the NUM. Smelling blood, Thatcher wasted no time. "These are the very dangers which we face in Britain today. At one end of the spectrum are the terrorist gangs within our borders, and the terrorist states, which finance and arm them. At the other are the hard left operating inside our system, conspiring to use union power and the apparatus of local government to break, defy and subvert the laws," remarked Thatcher to the Carlton Club following the bombing.<sup>46</sup> Emboldened by her own brush with death, and aware of the window of public sympathy that she had been afforded since the attempt on her life, Thatcher out-flanked the opposition. During speeches and interviews, she began to preach that the far left was soft terrorism. As an avowed Marxist, Scargill was indubitably reproached as a public menace and security threat. The game was up for the NUM. While Britain was still reeling from the Brighton

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<sup>45</sup> Young, *The Iron Lady*, 372.

<sup>46</sup> Thatcher, *The Downing Street Years*, 371.

Hotel bombing, Thatcher had snatched the lifejacket from a drowning Scargill. The Ridley Plan, which had been sewn in the defeat of the 1974 coal strike, was now being reaped in the victory of the 1984 strike. Scargill's final pleas amounted to no more than a deathbed confession, as coal miners across the country laced up their steel-toe boots and returned to the pits. After more than a year, the strike ended unceremoniously.

The strike, however, was never solely about union rights. For Thatcher, the moralist, pitched battles were always distilled down to a conflict between good and evil, and she, more than anyone else, knew which side she represented. Yet, much of Britain did not share her appetite for spiritual warfare. There was no self-congratulatory posturing or memorializing once the strike ended, and miners returned to work. Unlike during the Argentinian conflict, for most British people, there was no *other* during the standoff. Besides, the "real reason the miners' strike failed was simple: At the 1983 election, only two out of five union members had voted Labour."<sup>47</sup> Having played the role of engaged bystander during the mass picketing, the British people were given a domestic encore to Thatcher's critically acclaimed performance in the Falklands two years prior. Yet, the bullying and browbeating of one's own countrymen is a far different matter. As much as Thatcher's reading list included Friedrich von Hayek and Winston Churchill, it was her copy of Machiavelli's *The Prince* that emerged from the yearlong strike dog-eared and well-exercised. As Judt said, "The British were once again being ruled."<sup>48</sup>

Notwithstanding the union's overtures to the working man, once the strike had been terminated, the public's affection for Scargill was

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<sup>47</sup> Geoffrey Wheatcroft, "The Importance of Being Prickly: How Margaret Thatcher Ruled," *The New Republic*, April 13, 2013, accessed June 5, 2013, <http://www.newrepublic.com/article/112888/margaret-thatcher-and-importance-being-prickly#>.

<sup>48</sup> Judt, 541. Although Thatcher's wardrobe preference typically leaned toward Aquascutum, and her handbag likings Launer, her economic tastes were firmly Austrian. On one occasion, during a Conservative Party gathering, chafed by the circuitous oratory of a fellow confrère, Thatcher commandeered from her briefcase a copy of Austrian economist, Friedrich von Hayek's *The Constitution of Liberty*. Holding the book up high for all to see, she said, "This is what we believe," and "banged Hayek down on the table." John Ranelagh, *Thatcher's People: An Insider's Account of the Politics, the Power, and the Personalities* (London: Harper Collins, 1991), ix. Indeed, her policies proved to be one generous helping after another from Hayek's neoliberal smorgasbord. In some cases through book, chapter, and verse. To understand Thatcher's loathing of the welfare state, see chapter 17 of *The Constitution of Liberty*. For her views on subsidized housing, see chapter 22. For her views on labor unions, read chapter 18. To understand her position on private property, see page 207. See F.A. Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty*, trans. and ed. Ronald Hamowy (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).



virtually nonexistent. However, neither was Downing Street bereft of blemish. Thatcher's anti-trades union odyssey had whittled away the industrial and manufacturing sectors in the North, leaving three million British jobless by 1985. Judt surmised "by disdaining and dismantling all collectively-held resources, by vociferously insisting upon an individualist ethic that discounted any unquantifiable assets, Margaret Thatcher did serious harm to the fabric of British public life."<sup>49</sup>

### **Thatcherism: Alive and Well?**

Indeed, if the bureaucratic miasma and "stagflation" of the 1970s vindicated Hayek's economic forecast, then Thatcher's declawing of the militant labor unions (i.e., the Trades Union Congress lost seventeen percent of its membership within five years) legitimized her own prognostications. Under Thatcher, the Conservative Party had corralled inflation, humbled the labor force, curbed union power, and emboldened her middle-class constituency. Perhaps most telling is that the key tenets of Thatcherism are alive and well to this day. They debut each week during Questions to the Prime Minister. After Callaghan and Thatcher took consecutive turns at the wheel, veering first to the left, then to the far right, the keys were passed to Tony Blair who tried to stay between the lines. Even then, the ship of state still tacked to the right. When Thatcher was asked to name her greatest achievement, she gave the nod to Tony Blair, the practicing "Third Way" Labourite. Following her death in April, the Millennials who participated in the anti-Thatcher campaign on YouTube were no doubt responding to their parents and grandparents carping of how Thatcher had forced them to give away the family silver.

### **The Benefit of "Luck"**

In both life and death, Thatcher's achievements were routinely dismissed as merely owing to luck (if one believes in such a thing) or favorable circumstances. "How Did Margaret Thatcher Do It?" rang the title of Gary Younge's scabrous review in *The Nation*, following the announcement of her death in April.<sup>50</sup> "She was lucky in her enemies," decried Geoffrey Wheatcroft in the *New Republic*.<sup>51</sup> There is something to be said for the shortcomings of Gorbachev and Galtieri, and the indolence within the Labour Party (nor did Scargill's collectivist

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<sup>49</sup> Judt, 543.

<sup>50</sup> Younge, 10.

<sup>51</sup> Wheatcroft, 7.

imaginings cause anyone to forget Trotsky). This hand is often played, however. Even posthumously, Thatcher is able to elude these darts which are pulled from the pocket of the crowd who has grown accustomed to twenty years of mealy-mouthed politicians on both sides of the pond. Besides, the “lucky” charge could be ascribed to any leader. Churchill was lucky not to catch a Pashtun bullet in the frontier region of British India. After writing over eight hundred pages in *Postwar*, many of which are dedicated to revolutions, Judt judiciously remarked that “Thatcher, like all the best revolutionaries, was fortunate in her enemies.”<sup>52</sup> Successful revolutions are the handmaidens of good fortune.

### **Domestic Destruction**

For those not swayed by the whims of fortune and chance, there remain plenty of valid criticisms to direct at Thatcher. Most of her economic victories, despite their efficiency, were pyrrhic. Under the Iron Lady, unemployment skyrocketed and the majority of the populace, especially the working-class, suffered mightily.<sup>53</sup> The neoliberal gauntlet of privatization and deregulation were ubiquitous during her three electoral victories. Her attempts to dismantle the welfare state were radical. The mass auctioning-off of public housing to tenants opened the housing market to speculation and saddled the middle-classes with a culture of debt, which they would pay for in spades during the property crash of the early 1990s. As a society, the British people suffocated under Thatcher.<sup>54</sup>

### **Conclusion**

When cataloguing the entire Argentine engagement, there is an inescapable Manichaeian proclivity to distil and divide Thatcher’s handling of the affair into terms of good or evil, saint or sinner. Despite holding onto this unrequited hope for clarity, however, rarely does life’s tree yield us such low hanging fruit. Inevitably, history will veil the facts, leaving us to run toward the warm embrace of simple speculation. Surely, however, life’s mosaic provides a more byzantine reading; at least it has in the case of Margaret Thatcher.

Inasmuch as some authors, such as Martin Holmes, argue that Britain’s economy operated at a practiced cadence under Thatcher, others, such as Tony Judt, recall how British society foundered under her

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<sup>52</sup> Judt, 542.

<sup>53</sup> David Harvey, “Neo-liberalism as Creative Destruction,” *Swedish Society for Anthropology and Geography* 88, no. 2 (2006): 155.

<sup>54</sup> Judt, 543.

tutelage. Following her death, two lines began to form behind these markers and spar over her legacy. Yet, these debates, while important, are limited in their explanatory scope. Like many discussions regarding an individual's legacy, the long-term consequences and continuing effects often become the starting point from which people argue backward. While such a course may brush-in the background of the portrait, it often fails to paint the subject.

In sketching Thatcher's tactics during the Falklands War and the UK miners' strike, one characteristic emerges alongside her legacy: that of an outsider-leader. Indeed, and for all of her peddling of free market liberalism and *nouveau riche* appeal, Thatcher was a provincial, born in bucolic Grantham, a grocer's daughter. Within British Conservatism, she was an outsider who abjured consensus, reveled in Parliamentary brinkmanship, and shunned the conventional and despised Tory grandees. Depending on the company, she was always careful to either play up or play down her rearing as a *petite bourgeoisie*. Thatcher was fiercely independent, deeply suspicious, and rather adept at accumulating enemies. Self-identifying as an outsider characterized much of her legacy. Convinced of the soundness of her opinions and hemmed in by a coterie of ideological sycophants, Thatcher drew a non-negotiable ethical line in the sand. Those who chose to differ with her were considered turncoats. It was not the harmony of the Sermon on the Mount that stirred her, but the desert morality and righteous indignation of the sages in the Old Testament. It was from this moral fount that she drank heavily. Opposing governments, Marxist labor unions, welfare state apologists, and, as reported on occasion, visiting editors and mulish diplomats alike were conflated into a single roguish syndicate. Argentina's Galtieri and the NUM's Scargill were merely two heads of the same serpent-like Hydra. She dealt lead to the former and a lethal dose of Conservative retribution to the latter. Although the ethic of her legacy will continue to be disputed, her impact on British politics will not. "To anyone who had fallen asleep in England in 1978 and awoken twenty years later, their country would have seemed unfamiliar indeed: quite unlike its old self—and markedly different from the rest of Europe."<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Judt, 547.

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# Reviews

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## Presidential Documents

The United States' Presidential Libraries house large archives that hold some of the most important documents and records of the country's past. Some of the most controversial issues in our nation's history, such as Watergate and the Iran-Contra records, can be found in these archives. The museums and archives in these libraries are separate entities, but they work together to represent a truthful outlook on their president's legacy. Archivists preserve, organize, and prepare presidential materials for public viewing, while curators use those materials in their exhibits for public presentation. The Libraries are the key holders for all documents once a president finishes their term. Although many of these items are archived, controversy over who has access to them remains an issue. Archivists should have access to all presidential materials, political and private, for preserving presidential history and a truthful representation of Presidential legacy.

Presidential libraries did not always exist. The first presidential library began with President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Roosevelt had wanted to share his personal collections, as well as his presidential documents, with the public. Before Roosevelt, presidents had "donated their papers to the Library of Congress, state historical societies, or universities...some presidents sold their papers; and some papers were even destroyed."<sup>1</sup> Roosevelt instead felt that the public should have the right to view and access his papers. He used a building (which he already owned) to build the first presidential library in 1939.

After Roosevelt had established this first library, following presidents have built their own as well. The United States' presidents and government felt that it was important to preserve presidential histories and share them with the public by building these libraries and archives. In 1955, congress passed the Presidential Libraries Act to help influence presidents to donate their records to the government and open up their own libraries. The archives were then placed in the hands of the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). Today, there are a total of thirteen presidential libraries affiliated with the National Archives.<sup>2</sup>

Until 1978, United States presidents owned the rights to all their records. It was up to them as to whether or not they wanted to donate

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<sup>1</sup> Nancy Kegan Smith and Gary M. Stern, "A Historical Review of Access to Records in Presidential Libraries," *The Public Historian* 28, no. 3 (2006): 81.

<sup>2</sup> "National Archives and Records Administration," accessed March 15, 2014, <http://www.archives.gov/locations/>.

their documents. Richard Nixon's attempt to destroy evidence of his Watergate scandal changed the way presidential materials and records were handled. After resigning, due to threat of impeachment, Richard Nixon signed an agreement with the Administrator of the General Services Administration. This agreement "granted Nixon legal title to the materials, including the right not only to control access to them but also to destroy them."<sup>3</sup> Congress responded by passing the 1974 Presidential Recordings and Materials Preservation Act, which kept Nixon from demolishing his tapes.<sup>4</sup> If congress had not done this, those documents would not be available today for research, or as evidence of Nixon's reason for his resignation from the presidency. The National Archives and Records Administration had issued an agreement with the Nixon Library, in Yorba Linda, California, to become affiliated with them in 2007, and help the library update their Watergate exhibit.<sup>5</sup>

Nixon's attempt to destroy his tapes led Congress to find a better solution for protecting presidential records in the future. Congress initiated the Presidential Records Act (PRA) in 1978 to protect presidential records from being destroyed by future presidents. "The PRA changed the legal ownership of the official records of the President from private to public, and established a new statutory structure under which Presidents must manage their records."<sup>6</sup> Since the Watergate scandal and the enactment of the Presidential Records Act of 1978, presidents have been legally battling the American Historical Association, the American Library Association, and the National Security Archive over the rights to their documents.

President Ronald Reagan and President George H. W. Bush both challenged the Presidential Records Act in court. Reagan tried to destroy his Iran-Contra Affair records that had discussions about selling weapons to Iran. The Reagan administration wanted to clear the tapes out before Bush took over the presidency, even though the incoming administration wanted these items removed as well. A lawsuit conducted by the American Historical Association, American Library Association and the National Security Archive, stopped the administrations from destroying these items.<sup>7</sup> Reagan was dropped from charges at the end of his term,

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<sup>3</sup> Bruce P. Montgomery, "Nixon's Ghost Haunts the Presidential Records Act: The Reagan and George W. Bush Administrations." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 32, no.4 (2002): 792.

<sup>4</sup> Bruce P. Montgomery, "Presidential Materials: Politics and the Presidential Records Act," *The American Archivist* 66, no. 1 (2003): 105.

<sup>5</sup> "Richard Nixon Foundation," accessed March 15, 2014, <http://nixonfoundation.org/2012/07/the-facts-about-the-creation-of-the-watergate-exhibit-at-the-nixon-library/3/>.

<sup>6</sup> "National Archives and Records Administration."

<sup>7</sup> Bruce P. Montgomery, "Presidential Materials: Politics and the Presidential Records Act," *The American Archivist* 66, no. 1 (2003): 112.



but the lawsuit was still pursued on Bush. "On 6 January 1993, Judge Charles R. Richey ruled that the computer tapes containing copies of electronic messages by members of the Reagan and Bush administrations must be preserved like other government records."<sup>8</sup> The Bush administration, eager to remove the electronic records before the incoming Clinton administration, made an agreement with archivist Don Wilson. This agreement gave Bush the authority over his records, which included allowing him to request destruction of the electronic files.<sup>9</sup>

In 2001, President George W. Bush initiated Executive Order No. 13233. This order was an attempt for "...removing the power from the archivist of the United States to authorize access to presidential records."<sup>10</sup> Many protested against this, claiming that it was overriding the Presidential Records Act. Although many had tried to challenge the order, it remained in place until President Obama revoked it in his first year as President. George W. Bush's attempts to take power back over presidential documents shows how important these documents are, not only to the people, but to the presidents as well.

Archivists dedicated to preserving presidential history are challenged with the complicated process of getting presidential documents ready for public viewing. They must deal with the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) of 1966, which slows down the processing of records. FOIA allows the public the right to "obtain access to federal agency records, except to the extent that such records (or portions of them) are protected from public disclosure by one of nine exemptions or by one of three special law enforcement record exclusions."<sup>11</sup> FOIA allows up to five years after a president is out of office before the documents are subject to its requests. The first five years is valuable for archives, because it gives them a chance to get the materials organized. Some documents, mostly those that could be controversial, can be held up to twelve years before they can be released. If there are any specific documents that are problematic, or are still sensitive even after twelve years, then a continued hold could be placed on the item. For classified documents, archivists have to give "agencies with 'equities' in the protected information a chance to argue against release."<sup>12</sup> Even if these documents have reached the twelve year release time, another reason could be found for not releasing them. If they have been approved for release, they may still have to go through a process for desensitizing

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 116.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 119.

<sup>10</sup> Thomas James Connors, "Papers of the President or of the Presidency: Who Owns Presidential Records? Some Recent History and a Challenge," *Portal: Libraries and the Academy* 2, no. 4 (2002): 653.

<sup>11</sup> "Freedom of Information Act," accessed March 20, 2014, <http://www.foia.gov/about.html>.

<sup>12</sup> Kenneth Jost, "Presidential Libraries," *CQ Researcher* 17, no. 11 (2007): 246.

them.

Another complicated issue for archives is that they do not have enough help for the amount of documents, materials, and records they are given. There are “80 million pages at the Clinton library...around 10 archivists each, for example, at the Reagan and Clinton Libraries.”<sup>13</sup> For this reason, it can create an even longer time span on certain items for release. Researchers can request certain items to be processed or released, but it still could take a long time before the items become available. Sharon K. Fawcett, President of the Libraries’ Archives, states that “ten archivists are able to process only about 250,000 pages per year.”<sup>14</sup> If the items have not yet been organized, then they cannot be open to the public. This is unfair for researchers who may be interested in learning about their presidents. It should be mandatory to have enough archivists to make sure these documents are preserved properly. The archives are also unable to accept new items from people who may have known the president. This is because there is not enough time to process any new material. This could lead to loss of important historical information that could be potentially useful for researchers.

Presidents were aware that releasing certain papers to the public could cause publicity damage, uprisings, or controversies. They make confidential decisions over situations they feel the public does not need to know about. Additionally, they may feel their decisions are in the country’s best interests, even though they know the people would disagree. The president keeps these decisions secret for a reason, because they know it could lead to public mayhem. The Freedom of Information Act of 1966 recognizes this. If an item is, or could still be, a heated issue or detrimental to a government agency, they may lock a hold on those documents and not release them even after the twelve year limit.<sup>15</sup> It helps to protect a president’s reputation, but it also controls any negative feedback from the people. Thomas Jefferson knew this when he stated that, “Honest men might justifiably withhold information, if they expected the communication would be made public, and commit them to war with their neighbors and friends.”<sup>16</sup> Both the presidents and archivists are aware that these restricted items are essential to the United States’, political history, so they remain preserved, but are not allowed for public viewing.

Presidents want to have the option to pick and choose what they feel should be put into their archives. Some presidents do not want certain controversial documents available to the public so that they are

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Sharon K. Fawcett, “Presidential Libraries: A View from the Center.” *The Public Historian* 28, no. 3 (2006): 22.

<sup>15</sup> Montgomery, 107.

<sup>16</sup> Connors, 656.

not portrayed negatively. For example, the Reagan Library features only a single small video segment of Reagan admitting to his affiliation with the Iran–Contra within one of its exhibits.<sup>17</sup> The Presidents may try to have these documents destroyed or covered up. The Presidential Records Act helps to ensure that these documents remain in the hands of the National Archivists. Despite what the presidents may think about their controversial decisions, their decisions are important to preserve. Their decisions, which are reflected in their materials, do not only represent U.S. history, but it represents the presidents themselves.

Presidents have also wanted to be able to choose which items are archived for the matter of privacy. Presidents have kept diaries, written letters, and recorded or taped conversations as President Nixon had done with Watergate. Presidents began to learn that keeping these materials could lead to controversy and even be used against them in court. “During the Iran–Contra investigations, both Ronald Reagan and the elder George Bush were forced to surrender portions of their private diaries, which were published against their will while they still sat in the Oval Office.”<sup>18</sup> Presidents soon learned ways to avoid sensitive or private materials from becoming part of the archives. They came up with different code names for documents so courts would not be aware of them, or if they kept a diary, they would claim they did not.<sup>19</sup> If they kept documents out of the system, they could not be claimed by archives.

Private letters to family and friends are still considered material necessary for archiving. Some presidents wrote letters about important issues to friends to get their input on them. The First Ladies would write love letters to their husbands and those were kept even if there was no mention of political topics. It is considered that all documents that come through the White House during a president’s term are considered to be potential archived material. Al Gonzales, a member of George W. Bush’s counsel, stated that if the president has a conversation with his wife and begins to “...ask for their input or opinion about the tax plan or a speech he is giving..., it crosses the line.”<sup>20</sup> It is considered presidential material and should be documented. Although a president may feel that a letter from his friend or wife is private, those letters could be influential somehow to a decision he may make as president.

Even though Bill Clinton’s affair with Monica Lewinsky would be considered a private matter, it became public. Materials relating to his relationship with her have been placed in the National Archives. His library’s museum even contains a segment dedicated to this moment in

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<sup>17</sup> Jost, 246.

<sup>18</sup> Michael Beschloss, “Knowing What Really Happened,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 32, no. 4 (2002): 644.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 645.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 646.

his career with "... an argumentative title: *The Fight for Power*."<sup>21</sup> Although it seems that it would be a private matter, his affair with Lewinsky led to future allegations and impeachment. Although Clinton managed to survive trial without being removed from presidency, his private affair with Lewinsky is now archived, and the historical significance of his affair is vital to presidential history.

Presidential documents, political and private, are vital not only to United States history, but also to the history of the presidents' lives. If only political issues were processed and archived, we would only have a political view of that president's life. Having personal items that had belonged to the president helps to give us a better view of what that president was like. It gives researchers the ability to get to know that president on a more personal level, rather than just on a political one. Martha Joynt Kumar, a presidential historian of Towson University, holds truth to this by saying, "The archived papers 'help provide an unvarnished view of the presidency.'"<sup>22</sup> Each president has a unique personality, and each runs the country in a unique way. By looking deeper into their personal and public documents, we can find a way to understand them and their decisions better.

Over the years, technology has advanced, and presidents have changed the way their information is documented. Leaning away from the use of paper, electronics are now more reliable sources for communication and documentation than they were fifteen years ago. Today, presidents use cell phones, tablets, and computers on a daily basis. Government has had to move swiftly to make sure President Obama's personal cell phone is tracked for documentation purposes. Due to presidents using newer technology, there is a possibility that some information can be lost. This may be a new challenge in the future for historians and archivists.

All presidential documents, records, and materials are essential to history. It is important for archives to have the amount of archivists needed to make sure items are available for researchers and processing is done properly. Although the presidents may not enjoy negative response from the public for decisions they have made, items reflecting those decisions are significant to a president's history and should be available in their archives. Changing these documents, or getting permission to not have them archived, changes the history of a president and his work. Presidential documents, private or political, are a necessity for future historical purposes, and should be archived to preserve presidential legacies.

**Cassie Grand**

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<sup>21</sup> Jost, 246.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 244.

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**Book Review: When Money Grew on Trees: A.B. Hammond and the Age of the Timber Baron. By Greg Gordon. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press: 2014.**

In *When Money Grew on Trees: A.B. Hammond and the Age of the Timber Baron*, Greg Gordon explores the transformation of land, labor, and lumber in the West, during the life of lumberman Andrew Benoni Hammond. Gordon shows Hammond to be a pervasive figure successfully riding the tides of change. The many periods of Hammond's life reflect his ability to develop modern business practices, while retaining ideas about business developed during his youth. Successfully transitioning from frontier capitalism to modern incorporation, Hammond moves across the country with the lumber industry on the forefront of development in the west. From his childhood in New Brunswick to his amassing one of the largest concentrations of timberlands in the country, Gordon characterizes Hammond's journey from lumberjack to lumber baron through the resource-based conflicts that Hammond fought to his final days. Gordon uses the company records and personal information to create a portrait of not only an individual, but a time.

Gordon often reflects on the environments that fostered Hammond's thoughts and motivations. Hammond's upbringing in New Brunswick, Canada sets the stage for later developments in his life. The early shapers of Hammond's life were his family library and his maternal grandfather, Leonard Coombes, who would act as an early mentor to Hammond as he lost his father early in life. Gordon points to Coombes Anglo-Saxon Protestant influence as a central pillar to Hammond's success, due to the extolment of values such as saving and investment over spending. Gordon states, "By the time he was sixteen, Andrew had exhausted the family library that consisted of the Bible, the *Works of Shakespeare*, *Pilgrims Progress*, and Alexander Kinglake's *Invasion of the Crimea*." The books are a massive insight into the man Hammond would become. The Hammonds valued education and were bilingual, speaking English and French. Hammond would capitalize upon this many times during his life. Even after moving toward modern corporate practices, Hammond would hire his New Brunswick relatives as a trustworthy staff.

Hammond's family history is used by Gordon to give insight into his willingness to completely ignore property ownership. Gordon uses the Hammonds and Coombes to explore the culture of New Brunswick at the time and how this shaped Hammond. Gordon typifies the culture of New Brunswick as one of farmers that sold lumber on the side to provide capital. The idea of natural resources as a commons developed in New Brunswick allowing poaching timber to emerge as an acceptable

practice. The economy of the area being dependent on a single commodity, however, led to cycles of boom and bust that were noticed by the young Hammond and would shape his business practices for the rest of his life.

Armed with a love of poetry and Napoleon, a strong Protestant work ethic, and a disregard for ownership, Hammond leaves home at sixteen for the logging camps of Maine. Transitioning mentors following his grandfather's death to his eldest brother George, Hammond does not stay in Maine long leaving for the gold fields of Montana. Here the dream of gold enters the mix creating a drive toward the accumulation of wealth. Gordon discusses Andrew Hammond's separation from his brother as his first test of his individual abilities. As the dream of gold falls short, George continues on while Hammond stays on looking for other means of acquiring wealth. Hammond becomes a "woodhawk," chopping lumber and trapping. Gordon describes the practices of the woodhawks. Woodhawks would often kill a buffalo and then using a porcupine quill dipped in strychnine poison the corpse. Gathering forty or so of such traps in an area the woodhawks would then leave and return for the more valuable pelts of wolves that thought they found an easy meal. The issues that arose from such actions as these put Hammond and other woodhawks into conflict with indigenous peoples that resented such the wholesale cutting of their trees and killing of their game. After narrowly avoiding death during raids by local peoples Hammond leaves for the area around Missoula Montana.

In Montana Hammond flirted with many occupations, finally finding a new role model in his future business partner Edward Bonner. Hammond becomes a clerk in the local mercantile shop owned by Eddy and Bonner. Within a few years of his straightforward dealings with others, Hammond, would become a partner in the mercantile shop. Gordon also looks deeply into Hammond's diverse investments in businesses throughout the Missoula valley. Hammond in attempting to avoid the booms and busts that he saw in his childhood would often diversify his investments into many fields. Gordon points to the over extension of individuals around Hammond and their eventual ruin, as leading Hammond to always maintain reserves and pay back bonds before releasing dividends. Hammond's safe practices are shown by Gordon to be the cause of his rise in times where others fell. Hammond invested into railroads and lumber heavily while maintaining the mercantile as a secure line of credit for his investments. Hammond would often grow during periods where others contracted buying up businesses during economic downturns. Gordon evaluates Hammonds slow accumulation of lumber lands, mills, and railroads as the foundation for his empire stretching out of Montana eventually dominating the lumber industry in Oregon, California, and parts of Arizona.



Gordon explores Hammond as an important figure in the development of infrastructure in the Western United States, noting the importance of regionally economically important individuals as the developers of railroads and resource infrastructure. In exploring Hammond Gordon explores the development of the lumber yards and mines that allowed for the construction of the great rail systems of the west. Gordon uses Hammond's promotion of anti-union ideals throughout the areas he worked within to show a greater movement of ideological stratification within the greater United States. Gordon shows Hammond's ties to individuals like C.P. Huntington who would be major figures in Hammond's later life. Fighting unionization within Humboldt County, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and throughout Oregon Hammond hired strikebreakers, opposing any reform to address labor concerns. Often Hammond would fight other lumber companies, the government, and native peoples over access to resources within a region. Hammond would fight accusations of timber poaching and land fraud throughout his life often using political maneuvering to avoid prosecution and fines. Gordon uses these instances of Hammond's life to illustrate the nature of capitalism during the period as it evolved.

At the end of his life Hammond became owner of the largest redwood lumber company and lumber yard in the world. Hammond accumulated a massive amount of wealth as a result of clear cutting redwoods at a prodigious pace. In many ways the seemingly callous nature of Hammond can be seen in a constructive, or destructive light. Gordon leaves ascribing moral conditions on Hammond's actions to the reader. An enjoyable read on the subject of regional regional capitalists, Gordon relies heavily on production and development data to form the bulk of the book. Gordon discusses the personal nature of Hammond's business style as a pillar of his success, and the inclusion of personal letters would of been an excellent additional source of information for the reader. The broad subject of Hammond's life is presented without focusing on single aspects leaving the reader wanting more information on specific sections. Gordon writing is colorful and relates stories on the periphery of Hammond's life quite well. The only thing that the reader will regret at the end is that it is not a longer text. Largely the text shows an individual that did not disregard nature, but rather regarded it as a commodity only measurable in board feet.

Cody August Vrba



## Film Review: *The Attack* (2012), Complex Issues through a Camera's Lens

Ziad Doueiri's recent film, *The Attack*, presents an extensive number of situations and characters that seem to fall in-between two opinions associated with Israel and Palestine. While the overall theme in the film is about people in impossible situations trying to find answers, it has numerous other social developments of extreme complexity that are interspersed throughout the entire film. Doueiri presents to the audience ideas of where Palestinians with Israeli citizenship fit into the collective society, and how constant conflict affects the mentalities of people in the region.

The film centers on Amin Jaafari, an Arab surgeon with Israeli citizenship, who discovers that his wife, Siham, was involved in a suicide bombing at a restaurant in Tel Aviv. The film makes it clear very early that Siham is responsible for the attack, but leaves her motivations for it a mystery. From that point on, the film follows Amin through numerous sections of both Palestinian and Israeli society, territory, and culture, as he tries to discover the motivations behind his wife's actions.

The questions that Doueiri offers to his audience are extremely visible, yet very subtle and nuanced in their presentation. The earliest concept shown is where do Palestinians integrated into Israeli society fit into the overall structure. In the beginning of the film, the audience sees Amin being needled by a couple of his Israeli colleagues over his finances and recent accolades, making it clear that he is not completely accepted in the hospital where he works. Following this is an interaction between Amin and a survivor of the attack. In this scene, the audience sees the survivor vehemently reject Amin as his surgeon and declare that he does not want to be treated by an Arab doctor. The reverse of this is seen when Amin returns to his home town of Nablus in the West Bank. While visiting, his reception is less than welcoming, some believe that Amin is working for the Israeli internal security forces, namely Shin Bet, or that he is being monitored by them in hopes of exposing agitators. Others believe that he is simply a man who abandoned his people and heritage for a more comfortable life. Situations of this nature are not new developments in Israeli-Palestinian society. Rhoda Kanaaneh wrote a piece in 2005 for *American Ethnologist* about young Palestinian men who signed up for the Israeli armed forces. Kanaaneh detailed how the

men were looked down upon by fellow Palestinians for a variety of reasons, while Israeli's see them as unviable and limited in their role.<sup>1</sup>

The other question that Doueiri presents to the audience is how living under the stress of constant conflict affects people in the area. In the beginning of the film, the audience sees Amin talking with a friend named Raveed, who works for the Israeli police. During their conversation, Raveed describes a horrendous incident between a Palestinian and an Israeli that ends with one, the Israeli, being stabbed to death; however, he concludes with ambivalence by asking what can be done. Raveed's statement, coupled with Amin's nonchalant response, indicates an air of acceptance among both Palestinians and Israelis over the violence that occurs every day, reducing it to a part of daily life. Lori Allen described in her 2008 article for *Cultural Anthropology* the Arabic phrase "Ta`wwunda" which can be translated as "we have gotten used to it."<sup>2</sup> This phrase applies heavily to the tone of this film: violence, the threat of violence, and death, are all alluded to throughout the entire film, yet the subjects have a feel of casualness that is nothing short of jarring.

A final trend that Doueiri highlights is that of the martyr poster, a subject Allen also covers in her publication. As the name implies, martyr posters display the faces and final quotes of suicide bombers. As shown in the film, they can be other pieces of memorabilia as well, such as flyers, key chains, and cards, which demonstrated by what the young boy in Nablus was selling on the street. Allen points out that this action merely reinforces people's awareness of how close death is at any given time, and even goes as far as to say that it unites people on both sides; perhaps rightly so.<sup>3</sup>

Ziad Doueiri has crafted a film that is nothing short of a masterpiece in its capturing of an extremely complex issue. No side is taken throughout the film, no ideology is held above any other, and everyone's suffering is presented. There is no clear right or wrong, villain or hero, winner or loser; only people and impossible decisions. Ultimately, what Doueiri created is a very human story about decisions that cannot be taken back, regrets that must be endured, and uncertainties that must be forded.

**Steven Anthony**

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<sup>1</sup> Rhoda Kanaaneh, "Boys or Men? Duped or 'Made?' Palestinian Soldiers in the Israeli Military," *American Ethnologist* 32, no. 1 (2005): 261-262 & 270.

<sup>2</sup> Lori Allen, "Getting by the Occupation: How Violence Became Normal During the Second Palestinian Intifada," *Cultural Anthropology* 23, no. 3 (2008): 457.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 462-463.

## **Film Review: 42 (2013)**

The film *42* depicts the struggle of an African American man, Jackie Robinson, born in 1919, who played Major League Baseball for the Brooklyn Dodgers and faced both criticism and segregation. This movie was released in 2013, and was directed by Brian Helgeland. It featured Chadwick Boseman, T.R. Knight, Harrison Ford, and Rachel Robinson. *42* was named after Jackie Robinson's Brooklyn Dodgers' uniform number and showed the beginning of desegregation, and how one man's triumph can start a transformation on a national scale. This film is an accurate description of his career and importance of desegregation, but it did not satisfactorily acknowledge his contribution off the field in changing the status of blacks in American society.

Jackie Robinson was portrayed accurately on the field in this movie. His batting average and ability to play baseball was uncanny. As a rookie, he achieved 12 home runs, 29 steals, and ended the season with a .297 batting average. He was a rising star in 1947, and by 1962, was presented with the honor of a position in the Baseball Hall of Fame.<sup>4</sup> His first major league baseball manager, Leo Durocher, played by Christopher Miloni, truly believed in him. Robinson attracted many supporters from the black community, but that still was not enough to convince the majority of people that he was just as capable of playing the great American pastime.

The movie depicted the struggle that Robinson faced within himself, through his teammates, and by society. During one of his first games with the Brooklyn Dodgers, a teammate, much to everyone's surprise, stood up to the opposing team member as Robinson went up to bat. The opposing team yelled out profanities and made unnecessary noise as he stepped up to the plate in hopes of intimidating Robinson. He struck out, emotionally broke down, went to the dugout, and broke his bat in half. This scene was the first and only time throughout the film in which Robinson is shown reaching his breaking point. No matter what challenges he faced and no matter how mad or angry he became, however, he always stepped up to the plate and excelled on the field.

When Robinson first started playing for the Brooklyn Dodgers, not everyone was thrilled to have him. His teammates did not want to play with a black man, so they started a petition and used it to unanimously vote to remove him from the team. With only his coach standing beside him, he did his best to resist the backlash from his team. Leo Durocher quickly shut down the petition. He held a meeting and told the players that regardless of skin color, they needed to respect each other. The director used this as a turning point to show that there were

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<sup>4</sup> "About Jackie Robinson," Jackie Robinson Foundations, last modified 2011, <http://www.jackierobinson.org/about/jackie.php>.

supporters, besides his coach Leo Durocher and his wife Rachel Robinson.

The teammates who once petitioned to have Robinson off the team made the choice to stand up for him when Robinson faced verbal abuse from opposing teams and Dodger fans. When Robinson went up to bat, people from the crowds repeatedly taunted him. They would shout “You don’t belong here.” After seeing him play, individuals quickly changed their opinions. Robinson felt more empowered and continued to excel in baseball. As his teammates witnessed this, they were then motivated to support Robinson, despite racial differences. After this scene, teammates as well as fans from the “whites only” and “colored sections” showed their support. Pep talks, fans, and the change he was making kept him going even when the majority of Americans wanted to see him give up.

42 did a great job at showing what life was like for all African Americans in the mid-twentieth century, not just Jackie Robinson. Throughout the film, Robinson's wife and friends had to challenge segregation. Jackie and Rachel Robinson were kicked off a flight, because Rachel used a “whites only” restroom. This shows how close-minded and unfair society was towards blacks in the United States well into the twentieth century. The entire black community faced segregation, but Jackie Robinson put himself in the eyes of the public and made himself a prime target for abuse.

The film 42 depicted what life was like for Jackie Robinson on the field, but it did not show his involvement in transforming the status of blacks in the United States when he was off the field in any capacity. Jackie Robinson shaped the status of blacks in the United States throughout the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960's, through activism and financial support. Robinson became heavily involved in work in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and other organizations aimed towards helping the black community. Robinson became a businessman and wrote several columns on issues blacks faced in society. He traveled throughout the United States, and gave lectures on racial tolerance and how to respect one another, despite racial differences. Finally, through several campaigns, he was able to raise large amounts of funds for the NAACP.<sup>5</sup>

Unlike most films that depict African American history through slavery, the film 42 addresses black history through sports. Being accepted on a Major League Baseball team in the United States in the 1940s and 1950s was a huge accomplishment for anyone of color. Being taken seriously alone was a significant obstacle for Jackie Robinson. This makes his accomplishment only that much more inspiring, however.

Jackie Robinson paved the way for African American rights

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

during segregation. He broke the color barrier in American baseball, and also opened opportunities for future non-white athletes in society. Even though the majority of the population was not accepting of his race, Robinson still took pride in what he was setting out to accomplish. Throughout his career, he received harsh criticisms and humiliation. The movie reflected a mix of opinions among these two groups. Robinson was forced to play in a stadium, on a team that did not want him. As hard as this was, he was able to pull through and challenge segregation.

**Alexandra Martin**





## Film Review: *12 Years a Slave* (2013)

*Dedicated to the California State University, San Bernardino History Department, and the students of the History Club. Thank you for your continued support and enthusiasm.*

### Introduction

The 2013 film, *12 Years a Slave*, portrays the true story of Solomon Northup, a free black man from upstate New York who was kidnapped in 1841 and sold into slavery. He was then given a new name, Platt. It was under this new identity that Solomon would be subjected to a life of abuse and humiliation. The film offers intimate insight into the life and treatment of a slave in the Antebellum South, as well as the racial and social hierarchy that took place in the North and South alike. Solomon Northup, played by actor Chiwetel Ejiofor, is able to get word of his plight to his closest friends in the North, whom later rescue him and return him to his family in 1853. When he returns, Solomon, a once prominent member of society, is now a broken and rundown man, ashamed of his appearance and his absence from his familial obligations. It is with this last intimate scene, when Solomon is reunited with his family, that the film ends. The abolitionist message is clear, however. The institution of slavery was a poisonous thorn in the side of the country that led to the disruption of both the family and the human spirit.

Shortly after his return in 1853, Solomon Northup published his memoirs. The original book of the same name was dedicated to Harriet Beecher Stowe, and said to have been introduced as “another key to Uncle Tom’s Cabin.”<sup>568</sup> It sold over thirty thousand copies. Therefore, it is not only one of the longest slave narratives, but also one of the best-selling.<sup>569</sup>

Decades later, in 1931, a dusty copy of the book was discovered in a library in Bunkie, Louisiana by twelve-year-old Sue Eakin. Eakin became fascinated with the story of Solomon Northup and eventually would write her master’s thesis on the story of *Twelve Years a Slave*. After graduating from Louisiana State University, Eakin continued her research of Solomon Northup, and in 1968, published a second edition of *Twelve Years a Slave*. In 2007, Eakin published an enhanced version, which included her research after 1968, as well as maps, pictures, and historian commentary. It was not until two years after her 2009 death,

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<sup>568</sup> “Solomon Northup,” Documenting the American South, accessed March 3, 2014, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/northup/summary.html>.

<sup>569</sup> Ibid.

that Solomon Northup's story would be picked up by Brad Pitt's production company, Plan B, and turned into an Academy Award winning film directed by Steve McQueen. According to the *Hollywood Reporter*, after the film was released, the memoirs of Solomon Northup jumped from number three hundred twenty-six on amazon.com to number nineteen.<sup>570</sup> This short essay will highlight leading critic reviews, as well as the major successes of the film. In addition, this essay will give insight into the racial and social hierarchy of the plantation South and the significance of the role of filmmakers as public historians, and their obligation to remain historically accurate.

### **Awards and Critic Reviews**

According to IMDb.com, the film *12 Years a Slave* received 134 awards, and was nominated for 137 awards.<sup>571</sup> Among the most prestigious was the 2014 Academy Award for Best Motion Picture of the Year, and the 2014 Golden Globe Award for Best Picture – Drama. In addition, the film *12 Years a Slave* is the first film to be directed and produced by a black filmmaker (Steve McQueen), and to be written by a black screenplay writer (John Ridley), to win the Academy Award for Best Motion Picture of the Year.<sup>572</sup> Lupita Nyong'o, who played the character of Patsey, also won the Academy Award for Best Performance by an Actress in a Supporting Role.

Although the film *12 Years a Slave* is not the first film about slavery in the United States, as stated by the *New York Times* film critic writer Manohla Dargis, "...it may however be the one that finally makes it impossible for American cinema to continue to sell the ugly lies it's been hawking for more than a century."<sup>573</sup> Furthermore, Joe Neumaier, of the *New York Daily News*, stated that the film is "a harrowing, unforgettable drama that doesn't look away from the reality of slavery and, in so doing, helps us all fully, truly confront it."<sup>574</sup> The raw and

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<sup>570</sup> "12 Years a Slave Oscar," *Hollywood Reporter*, accessed March 15, 2014, <http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/12-years-a-slave-oscar-685803>.

<sup>571</sup> "12 Years a Slave: Awards," IMDb, accessed March 12, 2014, [http://www.imdb.com/title/tt2024544/awards?ref\\_=tt\\_ql\\_4](http://www.imdb.com/title/tt2024544/awards?ref_=tt_ql_4).

<sup>572</sup> Ibid.

<sup>573</sup> Manohla Dargis, "The Blood and Tears, Not the Magnolias," *New York Times*, October 17, 2013, accessed March 12, 2014, [http://www.nytimes.com/2013/10/18/movies/12-years-a-slave-holds-nothing-back-in-show-of-suffering.html?\\_r=1&pagewanted=1&](http://www.nytimes.com/2013/10/18/movies/12-years-a-slave-holds-nothing-back-in-show-of-suffering.html?_r=1&pagewanted=1&).

<sup>574</sup> Joe Neumaier, "'12 Years a Slave': Movie Review," *New York Daily News*, October 17, 2013, accessed March 17, 2014, <http://www.nydailynews.com/entertainment/tv-movies/12-years-slave-movie-review-article-1.1488866>.

graphic nature of the film dismantles the normative American narrative of the institution of slavery, as often portrayed through the all too familiar role of the revered “mammy” or the trusted “butler.”

### **Racial and Social Stratification**

Solomon Northup’s account of his life as a freeman, and later a slave, gives the viewer insight into the social and racial divisions of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Slaves were subject to a highly stratified social system. This hierarchy was constructed, and reinforced, by both the dominant white society and the slave society. The film portrays several instances in which blacks perpetuated a socially stratified system. The scene that best portrays this stratification is when Northup and several other captives are on board a ship headed for the south. In this scene, Northup suggest that the slaves should rebel against their captors. The character Robert, played by Michael K. Williams, expresses that the other captives on board are not like them, because they have been in an inferior status of servitude all their lives, and their spirits have been broken by the lash.

In contrast, the film portrays cases of blacks in a position of servitude that have not been subject to abuse and retain a higher social status among the slaves. One such instance is of Mistress Shaw, played by Alfre Woodard. Mistress Shaw is treated kindly by her white master and is handsomely provided for. She has used her sexuality and cunningness to reach an elevated position within the house, and has even obtained her own servants to attend to her every need. This scene of Mistress Shaw on the patio being waited on by other house slaves, while dressed in a fine gown, shows that masters were capable of being kind to their slaves, and that upward mobility within the slave hierarchy could be achieved.

### **Conclusion**

In many ways, filmmakers take on the role of public historians and are expected to portray historical events accurately. Director Steve McQueen and screenwriter John Ridley expertly portray the reality of the institution of slavery in the Antebellum South with the film *12 Years a Slave*. By utilizing the memoirs of Solomon Northup, a free black man who was kidnapped and sold into slavery, the film offers intimate insight into the harsh realities of slavery, as well as the complexities of the relationship between slave and master. The film highlights the active role of slaves in establishing a racially and socially stratified system. In addition, the film combats the notion that slaves were passive agents, but rather that they were active in their attempts to manipulate their status in

the hierarchical slave system. The story of Solomon Northup is significant in that it represents the plight of many African Americans of the period whose stories have not been recorded and whose voices have been lost.

**Lauren Kirschke, Jasmin Gonzalez,  
Moriah Schnose, and Haley Carter  
Members of the CSUSB History Club**

### **Exhibit Review: “Traveling the Silk Road” at the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles**

*The authors would like to extend their thanks to the AMNH, and Michael Walker, for providing the images for this review. Your support is greatly appreciated.*

The Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County temporary exhibit, “Traveling the Silk Road” serves as a great introduction to the long, convoluted history of the Silk Roads. This exhibit takes the audience on a journey along the land routes that connected the Eurasian landmass, beginning in Xi’an (known also as Chang’an), and stopping in the major cities of Turfan, Baghdad, and Samarkand. The exhibit shows what sorts of goods were traded as well as snippets of the cultures of the people who lived in the areas traversed. For the public, this exhibit offered a general base of information on the Silk Roads, however, the overall exhibit lacked depth and substance.

The museum does an excellent job of introducing the Silk Roads to guests who are not well versed on the subject. A focus on four main cities is less overwhelming for the general public than if they would have examined every important city in the long history of the Silk Roads. At the start of the exhibit, the visitor is given a “passport” to stamp at each location, giving the illusion of going on a journey. That aspect, along with other interactive features, makes the exhibit appealing, especially for children. The life-size models of camels and a Tang-era silk loom add a sense of immersion to the Silk Roads. The exhibit cleverly engages the senses. Guests can watch animated videos of Chinese folk tales, feel a rough sample of papyrus, smell different jars of spices and scents that were popular on the Silk Roads, observe silk worms behind a glass, manipulate an astrolabe to calculate the altitude of stars, explore an informative map on a large touch screen, and listen to various musical instruments used in Xi’an with the touch of a button.



Figure 1: An interactive electronic tabletop map in the Samarkand section of the exhibition invites visitors to discover the links among cultures, technology, and geography along the Silk Road. By pressing different buttons, new information is projected across the map, revealing surprising connections. © AMNH/D. Finnin

At the last room of the exhibit, there are large displays of what the four featured locations look like today. This makes the Silk Roads relatable to the modern era because it shows how much those cities have both changed and remained the same. At the very end of the exhibit, a large screen with a quiz game encourages the guests to test their knowledge by answering questions that pertain to the exhibit. This interactive game appealed to a wide range of audiences from the elderly to the very young. Few museums are able to keep such diverse crowds entertained without compromising the educational material, and while this exhibit could have done a better job by including more educational stations, the fact that they were able to balance these aspects well is worthy of merit.

Specific displays of the exhibit were interesting, including Baghdad's advanced glass making section. It engaged audiences and allowed us to get a different feel for all of the kinds of glass that were made in that time period and highly valued along the Silk Roads. This provided the audience insight into a culture vastly different from our own, as well as historical context into what was valuable during that place and time. The exhibit design was stellar in most aspects; it was accessible, and easily navigable. The displays were well lit and they were spread out well enough so that the exhibit could avoid most congestion.

One benefit of the exhibit was the concise narrative it followed. It kept the audience following the flow of the museum, without feeling constrained by it.



Figure 2: Turfan Night Market. The lush Turfan section of the exhibition transports visitors to a re-created night market in this desert city overflowing with all the goods—sapphires, silks, jades and rubies, leopard furs and peacock feathers, and fruits and spices—that would have captivated travelers over a thousand years ago. © AMNH.

Afterwards, just like any good museum, there was a conveniently located gift shop with Silk Roads-themed merchandise and books that invite the reader to dive into a deeper world than the limits of the exhibit. This museum exhibit served as a good introduction to the Silk Roads, which may encourage others to expand their newly found knowledge in the future. The exhibit is not without its flaws, however. Problems did not lie in the design, but in the subject matter and the excessive simplicity of what was sometimes being conveyed to the audience. There is nothing wrong with simplicity--every permanent exhibit in the museum was simple in its design--however, this was a special exhibit. As an exhibit where one travels along a set path, and with an added cost to the regular admission, it is reasonable to expect a far more in-depth exploration of the subject matter than what was on display at the museum.

One of the expectations that fell short was that the exhibit stopped at Baghdad. The curators did not show how trade impacted the Roman and Byzantine Empires and their sumptuary laws, for example, which strictly regulated who could buy and sell silks, as well as other luxury goods. From material goods to intellectual advancements, these empires were affected tremendously by the trade with the Silk Road, yet the exhibit neglected this aspect of the history. There is a small section on the maritime trade routes in the last room, which makes it seem as if the maritime trade was not as important as the trade in the four cities. This is misleading, since the “Maritime Silk Roads” were vastly important to the movement of goods and ideas. Another issue with the exhibit content was that it understated the peoples and cultures of the oasis towns in between the major cities. Most of the merchants traveling along the Silk Roads did not travel more than the 100 plus miles in any direction and only went a certain distance outside their villages or cities to trade their wares to other merchants and return home—for the most part, it was nothing as grand as the travels of Marco Polo. The exhibit, however, did not touch upon this important subject at all.

Another section relegated to the end of the exhibit was the interactive touch-screen table with sections for the different cultures, motifs, and styles of handicrafts they produced. Also included on the table was a small section on religion. This section could have had its own room because religion played a role as large as actual trading along the Silk Roads. When merchants traded, they were not only trading goods, but were exchanging ideas, cultures, and religions. There could have been better efforts in developing this important idea.





Figure 3: Chinese Buddha. This marble Buddha statue (AD 680) is Chinese, but the artist was clearly influenced by both Chinese and Indian traditions. The figure is dressed in loose-fitting Indian garments, but with a Chinese twist: instead of allowing the clothing to reveal much of the body, the usual practice in Indian depictions of Buddha, the Chinese artist focused more on the drapery itself, common in Chinese art. From the Metropolitan Museum of Art © AMNH/D. Finnin.

All things considered however, “Traveling the Silk Road” is a worthwhile and impressive exhibit. A more in-depth treatment of the history of the Silk Roads would have been more satisfying, especially considering the fact that this is a special temporary exhibit. It is well designed and accessible to everybody, and provided an enjoyable sensory experience; along with some basic knowledge on the Silk Roads and the places it passed through.

**Charmaine Galley, Shawn Martinez, and Stephanie Reilly**



## **Contributors**

**Steven Anthony** is a senior at California State University, San Bernardino. He is majoring in History with a concentration in Middle Eastern history. He has also participated in the Model United Nations team for two years.

**Todd Broaddus** enrolled in the teaching credential program after completing his undergraduate degree from CSUSB. He has been a teacher of students with special needs for the last twelve years. In 2012, he decided to return to CSUSB and further his education by earning a Master of Arts in Social Sciences with an emphasis in modern European history. He plans to teach part-time at the junior college level while continuing his career in the field of special education. He would like to thank Dr. Timothy Pytell for his encouragement and expertise in European history and Dr. Robert Blackey for his invaluable input during the editing process. In addition, he would like to thank his fiancée Jessica Williams for her patience and support over the last two years.



**Cassie Grand** is a Senior Undergraduate Student from California State University, San Bernardino. Majoring in Oral Public History, she plans to gain future work within archives or libraries after graduating in June 2014. She currently interns for Patton State Mental Hospital in San Bernardino, California. Her work there entails building an archive and museum for the hospital's wealth of history and artifacts. Cassie plans to further her education by earning a Master's Degree in Librarian Sciences.



**The History Club/Phi Alpha Theta** at California State University, San Bernardino has established an active role on campus and within the local community. During the past two years, the club has created a foundation in the student community, with help from members of the history faculty who utilize their knowledge and abilities to effectively make a lasting impact on the campus. The History Club volunteers three days a week with *Upward Bound*, by tutoring local high school students on their AP exams. The club undertook fundraising events in order to create scholarships that provided these students with proper technology that would aid them throughout their college career. Additionally, the club has also volunteered at Manzanar, a historical site, for a second consecutive year to help preserve its history for future generations. The *12 Years a Slave* film review is the second publication by the History Club for the *History in the Making* journal. This review was made possible by the dedicated members that were willing to work together. The History Club extends its appreciation to the members of the club, the editors of the journal, and the brilliant professionals in the History Department who work hard to guide the next generations of historians. Its members include: Lauren Kirschke, Jasmin Gonzalez, Moriah Schnose, and Haley Carter, who authored the *12 Years a Slave* review.

**Alexandra Bethany Klee Martin** is in finishing her final year at California State University, San Bernardino. She is a Psychology major with a focus in behavioral psychology. When she graduates, she hopes to be able to excel in any job opportunity that comes her way. After Alexandra graduates, she plans to incorporate her knowledge of history into her career.



**Shawn Martinez, Stephanie Reilly, and Charmaine Galley** were enrolled in a topics in history course on the Silk Roads, taught by Professor Murray. At the end of January 2014, they participated in a field trip to the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County to experience the “Traveling the Silk Roads” exhibit. The credibility to voice the opinion on the matter comes from their experiences in their respective fields of study. **Shawn Martinez** is a history major with a concentration in public and oral history. He has done field work at the National Archives in Riverside, interned at Pechanga, and is currently interning at March Air Field Museum in Moreno Valley, where he is helping to build and design an exhibit on the history of March Air Force Base. He will graduate in 2014. **Stephanie Reilly** is a history major with a concentration in European studies, specifically ancient and classical. She is a member of the history club and volunteers her time tutoring high school students through *Upward Bound*. **Charmaine Galley** is a music major with a concentration in music history and a minor in history. She volunteers at the Rialto Branch Library.



**Moriah Kioko Schnose** is an undergraduate student at California State University, San Bernardino, and is in her junior year. She is majoring in History with a concentration in African History. Moriah is involved with the CSUSB History Club and has plans to further her education by getting a Master's Degree in History.



**Sean Switzer** graduated in 2013 with a Bachelor of Arts degree in European History from California State University San Bernardino. He enjoys traveling and spent a short time touring Israel, which inspired his studies in Middle Eastern History and his submission on Ariel Sharon. Sean occupies his time working as a chef de cuisine, experimenting with his other passion in food, preparing ethnic and fusion cuisines. He intends to one day continue his education in a graduate program and teach youth at a high school level. He would like to thank his parents for their support throughout his education as well as his editors, Ricardo Elias, Meagan Muschara, and Carole Spitler for their time and dedication. He would also like to say a special thank you to his history adviser, Dr. Yaghoubian, for his inspiring passion for instructing and challenging students at the university and guiding him through the difficulties of the research and writing process.



**Cody August Vrba** is a third year student at CSUSB. August is currently majoring in history with a minor in economics. He serves as the treasurer of the history club and works hard to promote the club's many valuable projects. History club members earned the presidential gold medal for community service in 2014 for their work with the Upward Bound program.



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