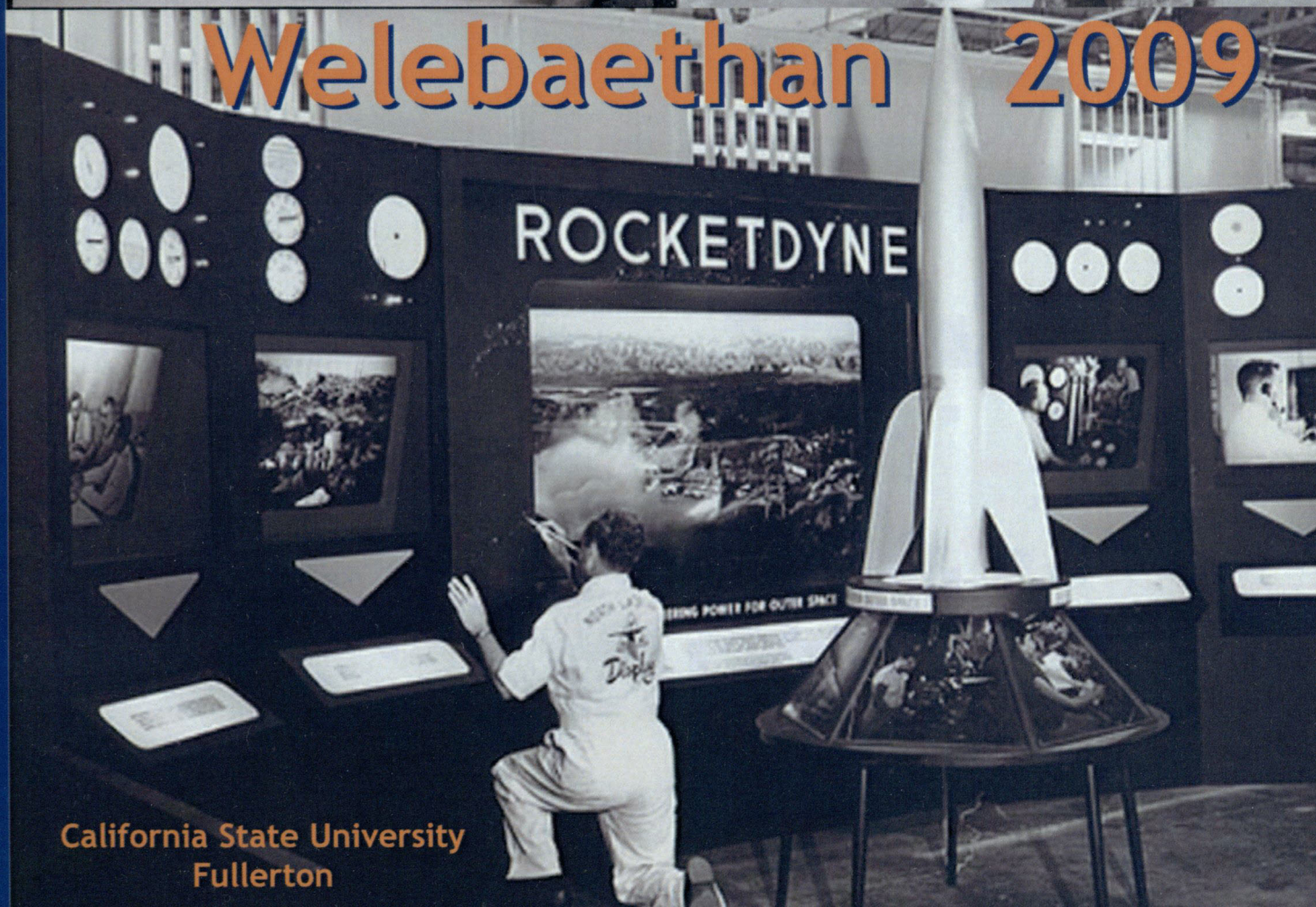






Welebaethan 2009



California State University
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WELEBAETHAN
JOURNAL OF HISTORY 2009

A Tradition of Excellence since 1973

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Letter from the Editor

An editor's work never ends. While I may have heard this phrase before taking up this project, I can scarcely say that I believed it. Over the course of the year, I learned just how true that statement really is. As the title page notes, the *Welebaethan* enjoys a long tradition of excellence. As the editor, I have been greatly honored to carry on that tradition. From the triple-blind review process, which ensures we accept only the best papers, to our detailed editing practices, which ensure we polish each paper to the highest degree, to the production of the final product you now hold in your hands, I strived to ensure that every step taken matched the quality of previous editions, and hopefully surpassed them. This continued tradition of quality led the staff to our second panel presentation on producing a student journal at the Southwestern Social Science Association's 89th annual conference in Denver, Colorado.

Thankfully, I have not travelled this road alone, or without direction. Indeed, I would not have arrived here, at the end of this lengthy journey, without countless amounts of assistance from this year's staff. I would especially like to thank the Managing Editors for this year's edition, Nguyen Tran and Albert D. Ybarra. Both have come through for me at key moments and have shown incredible dedication, dependability, and willingness to help any way they can.

I would also like to express my gratitude to Dr. Wendy Elliott-Scheinberg, our faculty advisor, for always pushing the staff, and me of course, to accept nothing less than perfection. Her continued dedication to the *Welebaethan*, her keen ability to teach the delicate lessons of editing, and her sense of humor were a continued inspiration to us all. She and her husband, Seymour, also hosted for our review sessions, providing both a comfortable environment for student-professor interaction and excellent food (she makes a mean spaghetti let me tell you).

Claudia Suzanne also deserves special thanks for her time and experience. She has been gracious enough to impart her considerable knowledge of the editing process to us neophytes through guest lectures and courteously provided much needed advice and encouragement to me.

I am heavily indebted to this year's publishers, Teresa Trujillo and her husband Joe, for their seemingly endless support. They patiently answered my never-ending questions, provided essential layout consultations, cover design, and have generally aided me through the last phases of the project with grace and ease. I greatly admire their professionalism, knowledge, and skills.

There are others too who deserve special recognition. Adan Vasquez, Adam Kelly, and the Managing Editors all assisted in proofing the final versions of the articles and the journal as a whole. Michael Kubasek and Babette Tyler also generously gave extra time to the project, and Christina Hornsby's skill with baked goods provided much needed relief (and blood sugar boosts) to the staff. Without the help of Dr. Gordon Bakken, Associated Students, Inc., and Dr. William Haddad, the journal would never have received funding. Victor Mumiz also generously donated his time and photographic talents to the project.

This year's staff also deserves a kind thank you. I cannot imagine how many gray hairs I would have developed without their tireless efforts and willingness to put up with an anxious and occasionally forgetful Editor In Chief. Furthermore, their dedication to excellence shows in the final product. I am grateful for their hard work and attention to detail.

So, standing at the end of this long road, looking back at all that has gone into the volume before you, I cannot help but reflect on the memories contained within its pages. A good friend asked me a while back whether I was glad I had agreed to be the Editor In Chief. At the time, I told her to ask me again when it was over. Now that I have reached that point, I believe I have an answer: I would not have missed this opportunity for the world.

Blake McWhorter

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Ryan Tickle

Best Early American History Paper

"Wolves to Lambs": Captive Missionaries and the Ursuline School for Girls
Albert D. Ybarra

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Promises to Women and the Application of Feminine Equality:
The Early Soviet Socialist System 1917-45
Lara Kolinchak

Best Asian History Paper

The 1953 Coup D' état: The Catalyst of Anti-American Sentiment in Iran
Michael Matini

William Langsdorf Prize for Best Western/Local History Paper

Guilt by Association: The Geographical Misfortune of the Community of Watts
Blythe Gipple

Best Oral History Paper

Reflections of My Childhood: Interview with Marianne Dazzo
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Mind the Gap: Early Modern English Attitudes toward Human Dissection

Nikoal Eichmann

England's Murder Act of 1752 and the Anatomy Act of 1832 intended to deter individuals from committing crimes. The common folk's dread of public execution and dismemberment fostered a distrust of surgeons. Morbid fears of anatomization depicted in literature and paintings increased concerns over desecration of the soul. **Nickoal Eichmann** discusses the popular beliefs and fears of dissection evident in anatomical texts and artwork of the time which depicts attitudes of both the medical scholars and common folk.



Rembrandt, *The Anatomy Lesson of dr Nicolaes Tulp* (1632).

In 1725, Vincent Davis, convicted of murdering his wife, supposedly said, "I know I shall be hang'd; But for God's Sake; Don't let me be Anatomized." [1] Davis feared a violent and humiliatingly public dismemberment of his body at the hands of anatomists on a dissection table. In England, especially with the advent of the scientific revolution, anatomical studies became increasingly popular and necessary for the advancement of medical inquiry. But the common people and the learned elite thought of the dead body differently. According to popular belief, anatomizing or dissecting an individual's body served as a very inhumane act that perpetuated pain and disgrace after death. In fact, dismemberment of corpses, even if they belonged to malefactors, prevented any sort of afterlife, and, perhaps, even forced the soul to remain in a post-mortem intercessory status.

"Don't let me be Anatomized."

Elites and the state, on the other hand, viewed dissection of criminal bodies as a form of punishment that could deter criminal behavior. Furthermore, according to high society, execution whether by hanging, gibbeting, or burning insufficiently inhibited crime during eighteenth-century England. The Murder Act of 1752 changed this. Not only could surgeons and university students make use of executed criminal bodies for the sake of medicine, but so too could the state, as it enhanced popular fears of the possibility of postmortem punishment. The English state thus took advantage of the fissure between popular and elite discourses, and ultimately perpetuated "ordinary" people's fears of dismemberment via dissection.

While the historiography on dissection and culture in Renaissance Italy is quite extensive, there remain far fewer important studies in the English context. The historical study on human dissection and cultural attitudes remains significantly unchanged since Peter Linebaugh's "The Tyburn Riots against the Surgeons" in Douglas Hay's *Albion's Fatal Tree* in which Linebaugh analyzed the popular viewpoint of anatomists stealing bodies from the hanging trees for dissections. He employed new methods of social history in looking at the bond between to-be-executed criminals and the crowds, who, based on their fears of dissection stemming from religious discourses, attempted to protect the condemned bodies from being carried off by surgeons for anatomical research.[2]

From a literary standpoint, Jonathan Sawday wrote one of the most valuable works about the culture of dissection in which he claims that, not only did all the players involved in human dissection, whether felon, executioner, or anatomists, play "an orchestrated part in the complete spectacle which constituted culture of dissection" where the body had to be "'placed' within a nexus of complimentary discourses," but also that the discourse of anatomy as a disinterested field of investigation came about *after* the privatization of punishment when penal dissection no longer held the same effects as a public spectacle that Linebaugh discusses.[3] Sawday's *The Body Emblazoned* studies the anatomical renaissance throughout Europe, and Ruth Richardson offers an English analysis in her *Death, Dissection, and the Destitute* in which she focuses on the rise of "sack-em-up men." Alongside Sawday, Richardson argues that late eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century anatomists stole bodies for anatomical experiments without moral implications through an acquired "necessary inhumanity" that commodified corpses and thereby ignored cultural and religious discourses that prohibited dissection and fragmentation of the human body. Richardson primarily uses the

[1]Vincent Davis, 1725. *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, Ref: t17250407-9.

[2]Douglas Hay, *Albion's Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975).

[3]Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London: Routledge Publishing, 1999), 63.

ideas about class to examine the Anatomy Act of 1832 since the statute expanded the number of legally awarded cadavers for anaotmists by adding the poor to the category of violable bodies for dissection. In *Murder After Death: Literature and Anatomy in Early Modern England* (2007), Richard Sugg adds to Richardson's point by arguing that, despite the popular attitudes that dissection appeared as an assassination of the soul, dissectors did not anatomize human bodies simply to gain knowledge, but also to disprove traditional and classical views of the body thanks to a rise in skepticism. Only Robert Martensen explores the rise of the Neurocentric Age and the shifting attitudes of the mind and soul according to early modern anatomists in his book *The Brain Takes Shape: An Early History* (2004). These important works among others do not extensively examine the role of the first law to enact penal dissection, nor do they discuss the shifting discourses between science, the state, and culture in early modern England. By analyzing the resistance to the dominant discourse about dissection as a form of punishment, this study serves as a new interpretation in the current historiography and illustrates the cultural schisms characteristic of the early modern period, an era of significant change between the Middle Ages and the Modern Age.



Andreas Vesalius, *De humani corporis fabrica libri septum* (Basel: Johannes Oporinus, 1543).

A SHORT HISTORY OF EARLY ENGLISH ANATOMICAL STUDIES

During the early modern period, Italy led the European continent in advancements of anatomical studies. Through patronage and the establishment of anatomy schools, prominent figures emerged in the sixteenth century such as Andreas Vesalius and Leonardo da Vinci. Until these men, anatomical studies were dominated mostly by inaccurate classical and medieval texts, including Galen of the second century CE.[4] In 1543, Vesalius published his anatomical treatise *De Humani Corporis Fabrica,* which greatly influenced many English anatomists. Although much slower in advancing the study of anatomy through dissection, English anatomical studies increased in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when judges called upon surgeons as expert witnesses for medical testimony in court.[5] But courts later found these testimonies undependable because they heavily relied on astrology, tradition, and ancient authoritative texts.[6] Despite increased rationalized thought on the eve of the Scientific Revolution, the lack of human bodies as subjects retarded any English developments in studying anatomy. Most students learning about human anatomy had little or no hands-on experience, and many went into practice without ever having sliced a knife into human flesh. Because early modern anatomists viewed the body as many parts of a whole, the best way to learn about the body meant dividing it into many fragments to see it in greater detail—but most students could only resort to books or an overcrowded lecture-hall. Because of their lower status as the manual laborers of medicine, surgeons received even

[4]Ruth Richardson, *Death, Dissection, and the Destitute* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2000), 32.

[5]Thomas Rogers Forbes, *Surgeons at the Old Bailey: English Forensic Medicine to 1878* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 43.

[6]Ibid.

fewer subjects than their physician counterparts. Moreover, the state simply took an ambiguous stance on the advancement of anatomical studies through dissection until the mid-eighteenth century when surgeons could act as executioners in their studies.

Although anatomists' legally sanctioned supply had increased in the second part of the sixteenth century, surgeons still continued to practice illicit means of acquiring human bodies. In 1540, King Henry VIII allowed the Company of Barber-Surgeons up to four criminal bodies per year for anatomical dissections.[7] Even with 600 plus criminal executions in 1540, only four could be legally anatomized. In 1564, however, Queen Elizabeth I granted an additional four criminal bodies per year specifically to the College of Physicians for public lectures. Even so, neither the Barber-Surgeons nor Physicians had an adequate supply of cadavers and subsequently had to beg for, buy, or steal bodies at the hanging tree. Despite the 1540 charter that legally granted the surgeons the right to dissect criminals, the bodies of hanged felons such as that recorded by John Stowe "was begged by the Chirurgions of London, to have made him an Anatomie."[8] Surgeons thus fought for their right to obtain cadavers. Due to public fears of dismemberment, the surgeons also faced grave violence at the gallows (although they faced more violent reactions from the crowds). Luckily for anatomists, however, when the English state sponsored the enhancement of anatomical studies in the eighteenth century, it also allowed surgeons more legally obtainable subjects. Before that, however, some anatomists went so far as to dissect their own relatives, such as William Harvey, an anatomist who proved the circulation of blood through the body as detailed in his *De moto coris et sanguinis*.[9] As Jonathan Sawday shows, Harvey dissected both his father and his sister to confirm his arguments, "which suggests the considerable extent to which he had become able to divorce himself from traditional attitudes to the human corpse."[10]



Dissected torso from Vesalius, *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* (1543).

The Enlightenment and Scientific Revolution played a large role in shaping the objectivity so common to anatomical studies like Harvey's. This did not mean that anatomists could completely detach themselves from traditional views of the body as easily as William Harvey. Instead most anatomists probably experienced an emotional struggle to find what Ruth Richardson calls a "necessary inhumanity." The philosopher Renee Descartes may have helped anatomists cope with such conundrums in addition to shaping intellectual discourse about the body as a mechanical device. For instance, Dalia Judovitz argues in *The Culture of the Body: Genealogies of Modernity* that Descartes' "objectification of the body reduced its capacity to sustain and generate meaning" [which] "defined purely as matter...governed by material and mechanical laws."[11] In other words, anatomists did not consider a corpse a dead person with an identity, but rather materials to aid in investigating the human body. If anatomists had been subjected to such rationale pertaining to the human body, they

[7]32 Hen. VIII c.42: *An Act Concerning Barbers and Chirurgions to be One Companie* (1540). See also Clare Gittings, *Death, Burial, and the Individual* (London: Croom Helm, 1984), 74.

[8]John Stowe, *The Annals of England*, (London, 1594) cited in Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London: Routledge Publishing, 1999), 60.

[9]William Harvey, *De moto coris et sanguinis* (London, 1628), cited in Richardson, 31.

[10]Richardson, *Death*, 31.

[11]Dalia Judovitz, *The Culture of the Body: Genealogies of Modernity* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 70-1.

may have been able to more easily distance themselves from traditional or emotional attitudes.

Other historians argue, however, that anatomists did not completely move away from traditional views of the body, even with the advent and growing idea of the body as a mere vessel of the soul as seen with Descartes. Andrew Cunningham, for instance, abandons any secularization of anatomy and suggests that, since anatomists carried out dissections to understand the complexities of the living body through the dead and believed that the soul had corporal properties (at least prior to the eighteenth century), then all anatomization concerned the soul.[12] As long as dissection of the body did not cause harm to the soul, some anatomists believed themselves in the clear. This duality of the body and soul seen through the eyes of religion and science, then seemed incompatible. After all, human dissection often served as a means of formulating new knowledge about the body through the use of rationalism and the scientific method. The anatomists' ultimate goal to acquire knowledge, and as Richard Sugg argues, needed such objectivity to dispel the myths of mystifying orthodoxies.[13] Whatever the case may have been, with or without a general consensus among anatomists, most did not seem to experience the same revulsion of dissection as the general populace.

[S]ome anatomists went so far as to dissect their own relatives

MAGIC, RELIGION, AND RIOTS: POPULAR ATTITUDES ABOUT THE BODY

The Company of Barber-Surgeons aggressively defended their authority to dissect human bodies, but the increase of private medical schools in London during the early eighteenth century heightened competition between them and other licensed anatomists so that their rights were largely ignored as the demand for human cadavers increased. Unless they consulted anatomy texts, which tended to be outdated or contradicted by new findings, students studying anatomy and physiology of the human body could rarely engage in hands-on instruction with a cadaver. As a result, during the seventeenth century, the College of Physicians and the Guild of Barber-Surgeons attempted to augment their annual supply of cadavers through stealing or begging for bodies off the scaffold because the state allowed anatomists only a handful of hanged criminals per year—at most, ten in the eighteenth century.

The carrying-off of dead criminals, though, resulted in massive scuffles and riots against the anatomists.[14] As Bernard Mandeville colorfully detailed in his pamphlet *Enquiry into the Causes of the Frequent Executions at Tyburn*, hanging days were like holidays, when crowds swelled into unruly mobs.[15] The crowd, after all, consisted of friends, family, and other familiars of the dead felon. Often times these people were encouraged by felons to protect their bodies from being anatomized through stealing or buying their bodies from the executioner before the surgeons could take it, or sometimes guarding the felon's burial place.[16] The fears of surgeons possessing felons' bodies can be attributed to a variety of reasons, with the most deeply rooted reason found in the

[12]Andrew Cunningham, *The Anatomical Renaissance: The Resurrection of the Anatomical Projects of the Ancients* (Suffolk: Ipswich Book Company, 1997), 196-7.

[13]Richard Sugg, *Murder After Death: Literature and Anatomy in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), 126 – 9; Gittings, 74.

[14]Gittings, 76. Also, see Peter Linebaugh's "The Tyburn Riots Against the Surgeons" in *Albion's Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York: Random House, 1975).

[15]Bernard Mandeville, *Enquiry into the Causes of the Frequent Executions at Tyburn* (London, 1725), 20.

[16]Peter Jupp and Clare Gittings, eds., *Death in England: An Illustrated History* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000), 185.

religious worldviews of "ordinary" people. But onlookers' riots also stemmed from the perceived magical powers of the body in addition to the bond they experienced with the condemned criminals. The anatomists and "ordinary" English folk thus had very different views of the body, with the former more objective and the latter more traditional.

At first, anatomical studies intersected with popular attitudes about the human body. Analysis of human dissection, though very rarely, seemed to confirm that people who committed crimes against society exuded abnormal bodies. For example, women convicted of infanticide, a most unnatural crime for females according to early modern English people, were thought to have different bodies than non-infanticidal women. An infanticidal mother's womb appeared swollen with erupted uterine veins. Additionally, upon opening the chest cavity, an anatomist found that a thief owned what appeared to be a hairy heart.[17] Ultimately, popular conceptions of the body and its posthumous fate differed completely from learned society so that popular culture reflected more traditional, superstitious, and religious-based discourses.

> Surgeons thus had to fight for their right to obtain cadavers

One of the clearest examples of differing popular and learned cultural beliefs about the body is seen through folk medicine. A quasi-health care system in early modern England found popular medicine at its heart, offering a variety of cures for ailments available to all.[18] Although not a recognized physician, chemist and philosopher Robert Boyle wrote a leechbook (a guide to popular remedies) in 1688 referred to as *Medicinal Experiments: Or a Collection of Safe Remedies. For the most part Simple and Easily Prepared: very useful in Families, and fitted for the service of Countrie People*. Boyle intended his leechbook for the poor who could not afford physician medicine. The guide included a variety of examples of human bodily fluids and parts of corpses as medicine. Boyle suggested the use of human blood, dried excrement, and urine for various complaints, while ground human bones and moss grown on human skulls could be used for nose-bleeds.[19] Other forms of folk medicine suggested that one could touch a hanged man's hand to cure goiters and tumors, or one could grasp the rope around the felon's neck to cure epilepsy.[20] This is important in looking at popular attitudes towards surgeons who removed hanged bodies from the scaffolds. Many people who held fast to folk medicine as seen in leechbooks may have intended to use the magical properties of the dead felon's body only to find it missing and, instead, featured on the dissection table. This is one of the reasons why the audience at the gallows scorned surgeons. Most regular English people could not afford physicians medicine, so they could only rely upon popular folk remedies. A surgeon's removal of a magical healing body of a felon could thus inhibit one's efforts to cure an ailment.

Onlookers, as well as convicted felons, also intimated a deep fear of vivisection. Vivisection literally means the dissection of living beings.[21] Once the executioner released the scaffold door, the

[17]Katharine Park, "The Criminal and the Saintly Body: Autopsy and Dissection in Renaissance Italy." *Renaissance Quarterly* 47, (Spring, 1994): 26.

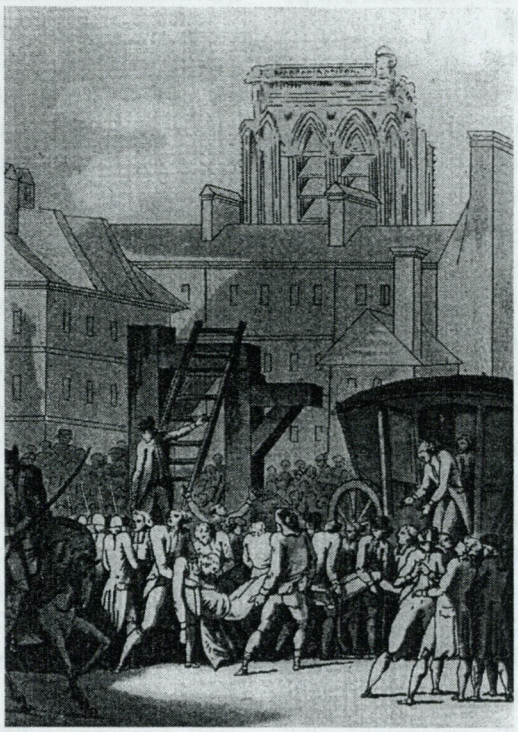
[18]Doreen Nagy, *Popular Medicine in Seventeenth-Century England* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1988), 79.

[19]Robert Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments: Or a Collection of Safe Remedies. For the most part Simple and Easily Prepared: very useful in Families, and fitted for the service of Countrie People* (London, 1688).

[20]Nancy Butcher, *The Strange Case of the Walking Corpse: A Chronicle of Medical Mysteries, Curious Remedies, and Bizarre but True Healing Folklore* (New York: Penguin, 2004), 46.

[21]*The Colombia Encyclopedia*, 6th ed. In the sixteenth century, William Harvey contributed to this practice on animals to prove his theory of blood circulation. Today, vivisection is associated with both dissection and experimentation on animals.

noose upon the felon's neck caused strangulation. Sometimes, however, a felon did not die but slipped into unconsciousness from asphyxiation in which the noose merely cut off a sufficient amount of oxygen to the brain. As a body's heart rate decreased significantly from this action, neither anatomists nor executioners could tell that a hanged person remained alive. Eager for his payment in return for the body, the executioner gladly handed the felon over to the anatomist. Upon the dissection table, a hanged felon who experienced asphyxiation might wake up to a surgeon's knife in his belly! In order to prevent such instances, convicts asked onlookers to shake his or her feet after the drop from the noose to ensure death. A body found still alive and on the dissection table could prove a fascinating situation to a clinically detached anatomist given the opportunity to carry out a person's death and see the physical transformation of death via dissection first hand.[22] The associations between surgeons and executioners remained close in Europe, as Katharine Park points out.



J. F. Janinet, *The Corpses of the Agasse Brothers, Returned to Their Families* (1790). Print Collection, Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

In Italy, judges often handed over the rights of anatomists to examine criminals still alive but already punished through the law. Vivisection especially amplified execution since it caused pain that continued after the moment of death. In England, however, the court made surgeons subject to penalty if they knew the body still lived, but this also prevented surgeons from purposefully finding live specimens.[23] Luckily for felons, however, after 1759 the mechanics of hanging changed from a cart being drawn away to a trap door released under the criminal's feet, which more effectively prevented asphyxiation. As such, this helped to ensure that vivisection did not take place[24]

Whether or not all anatomists looked at the human body objectively, most "ordinary" English people could not fathom what gave anatomists license to dissect humans. Popular fears derived mostly from religious and philosophical texts of early Christianity and the middle ages through the works of Plato, Tertullian, Origen, Aquinas, and St. Paul.[25] Plato saw the soul as three parts found in particular sections of the body; the soul resided in the head as the rational facet, the spirit resided in the chest, and the stomach consisted of a fragment of the soul that controlled one's desires.[26] His pupil Aristotle, on the other hand, saw the soul as a single corporal unit "wedded to the flesh."[27] Similarly, Tertullian considered the soul as integral to the material body, while Origen

[22]Sugg, *Murder After Death*, 175.

[23]Hillary Nunn, *Staging Anatomies: Dissection and Spectacle in Early Stuart Tragedy* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2005), 38.

[24]Frank McLynn, *Crime and Punishment in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge Publishing, 1989), 274.

[25]Caroline Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1992), 239; Roy Porter, *Flesh in the Age of Reason* (London: W.W. Norton, 2004), 28, 36.

[26]Porter, *Flesh*, 31.

[27]Ibid., 32.

conversely cast the soul as separate from the body and immaterial. Out of all these arguments came dualism which defined the soul and body as distinct entities both integral to one's personhood. Aquinas expounded this notion, and argued that the soul and body were unified, but did not define each other.[28] When the argument turned around to dismemberment or fragmentation, Pope Boniface VIII legislated against bodily dismemberment after various nobles, who decided to have their dead bodies cut into several pieces and buried in different locations. His *Destante feritatis* of 1299 offered no theological justification for outlawing such dismemberment, but he did call the division of body "monstrous and detestable."[29] The church did not enforce Boniface's decree, however, and fragmentation of the human body continued as seen with the deaths of martyrs and especially holy relics. The popular arguments against dissection, then, did not stem completely from physical dismemberment. Rather, the burial of one's body (or parts) mattered more.



IV The Reward of Cruelty, 1751, illustration by William Hogarth.

The Surgeons at Tyburn attended executions with the intention to buy or steal bodies that they would subject to their knives on the dissection table. Because the surgeons denied a person a proper Christian burial, this more than anything aroused the crowds' fear and hatred towards anatomization. According to early modern English worldviews, the anatomist could inhibit one's ascension to heaven if they physically fragmented one's body because the soul too would not be whole. Although most criminals' transgressions were thought so heinous that civil authorities denied malefactors a true Christian funeral even without penal dissection, the churchyard remained the most decent place for a proper burial of any corpse. But, anatomists seldom ensured that one's remains received a decent interment.[30] This is why many of the riots at the gallows erupted against the surgeons since members of the crowd wanted assurance for the proper burial of a criminal's corpse.[31] Civil authorities did not have to assist anatomists in procuring their new specimens off of the scaffold, which meant that the anatomists did not receive protection from upset crowds eager to inhibit dismemberment of a felon who they had formed a bond with before his hanging.

In addition to bodily and spiritual integrity, anatomization of one's corpse assaulted one's personhood, and evidence of popular fears regarding human dissection that clearly displayed such revulsion and anxiety in early modern English culture can be found in artwork and literature. In her book *Staging Anatomies: Dissection and Spectacle in Early Stuart Tragedy*, Hillary Nunn argues that most of these images reflect the notion that people did not individually own their bodies. Rather, the state owned all bodies which gave it license to show its power to kill via public execution and dismemberment. She includes examples from Thomas Dekker's *The Rauens Almanacke* (1609) as an example of anatomical dissection as entertainment (as seen with the curiosity of public anatomy theatres) that also showed the significance of body mutilation. She argues that, while the state may have exasperated the horrors of human dissection by allowing criminal anatomies, popular plays managed

[28]Bynum, *Fragmentation*, 255, 257.
[29]Ibid., 269.
[30]Jupp, *Death in England*, 224.
[31]Sawday, *The Body*, 59.

to ask readers and viewers to question the body's social significance; this is turn fostered sensitivity and sympathy for those whose flesh met with a surgeon's knife.[32]

A good graphic example is seen in William Hogarth's *Four Stages of Cruelty* (1751). These four printed engravings featured one main character, Tom Nero, who after committing a variety of crimes since childhood had his executed body anatomized by the Company of Barber-Surgeons. The fourth plate shows Nero's body on the dissection table and depicted around him is an expressionless physician, while students and doctors in the background talk amongst each other. Three surgeons slice into Nero's flesh while a another surgeon positions Nero's intestines into a bucket of which a dog nibbles upon. While his body appears stiff, Nero's face expresses anguish as an anatomist punctures his eye. This is Hogarth's fourth and final Stage of Cruelty, "The Reward of Cruelty", and the nastiness appears not from Nero, but the surgeons. The anatomists violently and dispassionately mutilate Nero's body, which screams in agony through an open mouth with frowned eyebrows. Perhaps Hogarth intended this scene to emulate popular fears regarding the assault on the soul and disgust towards anatomists. But Nero's body and soul are not the only aspects the anatomists are offending. The anatomists also attack Nero's identity as he is laid out naked on the dissection table as a public spectacle. Additionally, Hogarth is clearly showing that Nero is not allowed a proper Christian funeral. This deduction is evident from the boiling pot of skulls and bones in the foreground.[33]



The Dissection, 1775, Thomas Rowlandson.

Similarly, in 1775, Thomas Rowlandson depicted the morbidity of human anatomization in *The Dissection*. Like Hogarth's piece, Rowlandson evokes the same emotions and contemplations of the dissection as an assault upon one's honor. On the other hand, Rowlandson depicts the anatomists as ghoulish rather than genteel scholars as they ogle over a body with their hands pulling up the chest cavity of their subject. Such treatment and display of one's naked body seemed humiliating. In the foreground a naked female corpse slips out of a basket with her limbs shadowed. Rowlandson probably acknowledged the illicit impulses associated with anatomizing female bodies and honor.[34] Is artistic expression the answer to why Hogarth's and Rowlandson's illustrations of the anatomists evolve into more morbid figures? Perhaps the discourse on human dissection became more taboo, as the state encouraged human dissection as a means of postmortem punishment, and Rowlandson merely illustrated this fact.

"HANGING NOT PUNISHMENT ENOUGH": JUSTIFICATIONS FOR CORPORAL VIOLENCE IN ANATOMICAL STUDIES

For anatomical studies through the use of condemned criminals to have continued alongside so

[32]Nunn, *Staging Anatomies*, 3.

[33]William Hogarth, *The Four Stages of Cruelty* (London, 1751), plate 4. in Richardson, *Death*, 33.

[34]Thomas Rowlandson, *The Dissection* (London, 1775). Found in V.A.C. Gatrell's *The Hanging Tree: Execution of the English People, 1770 – 1868* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 265. For a fuller discussion about anatomization of female bodies, see Julie Doyle's "Anatomy of the Womb: Imag(in)ing Reproduction in the Discourse of Surgery," *Women: A Cultural Review*, 17:3, 310-24.

much popular dissent, English society must have had some influential members that did not wholeheartedly oppose the practice, which shows a rift between popular and learned cultural discourses. Anatomists and scholars probably encouraged the state to allow them more legally obtained bodies for dissection, but in the past the state had not been very sympathetic. During the eighteenth century, England experienced an increase in crime rates, such an increase that public execution did not seem like an adequate crime deterrent. Whether or not public executions constituted symptoms of weak government, these same executions sprang from an intention to produce terror and fear so that the onlookers would be afraid of a similar fate. All public executions were "exhibition[s] of extreme physical suffering: the specter of pain and death was calculated to overawe the population."[35] And, the amplification of punishments, such as punitive dissection with death by hanging, seemed to create a deterrent effect from executions.

> [S]ympathy for those whose flesh met with a surgeon's knife

Some intellectuals had already attempted to address this issue in the early part of the eighteenth century. In 1701, an anonymous writer published a pamphlet entitled *Hanging Not Punishment Enough, For Murtherers, High-Way men, and House-Breakers*. The writer argued that while crime had increased, it had also become more incurable because the law (and law makers) had grown too merciful. After discussing ancient Roman punishments, he suggested that society should not deem such torments as unreasonable. Sure, punishment should not exceed the fault, he argues, but if a person is rightfully and truthfully convicted, that criminals, especially murderers, should receive quick and harsh punishment.[36] The writer makes clear that he thought the early eighteenth-century English judicial system did not properly punish felons which did not incline the general populace enough not commit the same crimes, especially since many sentences were not carried out after several months or were lowered significantly.[37] The writer does not address penal dissection as a form of amplifying the death sentence, but he does mention that murders should be subjected to "pain in an intense degree," and they should also be "made to feel themselves die."[38]

In 1725, Bernard Mandeville, a Dutch-born philosopher, wrote *Enquiry into the Causes of the Frequent Executions at Tyburn*. Mandeville considered himself a "doctor of society."[39] In his pamphlet, Mandeville expressed his concern over the jovial mood and theatrical nature of hanging days, and that such an atmosphere ineffectively prevented future transgressions performed by the onlookers. Mandeville also observed the crowd's resentment towards the surgeons present at the hanging tree who would legally acquire, beg, or buy the bodies of the executed. Most of Mandeville's piece described the hanging of Jonathan Wild, a famous highway man convicted and sentenced to hanging at Tyburn. The crowd only enhanced the bond it felt with Wild as they feared his body would be placed on the dissection table to be anatomized. Mandeville went on to state that the study of anatomy would be impossible without skillful dissection of human beings even if through an inadequate supply of executed criminals. But, for the "scum of people... to be dissected can never be greater scandal than being hanged...Where then shall we find a readier supply; and what degree of people fitter for it" than malefactors?[40]

[35]Randall McGowen, "The Body and Punishment in Eighteenth-Century England." *The Journal of Modern History* 59:4 (December, 1987), 651.

[36]Anonymous, *Hanging Not Punishment Enough, for Murtherers, High-Way Men, and House-Breakers* (London, 1701), 19.

[37]Ibid., 16, 17.

[38]Ibid., 4.

[39]Porter, *Flesh*, 143.

[40]Mandeville, *Enquiry*, 27.

Mandeville's suggestion of the codification of penal dissection as a crime deterrent as well as a means to satisfy anatomists became the most widely read argument. A death sentence that encapsulated one of society's most feared acts of violence could act as the ultimate crime deterrent. Here one can see that, not only does Mandeville acknowledge popular discourse on dissection, but he also does not seem to think that it affected any person of higher status. Only scum, rogues, and people of the lower echelons of society committed such atrocious crimes against society anyhow. Thus, dissection on criminals suggested a public good; it could decrease the number of criminals because of its exemplary force and help the advancement of science. It is unknown if Mandeville thought that dissection of his body would have prevented his soul from resurrecting, but it seems clear he understood that malefactors at the scaffolds significantly feared human dissection because they could not have the opportunity to resurrect as promised by a Christian burial.



The Preserving Surgeon, date unknown, by Thomas Rowlandson. In this dissecting room, a leering surgeon hovers over the naked body of a young woman, one claw-like hand reaching for her breast. The image reflects popular fears of what might occur in dissecting rooms. Reproduced by kind permission of the President and Council of the Royal College of Surgeons of England.

PLAYING WITHIN THE STRUCTURES: STATE SPONSORSHIP OF PENAL DISSECTION

In 1751, a man named Charles Jones published a pamphlet named *Some Methods Proposed Towards putting a Stop to the Flagrant Crimes of Murder, Robbery, and Perjury*. Jones' work is very reminiscent of Mandeville's primarily because Jones offered the same solution for the state to prevent heinous crimes. Jones asserted that other country's executions were less frequent than Britain because "they do it with great severity."[41] Moreover, Jones suggested that "there can be no reason assigned, why an offender legally and plainly convicted of a crime that carried horror in its perpetration, should not suffer most acutely in the flesh, to caution others from following his dreadful example."[42] One year after the publication of Jones' pamphlet, Parliament enacted *An Act for Better Preventing the Horrid Crime of Murder*. Also known as the Murder Act of 1752, this law gave judges the opportunity to order dissection or gibbeting after the hanging of the felon. Anatomization, viewed as a "peculiar popular horror," outranked the possibility of the gruesome and humiliating experience of being hung in chains through gibbeting.[43] Since the English economy considered criminal bodies a commodity—at least for anatomists—the state only made it easier for them to acquire cadavers. Ultimately, however, the state also utilized the 1752 statute as a means to intensify the effects of capital punishment by applying the popular discourse about human dissection as suggested byhe anonymous writer of *Hanging Not Punishment Enough* in 1701, Bernard Mandeville, and Charles Jones, who impacted this state legislation of penal reform.

The state held the power to kill, and Parliament thought it also held the authority to control one's punishment (and religious fate) even after death

[41]Charles Jones, *Some Methods Proposed Towards putting a Stop to the Flagrant Crimes of Murder, Robbery, and Perjury* (London, 1751), 8.

[42]Ibid., 14.

[43]25 Geo. II c.37: *An Act for Better Preventing the Horrid Crime of Murder* (London, 1752). See also McLynn, 273.

because it considered one's body, dead or alive, as property of the Commonwealth. The Murder Act of 1752 clearly intended to instigate terror by assaulting the body through dissection or gibbeting, as well as denying a decent interment for the malefactor. The statute plainly expressed that after the execution had taken place the fate of the unfortunate malefactor's body became the responsibility of authorities who would then give the corpse to "the Hall of the Surgeons Company, or such place as the said company shall appoint for this purpose... and the Body so delivered to the said Company of Surgeons, shall be dissected and anatomized by the said Surgeons."[44] The statute also gave judges the discretion to punish a felon with gibbeting instead of anatomization. Because one's corpse stayed on public display as it decomposed in the iron cage of a gibbet, English society also viewed this postmortem punishment not only as violent but shameful and embarrassing. In fact when given a choice, criminals always preferred gibbeting over dissection. The Murder Act of 1752 also specifically stated that "in no case whatsoever the Body of any Murderer shall be suffered to be buried."[45] Denial of a decent burial added another element of justice to the Murder Act, recognizing a belief that a corpse buried in consecrated soil, such as a churchyard, allowed the condemned soul to achieve rest.



William Hogarth, *Consultation of Physicians or The Company of Undertakers or Consultation of Quacks.*

The Murder Act of 1752 essentially killed two birds with one stone because the statute not only intensified the death penalty for murder with penal dissection, but it also intended to augment the annual supply of cadavers for anatomical studies. Both of these effects of the statute, to some extent, came from influential members of high society who not only cared about the health of the Commonwealth, but also the growth and innovation of science. Thus, the state widened the cultural gap between the popular and learned discourses of the human body with the Murder Act of 1752.

Traditional scientific practice in Europe shifted dramatically with the Scientific Revolution from the fifteenth through eighteenth centuries, which became the foundations of modern science. New systems of thought emerged, including the development of the experimental method, the mathematization of nature, natural philosophy and, finally, emerging scientific institutions. The phenomenal impact of the Scientific Revolution encouraged the change in learned discourses that abandoned Aristotelian natural philosophy because of the powerful new discoveries of Copernicus, Galileo, Vesalius, and Harvey. Other important products of the Scientific Revolution were the materialization of religious skepticism, the Enlightenment, and later Industrialization. The advent of these new ideas increasingly challenged and reformulated one's conceptualization of the world and his or her place in it. Moreover, new scientific thought and methods created an ever driving wedge that separated learned and popular culture. This gap is illustrated with the attitudes towards the body between high society and average English folk in the period of the Scientific Revolution. Although the Scientific Revolution catalyzed this separation in thought, the English state too played a heavy hand because it often chose the side of the intellectual elite, even if for its own agenda.

In early modern England, the state recognized physical violence as punishment for petty and

[44]Ibid.
[45]Ibid.

flagrant crimes alike, and the state used corporal violence as the primary accepted form of controlling misbehavior. State sponsored violence upon the human body served as one of the most tangible crime deterrents for the masses and also occupied a central part of popular amusements. Codification of punitive dissection may have been new to England in the mid-eighteenth century, but the rest of Europe, especially Italy, wrote it into law long before. The anatomical renaissance started in fifteenth-century Italy, and anatomists relied on both criminals and foreigners as subjects on the dissection tables. Often these appeared in the form of public lectures. As Katherine Park points out, the use of condemned criminals became university sponsored as well as state sponsored, so that Italian anatomists carried out executions for the state as a means to enhance the studies of human anatomy. More importantly, unlike early modern England, public dissection and fragmentation in Renaissance Italy did not necessarily generate an assault on one's identity or self-hood because upon death, "the person was no longer in the body, so that the significance of a particular place of burial was less magical."[46] The corpse served merely as a material vessel and representation of an individual. For most of the rest of Europe, anatomists' violence through corporal dissection caused the dissected the most personal violation. In many cases in Italy, especially for elite families, dissection injured one's personal and family honor, but not the soul itself. For most "ordinary" English people, on the other hand, the body remained animated after death and the soul did not immediately transcend out of the body, thus the individual could still feel pain. To some extent this went in accordance with religious texts. Moreover, mutilation of the body after death could prevent resurrection of one's soul in addition to inhibiting proper burial of a corpse.

[C]riminal bodies were a commodity in the English economy

These popular fears, though not uncommon, brought awareness to law makers of the predicaments placed upon one's salvation if dissected. As corporal punishment by quartering, hanging, and gibbeting proved no longer efficient as visual deterrents to inhibit crime in early modern England, intellectuals, philosophers, and legal writers began to suggest alternative methods. When *Hanging not Punishment Enough* appeared anonymously in 1701, its author acknowledged that Parliament exuded the "power and wisdom... [to]...regulate and reform" the masses and that the legal system too liberally favored criminals, though punishment usually ended with death.[47] Even the spectacle of public shaming through hanging did not adequately deter crime, especially since onlookers tended to experience a bond with the to-be-executed criminals. Thus, legal and social philosophers, well aware of popular fears of dismemberment, proposed the use of human dissection as part of one's punishment. The English state used penal dissection as early as the sixteenth century, but the practice had not been codified as a punishment until the 1752 Murder Act, which meant to dissuade people from committing murder and crimes of suicide, manslaughter, and infanticide. Those convicted of murder and then hanged could also face gibbeting or be subject to a surgeon's knife on the dissection table.

The Scientific Revolution for England achieved its height in the 1750s, and the surgeon's demands for cadavers increased dramatically alongside the rise of private medical schools. Prior to the Murder Act of 1752 the state granted a small legally sanctioned supply of subjects to anatomist, no more than ten criminal bodies per year. In light of increased anatomical studies the demand for cadavers outstripped the supply of subjects for anatomists. Although "sack 'em up men" induced more popular fears in the nineteenth century, sur-

[46]Katharine Park, "The Life of a Corpse." *Journal of the History of Medicine* 50 (January 1995): 126.

[47]*Hanging Not Punishment Enough*, 1.

geons did rob graves in the early modern period. The Murder Act thus accommodated surgeons' increased demand for cadavers. Additionally, surgeons experienced a rise in status within the medical professions as they were less associated as the manual labors of medicine, so the passage of the 1752 statute might be, at least to some extent, indicative of a state whose policy favored the advancement of science, technology, and medicine. Moreover, the statute clearly worked in conjunction with popular fears of anatomization by preventing the possibilities of life after death. In essence, the state played within the structures of learned and popular discourses by utilizing ordinary people's fears of dissection and working in favor of the scientific community while ultimately satisfying its own needs to heighten the power of death sentences.

The repeal of the Murder Act in 1832 did not reflect any discontinuity of popular fears and, in fact, precluded the apex of popular fears of anatomization. After it passed, the Murder Act still did not offer a sufficient amount of cadavers to satisfy the demand of surgeons. From 1750 to 1800, an average of one body for every eight years was awarded legally to anatomists.[48] This resulted in illegal body snatching from foundlings, hospitals, and cemeteries. By the first decade of the nineteenth century, the profession of English anatomy "had long been demanding reform."[49] With a number of criminal cases against body snatchers presented to the courts, Parliament introduced *An Act for Regulating Schools of Anatomy* or the Anatomy Act of 1832. This law recommended that, instead of allowing penal dissection of hanged murderers, the state should also confiscate the bodies of paupers in hospitals and workhouses.[50] As paupers could not afford to pay for their own funerals, the anatomists could dispose of the bodies as they liked. As Ruth Richardson clearly points out, "What had for generations been feared and hated punishment for murder became one for poverty."[51] The state once again utilized popular attitudes regarding dissection to assist the study of anatomy, but in the 1830s the state continued to play within the structures only to punish people for their economic status as it supplemented the effects of poor laws. Surely, the Murder Act of 1752 played a role in deterring murder, but it also perpetuated popular fears of dissection as a form of punishment. Even though the Anatomy Act of 1832 came about in an attempt to reform anatomy schools as well as calm popular fears of frequent body snatchings, the law maintained popular fears further instigated by the Murder Act of 1752, adding the destitute with criminals to the category of violable bodies for dissection.

[48]Barry Redfern, *The Shadow of the Gallows: Crime and Punishment on Tyneside in the Eighteenth Century* (Tyne, UK: Tyne Bridge Publishing, 2003), 104.

[49]Richardson, *Death*, xv.

[50]2&3 Gul. VI c.75: *An Act to Better Regulate Schools of Anatomy* (London, 1832).

[51]Richardson, *Death*, xv.

Promises to Women and the Application of Feminine Equality: The Early Soviet Socialist System 1917-45

Lara Kolinchak

The 1917 Bolshevik Revolution radically restructured the Russian government, moving it from a monarchy to a communist state. During the revolution, the Bolsheviks made promises to Russian women regarding labor, benefits, family, and health which they later failed to uphold. In her discussion of the revolution, **Lara Kolinchak** analyzes the socio-political factors that account for the failure of Bolshevik programs and policies for women and their underlying reasons.



This poster, which declares that the right to govern belongs to housewives as much as their husbands, highlights the power women were initially promised and then denied. *Electronic Museum of Russian Posters*, 2004.

"When the provisional government came to power, my family had hoped that the Tsarist inequalities in education and other cruelties of the Tsarist regime would be removed, once the constituent assembly were convoked. But when the Bolsheviks came to power we lost all hope,"

Said one great Russian female teacher.[1] The ideological intent of the early Soviet system differed from the reality of those living under the relatively new Soviet rule. The lives of ordinary women provide an excellent example of remarkable and poignant differences between Soviet ideologies and actual practice. Between 1919-26 the Soviets enacted a series of laws that attempted to redefine the traditional Russian concepts of family. According to Sheila Fitzpatrick, "the regime, committed to social, cultural and economic transformation, rammed though radical changes regardless of the human cost."[2] As a consequence, the role and position of women in society shifted dramatically from the prerevolutionary period to the present.[3]

The Soviet socialist party failed to deliver on the expectations it created among the population through its propaganda. In particular, the Soviet regime promised women significant improvements to their personal health and well-being, to their ability to care for and educate their children, and to their professional position in society. As a result, the regime failed women most bitterly when it neglected to live up to the promises it made.

After the Russian Revolution of 1917, in which the Bolsheviks abolished the existing form of autocratic government and inserted a new form; what people in the West soon referred to as "communism," came into existence. Its leaders seemed a radical group within the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, which officially became the Communist Party in 1918.

After seizing power in October 1917, the Bolsheviks immediately attempted to remove all manifestations of the former regime and culture. They sought to destroy any semblance of what they determined bourgeois, in both attitude and in thought. Guided by Marxist theory, the Soviets stimulated a revolution that allowed them to reconstruct a society that employed socialist values and, ultimately, moved the entire society toward communism. The key to this movement was to control all aspects of governmental influence over the nation. Soviets further planned to force their control into a "single, official channel" that fostered the society they envisioned.[4]

WOMEN, THE FAMILY, AND THE STATE

Soviet conceptualization of the "woman question" and response to it approached this issue in the context of a class struggle.[5] The regime understood the subordination of women as problematic to the elevation of a strong state. Therefore, emancipating women proved essential. These beliefs seemed strongly rooted in Marxist theory.[6] The leading socialist author of the time, Frederick Engels, best dealt with the inequality of women in *The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State*. Engels asserted that under the prerevolutionary capitalist ideology, women's lives were forced into the singular arena of private influence, which greatly diminished women's value and service to society.[7] He stated that in order for a socialist society to flourish, women needed to

[1]No. 28 interviewed by M. L., Harvard Project on the Soviet Social System, 11-2.

[2]Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 2.

[3]Becky L. Glass and Margaret K. Stolee, "Family Law in Soviet Russia, 1917–1945," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 49, no. 49 (1987): 893.

[4]Dmitry Mikheyev, "The Soviet Mentality," *Political Psychology* 8, no. 4 (1987): 503.

[5]Richard Stites, *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism 1860-1930*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978), 30.

[6]Alena Heitlinger, *Women and State Socialism: Sex Inequality in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979), 15. Stites, *Women's Liberation*, 233.

[7]Stites, *Women's Liberation*, 233-5.

move from their depressed status as merely carriers of "men's heirs" and toward a rightful equality with men. Engels believed that removal of the "private restrictions" placed on women created social equality between men and women.[8] Birth control became one of the first private areas that directly affected the status of women and elevated them from strictly private into the public arena.



Introductory classes on breastfeeding for lower and middle class mothers indicate the importance of motherhood to the Soviet government. Engel Clements, *Worobec Russia's Women.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), Fig. 18.

During the seventeenth century, Tsar Alexis Romanov declared abortion punishable by death. Peter the Great removed the death penalty as a punishment for abortion; however, until 1917 the Russian government considered and enforced abortion as a severe crime. A person found guilty of having or assisting with an abortion could lose their civil rights, be sentenced to hard labor, or even face exile. During this period the attitude of the Russian Orthodox Church appeared much more lenient toward the idea of abortion than the Roman Catholic Church. [9] As early as 1920, Russian women used abortion as the most common form of birth control.[10] This difference in views may explain why Russians accepted the option of abortion more than the rest of the world. According to Olga Semyonova Tian-Shanskaia, another explanation is the high rate of infanticide so prevalent prior to and during the Revolution.[11]

The Bolsheviks showed far more concern for social and economic causes that led to abortion. They focused on preventing those causes rather than limiting abortion through repressive laws. In 1920, women received the right to obtain a legal abortion.[12] This law represented a means to deal with several issues that faced women under previous Soviet control.

These issues included but were not limited to pervasive poverty, inadequate child-care for working mothers, and recognition by party leaders that it was pointless to prohibit abortion in Russia's socio-political and familial circumstances at the time.[13] The Soviets utilized posters, articles, and films in an attempt to combat the rise of abortion. In an effort to "protect the health of women abortions would be performed," furthermore, medical professionals performed them "freely and without any charge in Soviet hospitals." [14]

By legalizing abortion, party leaders accepted the lesser evil. Recognizing women as a vital component of a strong state, the Soviets legalized abortion to advance female health and status by eradicating the need for back-alley abortions, thereby insuring proper prenatal and postnatal health care. The state chose to legalize abortion to reduce hospitalizations resulting from botched illegal abortions, diminish consequences of unsuccessful

[8]Heitlinger, *Women and State Socialism,* 15-6.

[9]Ibid., 40.

[10]Alexandre., "History of Abortion Statistics," 39.

[11]Olga Semyonova Tian-Shanskaia, *Village Life in Late Tsarist Russia,* ed. David L. Ransel (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993).

[12]Heitlinger, *Women and State Socialism, 123.*

[13]Ibid.

[14]Seventeen Moments in Soviet History, *1936: Abolition of Legal Abortion,* December 3, 2008. http://www.soviethistory.org.

back-alley abortions, which often led to sterility, and reduced the abortion-related death rate.[15] The party line indicated that abortion remained an evil with regards to the desired ethics and the customs of Russian society, but the Bolsheviks justified the legalization of abortion as a necessary though unfortunate measure to protect the health of women, out of practical concerns for the prosperity of the state. The Bolsheviks claimed that improving "maternity and child-care facilities... [would lead] to the disappearance of abortion."[16] However, the Soviet leaders also chose not to invest in necessary research or development of different types of birth control; they established neither improvement as a priority. Lacking these, women had few options other than to exercise abortion as the primary means of birth control.

[I]n 1924 doctors performed a total of 131,572 abortions

The 1920 abortion law, written purposely open-ended and without limits, did not regard the term during a pregnancy when or where abortions might be obtained, nor who could perform them. Then in November 1924, the authorities placed a restriction on legalized abortions and who could obtain one. The new law stated that a medical professional must complete abortions at medical facilities. They still cost nothing for those who qualified. The hierarchical order to qualify for a free abortion included: unwed, unemployed women, then single working mothers who previously gave birth, next industrial workers with numerous children, followed by wives whose husbands did manual labor with several children, then women with social insurance, and finally any other women.[17] The government mandated the implementation of abortion registration cards in July 1924, which required any woman who sought a free abortion to apply for permission using a registration card.

According to the data collected from 1920-4 abortion registration cards, "[o]nly seventy-seven out of one hundred pregnancies ended in child birth... and seventy-one in 1924."[18] This data demonstrated that from 364 clinics abortions performed between 1922-4 rose from 20,763 to 33,483; in 1924 doctors performed a total of 131,572 abortions. In 1925 that figure rose to 200,000 and during 1925-6 the rate of abortion increased another seventy percent.[19] This rise prompted the Head of the Department of Social Statistics of the Central Statistical Office, M. Krasil'nikov, to state, "Undeniably, the data published here permits in-depth investigation of a social phenomenon: abortion."[20] During the 1930s the crusade to end legalized abortion gained popular support.[21] At the same time the Soviets viewed abortion as an undesirable threat to a strong communist state.

In May 1936 a new law expanded the Soviet view of matrimony, set limits on abortion and outlined the vital importance of motherhood and other family practices.[22] On 27 July 1936 the Soviet Union banned abortion. No validity existed in the Soviet leaders' circular reasoning. They attempted to justify the 1936 ban on abortion because of threats to the mothers' health; in 1920 they implemented abortion for the exact same reason.[23] The Soviet party moved its ideology toward Western ideas concerning abortion as they took motherhood away from personal choice and made it a more nationalist demand. Soviet leadership incorporated a view of women as naturally maternal, and stated a woman's duty included bearing children. The Soviet government attempted to mandate a social change using legal codes. This reconstruction of Russian society left many

[15]Heitlinger, *Women and State Socialism*, 123-4.
[16]Ibid., 124.
[17]Alexandre, "History of Abortion Statistics," 42.
[18]Ibid., 52.
[19]Ibid., 53-4.
[20]Ibid., 43.
[21]Heitlinger, *Women and State Socialism*, 126.
[22]Ibid.
[23]Ibid.



Pregnant women at the Institute for the Protection of Motherhood and Infancy are hard at work, underlining the Soviet emphasis on both motherhood and labor as property of the state. *Vlast' sovetov za 10 let, 1917-1927* (Moscow: Krasnaia gazeta, 1927).

women without options, thus requiring them, once again, to go against the law and social norms.

Anna Akimovna Dubova documented her experience regarding an unwanted pregnancy by a man who abandoned her as an overwhelming emotional experience. She told about her ordeal and the extreme pain she suffered. The abortionist told Anna to lie down on a pile of rags already used that day for other abortions and forced grated soap into her uterus. The unclean surroundings and debilitating procedure left her with blood poisoning, and she rushed to a local hospital where she endured interrogation for a significant period of time before she gained assistance. This narrative describes only one of four illegal abortions that she endured over the course of her life, both in and out of marriage.[24]

Anna's story is not an isolated case. Published interviews and those documented by the Harvard Project on the Soviet Social System revealed that Soviet women held strong feelings about the abortion law. Numerous women described their experience with illegal abortions as terrifying, hopeless, devastating, and frightening.[25] Out of necessity, women resorted to clandestine behaviors as they searched for abortionist facilities. Between the years 1936-40, the rate of abortions that began "out of a clinic," that is illegally, rose from 343,750 to 452,557. This number represents only admitted to correct a botched partial abortion, not the total number of illegal abortions performed.[26] Women of this time perceived the risk of submitting to an illegal abortion as more beneficial than the alternative, regardless of the penalties. Women chose to resist "the coercive power of the state in the realm of human reproduction."[27]

In 1927, the *Red Students* performance group attempted to publicize the Soviet party line with their short play entitled "Abortion." It told of two young lovers, Inna and Abram, who find themselves pregnant. While waiting for an approved

[24] *A Revolution of Their Own: Voices of Women in Soviet History*, ed. Barbara Aplern Engel and Anastasia Posadskaya-Vanderbeck. (Boulder: Westview Press. 1998), 32-4.

[25] Ibid., 33,172. No. 1379, interviewed by M. F., Harvard Project on the Soviet Social System. 25-7. No. 426, interviewed by M. F., Harvard Project on the Soviet Social System, 16. No. 396, interviewed by J. O., Harvard Project on the Soviet Social System, 18.

[26] Alexandre, "History of Abortion Statistics," 55.

[27] *A Revolution of Their Own: Voices of Women in Soviet History*, 11.

abortion Inna's reality is crushed when she sees an unconscious, post-delivery woman. The doctors try to revive the young lady, but they are unsuccessful and she dies. Then Inna witnesses a birth. She perceives a sort of rebirth of the mother too, indicated by her glowing skin and radiant beauty. Inna realizes she, too, can be both a mother and a productive member of the party.[28] This work of art promoted the party perspective; it did not represent reality for most Soviet women.

The reversal of the abortion law did little to elevate the women of Russia or to instill faith in Soviet leadership. At first, leaders said that elevating women's status from private to public seemed best. When abortions became the predominate form of birth control, they established laws to push women back into old private sector roles. This Soviet reversal shows the philosophical change that resulted from women attempting to exercise the political and social rights promised them. As women exercised their rights, party leadership changed the laws which not only left Soviet women in a state of confusion regarding their place in society, it also left them frustrated and angry. They held few options for birth control, and they had to bear unplanned and potentially unwanted children or risk imprisonment; women became angry that this new law, written by men, seemed to benefit men at the expense of women and their babies. Single women, abandoned or working mothers, received no reasonable option regarding pregnancy and were left with another mouth to feed in the midst of poverty. A Soviet woman's lack of choice negatively impacted her daily life, and as a result, many women chose to endanger themselves or risk their freedom by attempting to obtain an illegal abortion mainly due to the fact the government did not keep its promises.

[28]Gregory Carleton, *Sexual Revolution In Bolshevik Russia.* ed. Jonathan Harris (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005), 187.

WOMEN, WORK, AND THE FAMILY

The Soviet system failed to carry through its assurances to the women of Russia in the area of labor as well; this failure directly affected the family. The Russian Constitution of 10 July 1918 asserted "the right to oblige the citizen to work... and to punish him if he does not obey;" it continued, "human labor is the property of the state."[29] In 1919 the Soviet government issued a pamphlet written specifically to entice the working woman into communism. The pamphlet identifies the difficulties that Russia faced at that time—famine, civil war, and difficult living conditions—as the fault of the enemies of the working class. It asserted that these conditions should be improved when women emerged to their rightful position in the new Bolshevik government. This pamphlet outlined ways to accomplish this: the protection of motherhood, new and improved childcare facilities, a new labor code aimed at protecting women in the work place, and the equality of both sexes.[30] Alexandra Kollontai, the most well-known woman within the Soviet government, expanded on the Soviet system promises to women and itemized freedoms the new Soviet woman might expect in her article *Communism and the Family*. These freedoms included everything from financial independence to liberation from domestic slavery. Kollontai continued by affirming that women would have maids, cafeterias for dinner after a hard day's work, and ideal childcare facilities, all provided by the state.[31]

> By 1942 women represented up to 54 percent of the Soviet work force

In his writing, Engels said that the most important issue, with regards to a Soviet labor force, was to bring the "whole female sex back into public industry." Women worked prior to the revolution, but between the years 1929-38 an even greater

[29]Amy Hewes, "Labor Conditions in Soviet Russia." *Journal of Political Economy* 28, no. 9 (1920): 775.

[30]Heitlinger, *Women and State Socialism*, 57.

[31]Alexandra Kollontai, "Communism and the Family," *The Worker*, (1920).

push came from the state for women to enter the labor force.[32] By 1942, women represented up to 54 percent of the Soviet work force.[33] Soviet leaders expected adulation as they encouraged women to participate in the "socialist construction" which ultimately led to the advancement of the communist philosophy and regime.[34] Communist leaders recognized the need to not only bring women into the work force but also to use the work place as a place to organize and propagandize women.



This 1956 political cartoon indicates the Soviet division of labor, with men filling the administrative jobs and women relegated to menial labor. *Ezhegodnik Krokodila* (Moscow: Pravda, 1958).

Russian women entered the workforce out of "economic necessity."[35] Elena Dolgikh explained that she returned to work after the birth of her child—to ensure the survival of her family. She expanded her story to describe the constant upheaval to her family's life as she moved from one job to another within the teaching profession.[36] Another female interviewee explained, "can one consider it normal to try to suppress the desire to be well fed, to be well dressed... these feelings become blunted, but they do not die." She continues, "One wants to suppress those feelings because the pain produced by the impossibility of fulfilling them is unbearable."[37]

After childbirth the state encouraged women to work at generally the same pace they worked before marriage and prior to giving birth.[38] The Soviet state provided mothers with maternity leave and day-care, usually in a crèche, to expedite the return to work of postpartum mothers. Both benefits were inadequate to the working woman; there existed both a lack of unified organization within maternity and crèche services and a lack of meaningful assistance. Many mothers experienced discomfort leaving their children in daycare due to the lack of attention given each child, poorly maintained locations, and an insufficient space for their children.[39] Sofia Pavlava, a full-time factory worker, student, and party member expressed how grateful she felt that her mother assisted her during and after the birth of her child. She said, "Mama saved me. I am eternally grateful to her."[40]

At this time in Russia, both parents worked outside the family to make ends meet. The increased cost of food and daily necessities made it impossible for women to avoid the labor force. Interviews by the Harvard Project on the Soviet Social

[32]Stites, *Women's Liberation.*

[33]Alex Inkeles and Raymond A. Bauer, *The Soviet Citizen: Daily Life in a Totalitarian Society* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 203.

[34]Ibid., 229.

[35]Inkeles and Bauer, *The Soviet Citizen: Daily Life in a Totalitarian Society*, 206.

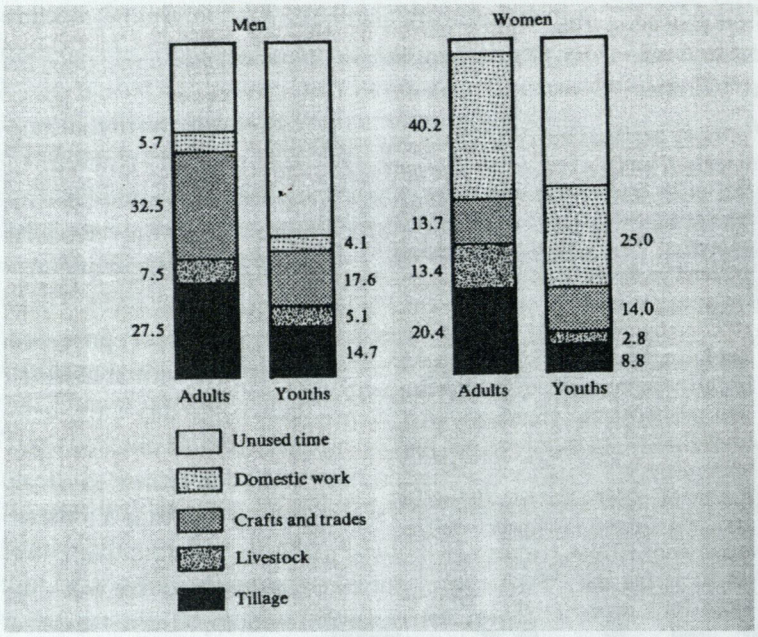
[36]*A Revolution of Their Own: Voices of Women in Soviet History*, 170.

[37]No. 386, interviewed by H. B., Harvard Project on the Soviet Social System, 28.

[38]Ibid., 206.

[39]Inkeles and Bauer, *The Soviet Citizen: Daily Life in a Totalitarian Society*, 206.

[40]*A Revolution of Their Own: Voices of Women in Soviet History*, 67.



This graph indicates the differences between the amount of time men and women spent at certain tasks. It clearly illustrates the "second shift" that Russian women worked after their eight-hour workday. Farnsworth and Viola, *Russian Peasant Women*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 152.

System indicated many diligent couples with dual incomes still could not break even at the end of the month. Their reasons included taxes, mandatory state loans, food costs, rent, and clothing.[41] Soviet leaders specified the importance of motherhood and children to the party, yet they failed to make necessary changes and to evaluate their implementations. Party politics forced mothers to choose between depriving the family of needed income and leaving their children in less than ideal facilities. The state encouraged women to do their part for the socialist movement though it did not provide promised family care or work skills they required.

Soviets also failed women in the work force by tolerating sexism. The average pay grade of men was a level nine while for women it was a level seven.[42] According to Diane P. Koenker, pay differed partly due to the fact that political propaganda conditioned women to see themselves as only active "contributors to the family wage."[43] They did not receive the proper on-the-job training to gain promotion or improve their work status; therefore, women grudgingly accepted lower pay and became more subject to layoffs.[44] Women protested, but party politics ignored their cries. When factories exercised cutbacks to employment they often fired women first, especially if their husbands worked.[45]

The party recognized that equality advanced the state but failed to promote or enforce that shift in people's minds; thus, women suffered sexual harassment from their male coworkers. Women faced another form of sexism at work: prevailing social mores that suggested inequality between men and women. Antonia Berezhnaia detailed the harsh and unprincipled manner in which her male coworkers spoke to her. She described several accounts in which men berated and insulted her.[46] The attitudes of male workers of that time

[41]No. 266, interviewed by J. O., Harvard Project on the Soviet Social System, 9. No. 49, interviewed by H. B., Harvard Project on the Soviet Social System, 20.

[42]Diane P. Koenker, "Men against Women on the Shop Floor in Early Soviet Russia," *The American Historical Review* 100, no.5 (1995): 1452.

[43]Ibid., 1453.

[44]Ibid., 1453-4.

[45]Ibid., 1457.

[46]*A Revolution of Their Own: Voices of Women in Soviet History*, 109, 113.

characterized women as gossips, lazy, unskilled at their jobs, and unreliable after the birth of children.[47]

While the Bolsheviks said that women shared equal status with men, they did not carry that ideology to the shop floor, to the home, or to society. Women faced far greater societal demands than their male counterparts. The rough, tough militarized Russian definition of manhood fit well within the factory framework while the notion of women as naively sweet, innocent, and most importantly maternal, did not lend itself to success for women's equal treatment. Although Soviet leaders declared the system as concerned with the welfare of the entire populous, the system ignored, by intent or ignorance, the needs of its female comrades.

> When factories exercised cutbacks to employment they often fired women first

In reality, working women showed themselves as better employees. Women, on average, worked with fewer unexcused absences, arrived and left on time, performed better on the job, seemed more dedicated to detail, and remained sober as they worked in factories, mines and fields. One interviewee from the Harvard Project remarked that, "all around me I saw women working as hard as men... I saw them digging ditches."[48] Another commented that they "heard of women working in mines or other heavy physical work."[49] This data supports the fact that women worked hard at their jobs and received promotions less frequently. By any standards this does not represent equality or fairness, but instead a cruel government that said: we believe in equality as long as it favors men, even drunken men, in our work places.

In 1918 the Bolsheviks party line invited unions to collaborate with the state in the socialist reconstruction of Russia. This veiled move by the government to nationalize industry worked well, and by the middle of 1919, 90 percent of all unions became nationalized. Generally, union activities seemed divided into two camps, the political represented by the Soviets, and the economical represented by the administration and management of factories who became responsible for the regulation of working conditions.[50] Union leaders argued for fairer treatment of women with respect to earnings and wages and for more on the job training. Prior to 1920, women participated in socialist meetings and organizations. However, the Soviet government did not consider their arguments of high importance. Furthermore, party leaders reportedly thought that women impeded productivity.

By denying women equal access to training and higher paying jobs, the Soviet government failed in its promise to create sexual equality and a better work environment. This failure became clearly evident by 1924, when the leader of the All-Union Counsel of Trade Unions, Grigorii N. Mel'nichanskii, stated that he knew of the issues facing the policy of mobilizing women:

> I know that you in your conferences discuss the question and you adopt resolutions about involving women more in our work. But I also know that many comrades, after discussing these questions at official meetings, when they go off to the side, they begin to mock them, to smile, to snigger; they say, all the same, nothing will come of such work.[51]

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[47]Koenker, "Men Against Women on the Shop Floor in Early Soviet Russia," 1439.

[48]No. 176, interviewed by J. F., Harvard Project on the Soviet Social System, 22.

[49]No. 2, interviewed by H. B., Harvard Project on the Soviet Social System, 21.

[50]Hewes, "Labor Conditions in Soviet Russia," 780.

[51]Koenker, "Men Against Women n the Shop Floor in Early Soviet Russia,"1455.

The promises of the Soviet leaders remained ineffective with regards to women when they imposed a double burden by neglecting to recognize that women did not work just eight hours; mothers worked their day job and then returned home to fix meals, care for children, tend to the housework, stand in line for the necessities, and manage their household. Soviet women, documented in interviews by the Harvard Project, recalled their lives as vastly more difficult than those of men. One forty-six year old female explains: "we had to suffer in silence...the Soviet woman is a martyr; she could not lead a normal life."[52] A woman was a party a member, wife and a mother, and then, in addition, "she also has to work at home and... in a factory."[53]

[I]n reality, women daily had double duty... to accomplish.

According to Janet S. Schwartz, women sensed satisfaction when they perceived their job through the "prism of the family," since this allowed women to recognize their primary role.[54] Soviet data indicates that although the women of the Soviet system worked in all occupational sectors, any impression of equality lacks validity. Inequality survived primarily due to perceived social differences between the sexes supported by socialist ideology and the sentiment that the "primary role of the woman remains that of mother and wife." This Soviet-imposed inequality caused women under the Soviet regime and socio-political system to fail to "reach positions of power and authority" within the workforce.[55] Known as the "crushing burden on women's shoulders," Soviets blamed capitalism for crushing women, though the Soviet system annihilated women as well.[56]

This human catastrophe displayed the most misogynistic of all Soviet failures with regard to women. Soviet leaders declared that "human labor is the property of the state" and that women must enter the work force to do their part for the socialist system. At this same time, the system conveniently excused men from any additional responsibilities or labor at home for the family. These actions led to the Soviet leadership being viewed as inept and shortsighted. Since Soviet government leaders were not about to come home from a hard day's work and help with the laundry or dishes; the very thought seemed inconceivable. Lenin stated, "petty household [work] crushes, strangles, stultifies and degrades [the woman], chains her to the kitchen... wastes her labor on barbarously unproductive, petty, nerve-racking, stultifying and crushing drudgery," and yet the Bolshevik's new society destined women to do exactly that.[57] The predominantly male Soviet government leaders bestowed no rational thought or consideration to the "second shift" or "double burden" imposed on its female members. Nor did it occur to male leaders to equally and fairly distribute the entire labor pool, between male and female, which it declared it owned.[58] Under this one-sided labor distribution, female labor, at a lower wage than that of men, appeared manipulated, more managed, and much less rewarded. Soviet government leaders promised women the same lifestyle that the rich afforded—workers cleaned their home while they worked to build the new society. However, in reality women daily had double duty, work outside the home and at home, to accomplish.[59]

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[52]No. 113, interviewed by M. G. F., Harvard Project on the Soviet Social System, 36-7.

[53]No. 373, interviewed by G. D. S., Harvard Project on the Soviet Social System, 19.

[54]Janet S. Schwartz, "Women Under Socialism: Role Definitions of Soviet Women," *Social Forces* 58, no. 1 (1979): 67.

[55]Ibid., 77, Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism.*

[56]Kollontai, "Communism and the Family."

[57]Barbara Alpern Engel, "Women in Russia and the Soviet Union," *Signs* 12, no. 4 (1987): 787.

[58]Ibid., 67.

[59]Kollontai, "Communism and the Family."

Supportive evidence throughout this paper clearly shows that women continued to work at home at the end of their day job while the men did not. Government and industry leaders treated, promoted, and rewarded women and men unequally. The amount of work expected of them each day and the actual division of labor inequalities favored men. Socially, men maintained an acceptable position for working an eight-hour day outside the home while women did not unless they worked their shifts and also managed the household duties. The Bolsheviks brought women into their labor force with promises of equality and domestic betterment, but gave them obligatory work inside and outside the home and unjust expectations of female accomplishment thus betraying any sense of equality.

They expected state-run homes for children to produce… productive members of …society

Women provided maternal warmth, affection, and emotional support while they nurtured their children as another state-designated job. Prevailing Soviet attitude demanded that the "obligation of women was to the family," but it never addressed the primary obligation of men with regard to his family.[60] One Harvard Project interviewee remembered how difficult it was to leave her children at a crèche, located in a bank, to go to work. She stated that she would "come away in tears" but had no option since the law said "women could not stop working even if they wanted."[61] Engle impacted the ideology of the new Soviet family as he hypothesized that when the "means of production became collective property there would be equality of men and women." He continued by stating, "The nuclear family would cease to be the economic unit of society, private domestic work would change into a public industry, and the care and education of the young would be a public matter."[62] This ideal socialist society never developed. The state failed to meet the needs of children and mothers because of unavailable and inadequate crèche or other maternal facilities or resources, no domestic help as promised, and added maternal burdens, none of which appeared as factually important matters for the Soviet state.

Often war or abandonment left women without husbands to share the task of raising their children. Sofia Pavlova recounted how the war separated her from her husband and left her to deal with their children.[63] Anna Dubova explained how her husband just "up and left" after the birth of their son. A hollow tone permeated Anna's unfolding of this event as she described the hopelessness she felt at his decision to leave, but she did not protest too loudly asking, "What else could I do?"[64] The revised marriage and abortion laws of 1936 made it more difficult to obtain a divorce and more importantly, denied women the right to file for paternity support for children born out of wedlock. This revision caused women more difficulty receiving alimony and child support from absent fathers and yet, for men, made it much more acceptable to disappear from home and domestic duties.

The Soviets deemed divorce contrary to the development of the Soviet Union, and that decree increased abandonments on its women. Divorce filing processes became lengthier and state pressures rarely allowed a divorce. Anna Dubova explained her process to obtain a divorce: one filed for a divorce stating the reasons in detail, waited the mandated six months for its formal publication in the newspapers, and only then, if the government officials determined one's reason

[60]Schwartz, "Women Under Socialism: Role Definitions of Soviet Women," 70, 72.

[61]No. 49, interviewed by H.B., Harvard Project on the Soviet Social System, 20.

[62]Schwartz, "Women Under Socialism: Role Definitions of Soviet Women," 68.

[63]*A Revolution of Their Own: Voices of Women in Soviet History*, 63.

[64]Ibid., 43.

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[60]Schwartz, "Women Under Socialism: Role Definitions of Soviet Women," 70, 72.

[61]No. 49, interviewed by H.B., Harvard Project on the Soviet Social System, 20.

[62]Schwartz, "Women Under Socialism: Role Definitions of Soviet Women," 68.

[63]*A Revolution of Their Own: Voices of Women in Soviet History*, 63.

[64]Ibid., 43.

sufficient, did they grant a divorce. In the mid 1940s the Soviet government, through legislation aimed at strengthening the family structure and commitment, made divorce even more difficult and complicated to achieve.[65] Since males rarely needed to file for divorce, once again, the party neglected to understand how their one-sided legislation affected the daily lives and workload of female comrades.

"If I had had more children I would have had to stay at home. I would have raised them all as beggars," declared one soviet woman.[66] Single mothers often resorted to desperate measures to alleviate their plight. According to a Harvard Project interviewee, more often than not, children, separated from their mothers and families, wandered the streets. Another interviewee expanded on this condition when she explained, "These [are] homeless children. There are several Soviet words for this. One is besprizornik: a derelict, homeless child. A second word is urki: youthful gangsters."[67] Abandoned children represent an unforeseen outcome of the inequality between maternal and paternal roles in a state with double standards.

"If I had had more children...I would have raised them all as beggars"

Many government organizations, including the People's Commissariat of Enlightenment (Narkompros) moved society and the nation's children away from the bourgeois view of family toward the published Bolshevik ideal. They expected state-run homes for children to produce industrious, dedicated, and productive members of a successful communist society. Within a few years the head of Narkompros stated, "If we can overcome our poverty, I would say that the children's home is the best way of raising children – a genuine socialist upbringing, removing children from the family setting and its petty-bourgeois structure."[68] This socialist ideal seemed doomed from the beginning and never came to pass, but it leads one to question the root cause of the besprizornik, and what to do with the astronomical number of abandoned children in Soviet Russia?

Several known contributing factors led to the growth of the besprizornik within Russia: it started with the widespread Volga famine, when the estimated number of homeless children reached close to seven million.[69] One traveler, Mikhail Kalinin, observed how those in his ensemble saw children sleeping on the streets, searching through trash for food, jumping train cars, and begging at every train stop and station.[70] The Soviet involvement in civil and worldwide wars also contributed to the increase in besprizornik. These wars necessitated conscripting men, even very young men, into military service, which left mothers as the primary wage earner for the family and, as noted, women received significantly less pay than men.[71] The Soviet leadership did not help with wage increases or subsidies to single mothers with children. According to Alan Ball, children without adult supervision then turned to stealing, peddling, begging, prostitution, or they simply disappeared.[72]

Abandonment is another devastating reason known for the rise in besprizornik. As early as

[65]Ibid.

[66]No. 49, interviewed by K. G., Harvard Project on the Soviet Social System, 39.

[67]No. 373, interviewed by G. D. S., Harvard Project on the Soviet Social System, 19. No. 14, interviewed by J. O., Harvard Project on the Soviet Social System, 62.

[68]Alan Ball, "State Children: Soviet Russia's Besprizornye and the New Socialist Creation," *Russian Review* 52, no.2 (1993): 228, 229.

[69]Ibid., 229.

[70]Ibid.

[71]Alan Ball, *And Now My Soul is Hardened: Abandoned Children in Soviet Russia, 1918 – 1930,* (Berkeley: University Press, 1994, 5-7.

[72]Alan Ball, "The Roots of Besprizornost' in Soviet Russia's First Decade," *Slavic Review* 51, no.2 (1992): 250.

1920 local officials throughout Russia reported a disturbingly high number of abandoned children. According to both parents and besprizornik themselves, reasons for the abandonment cycle included: famine, parents unable to feed their children, helplessness to change family economic situations, and finally self-preservation.[73]

Many Soviet leaders dismissed these children as "children of the [Russian] Revolution" and called their lives on the street a resourceful way for them to take charge of their own lives and fulfill the social and economic virtues of the communist state.[74] One delegate of the Moscow conference praised these children by asserting, "If [these children are] approached correctly, [they] can become an active builder of a socialist state."[75]



One of Russia's many besprizornik begs for food at a train station. Dmitri Baltermants, *Faces of a Nation: The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Union, 1917-1991* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing, 1996).

How then did the Soviet state assure the future success of these builders of the socialist state? The state decided to "move trainloads of children around the country." The decision came amid famines, civil war, and economic suffering throughout Russia. Between the summer of 1921 and the fall of 1922 the communist government displaced approximately 150,000 children to other regions around the country while, according to Soviet figures of July 1922, foreign aid fed nearly 3.6 million abandoned and orphaned children.[76]

Seven million besprizornik clearly displayed the failure of the Soviet government to mothers and their children.[77] Mothers cast out their children due to the state imposed economic and social hardships they faced. Soviet leaders failed to provide adequate social programs to keep up with the societal changes that they, themselves, implemented. The socialist society that publically advocated changing bourgeois attitudes toward the poor, and whose leaders said they saw children as a means to accomplish the Soviet dream, forced children into the streets, alone and abandoned. Lenin's widow, Nadezhda Krupskaia, in July of 1926, publicly declared, "I myself wrote previously that besprizornost' is the legacy of war and devastation. But, having observed besprizornye, I see that we must cease such talk. We must state that the roots of besprizornost' are not only in the past but in the present."[78] Even Lenin's widow commented on the on-going failure of the party with regards to abandoned children.

EDUCATION, THE STATE, AND THE FAMILY

Soviet Union leadership also failed women through several laws designed to destroy the pre-revolutionary, traditional and religious family structure. Three basic ideological views led to the creation of the new laws. The first view held that family responsibility for raising children should be replaced with collectivized childrearing through state run institutions strictly held to

[73]Ibid., 257.

[74]Ibid.

[75]Ball, "State Children: Soviet Russia's Besprizornye and the New Socialist Creation," 236.

[76]Ibid., 233.

[77]Engel, "Women in Russia and the Soviet Union," 788.

[78]Ball, "The Roots of Besprizornost' in Soviet Russia's First Decade," 263.

Marxist philosophy. Leading educators within the party proposed and supported this form of child rearing. They believed children must be removed from the family due to its tendency to teach bourgeois attitudes and religious beliefs. Zlata Lilina, the Director of Petrograd schools maintained that, "We ought to remove children from the pernicious influence of the family. We ought to register them; frankly we should nationalize them."[79]

The second view recognized a new form of family existing under socialism. By and large, social workers and party approved teachers led this view. They alleged that both family and organized socialistic institutions must join together to create a new manner of childhood approved by and under communist state mandate. Supporters of this view felt it only natural that parents influence a child, but also believed that the state must limit familial influence. Policymakers for this view "believed that the family would continue to play a part in childrearing;" however, they "envisioned the role to be minimal."[80]

[W]omen felt devastated and betrayed by their government

The last view proposed that the state and continued communistic progression would benefit most if children remained at home but received the majority of their education at state run Soviet institutions. Party leaders believed children would be mainly influenced by the ideology of the state and would return home to educate their parents.[81] Soviet leaders "viewed these institutions as far better equipped than the bourgeois family to fashion youths into productive, devoted members of the communist society."[82] Officially the government never decided which view to instate; however, it did desire to restructure the family. The Soviets justified restructuring based on their customized Marxist view that put the power of implementing social change directly in the law. New laws asserted a need to "change and mold" the behavior of society.[83] Early law changes created by the Bolsheviks aimed at restructuring and revolutionizing society, while other laws tried to correct past mistakes, and still others attempted to utterly renovate all classes within Russian society.

Legal codes written from 1934 through 1936 provided the greatest impact on women and children since they officially held parents responsible for their children's unlawful behavior and actions.[84] In the 1920s, the communist party downplayed the role of parents' influence on children, but in the early 1930s they shifted sides drastically. The new party line supported parents in their new role as co-shapers of the nation's children and publicized parenthood as a patriotic duty. Soviet leaders instituted legal codes in the 1930s that fined parents whose children misbehaved or broke the law, seeking to "punish those who neglected their childrearing responsibilities." [85]

Unfortunately this co-shaping system had an unforeseen backlash for the Soviet leadership. Citizens watched each other and a hint of divisiveness or opposition to the communist philosophy or party could lead to jail time; as a result parents feared their children. In 1932 the murder of a fourteen year-old peasant occurred, presumably by his family, in retaliation for denouncing his father as a kulak and for stockpiling grain. Pavlik Morozov became the poster boy for the Pioneers, their patron saint, and a martyr for the cause. His life inspired many Soviet sponsored children's books. However, scholarly research in the 1970s proved most aspects of this tale erroneous, and evidence indicated that Morozov turned his father

[79]Glass and Stolee, "Family Law in Soviet Russia, 1917–1945," 894.

[80]Ibid., 895.

[81]Ibid.

[82]Ball, *And Now My Soul is Hardened: Abandoned Children in Soviet Russia, 1918–1930*, 87.

[83]Glass and Stolee, "Family Law in Soviet Russia, 1917–1945," 896.

[84]Ibid., 898.

[85]Ibid.

in as a penalty for abandonment. In reality, cases of children informing on their parent were few.[86] Yet stories like this promoted fear, "Everyone was afraid of their children. A small child can betray its parents," explained one Harvard Project interviewee.[87] Other interviewees explained that parents watched what they said in front of children for fear of being reported. They described how children used threats and intimidation to manipulate parents. Soviet children—described as spoiled, disrespectful, conniving, and brutish—displayed superiority at the expense of the others by a show of power with the party.[88] An American newspaper reported that "there are no longer any children in Russia...only vicious little brutes."[89]

The Russian society reconstruction came to pass; however, people starved, fathers abandoned their wives and children, citizens lived in fear, and women felt devastated and betrayed by their government. Soviets implemented social and legal restrictions on women and mothers as they effectively condemned them to a life of poverty and depression. The Soviet Union failed completely trying to bring about the promised changes for the women of its nation. Even considering the Soviets own definition of a successful socialistic state, they failed.

The Soviet government failed to actualize the virtues of an equal, collective and socialistic state because it never operated within or by those same constraints. Soviet ideology sought to destroy the family in order to create a better, stronger, communist child, and yet it forced children to die of hunger on the streets, alone, abandoned by their family and by the state. With mothers denied adequate childcare or access to funds due to poorly constructed laws, no shared sense of responsibility materialized. When parents lived in fear of what their children might say to government officials, no sense of loyalty or personal value grew or existed. The words of one Russian female synopsize, "In general, of course, our worries do not only put us in bad humor, that is too superficial; but also influence the whole course of our lives. The material problems of our lives and the moral, spiritual and physical sufferings which derive from them... that is something one encounters every day, every hour. This fruitless pursuit of a chance to make a living." She continued, "We always fled from the Bolsheviks. In our souls and in our thoughts. We always wanted to be freed."[90] Soviet leaders failed to live up to the promises they made to women. Even legislated change left them unable to better the familial and social conditions of women. The Soviet government intended to control every aspect of its people's lives. For the most part they achieved control; however, they did not improve the general health, provide help with children and family, promote feminine standing within society or grant equal status. None of these were accomplished. For all the Bolsheviks promised, women and children suffered in Russia.

Sadly, male egos and self-serving unfulfilled promises led Mother Russia toward abortions, abandoned children and an adulterated society that lost itself in the modern era. Sadder still, women and children in Russia, under Soviet or Bolshevist leadership, lived a harsh, unrewarding, and demanding reality as male fathers, workers, professionals and leaders promoted their nearly unfettered quality of life. Thus, the Soviet leadership and form of government failed. While imposing grandiose ideology on its subjects, it did not fulfill even the slightest promises and ultimately left the citizens of Russia in more dire circumstances than before.

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[86]Seventeen Moments in Soviet History, *1934: Pavlik Morozov*, December 3, 2008. http://www.soviethistory.org.

[87]No. 431, interviewed by M. S., Harvard Project on the Soviet Social System, 14.

[88]No. 373, interviewed by G. D. S., Harvard Project on the Soviet Social System, 19. No. 64, interviewed by K. G., Harvard Project on the Soviet Social System, 54-5.

[89]"Russian Childhood A Tragedy." *Los Angeles Times*, June 14, 1919.

[90]No. 386, interviewed by H. B., Harvard Project on the Soviet Social System, 28.

For a Minister's Chair: The Psychology of Accomodation and Resistance in Nazi Germany

Mark Ruffolo

Nazi Party control of German society required the cooperation of various institutions. Hitler depended upon the support of the Christian Churches in Germany, both Protestant and Catholic, in his rise to power. Author **Mark Ruffolo** explores the various reasons Christian officials supported the rise of Hitler. Additionally, the author investigates some courageous exceptions who dared to speak out against the powerful Nazi government, as well as examining some of the psychological reasons for accommodation and resistance.



Hitler in front of the "Church of Our Lady," Nuremburg. 1934. www.ushmm.org.

In 1933, Martin Niemoller, a decorated World War I (WWI) German U-boat commander and Lutheran pastor, supported Adolph Hitler wholeheartedly. By 1937, his enthusiasm for the new leader of Germany dwindled and pointed sermons against the Nazi regime began in earnest. His actions led to his arrest and imprisonment in Sachsenhausen and Dachau concentration camps. Following eight years of imprisonment, this former hero of the Fatherland declared:

> First they came for the communists, and I did not speak out-because I was not a communist. Then they came for the socialists, and I did not speak out because I was not a socialist. Then they came for the trade unionist, and I did not speak out because I wasn't a trade unionist. Then they came for the Jews, and I did not speak out because I was not a Jew. Then they came for me-and there was no one left to speak for me.[1]

Niemoller's famous confession reveals the stages that many Christian pastors and theologians underwent as they grappled with National Socialism. It appears unimaginable that twentieth-century Germans could easily be deceived into accepting Hitler's ideology. How was it possible the nation of Luther, Kant, Goethe, Bach, and Beethoven produced millions who raised their hands "in salutation before a man...who was nothing more than the personified negation of all justice, faith, and culture?"[2] The shameful apathy and complicity of those entrusted with the spiritual health of the nation seemed an even greater puzzle. This essay will try to explain Hitler's appeal to members of the religious community and address the reasons for accommodation and the aspects of resistance. It will suggest that the responsibility for the health of a nation lies with its moral leadership, which must not be silenced either by compulsion or by self-imposed complicity.

Hitler's appeal did not arise in a vacuum. A great many reasons contributed to his popular support, especially among theologians, pastors, and academics. The first and obvious question is what did church leaders find appealing in Hitler? Similarly, how did Hitler view the moral condition of Germany, on Christianity, and the separation of Church and State? Second, National Socialism's expert use of German history to support Hitler's agenda seemed powerful. The appeal to German national pride found expression in mythology as well as the Protestant Reformation. How did the Nazis effectively manipulated German history to garner support and encourage obedience? Third, Hitler's brand of religion, called "Positive Christianity," appealed to many influential and intellectual theologians. What drew them to Hitler's ideology? Fourth, although the vast majority gave in to Nazi control and ideology, there existed voices of discontent and opposition. What type of individuals challenged the conventional wisdom of the day? What motivated them to oppose Hitler and how did that opposition coincide with their Christian beliefs? Fifth, psychological studies explain why some people can be easily persuaded to engage in brutality as well as why others are inoculated against actions contrary to their consciences. How do such studies provide insight into the enthusiastic supporters of Hitler's ideology as well as most of the Christian church's accommodation to it? What does it reveal about one's capacity to resist totalitarian policies? Finally, continued interest in Nazi Germany, with its lack of humanity, its brutality, and totalitarian policies speaks to the larger issue of human rights and sanctity of life. Is there any hedge against another Hitlerian ideology gaining a foothold somewhere? Where might one look for that hedge?

[1]Harold Marcuse, "Martin Niemoller's Famous Quotation," *UC Santa Barbara. History Department*, 12 Sept. 2000; accessed 15 Nov. 2007; available from http://www.history.ucsb.edu/faculty/marcuse/niem.htm#order.

[2]Karl Barth, *Against the Stream: Shorter Post-War Writings, 1946-1952*, (London: SCM Press LTD, 1954), 167.

HITLER'S APPEAL: MORALITY, POLITICS, AND RELIGION

It appears at first unthinkable that Fascism and a brutal totalitarian government could arise in Germany. German history, national character, and philosophy would warrant against it. Yet in 1933, Hitler began the infamous Third Reich bringing about what seemed impossible. It is significant that his support consisted of a large cross-section of Germans: military men, industrialists, bankers, civil servants, and the mass of the German public. Hitler's base of support could not simply be a blind hatred of Jews, for few took notice of his extreme anti-Semitism.[3] How then did Hitler garner such wide support?

Following Germany's defeat in World War I and the public dissatisfaction with the Weimar government, middle-class Germans liked what they heard from Hitler. His appeal went far beyond politics and in many ways his persona took on a spiritual nature as he addressed the moral condition of Germany.[4] Hitler called for a cleansing of German culture and an eradication of prostitution, which he described as a "disgrace to humanity."[5] The cleaning needed to occur in all spheres of German society: theater, art, literature, cinema, the press, in posters, and window displays. Ever sounding like an evangelist, Hitler preached that "public life [needed to be] freed from the stifling perfume of our modern eroticism."[6] He lamented that young men matured too early and "big city whores" introduced them to marriage.[7] This quote successfully appealed to the moral consciences of Germans as well as addressing concerns about industrialization's effect on the institution of marriage.

No doubt gaining the attention of clerics, Hitler spoke of filling "our whole culture once more, with a Christian spirit" which would "burn out the harmful features in our theatre and our literature."[8] It appeared that Hitler viewed his National Socialism as the instrument of moral improvement, for his government "resolved to undertake the political and moral purification of public life...securing the conditions necessary for a really profound renewal of religious life."[9]

> [R]esponsibility for the health of a nation lies with its moral leadership

Such language could only encourage pastors and theologians who worried about the decline of religious sentiment in Germany. If enthusiasm for religion dwindled over time, Hitler understood the cause. Religion became interjected into politics. In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler revealed an important aspect of National Socialism—the separation of the Christian churches from the German State.

> Worst of all, however, is the devastation wrought by the misuse of religious conviction for political ends. In truth, we cannot sharply enough attack those wretched crooks who would like to make religion an implement to perform political or rather business services for them...For a single political swindle, provided it brings in enough, they are willing to sell the heart of a whole religion for ten parliamentary mandates, they would ally themselves

[3]Leon A. Jick, "Method in Madness: An Examination of the Motivations for Nazi Mass Murder," in *Modern Judaism* 18, no. 2 (1998), 155.

[4]Frederick Nietzsche's sister noted that Adolf Hitler was more of a spiritual leader than a political. Cf. Paul Johnson, *Modern Times: the World from the Twenties to the Nineties*, (New York: Harper Perennial, 1992), 132. H.R. Knickerbocker, an American journalist, described Hitler's style as similar to a revivalist preacher, more like American evangelist Billy Sunday, cf., ibid.

[5]Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1962), 255.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Adolf Hitler, and Norman Hepburn Baynes, *The Speeches of Adolf Hitler, April 1922-August 1939*, (New York: Fertig, 1969), 370.

[9]Ibid., 371.

> with the Marxist mortal enemies of all religions—and for a minister's chair they would enter into a marriage with the devil...[10]

He did not wish to create the impression that he opposed Christianity, but wanted the church to understand its role in the Third Reich:

> So long as they concern themselves with their religious problems the State does not concern itself with them. But as soon as they attempt by any means whatsoever-by letters, Encyclical, or otherwise-to arrogate to themselves rights which belong to the State alone we shall force them back into their proper spiritual, pastoral activity.[11]

The Church feared National Socialism, but kept to its business and supported Hitler's "Positive Christianity." It is open for debate what Hitler meant by Positive Christianity but, if nothing else, it turned attention to Germany's past.[12]

HEROIC GERMAN HISTORY AND MARTIN LUTHER

In 1934, Hitler appointed Alfred Rosenberg his *Kulturleiter*, or culture leader. Rosenberg called attention to Germany's heroic past which formed the basis for the new Reich Church. This brand of Positive Christianity (with pagan overtones) recognized preaching love but insisted the ideal of neighborly love must be subordinate to the ideal of national honor. In such a religion, the fiery spirit of the hero replaced the image of the crucifixion.[13] National Socialism subtly began a process of redefining Christian doctrine appealing to German pride and history as Rosenberg commented,

> The German people is not marked by original sin, but by original nobility. The place of Christian love has been taken by the national Socialist, Germanic idea of comradeship which has already been symbolically expressed through the replacement of the rosary by the spade of labor.[14]

Henrich Himmler promoted a similar idea and suggested that Germany's true religion also could be found in its pagan past.

> Which of us, wandering through the lovely German countryside and coming unawares upon a crucifix, does not feel deep in his heart...a strange but enduring sense of shame? The gods of our ancestors were different; they were men and carried in their hands a weapon which typified the natural characteristics of our race, namely readiness to act and self-reliance. How different is yonder pale figure on the cross, whose passivity and emphasized mien of suffering express only humility and self-abrogation, qualities which we, conscious of our heroic blood, utterly deny...The corruption of our blood caused by the intrusion of this alien philosophy must be ended.[15]

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[10]Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 268. That Hitler would make such a statement is ludicrous considering his own useful manipulation of the clergy.

[11]Hitler and Baynes, *Speeches*, 390.

[12]Hitler's conception of "Positive Christianity" is perhaps best defined in one of his early speeches of 1922. He stated, "My feeling as a Christian points me to my Lord and [sic]Saviour as a fighter...How terrific was His fight for the world against the Jewish poison...As a Christian I have no duty to allow myself to be cheated, but I have the duty to be a fighter for truth and justice...as a man I have the duty to see to it that human society does not suffer the same catastrophic collapse as did the civilization of the ancient world some two thousand years ago-a civilization which was driven to its ruin through this same Jewish people." Cf., Ibid., 20.

[13]"Nazi v. Jesus Christ," *Time* 3 September 1934 [online magazine]; accessed 15 November 2007; available from http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,747864,html.

[14]Joachim C. Fest, *The Face of the Third Reich*, [book online]; accessed 2 November 2007; available from http:www.ourcivilization.com/smartboard/shop/festc/chap13.htm.

[15]Gilmer W. Blackburn, "The Portrayal of Christianity in the History Textbooks of Nazi Germany," in *Church History* 49, no. 4 (1980): 433.

Thus, race and Christianity appeared joined in the new faith of National Socialism. "The faith that along with blood [defends] the divine nature of man as a whole...that Nordic blood represents that mystery which has replaced and overcome the old sacraments.[16] Rosenberg's interpretation brought a deeper understanding of Hitler's "Positive Christianity" with designs to alter Christian thinking in Germany for generations."[17]



Ludwig Muller, Reich Bishop and Nazi party member, aided Hitler in uniting Protestantism under Nazi control. www.ushmm.org.

To ensure the noble quality of the German past continued throughout generations, textbooks needed changing. Published in 1943, *So Ward Das Reich* (So Goes the Reich) epitomized National Socialism's attempt to influence the minds of generations of Germans. Throughout the text, Nazi historians tried to remove the "unnatural veneer" of Christian culture focusing on three historic epochs: the Christianization of German tribes, the Middle Ages, and the Reformation.[18] Addressed to sixth- through eighth-grade school children, *So Ward Das Reich* described how the Franks forced the ancient Saxons to convert to Christianity, replacing their ancestral religion with one unnatural to German sensitivities. To prove a strong sense of national pride, the book lamented the loss of so many German knights during the Crusades and suggested Germany as the true Holy land not Jerusalem.[19]

Martin Luther however presented something of a problem for the authors. First Hitler counted Luther as a great man, and ranked him with Frederick the Great and Richard Wagner.[20] When considering the establishment of the German Church and the new faith it would bring, Hitler stated, "...Luther, if he could be with us, would give us his blessing."[21] Clearly, the Fuhrer endorsed Martin Luther and revelled in Luther's infamous anti-Semitic writing, *On the Jews and Their Lies*. The great reformer provided the theological substance to National Socialism's treatment of the Jews for he spoke of running the Jews out of Germany, burning their synagogues, razing their homes, and confiscating all their writings.[22]

[16]Fest, *Face of the Third Reich*, 4. Joseph Geobbels, Hitler's Minister of Propaganda, recognized that there was an "insoluble opposition between the Christian and a Germanic-heroic world-view, cf.., Ian Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936-1945: Nemesis* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000), 449.

[17]While it is unmistakable that Hitler was careful not to immediately alienate the church, he nevertheless worked behind the scenes to destroy its influence. He was impressed with the classical world but hated Christianity. Hitler lamented that Christianity crippled everything noble about humanity, cf., Kershaw, *Hitler*, 936, n.152. Joseph Goebbels, Hitler's Minister of Propaganda, recognized the tension between traditional Christian beliefs and National Socialism's "Posititive Christianity," bluntly stating that there was "insoluble opposition between the Christian and a Germanic-heroic world-view". cf.. ibid., 449.

[18]Blackburn, "Portrayal," in *Church History*, 437-440.

[19]Ibid., 441. The analogy is interesting especially in light of Dwight Eisenhower's title for his book on World War II and D-Day. Cf., Dwight Eisenhower, *Crusade In Europe* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1948)

[20]Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 213.

[21]Hitler and Baynes, *Speeches*, 369.

[22]Luther, Martin, "On the Jews and Their Lies, 1543," Martin H. Betram, trans. In *Luther's Works*. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), 47:135. William Shirer insists, "It is impossible to understand Germany's Protestants without an awareness of German history and Martin Luther," cf., William Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990), 237. See also Peter F. Wiener, *Martin Luther: Hitler's Spiritual Ancestor* (London: Hutchinson, 1945), 79-81. Luther's comments on the Jews have famously been used to point out flaws in Western civilization in general and German society in particular. Luther's writings, however, should not be viewed in isolation but in their historical



Priests giving the Hitler salute at a Catholic youth rally in the Berlin-Neukolln stadium in August 1933. Daniel J. Goldhagen, *A Moral Reckoning: The Role of the Church in the Holocaust and Its Unfulfilled Duty of Repair* (New York: Borzoi Books, 2002).

Despite praising Luther's obvious anti-Semitism, the Nazis found his translation of the Old and New Testament into German unforgivable. Luther succeeded in "driving the Jewish spirit and Jewish thought deeper into the German folk than ever before" and "saturated with the alien philosophy of Christianity." [23] The authors of *So Ward Das Reich* condemned Luther and felt compelled to assure their readers that "no German faith" existed on "the foundation laid by Luther."[24] The Nazis found his teachings useful, specifically his idea of the *Staatsfrommigkeit,* or piety toward the state. In Luther's mind, the Christian citizen owes absolute obedience to the state whether that state does right or wrong.[25] To Luther, the Christian lives in two kingdoms: one spiritual the other secular. This dualism formed a separation between private and public morality. In essence, as long as the state did not interfere with the spiritual life of the church, it must be obeyed. [26] Hitler said as much.[27] It is not surprising that the new faith of National Socialism captivated many theologians with the hope it promised for a renewed Germany; given Hitler's appeal to morality, a new politic, a Positive Christianity, a national pride in German history, and a Lutheran understanding of Church and State

ADHERANTS OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM'S POSITIVE CHRISTIANITY

Adolf Hitler, a skilled dissembler, recieved admiration that transcended national politics. Former British Prime Minister David Lloyd George left a meeting with Hitler in 1936, "enormously impressed," and the French Ambassador Francois-Poncet saw in him, a "force of attraction," which "had an impact beyond the borders of his

context, cf., Steven Rowan, "Luther, Bucer And Eck On The Jews." In *Sixteenth Century Journal* 16, no. 1 (1985): 80. For an alternative view see Gordon E. Rupp, *Martin Luther: Hitler's Cause or Cure* (London and Redhill: Lutterworh Press, 1945), 27.

[23]Blackburn, "Portrayal," in *Church History*, 442.

[24]Ibid., 443.

[25]Robert G.L. Waite, *The Psychopathic God: Adolf Hitler* (New York: First Da Lappo Press, 1993), 249.

[26]Ibid., 250.

[27]Hitler and Baynes, *Speeches*, 390.

country."[28] It is not surprising that Hitler could mislead politicians and diplomats, after all, they made their careers out of compromise and subtlety, but how could he deceive religious leaders, supposedly the moral voice of the nation? Hitler's skill at attuning himself to sensitivities of his listener won him many enthusiasts among the church. Helmut Thielecke, a German theologian, drew attention to the fact that Hitler made free use of Christian vocabulary. When interviewed, Hitler often mentioned that he "drew the strength for his great work from the Word of God." When he spoke, "[h]is voice at times had a pietistic timbre which caused many religious people to welcome him as a man sent from God."[29] Not surprising therefore that Archbishop of Munich-Freising, Cardinal Faulhaber, emerged from a three-hour meeting with Hitler fully convinced that the Fuhrer seemed deeply religious.[30]

Many in the church welcomed Hitler's rise to power for specific reasons. Father Falkan, a Catholic priest believed Hitler, a declared Catholic, to be the perfect leader to battle the threat of atheistic communism.[31] Even the Archbishop of Canterbury admired the moral and ethical side of the National Socialists because of its clear-cut stand for religion and Christianity.[32] One cannot begin to understand Hitler's appeal among church leaders without understanding prior conditions in Germany under the Weimar government. The economic, political, social, and spiritual condition that followed Germany's defeat in World War I created a seedbed of discontent. It is within this environment that Hitler pointedly addressed the concerns of many religious leaders. The Christian churches expected National Socialism to deliver Germany from the "spiritual and political mire of the Weimar Republic...with its libertine culture, democratic disorder," and "its powerful Socialist and Communist parties which preached atheism."[33] The environment of national dishonor and deflated German spirit which resulted from the humiliating Versailles Treaty also influenced their discontent. Daniel Goldhagen, a modern Jewish political scientist, observes correctly that:

> The churches expected the Nazis would set up an authoritarian regime that would reclaim the wrongly dishonored virtues of unquestioning obedience and submission to authority, restore the cultivation of traditional moral values, and enforced adherence to them.[34]

An examination of preachers and theologians who welcomed Hitler unveils how easily he gained their support. Hitler's Positive Christianity joined itself with the virile German Christianity popular during WWI. His views of a strong and powerful Germany, recalling the heroic past found ready-made support and willing listeners. As early as 1914, Adolf Deissman a New Testament scholar and professor of Theology in the University of Heidelberg and Berlin exclaimed, "Christianity is the religion of war."[35] Deissman preached against what he referred to as a "sentimentally weak Christianity." It was "only in a German cloak" that the genuine Christ "could breathe."[36] Many prominent scholars, for example the renowned

[28]Kershaw, *Hitler*, 29.

[29]James Bentley, *Martin Niemoller* (London: Oxford University Press, 1984), 43.

[30]Kershaw, *Hitler*, 29.

[31]Waite, *The Psychopathic God*, 317.

[32]Bentley, *Niemoller*, 42.

[33]Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York: Knopf, 1996), 435. Goldhagen's charge that Germany was a hotbed of anti-Semitism and therefore given to "eliminationist" policies is highly controversial. Christopher Browning points out that Goldhagen's viewpoint is too inclusive. Browning asserts, "The actual concept Goldhagen employs...erases all differentiation and subsumes all manifestations of anti-Semitism in Germany under a single rubric." Browning's disagreement with Goldhagen concerns the unfounded belief that Hitler simply unleashed a pre-existing anti-Semitism that existed in Germany. Goldhagen "mistakes a part for the whole" when he sees anti-Semitism governing the ideological life of Germany. Cf.. Christopher Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992), 191-192, 222.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Peter F. Wiener, *Martin Luther: Hitler's Spiritual Ancestor* (London: Hutchinson, 1945), 73.

[36]Ibid.

Gerhard Kittel whose *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* remains a standard reference work among Protestant theologians, did find comfort in the Christianity of National Socialism for other reasons.[37] Kittel believed German society ill nine years before Hitler's rise to power. Germany's illness resulted from the total sell out to the ideals of the Enlightenment, not just Germany's defeat in World War I alone. Germany's spiritual health, according to Kittel, became threatened by decadence in movies and theater, and through prostitution, venereal disease, divorce, and crime.[38] With these sentiments, Kittel joined the Nazi party in 1933 seeing it as "a Christian renewal movement."[39]

> Positive Christianity ... provided the foundation for the nation of Germany

Other theologians felt democracy and communism threatened German culture through its egalitarianism and pluralism. Paul Althaus, one of Germany's leading Lutheran scholars, welcomed Hitler's rise to power in 1933 as one of God's miracles. Althaus believed Hitler God's gift to Germany: a leader who opposed pluralism and imposed Christian values on the Germans.[40] Emanuel Hirsch, a Protestant intellectual theologian complained about the logical impact of societal egalitarianism. In such a society, personal achievement and national excellence suffered.[41] Hirsch believed the modern push toward legal equality and cultural relativity unsustainable. Society could not be preserved in a socio-cultural pluralism that created a leveling affect on culture. In such a system, common German values became effectively challenged. Unity in German identity and German historical traditions seemed the only answer.[42] Historian Robert Ericksen notes that such faith in the Nazi party resulted from confusing German culture with Christianity. The misunderstanding reached a level where one became no longer distinguishable from the other. Erickson suggests, Christianity meant German culture, middle-class morality, respect for authority, law and order, and opposition to leftist politics. He concludes that many Christians viewed the Nazi movement as a religious renewal.[43]

SWIMMING UPSTREAM: EXTRAORDINARY RESISTANCE

Early in 1931, expressing almost a Messianic hope, Martin Niemoller called for a leader, the Fuhrer of Germany; someone to rescue Germany from despair. He asked:

> Where is the leader? When will he come? Our seeking and willing, our calling and strivings fail to bring him...when he comes, he will come as a present, as a gift of God. Our call for a leader is a crying for compassion.[44]

When Hitler arrived in 1933, Niemoller became one of his most ardent supporters. Responding to National Socialism's commitment to Positive Christianity, he preached on Germany's special role in history and the Positive Christianity of the Lutherans, and Calvinists and the Catholics. These forms of Christianity provided the foundation for the nation of Germany. When Germany became a nation, Niemoller insisted, "God gave [Germany] as its soul the Christian faith...and from the Christianity of the German national soul

[37]Gerhard Kittel, William Bromiley, and Gerard Friedrich, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964).

[38]Robert P. Ericksen, *Theologians Under Hitler: Gerhard Kittel, Paul Althaus, and Emanuel Hirsch* (London: Yale University Press, 1985), 54. Interestingly this was one of Adolf Hitler's observations. Cf., Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 255.

[39]Ibid., 46.

[40]Robert P. Ericksen, "The Political Theology of Paul Althaus: Nazi Supporter." In *German Studies Review* 9, no. 3 (1986): 567.

[41]Ericksen, *Theologians*, 190.

[42]Ibid., 189.

[43]Ibid.

[44]Bentley, *Niemoller*, 42.



Hitler greets supporters, including Reich Bishop Ludwig Muller and Abbot Schachleitner. Daniel J. Goldhagen, *A Moral Reckoning: The Role of the Church in the Holocaust and Its Unfulfilled Duty of Repair* (New York: Borzoi Books, 2002).

have come all the forces which made our nation develop and grow."[45] Niemoller's support for National Socialism lasted as long as Christian churches remained free and independent. When Hitler's government began to bring the church under the control of the National Socialism and its ideology, he began to have doubts.[46] On 1 July 1937, after the Gestapo repeatedly searched his home, then arrested him and charged him with sedition. According to his accusers, he misused the pulpit "to vilify the State and the Party and attack the authority of the government."[47] Niemoller spent the next seven months in jail. After his release, Hitler ordered him arrested again. For the next eight years, Niemoller spent time in concentration camps under "protective custody."[48]

The Confessing Church, of which Niemoller, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, and Karl Barth became leaders, took a stand and spoke out against Hitler's power over the Christian churches. Though Hitler promised early on not to interfere with Church matters, the Nazi party began to clarify that position, making full use of Hitler's own condition. The Church feared nothing from the government as long as it recognized its place.[49] Members of the Confessional Church responding to this encroachment produced a creed or profession, which re-affirmed the German Church, not as an "organ of the State" for strengthening Nazi agenda, but only subject to Christ and his mission. This profession, known as the Barmen Declaration of 1934, set the Confessing Church at odds with Hitler's Reich Church.[50]

The primary concern of the Confessing Church began over the issue of government power. Anti-Semitism and the plight of the Jews became

[45]Ibid., 43. Niemoller's autobiography *From U-Boat to Pulpit* was published the same year 1933, cf., Martin Niemoller, Douglas Hastie Smith, and Henry Smith Leiper, *From U-Boat to Pulpit* (Chicago: Willet, Clark, 1937).

[46]Ibid.

[47]"Dynamite," *Time* 21 Feburary 1938, [online magazine], accessed 15 November 2007; available from http://www.time.com/time/printout10,8816,759113,00.html.

[48]Bentley, *Niemoller*, 143-58. During the Nuremberg trial of 1947, the personal papers of Alfred Rosenberg disclosed a conversation between Rosenberg and Goebbels. Goebbels wanted Niemoller "liquidated" but Rosenberg advised against it believing that it would turn the balance of opinion against Germany, cf., Ibid., 145-46.

[49]Hitler and Baynes, *Speeches*, 390.

[50]John H. Leith, *Creeds of the Churches: A Reader in Christian Doctrine from the Bible to the Present* (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1963), 517. Karl Barth a Swiss Reformed theologian was its principle author, ibid.

another matter altogether, an issue that even the Confessing church avoided. A member of the Confessing Church and a parishioner of Niemoller, Marga Meusel called attention to Jewish persecution under the recently passed Nuremberg Laws. She insisted the church move beyond concerns of government control over the church. A far greater issue which the Confessing Church addressed, emerged in the injustice and suffering perpetrated by National Socialism. To its great dismay, the Confessing Church members considered the issue of Jewish persecution too divisive and tabled her request. This moral retreat seemed too much for many leaders in the Confessing Church. In a display of courage, Meusel condemned the Church for its resignation and cowardly inaction. Her stunning rebuke portrayed the shame she and others felt for the Confessing Church and Germany:

> What should one reply to the desperate and bitter questions and accusations? Why does the church do nothing? Why does it allow unspeakable injustice to occur? What shall we one day answer to the question, where is thy brother Abel? The only answer that will be left to us as well as the Confessing Church is the answer of Cain.[51]

A select group of Confessing Church leaders chimed in as well. Karl Barth, the most prominent Reformed Church theologian of the Confessing Church previously compared Hitler to Nero or Diocletian. He openly declared that German Christians sinned by affirming the German nationhood, its history, and its contemporary political situation as a second source of divine revelation. According to Barth, German Christians simply believed in another god.[52] Barth's response to the Confessing Church's inaction left no one doubting how he felt. "For millions that suffer unjustly, the Confessing Church does not yet have a heart."[53] In 1935, the Nazis forced him out of Germany, but he continued to speak out about Hitler's manipulation of Christianity and Christians in Germany. The spirit and heart of these extraordinary individuals displayed itself in Hans Asmussen, another Confessing Church member. In 1936, Hans Asmussen, ignoring the dangers of direct and open opposition to Hitler, wrote a personal letter to the Führer doing exactly what Hitler warned the religious community against: attacking morality of government.[54] Asmussen argued that "the Christian injunction to love one's neighbor still stands" and the anti-Semitism, which Nazis forced on Christians, bound the Christians to hatred of the Jew. This seemed incompatible with Christianity.[55]

[The] euthanasia policy... precipitated a response from the Catholic community

Government control over the Church and the persecution of Jews within the Third Reich were not the only issues confronted. On 1 September 1939, Hitler ordered the extermination of the chronically insane, incurably ill, and all "worthless life." This euthanasia policy, which resulted in 70,000 German deaths, precipitated a response from the Catholic community. Bishop Wurm of Wuttenburg and Bishop Galen of Munster protested fervently. In his 3 August 1939 sermon, Bishop Galen used his pulpit to criticize the government policy:

> There is a general suspicion verging on certainty that these numerous deaths of mentally ill people do not occur of themselves but are deliberately brought about, that the doctrine is being followed, ac-

[51]Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, 438.

[52]Bentley, *Niemoller*, 50.

[53]Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, 437.

[54]Hitler and Baynes, *Speeches*, 390. In speaking of the church, Hitler stated, "They have no title to criticize the morals of the state when they have more than enough reason to concern themselves with their own morals." Ibid.

[55]Matthew D. Hockneos, *A Church Divided: German Protestants Confront the Nazi Past* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 32.

> cording to which one may destroy so-called "worthless life", that is kill innocent people if one considers that their lives are of no further value for the nation and the state. Some commission can put us on the list of the "unproductive", who in their opinion have become worthless life. And no police force will protects us and no court will investigate our murder...Who will be able to trust his doctor any more? He may report his patient as "unproductive" and receive instructions to kill him. It is impossible to imagine the degree of moral depravity, of general mistrust that would then spread even through families if this dreadful doctrine is tolerated, accepted, and followed.[56]

Galen inferred that eventually Hitler's policy meant the deaths of many more Germans: those who suffered injuries because of labor or war and especially soldiers who suffered disabling war wounds on the battlefield. Galen's sermon and other efforts by Bishop Wurm successfully brought awareness to government sponsored euthanasia. Hitler's policy of gassing "worthless life," held little public support, and once disclosed, the government discontinued it.[57]

Religious sensitivities to the ethical and moral outrage did not limit itself to Church leaders. Some Germans carried their religious convictions into the arena of conspiratorial, treasonous actions and paid the supreme price. A small group of college students organized a clandestine resistance movement known as the "White Rose." Motivated by Christian humanitarian beliefs, Hans and Sophie Scholl, Alexander Schmorell, Christoph Probst, Willi Graf, and their philosophy professor, Kurt Huber began producing leaflets opposing Hitler's regime. The leaflets carried themes of criminality in National Socialism: the evil origin of Hitler and his ideology, and the apathetic condition of Christian Germany in response to Hitler's atrocities.[58] Secretly, the White Rose scattered six leaflets throughout various towns and universities. Each leaflet ratcheted up the discontent over Hitler's regime and demanded that every German take action, in some manner, against the government. Calling themselves "Germany's bad conscience," they vowed not to remain silent.[59]

> Therefore every individual, conscious of his responsibility as a member of Christian and Western civilization... must work against the scourges of mankind, against fascism and any similar system of totalitarianism. Offer passive resistance wherever you may be, forestall the spread of this atheistic war machine...before the last cities...have been reduced to rubble, and before the nation's last young man has given his blood on some battlefield for the hubris of a sub-human. Do not forget that every people deserves the regime it is willing to endure![60]

The students pointed out that a spiritual battle consumed Germany and sought to bring attention to Hitler's ideological inspiration.

> When he says peace, he means war, and when he blasphemously uses the name of the Almighty, he means the power of evil, the fallen angel, Satan. His mouth is the foul-smelling maw of Hell, and his might is at bottom accursed.[61]

Germans allowed Hitler to "suck out the marrow in their bones" and "robbed [them] of their center of stability." They submitted to a "system [that] has put every man into a spiritual prison." The White

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[56]Kershaw, *Hitler*, 427-428.

[57]Johnson, *Modern Times*, 413. But, as Johnson points out, Hitler simply transplanted the policy to the concentration camps. Ibid.

[58]Ernst Christian Helmreich, *The German Churches Under Hitler: Background, Struggle, and Epilogue* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1979), 352.

[59]"The Leaflets of the White Rose," *The White Rose* [online]; accessed 20 November 2007; available from http://www.jrlweb.com/whiterose/index.html.

[60]Ibid., Leaflet 1.

[61]Ibid., Leaflet 4.

Rose questioned why the public did nothing in the face of so much injustice. They questioned apathetic responses and accused their fellow citizens of "slumber" in a "dull, stupid sleep," which did nothing but encourage the "fascist criminals." To them such inaction proved "the Germans [were] brutalized in their simplest human feelings" and that "no chord within them [cried] out at the sight of such deeds."[62] They further noted that inaction of the German public sprang from irresponsible accommodation to evil.

> I ask you, you as a Christian...whether you hesitate, whether you incline toward intrigue, calculation, or procrastination in the hope that someone else will raise his arm in your defense? Has God not given you the strength, the will to fight? We *must* attack evil where it is strongest, and it is strongest in the power of Hitler.[63]

On 18 February 1943, Hans and Sophie Scholl brought a suitcase full of leaflets to Munich University and quietly dropped copies of the sixth leaflet for students to find. By chance, the porter of the university spotted them and called the Gestapo. The SS interrogated them, placed them on trial, and convicted them of treason on 22 February. That same day, the German government guillotined Hans, Sophie, and Christoph Probst.[64]

While the White Rose committed itself to passive resistance, one theologian who shared the White Rose's ideology chose an alternate avenue. Considered one of the great intellectual Protestant minds of Germany, Dietrich Bonhoeffer held no delusions of Hitler's leadership. Shortly after Hitler came to power, Bonhoeffer despaired about the extreme anti-Semitism of the National Socialists. In a letter to a friend he lamented, "The most sensible people have lost their heads and their entire Bible."[65] Just two days after the election of Hitler to Chancellor of Germany, Bonhoeffer gave a radio talk in which he drew the distinction between "Fuhrer" (leader) and a "Verfuhrer" (misleader). The radio address was abruptly taken off the air.[66] In 1935, the Gestapo took away his teaching license and ordered him to stop public speaking. The government closed down his seminary and officially banned him from the city of Berlin.[67] Thinking the time seemed right, Bonhoeffer left Germany in 1939, accepting a position at Union Seminary in New York, but his concern for the injustice in Germany quickly influenced his decision to return. He admitted, "I have come to the conclusion that I have made a mistake in coming to America...I shall have no right to take part in the restoration of Christian life in Germany after the war unless I share the trials of this time with my people."[68] When he returned to Germany, his brother-in-law, Hans von Dohnanyi, who worked in German military intelligence, secured a job for Bonhoeffer within the *Abwehr* and introduced him to a group seeking to overthrow Hitler. Joining the resistance movement and having an active involvement in a murder plot against Hitler was not a rash decision. After much soul-searching Bonhoeffer, philosophically a pacifist, recognized that the murder of Hitler constituted a necessary sin. He reasoned that inaction in the face of great evil seemed sinful as well. Removing Hitler meant saving many lives. Bonhoeffer called Hitler "Antichrist" and determined that his Christian responsibility mandated action.[69]

[62]Ibid., Leaflet 2

[63]Ibid., Leaflet 4.

[64]Helmreich, *The German Churches*, 552. Alexander Schmorell, Willi Graf, and Kurt Huber followed the Scholls to the guillotine months later, cf., ibid.

[65]Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, 109

[66]Andrew Walker, "A Hitler Dilemma," *BBC UK Magazine*, April 2006 [magazine online]; accessed 20 Nov. 2007; available from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk-news/magazine/4906502.stm.

[67]Stephen Plant, "Faith, Political Duty and One Man's Costly Grace," *Times UK*, 4 Feburary 2006 [newspaper online]; accessed 20 November 2007; available from http://www.timesonline.co.uk/comment/faith/article726061.ece.

[68]Victoria Barnett, "Dietrich Bonhoeffer," *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum* [Website]; accessed 20 November 2007; available from http://www.ushmm.org/museum/exhibit/online/bonhoeffer/.

[69]Shirer, *Rise and Fall*, 374. Cf., Plant, "Faith, Political Duty and One Man's Costly Grace," *Times UK*, 4 Feb. 2006, [newspaper online]: accessed 20 November 2007; available from http://www.timesonline.co.uk/com-

On 5 April 1943, the Gestapo arrested Bonhoeffer for helping Jews escape to Switzerland. During his imprisonment, Bonhoeffer's complicity in a failed assassination attempt of Hitler on 20 July 1944 became known.[70] On 9th April 1945, at Flossenburg concentration camp, the Nazis executed Bonhoeffer on direct orders from Hitler. Just a few weeks later, the war in Europe ended.

Earlier in 1933, Bonhoeffer laid out his plan for fighting political injustice, united faith, and politics. Christian responsibility called the state accountable for injustices. The Church must help the victims "who have fallen under the wheel," and, if necessary "fall into the spokes of the wheel itself in order to halt the machinery of injustice."[71] Little did Bonhoeffer realize the degree to which his words became prescient. Though small in comparison to the numbers that simply went along with National Socialism, a significant number of individuals joined words with actions. The White Rose and Dietrich Bonhoeffer threw themselves into the spokes of the Nazi machine of injustice.



Archbishop Orsenigo celebrating Hitler's birthday, 20 April 1939. John Cornwall, *Hitler's Pope: The Secret History of Pius XII* (New York: Penguin Books, 1999).

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ACCOMMODATION AND RESISTANCE

How can one account for conflicting responses to National Socialism among the religious community? It is clear that neither intelligence nor rationalism can explain the differences. Clearly, theologians like Gerhard Kittel, Paul Althaus, Emanuel Hirsch, Martin Niemoller, Karl Barth, and Dietrich Bonhoeffer shared a common spiritual heritage; they all seemed concerned with spiritual and social conditions in Germany following WWI. Some academics and scholars of both the Old and New Testament Scriptures made willing accommodations to National Socialism, while others chose to resist openly. What made the difference? Christopher Browning, a history professor at University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, addressed a similar question focusing on the average middle-class German. He questioned for the possibility of ordinary men in the Reserve Police Battalion 101 partaking part in the cold-blooded killing of Jews. The other side of the question seems equally important: why did a minority refuse to take part in the murders?[72] While Browning's questions concern individuals caught up in Jewish exterminations, they are equally relevant to religion. Studies indicate that most Christian clergy and laity accommodated the Nazi regime while a select minority resisted. If one can speculate that accommodation to an act

ment/faith/article726061.ece. Bonhoeffer believed that to do nothing in the face of such evil was as much a sin as murder. Biblical justification for such reasoning may be found in Ezekiel 33:6. "...but if the watchman sees the sword coming and does not blow the trumpet, and the people are not warned, and a sword comes and takes a person from them, he is taken away in his iniquity; but his blood I will require from the watchman's hand."

[70]Helmreich, *The German Churches*, 346. Cf., Shirer, *Rise and Fall*, 1017-18.

[71]Dietrich Bonhoeffer, "The Church and the Jewish Question," in *No Rusty Swords: Letters, Lectures, and Notes 1928-1936* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), 225.

[72]Christopher Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: Harper Collins, 1992), 159.

is the same, or equal to participation in it, then theologians who supported National Socialism contributed to evil.

Common assumptions about those who engage in cruelty show that only people who have certain personality disorders are capable of great evil. However, the inclination to do evil is more common than realized. Browning's *Ordinary Men* suggests such an interpretation and provides psychological justifications for cruelty as well as accommodation and resistance.

[T]heologians who supported National Socialism contributed to evil

The studies of Ervin Staub, Philip Zimbardo, Zygmunt Bauman, and Stanley Milgram, which Browning references, challenge the supposition that cruelty is an exceptional characteristic particular to certain personality traits.[73] Staub argued that in certain circumstances, "most people have the capacity for extreme violence and the destruction of human life."[74] Bauman argued that people in general gradually slip into their roles provided by society, inferring that cruelty has a social base.[75] The Zimbardo Stanford Prison study provided interesting parallels to the religious community. In a controlled study, Zimbardo placed groups of prescreened people into a prison setting. He randomly divided them into two groups: prison guards and prisoners. He found that one-third of the guards were cruel and "constantly invented new forms of harassment," enjoying "their newfound power to behave cruelly and arbitrarily."[76] The middle group, comprising the largest percentage, appeared "tough but fair," and did not go out of their way to hurt prisoners. The remaining one-third became classified as "good guards." They did not punish the prisoners in any way and even helped them with favors.[77]

Browning notes that Zimbardo's results resemble the groupings within Reserve Police Battalion 101. The nucleus of enthusiastic killers who volunteered to shoot Jews comprised one-third of the group. The largest group were those who "performed as shooters and ghetto clearers," but did not seek opportunities to kill Jews. A smaller group consisting of fewer than 20 percent outright refused to participate or evaded their duties."[78] The Stanford Prison results also mirrored the experiment of Stanley Milgram.

Milgram tested the influence authority on an individual's ability to induce harm without any external threat. Milgram directed subjects to inflict fake electric shocks on a pseudo-victim who responded vocally with complaints, painful cries, calls for help, or simply silence. A "scientific authority" issued the commands and two-thirds responded obediently and inflicted painful shocks.[79] These results suggested that individuals lose their sense of personal responsibility when they are ordered by some authority figure. Another test found that peer pressure contributed to resisting authority.[80] Hidden in all these studies existed the small minority, the ten percent, which resisted and refused to compromise their conscience. Researcher Bauman perceptively noted such individuals are the exceptions to the norm for they have the humble capacity to resist authority and assert a moral autonomy. When put to the test, Baumann further noted, their unnoticed strength revealed itself.[81]

[73]Ibid., 167.
[74]Ibid.
[75]Ibid.
[76]Ibid., 168.
[77]Ibid.

[78]Ibid.
[79]Ibid., 172.
[80]Ibid., 175.
[81]Ibid., 167. Browning mentions an example of this moral autonomy with the Police Battalion 101. Following the Jewish massacre at a schoolyard in Lomazy Poland, company commander Gnade asked a sergeant how many Jews he killed. The sergeant told him that he did not kill any. Gnade's explanation for why the sergeant failed to kill centered on the sergeant's Catholic faith, cf., ibid., 87.

Individuals like Niemoller, Barth, Bonhoeffer, and members of the White Rose belonged in the 10 percent of individuals who displayed moral autonomy and possessed the capacity within themselves to resist. Such individuals, in a larger sense, answered to a higher authority and thus resisted conformity imposed by peer pressure. For those who took part in the resistance, their strength became apparent in the time of their greatest testing. In actuality, a small number accepted the redefined Christianity of Hitler and saw theological justification for the Jewish Final Solution. Kittel, Althaus, and Hirsch came very close to being identified with that group. Nevertheless, a large middle group of university professors and church theologians did not gravitate toward ultra National Socialism or anti-Nazi extremes, they simply acquiesced. Some Free Church denominations such as the Baptists and the Brethren, also showed ambivalence toward National Socialism. They like so many others concentrated on the personal salvation of their members to the exclusion of their social responsibilities. They failed to organize any political stance and eventually became "fellow travelers with the Nazi regime."[82] These church members seemed, as William Shirer argues, "too timid to join either of the two warring groups." They preferred to "sit on the fence" and eventually, "landed in the arms of Hitler, accepting his authority to intervene in church affairs and obeying his commands without open protest."[83]

> When put to the test ... their unnoticed strength revealed itself

By 1941, it became increasingly obvious that National Socialism and traditional Christianity could not exist together. While more and more opposition to National Socialism developed, some religious leaders however, continued to believe that Hitler's Positive Christianity offered the best hope for a renewed Germany. They still believed in Hitler's promises to clean Germany of the moral, social, and economic degradation brought on by the "liberal" Weimar Republic. They preferred a powerful Germanic image of Christ, focusing attention on the one who threw out the money changers in the temple, rather than the one who showed mercy and forgiveness. Law and order superseded mercy and grace.

National pride and German citizenship trumped community in the Kingdom of God. Though dissenting voices existed, few recognized the threat Hitler imposed on Christianity and the future of Germany. Acquiescence and accommodation produced a stupefying affect on the churches and the religious leadership that led to an exchange of social responsibility for personal salvation. As obedient servants of Hitler's authoritarian rule, most Germans simply looked the other way, following the examples of inaction. Willful ignorance and peer cooperation encouraged complacency. Others, in the minority, gradually woke up from the slumber of a false security. A few moral leaders believed Christian responsibility needed principled action that deviated from the norm. Karl Barth, one of those leaders stated, "When the Church witnesses it moves in fear and trembling, not with the stream but against it."[84]

Martin Niemoller, Lutheran pastor and one-time supporter of Hitler, reflected on his own complicity and the Church's witness during the Third Reich. Years after the war he confessed:

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[82]John S. Conway, "Booknotes," *Association of Contemporary Church Historians* 12 (June 2006); accessed 20 November 2007; available from http://www.calvin.edu/academic/cas/akz/kaz2606.htm.

[83]Shirer, *The Rise and Fall*, 236. This timidity is reflected in the papers and letters of leading Nazis who referenced popular German apathy and antipathy towards the government's anti-Semitic policies, cf., Leon A. Jick, "A Method in Madness: An Examination of the Motivations for Nazi Mass Murder," in *Modern Judaism* 18, no. 2 (1988): 155.

[84]Karl Barth, *Against the Stream*, 116.

> Christianity in Germany bears a greater responsibility before God than the National Socialists, the SS, and the Gestapo. We ought to have recognized the Lord Jesus in the brother who suffered and was persecuted despite him being a communist or Jew…Are not we Christians much more to blame, am I not much more guilty than many who bathed their hands in blood?"[85]

It is worth noting that many of those who did the most to oppose Hitler, downplayed their accomplishments against injustice. Rather, they expressed shame that they did not do enough. Speaking on behalf of Christians in twentieth-century Germany, Dietrich Bonhoeffer before his death said:

> The Church confesses that she has not proclaimed often and clearly enough her message of the one God who has revealed Himself for all times in Jesus Christ and who suffers no other gods beside Himself. She confesses her timidity, her evasiveness, her dangerous concessions. She has often been untrue to her office of guardianship and to her office of comfort. And through this she has often denied to the outcast and to the despised the compassion which she owes them. She was silent when she should have cried out because the blood of the innocent was crying aloud to heaven. She has failed to speak the right word in the right way and at the right time. She has not resisted to the uttermost the apostasy of faith, and she has brought upon herself the guilt of the godlessness of the masses.[86]

It is a word for not only Germans in 1940, but also a reminder for the moral leadership in every nation, in every century.

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[85]Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, 114.

[86]Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Ethics* (New York: MacMillan, 1955), 113.

Indoctrinating Stalinist Ideology into the Soviet Propaganda Films of Sergei Eisenstien

Preston Geer

Soviet filmmaker Sergei Eisenstein revolutionized the industry with his visually jarring and emotionally driven historical films. Communist dictator Joseph Stalin obsessed over his own image, seeking to salvage his portrayal from history. **Preston Geer** examines the work these two men contributed in constructing some of the most influential pieces of film propaganda in Russian history. Through the exploration of film, Preston connects Stalin's influence to Eisenstein's work as well as their alliance of mutual opportunity: the former became sanctified, the latter survived.



Sergei Mikhailovich Eisenstein. Richard Taylor, ed., trans., *S.M. Eisenstein, Selected Works: Volume I, Writings, 1922-34* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988), ii.

In the first half of the twentieth century, the leading world powers utilized film propaganda. Whether it was the American newsreels expressing the demonic fright of the Axis Powers or the films exhibited by Nazi Germany, boasting about the 'superior race,' leading nations recognized the manipulative power of images. The Soviet Union regarded film as the most superior form of art, especially Lenin, who quickly understood the "dynamic visual propaganda that cinema could offer when he remarked to the People's Commissar for Enlightenment, Anatoli Lunacharsky, that 'of all the arts, for us cinema is the most important.'" The massively illiterate population of Russia at the time of the revolution and the diverse assortment of languages in Russia (over a hundred) made film an excellent medium. The Bolsheviks sought out new, enthusiastic, and creative directors in the Soviet Union in order to produce the highest form of Russian propaganda. Russians remember Sergei Mikhailovich Eisenstein as one of the most famous Russian directors of all time. With historic and cinematically revolutionary films, Eisenstein permanently engraved himself in Russian cinematic history. Eisenstein exhibited breakthrough-filming techniques that effectively manipulated the emotions and psyche of the audience. The exhibition of these cinematic strategies created an effective palate for transmitting a superior form of Russian propaganda. Stalin and Eisenstein's lives and careers paralleled one another in twentieth century Soviet Russia, where each man's work and progress drastically affected the medium of propaganda in film.

Soviets quickly pounced on... exploiting this new art form

THE CREATION OF SOVIET PROPAGANDA

In order to understand the underlying context of Soviet film propaganda during Joseph Stalin's reign, the historical setting needs development. As already mentioned, Lenin regarded cinematic propaganda as the highest form of art. The Bolsheviks viewed cinema as the most modern form of art as well as the newest form of technology. This proved crucial, because the Bolsheviks aimed to define their new Soviet Union as modern and progressive. With the perfection of cinema, the Soviets would establish themselves in the new, modern world as they sought to "destroy 'Asiatic,' backward, peasant Russia, and build in its place an industrial country that would surpass Western Europe in its modernity."[1] Stalin and Lenin realized that movies, "due to their visual presentation, emotional impact, and popularity, were able to influence a wider audience than any other media." Films could easily sway individuals, and even intelligent people would accept false images.[2]

Historians such as Dmitry Shlapentokh and Vladimir Shlapentokh recognize the second half of the 1920s as the 'golden age' of Soviet cinema. This time of the golden age quickly and violently ended. Between 1928 and 1929, Stalin completely changed the political environment in the Soviet Union. After the massive deaths from collectivization, the intellectual elite had no choice but to accept the official ideology under Stalin's regime.[3] Stalin became a dictator in a country where communism preached equality and progress for everyone. He sought to promote a different image of himself as a dictator, and film proved the most effective tool at the time. After World War II, Soviet propaganda portrayed Tsarist imperialism as "having brought enlightenment and freedom to the peoples of Central Asia – a parallel for the 'liberation' and 'enlightenment'

[1]Peter Kenez, *Cinema and Soviet Society from the Revolution to the Death of Stalin* (New York: I.B. Tauris , 2001), 28.

[2]Dmitry Shlapentokh and Vladimir Shlapentokh, *Soviet Cinematography 1918-1991: Ideological Conflict and Social Reality* (New York: Aldine De Gruyter, 1993), 21-2.

[3]Shlapentokh, *Soviet Cinematography*, 73.

in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the other European satellites."[4]

One cannot discuss the Soviet film industry in a comprehensible manner without mentioning the history of censorship on Russian film propaganda. The Bolsheviks initially attempted to nationalize the film industry in 1919, which the Russian filmmakers heavily resisted. The shortages of electrical power in Russia also made this difficult. With the New Economic Policy in order, the government and private industries collaborated to make domestic films and import foreign films. In 1923, the Bolsheviks decided that the current Russian film served as "'an instrument for bourgeois influence and the corruption of the toiling masses.'" A policy of censorship and increased government control brought motion pictures more into line with overall policy."[5] With the Communist Party's disappointment in Sovkino,[6] the Party decided to take complete control over the industry. From 15 March 1928 to 21 March 1928, the Central Committee held a conference regarding the effectiveness of the Sovkino's role over Cinema. By the end of the conference, the Central Committee concluded that only they could accurately portray the highest form of Soviet cinema.[7] In 1928, the Party decided that Soviet films would be "artistically worthwhile, commercially successful, and at the same time could be used for political education."[8] In the USSR, the Section of Agitation and Propaganda (Agitprop) of the all-union Communist party oversaw all propaganda. Agitprop accepted the responsibilities as "planner, director, and watchdog over all agencies that are responsible for the actual dissemination of information to the public."[9]

[T]he Central Committee...ignored... the 'truth' and 'historical' accuracies

DOMINATION OF THE INDUSTRY

Stalin and Soviet leaders tried to press upon Russian filmmakers the concept of *socialist realism.* In 1934, at the first all-union Congress of Soviet Writers, the Congress defined socialist realism as: "the basic method of Soviet literature and literary criticism," while expressing historical accuracy and "the truthfulness and historical concreteness... linked with the task of ideological transformation and education of workers in the spirit of socialism." Of course, Stalin's concept of socialist realism would distort if it made the regime or himself look good, so the Central Committee consistently ignored much of the 'truth' and 'historical' accuracies.[10] The concept of socialist realism placed a strict ban on 'figurative' filmmaking. Eisenstein admitted that this style of filmmaking intrigued him, which he enjoyed freely in both *Battleship Potemkin* (1925) and *October* (1927).[11] He also employed a bit of figurative filmmaking in the second part of *Ivan the Terrible,* such as the dance scene of the *oprichniki.*[12] According to film historian David Gillespie, this scene generated somewhat of an "anti-world." The scene is the only one in the two films that is in color, and the men dance and sing about brutally murdering their enemies. By "anti-world," Gillespie refers to an "'anti-culture', and 'anti-world' that is the very opposite of prevailing 'normality'. . . . the

[4]Thomas Fitzsimmons, Peter Malof, and John C. Fiske, *USSR: Its People, Its Society, Its Culture* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1960), 358.

[5]Ibid., 178.

[6]Nationalized Russian film industry.

[7]Richard Taylor, *The Politics of The Soviet Cinema 1917-1929* (Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 102-6.

[8]Peter Kenez, "Jewish Themes in Stalinist Films," *Journal of Popular Culture* 31, no 4 (Spring 1998): 159-69.

[9]Fitzsimmons, *USSR,* 353.

[10]Kenez, *Cinema and Soviet Society,* 143.

[11]Sergei M. Eisenstein, *Immoral Memories: An Autobiography by Sergei M. Eisenstein,* trans. Herbert Marshall (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1983), 208.

[12]Ivan the Terrible's personal guard. This group carried out political assassinations on behalf of Ivan and promoted fear in his name.

impossible becomes possible, the absurd and the foolish become the norm."[13]

The 1930s brought on even more censorship and ideological terror amongst Russian filmmakers. Soviet filmmakers experimented less and took the easy way out, as those thatupset the Censorship board faced exile or death.[14] In the initial script for *Alexander Nevsky*, Eisenstein wanted to depict Nevsky surrendering to the Mongols after the Battle on the Ice. Although more historically accurate, Stalinist censors edited the Nevsky surrender out.[15] Regarding this edit of *Alexander Nevsky*, Eisenstein wrote in his memoirs: "A hand other than mine drew a red pencil mark after the scene about the defeat of the Germans. 'The scenario finishes here,' the words were passed on to me. 'Such a fine prince could not die!'"[16] Shortly after, the Party launched an official campaign to reinvent a positive image of Ivan the Terrible. The Party commissioned Eisenstein to make the film. The Central Committee instructed Eisenstein: "the image of Ivan IV in historical scholarship and artistic literature . . . has been seriously distorted by reactionary noble and bourgeois historiography, and also by related publicistic and artistic literature."[17] Essentially, this meant the Party commissioned Eisenstein to create an official 'historic' piece of art reflecting Ivan the Terrible's reign, which the Central Committee and Stalin himself highly censored. Soviets expressed immense control over the filmmaker. Because of the state of fear surrounding Soviet film, Eisenstein could do nothing without first seeking permission. Eisenstein and the actor Nikolai Cherkasov, who played Ivan in *Ivan the Terrible*, recorded their meeting with Stalin in 1947, discussing *Ivan the Terrible*. Eisenstein sought directions for the length of Ivan's beard, and Cherkasov asked for Stalin's approval of individual scenes in the film.[18]



Nikolai Cherkasov as Ivan the Terrible. Richard Taylor, ed., trans., *The Eisenstein Reader*, trans. William Powell (London: British Film Institute, 1998), 163.

Stalin and Central Committee censors terrified filmmakers. From the mid 1930s until his death, Stalin held the title of chief censor of Soviet cinema, viewing and approving all films distributed in the Soviet Union. He micromanaged film much like the Nazi director of propaganda, Joseph Goebbels. Stalin suggested changes, altered film titles, and "reviewed film scripts and recommended topics."[19] This caused the film production process in the Soviet Union to take much longer than western films and thus, the number of films produced and completed drastically declined.[20] Stalin and the Central Committee made life very difficult for the Russian filmmaker. Stalin subjected all Soviet history through film to censorship, placing Russian cinema in a constant battle to reinvent history.[21]

[13]David Gillespie, *Russian Cinema* (London: Pearson Education Limited, 2003), 62.

[14]Richard Taylor, "Soviet Cinema – The Path to Stalin," *History Today* 40 (July 1990): 45.

[15]Russell Merritt, "Recharging Alexander Nevsky: Tracking the Eisenstein-Prokofiev War Horse," *Film Quarterly* 48 (Winter 1994/1995): 39-44.

[16]Eisenstein, *Immoral Memories*, 226.

[17]Maureen Perrie, *The Cult of Ivan the Terrible in Stalin's Russia* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 37.

[18]Shlapentokh, *Soviet Cinematography*, 25.

[19]Peter Kenez, "Soviet cinema in the age of Stalin," *Stalinism and Soviet Cinema*, ed. Richard Taylor and Derek Spring (London: Routledge, 1993), 62-3.

[20]Taylor, "Soviet Cinema," 45.

[21]Ibid., 60.

The 1930s brought about a time in Soviet film where the "new, increasingly tense atmosphere of suspicion and fear, . . . the need for vigilance and the 'unmasking' of internal and external enemies were dominant motifs."[22] Russian nationalism propelled communist ideology in that Russia would eventually bring the entire world into the superior, utopia of the future.[23] These are some of the primary goals that Soviet officials wanted to accomplish with Russian film propaganda. The primary ideology promoted through Soviet film directly reflected on Stalinism—Soviet propaganda cast in the direct image of Stalin himself.

Communist propaganda in the USSR primarily aimed at "subverting existing governments and ways of life, at persuading people of the necessity for radical change, and at sapping their will to resist," while domestically, its priority sought to "preserve and strengthen an existing order."[24] Because film nationalized so early on in the Russian film industry's development, Soviet cinema became the primary tool used to promote the ideology of Soviet policy makers.[25] As stated earlier, silent film could appeal to the substantially high number of illiterate people in the USSR and easily translated into the hundred or so languages within the Soviet realm. This made film crucial in spreading Stalin's ideology and stretching his influence to the far corners of the huge Russian land.

Stalin and Central Committee censors terrified filmmakers

STALIN'S INFLUENCE IN HISTORICAL FILMMAKING

Of all of the Russian leaders in history, Stalin became the most involved with filmmaking. With the adoption of his Five Year Plan, the film industry became a priority concern of the Soviets. Stalin hired Boris Shumyatsky to industrialize the Soviet film market and "make cinema for the millions," in order to appeal to a vast Russian population.[26] In 1936, Shumyatsky tried to create a Hollywood-like film industry in the Crimea, modeling the film industry of the United States and that of Nazi Germany. This modernization cost a great deal of money, and when Shumyatsky failed to achieve his goals, he met a suspicious demise in 1938 when he was mysteriously shot in the head. Though Shumyatsky saved many of Russia's filmmakers from Stalin's purges, he could not save himself.[27]

In the late 1930s, Stalin sought to redeem Ivan the Terrible. During the time of Stalin's Great Terror, the soviets rewrote history books to depict Ivan as a skillful politician, brilliant military strategist, and the man responsible for uniting Russia. Between 1940 and 1941, Stalin's Central Committee determined that the focus of Ivan the Terrible should be on his accomplishments as a state-builder, like Stalin.[28] According to Joan Neuberger, associate Professor of Russian History at the University of Texas in Austin: "*Ivan the Terrible* addresses three sixteenth-century political subjects: imperial expansion, state centralization and political violence. In the Stalinist context the element of sixteenth-century history with the greatest contemporary resonance was undoubtedly that connected with terror, tyranny and bloodshed."[29] Eisenstein's two-part film, *Ivan the Terrible*, makes the most direct connection between Ivan and Stalin. In Part I of *Ivan the Terrible,* the Russian state is divided into fragments. Ivan is the one who unites this separated Russia. By Part II of *Ivan the Terrible*, Ivan becomes a man will-

[22]Ibid., 107.

[23]Shlapentokh, *Soviet Cinematography,* 96.

[24]Fitzsimmons, *USSR, 352.*

[25]Kenez, "Jewish Themes in Stalinist Films," 159.

[26]Taylor, "Soviet Cinema," 45.

[27]Ibid., 46.

[28]Kevin M. F. Platt and David Brandenberger, eds., *Epic Revisionism: Russian History and Literature as Stalinist Propaganda.* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2006). 148-61.

[29]Joan Neuberger, *Ivan the Terrible* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2003), 28-9.

ing to crush any opposition to his leadership, as he purges all of Russia in order to build a better country.[30] In Part I of *Ivan the Terrible*, the character Basmanov suggests to Ivan that he should create the *oprichniki*. Basmanov convinces Ivan to "choose men who will renounce everything, who will deny father and mother to serve only the tsar and the dictates of his will." It is because of this suggestion that "Ivan creates the *oprichniki* in his own image: alienated from all human and kinship ties, dedicated only to the political father, the tsar, and an abstraction, the Great Russian State."[31]

> Stalin became the most involved [Russian leader] with filmmaking

Throughout *Ivan the Terrible*, Eisenstein depicts Ivan as a smiling father-like figure, capable of violent terror and intimidation, while still capable of being compassionate and friendly. This contrast of personality is in direct correlation with the persona that Stalin wished to create for himself, which made him much more frightening.[32] Part I of the film saga depicts Ivan in a much more positive image. Part II depicts Ivan as paranoid and unreasonably brutal. The political murders in *Ivan the Terrible* are a direct commentary on the political assassinations of Stalin's violent regime.[33] This drastic contrast between the depictions of Ivan from the first to the second film became one of the primary reasons that Stalin did not receive Eisenstein's film with praise.

NAZI VALUES AFFECT STALIN AND THE COURSE OF FILM

It is important to mention the attitudes towards the Jews in Russia as well, and more importantly, how Soviet propaganda depicted them. The Russian films of the 1920s portrayed the Jews as poor and sympathetic. However, by the 1930s, the Jews in Russian film seemed to disappear. Russian film historian Peter Kenez claims this as "one more sign that the regime by the late 1930s had completely abandoned even the last vestiges of the emancipator promises of the Revolution."[34] Kenez goes on to state: "according to Soviet ideology . . . belonging to a class was a more important part of self definition [than] was belonging to a nation or religion. In Stalinist films, the Jewish community would never be depicted as homogeneous."[35] On the surface, this sounds as though the socialists strove for equality amongst all minorities of religion and ethnicity. However, the denunciation of Jews never seemed far from Soviet propaganda when it proved convenient to the Party. For example, Peter Kenez analyzes the Soviet's reaction and dismissal of the second part of the film *Ivan the Terrible*: "the repeated assertions that Eisenstein did not make a 'Russian' film was a reference to the Jewishness of the director."[36] Jewish alienation in Russia was very much alive. This was one of the many obstacles that Eisenstein faced in the Soviet film industry. Yet, he found a way to prosper and defy odds. The looming Nazi threat to the West propelled anti-Semitic values even more.

Before 1935, Russia deemed the Nazi threat to the West as miniscule. However, by the mid 1930s, the Soviet Kremlin began to recognize the massive resurgence of Germany's military and economic power as a direct threat to their borders. This, combined with Adolf Hitler's raging hatred of the Slavic people and his threats to conquer them, made Stalin and the Soviets strive to produce anti-German Propaganda. The Party made six devoutly anti-Nazi films in the mid-1930s, such as *The Oppenheim Family* and *Professor Mamlock*.

[30]Joan Neuberger, "The History of Ivan," Disc 1, *Ivan the Terrible*, The Criterion Collection DVD. directed by Sergei M. Eisenstein (Kino Studios, 2001. Mosfilm: Kino Studios, 2001).

[31]Neuberger, *Ivan the Terrible*, 41.

[32]Neuberger, "The History of Ivan," DVD.

[33]Ibid., DVD.

[34]Kenez, "Jewish Themes in Stalinist Films," 159.

[35]Ibid., 162.

[36]Ibid., 168.

While written by German writers, both of these films depicted extreme Nazi brutality towards the Jewish people. Not long before, Stalin commissioned Eisenstein to create an anti-German film to stir up the Russian population. Production of *Alexander Nevsky* began around 1937, at the height of Stalin's purges. Eisenstein accepted this assignment to redeem himself for past films, like his collectivization drama, *Bezhin Meadow*, and his shooting of *Viva Mexico*.



Eisenstein meets Mickey Mouse, 'my best friend in the USA,' in Hollywood, September, 1930. Richard Taylor, ed., trans., *The Eisenstein Reader*, trans. William Powell (London: British Film Institute, 1998). 122.

Eisenstein aimed to make a historical film about the Russian's victory over the German Teutonic Knights, comparing the medieval German invasion to the oncoming Nazi threat. People argued, "the film played into Stalin's burgeoning cult of personality or functioned as a sort of a cinematographic exercise in character study."[37] Eisenstein depicted the German Teutonic Knights in *Alexander Nevsky* as barbaric, making clear the hatred of the Slavic people. Many quickly recognized the epic propaganda film for its blatant anti-German themes and the boasting of Russian military superiority over the German military in the past. The epic 'Battle on the Ice'[38] scene is nearly forty-five minutes long, which ends with the remaining German soldiers falling through the ice and dying. At the end of the film, Alexander Nevsky makes a climactic speech in which he states: "whosoever comes to us with the sword shall perish by the sword. Such is the law of the Russian land and such shall it always be."[39] *Alexander Nevsky* received short-lived praise. The Molotov-Ribbentrop pact (Nazi-Soviet pact) signed in August 1939 remained effective until June 1941 when Germany invaded Russia. With the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, the Party removed *Alexander Nevsky* from theaters in order to appease Germany.[40] This was an ironic goodwill gesture conducted by Stalin, who commissioned Eisenstein to make the anti-German film in the first place.

As the years progressed, Stalin became more paranoid as Russia's dictator. His distrust of his peers escalated during Russia's war with Germany from 1941 to 1945, in which he quarantined himself in the Kremlin. During this time, film would be his only link to the outside world. After the purges, his "view of reality became increasingly detached and illusory. So obsessive was his concern to ensure an acceptable portrayal of Soviet reality on screen that he vetted a large number of scripts himself."[41] Stalin became so obsessed with film, that in 1941, he only gave one public speech, in which he talked about the Soviet film, *The Law of Life* (1940). In the years between 1941 and 1945, while Russia warred with Germany, Stalin continued to give directions to filmmakers.[42] Although heavily involved and obsessed with film, Stalin did not

[37]Platt and Brandenberger, *Epic Revisionism*, 234.

[38]This climactic scene in *Alexander Nevsky* is commonly referred to as the 'Battle on the Ice.' It appears frequently in texts and film reviews under this description.

[39]*Alexander Nevsky*, DVD, directed by Sergei M. Eisenstein (Image Entertainment, 1998).

[40]Perrie, *The Cult of Ivan*, 37.

[41]Ibid., 48.

[42]Shlapentokh, *Soviet Cinematography*, 75-6.

comprehend the visual importance of filmmaking and believed that words dominated imagery. Because of this, directors "benefited from Stalin's misunderstanding: with few exceptions, they survived. By contrast, scriptwriters and officials of the industry lived in a dangerous world and dozens of them became victims of the Terror."[43] Stalin's leniency toward directors allowed filmmakers like Eisenstein to prosper and experiment without fear of death and allowed the emergence of Eisenstein's montage.

EISENSTEIN'S CINEMATOGRAPHICAL TALENTS

Eisenstein summed up the importance of the montage by claiming: "there is one *method* for making *any* film: montage of attraction," generating an "emotional psychological affect on the audience... to be composed of a chain of suitably directed stimulants."[44] Eisenstein embodied the face of Soviet silent film and montage. With a masterful imagination and precise planning, he combined his skill with an operatic style of filmmaking, establishing a grandiose performance on camera. He actually learned of the importance of "gesture and stylization" from the Japanese Kabuki theatre.[45] Combined with dynamic editing, Eisenstein generated a "concept of intellectual montage, a method of shocking the audiences into thought: the supreme example of his technique is the Odessa Steps massacre in *The Battleship Potemkin*."[46] With an assortment of rash, jump-cuts (quick, visually jarring cuts), Eisenstein exploits the massacre on the Odessa steps in *Potemkin*. Classic images include the mother holding her bleeding son and the schoolmistress with shattered glasses and a bloody eye. However, the most famous imagery of the film is the baby ('the pram') bouncing down the steps. Eisenstein employs this manipulative technique by exploiting the sense of a defenseless baby amidst the chaos. The image concludes with the quick cut of a Cossack slashing his sword at the camera, at which time the camera cuts to a close-up of the schoolmistress, as she screams.[47]

> Eisenstein quickly expressed an immense talent for filmmaking

Eisenstein mentioned that a manipulation of rhythm, or carefully executed rhythm, prove essential to the montage. A great example is the scene in *October* when the Bolsheviks storm the Winter Palace. Eisenstein tried to capture a rhythmic sound with his images, saying that with the use of a "rhythmic pattern rising in and out on the empty halls, I tried to capture the pulsating rhythm of the echo throbbing through them."[48] Eisenstein admitted that he successfully accomplished this method in the "sequence of the crystal chandeliers tinkling through the palace in response to the machine-gun rattle out on the square."[49] Eisenstein explained that with the advent of synchronized sound in film, the montage of silent films needed restructuring. While filming *Alexander Nevsky*, he found a method to keep the montage with synchronized sound, in that the musical score would intricately align with the moments in the film to raise (or lower) the intensity. The music would move in rhythm to the images on the screen, and vice-versa. Eisenstein named this new method of montage the *vertical montage*. Essentially, the composition of the visuals and the music should be complementary of one another as a whole, as proven most effective in the 'Battle on the Ice' scene in *Alexander Nevsky*.[50]

[43]Kenez, "Soviet cinema in the Age of Stalin," 62.
[44]Ibid., 17.
[45]Kenez, *Cinema and Soviet Society*, 54.
[46]Taylor, "Soviet Cinema," 44.
[47]Richard Taylor, *The Battleship Potemkin: The Film Companion* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2000), 39-50.
[48]Eisenstein, *Immoral Memories*, 232.
[49]Ibid.
[50]Sergei M. Eisenstein, *The Film Sense*, trans. and ed. Jay Leyda (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1942), 73-80.

Eisenstein mentioned another concept that he repeatedly used throughout his films: the repetition of imagery, composition, sound, and writing (silent films). This is prevalent in *Potemkin*, with the repetition of the word "Brothers!" on the quarter-deck in the second part of the film. The word "Brothers" flashes when the marines refuse to fire on their own men. This word repeats at the end of the film when the squadron lets the Potemkin sail through the blockade in peace. Eisenstein also uses repetition with the musical score in *Alexander Nevsky* in order to build intensity.[51] He developed compositional repetition in Parts I and II of *Ivan the Terrible* when the image constantly flips from scene to scene, obtaining a reflective, mirror-like composition throughout each film. This helps create a sense of consistency as well as subconsciously invoking unity throughout the film.[52]



The Battleship Potemkin: The woman with the pince-nez on the Odessa Steps. Richard Taylor, ed., trans., *The Eisenstein Reader*, trans. William Powell (London: British Film Institute, 1998), 71.

Eisenstein, incredibly conscious about the importance of image size in his film composition, broke down the process to the three basic concepts. First is the long shot, which conveys a distance from the subject to help grasp the overall theme of the image. Second is the medium shot, which helps the spectator relate to the subject on an equal setting. Lastly, there is the close-up, which conveys the most intimate visuals of a subject that cannot hide from the audience.[53] In *The Battleship Potemkin*, Eisenstein disgusts the audience with the close-up of the maggot-infested meat.[54] *Potemkin* concludes its last shot with the mutinous sailors aboard the Potemkin as the camera peers up at the ship sailing toward the camera and the audience. With this imagery, the audience experiences the true freedom of the sailors more intimately. This proves a very climactic way to end a visually compelling film.[55] In Part I of *Ivan the Terrible*, Eisenstein shows the image of Ivan looming over the masses of Russian people. This unique shot combines a long shot of the Russian masses, and a close-up of Ivan to the right side of the frame. With this technique, the Russian people become thematic and lose their individuality, while Ivan is massively influential, intimate with the audience, and somewhat exposed and vulnerable.[56] As Neuberger puts it, "the magnificent shot compositions of the finale emphasize the enormous power of the tsar and the minuscule insignificance of the people."[57] The line of Russian people beneath Ivan form a sinuous line, a distinct curved 's' utilized "extensively as a compositional principle by the Classical Greek artists;" because "it has a distinctive harmony and balance all its own."[58] This sense of harmony and balance seems to be symbolic for

[51]Ibid., 95.

[52]Neuberger, "The History of Ivan," DVD.

[53]Eisenstein, *Film Essays*, 150.

[54]*Battleship Potemkin*, the ultimate ed. DVD, directed by Sergei M. Eisenstein (Kino International, 2007).

[55]Taylor, *The Battleship Potemkin*, 58-9.

[56]*Ivan the Terrible*. The Criterion Collection DVD, directed by Sergei M. Eisenstein (Mosfilm: Kino Studios, 2001).

[57]Neuberger, *Ivan the Terrible*, 43.

[58]Blain Brown, *Cinematography: Theory and Practice: Imagemaking for Cinematographers, Directors & Videographers* (China: Focal Press, 2002), 38.



In *Battleship Potemkin* the student reacts in horror to atrocities committed on the Odessa steps. James Goodwin, *Eisenstein, Cinema, and History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 138-9.

Ivan's complete control over the people, yet his massive close-up to the side of the image offsets the balance by shifting the weight to one side of the frame. This image becomes more dynamic and effective, because it produces a contradiction to our natural senses.

Another one of Eisenstein's filmmaking talents regards his musical composition. While not recognized as a composer, he understood much of the harmonic techniques that build intensity and persuade the audience. By focusing on such musical elements as rhythm, movement, and shape, Eisenstein argued that music articulates "film structure even more than it can express film content."[59] During the opening shots of the film *Alexander Nevsky*, the aftermath of a previous battle shows the Mongols controlling the territory. The music is low and sad, but raises with a male chorus when Alexander Nevsky arrives. According to historian Russell Merritt, "this is Alexander Nevsky's theme, and what the chorus sings about is not defeat but a victory," in which Eisenstein uses "the words of Prokofiev's chorus in such a way that we identify the lake we see (Lake Pleshchayev), the site of a military disaster, with Lake Neva, the site of a great military victory."[60] The opening visuals of Alexander Nevsky represent a contradiction with the musical score in the opening lyrics: "we shall never yield native Russian land. They who march on Rus shall be put to death."[61] This song plays while Russians surrender to the Mongolian military. It is the Russians who yield to the foreign invaders, and the Russians who face death. This underlying contradiction creates a sense of unease and is a creative way to captivate the Russian audience in a mixed sensation of pride and gloom.

EISENSTEIN'S PART IN SOVIET PROPAGANDA FILMS

Eisenstein used iconic and historical images in his films in order to muster up an emotional reaction from his Soviet audience. At the beginning of *October*, Eisenstein depicts the Russian people toppling over a statue of Tsar Alexander III. To show Kerensky as empiric and power-hungry in the film, Eisenstein makes cutaways to Kerensky and a statue of Napoleon.[62] These inanimate

[59]Julie Hubbert, "Eisenstein's Theory of Film Music Revisited: Silent and Early Sound Antecedents," In *Composing for the Screen in Germany and the USSR: Cultural Politics and Propaganda*, ed. Robynn J. Stilwell and Phil Powrie (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2008), 140.

[60]Merritt, "Recharging Alexander Nevsky," 38-9.

[61]Ibid., 39.

[62]*October (Ten Days that Shook the World)*, DVD, directed by Sergei M. Eisenstein, (Image

sculptures represent the dead and old politics of the past, overwhelmed and replaced by the living people who topple and destroy them.[63] Historically, the statue of Tsar Alexander III did not come down until 1921, in Moscow, not Petrograd, which is the site of the October revolution. When Kornilov comes onto the scene with his Cossacks, the statue reassembles itself in reverse. This is symbolic of Kornilov's "attempt to restore the old regime."[64] The use of iconic imagery is constant throughout Eisenstein's films. Neuberger makes several distinctive observations regarding the iconic imagery in *Ivan the Terrible*, including the large, all-seeing eye throughout the film, symbolic of the fear implemented by Stalin that someone is always watching.[65] The reoccurring image of the large, single eye is representative of the watchful eye of Ivan's (and Stalin's) secret police. This imagery comes from a famous fourteenth century Russian painting known as "The Savior of the Fiery Eye."[66] According to University of Chicago art history professor Yuri Tsivian, the constant depiction of the Angel of Death on the walls in *Ivan the Terrible* represents the contradictory nature of Ivan the Terrible, as well as Stalin.[67]

Eisenstein also utilizes images of the vast, open Russian landscape in order to invoke a sense of pride and emotional connection amongst Russian people to their land. Gillespie states: "landscape in any national cinematic culture is therefore of enormous value . . . Russian art has a famous landscape tradition, especially in the nineteenth century, but one that transferred into images of natural beauty concepts of home, identity and patriotism."[68] This emblematic and emotional resonance connects the Russian people to the imagery of the vast Russian landscape within Eisenstein's films.

> Eisenstein tended to place a large emphasis on the Russian masses

Excluding *Ivan the Terrible*, Eisenstein tended to place a large emphasis on the Russian masses. The Russian citizens essentially are the protagonists in *Battleship Potemkin, October, and Alexander Nevsky.* This appraisal of the people finds roots in Eisenstein's involvement with the Proletkult theater community, in which the "theorists were convinced that in history it was always the masses and not the individual heroes who mattered."[69] While many historians identify Lenin and the Bolsheviks as the ones responsible for the outcome of the revolution, Eisenstein depicts the masses as the driving force in the film *October*. When analyzing *October,* the film "counters any party line notion that the Bolsheviks were the revolutionary vanguard. For Eisenstein shows *October* as the time when the masses entered into history and history entered into the masses."[70] According to Neuberber, unlike his previous films (*The Battleship Potemkin, October, and Alexander Nevsky*), Eisenstein reduces the Russian people in *Ivan the Terrible* to a child-like, subordinate state.[71]

While much of the content within Eisenstein's films is blatantly fictional, there are quite a few seminal truths within his historic films. The epic imagery of the massacre on the Odessa steps in *Potemkin* stems from semi-factual accounts. On 28 June 1905, Cossacks and soldiers slaughtered and raided several sections of Odessa, and "a

Entertainment, 1998).

[63]Hakan Lovgren, "Eisenstein's October: On the Cinematic Allegorization of History," *Eisenstein at 100: A Reconsideration,* Al LaValley and Barry P. Scherr, eds. (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 77.

[64]Robert A. Rosenstone, "October as History," in *Rethinking History* 5, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 255-74.

[65]Neuberger, "The History of Ivan," DVD.

[66]Yuri Tsivian, "Eisenstein's visual vocabulary," Disc 2, *Ivan the Terrible*, The Criterion Collection, DVD. directed by Sergei M. Eisenstein (Kino Studios, 2001. Mosfilm: Kino Studios, 2001).

[67]Ibid., DVD.

[68]Gillespie, *Russian Cinema*, 3-5.

[69]Kenez, *Cinema and Soviet Society*, 54-5.

[70]Rosenstone, "October as History," 262.

[71]Neuberger, "The History of Ivan," DVD.



October: Lenin's arrival at the Finland station. Richard Taylor, ed., trans., *The Eisenstein Reader*, trans. William Powell (London: British Film Institute, 1998), 75.

delegation of *Potemkin* sailors reported seeing many bodies in the port and on the steps when they came ashore at Odessa the next day."[72] Historians criticize Eisenstein's film *October* for its inaccuracies, such as the massive mob storming the Winter Palace and defeating its inhabitants through direct assault. However, the film *October* remains a leading source of historical interpretation of the October Revolution. Images from the film appear in newspapers, textbooks, and magazines all over the world, as screenshots captured the atmosphere of the revolution with iconic imagery. In October 1917, at the age of seventeen, he observed the revolution in Petrograd. While mostly oblivious to the events unfolding, he directly witnessed several incidents of violence and intimidation, like Provisional Government troops firing upon unarmed demonstrators, a scene Eisenstein depicts in *October*.[73] Eisenstein alluded to historical facts by dramatic visual symbols and the musical score. For example, Eisenstein emphasizes Russian Christianity in *Alexander Nevsky*, like the "Byzantine stone carvings, in the crosses on top of the Novgorod onion domes, in the designs on Nevsky's military medallions, and most subtly, Prokofiev's score."[74] Even though Stalin cursed Christianity within Russian history, Nevsky "was a Christian Prince later canonized as a Russian saint, and that thirteenth-century Russia was a Christian country."[75] Eisenstein's depiction of history was very controversial at times, as it blatantly went against the grain of Stalinist censors.

Eisenstein's film career in Stalinist Russia began and ended in controversy. In 1937, the Party cancelled Eisenstein's *Bezhin Meadow*, for it depicted the murder of a fourteen year old Russian boy, Pavlik Morozov, after exposing his father for hoarding grain during the collectivization. Morozov's (Stepok) father murders him in Eisenstein's original film, but the only surviving images reflect Russian villagers killing the boy. The Party

[72]James Goodwin, *Eisenstein, Cinema, and History* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 58.

[73]Rosenstone, "October as History," 255-62.

[74]Merritt, "Recharging Alexander Nevsky," 36.

[75]Ibid., 36.

criticized Eisenstein for using formalistic imagery, which they "regarded as a heinous crime by Stalinist cultural watchdogs, as it preferred stylistic virtuosity to ideological content. The party forced Eisenstein to apologize and stop the filming."[76] After the *Bezhin Meadow* fiasco, many of Eisenstein's friends suddenly disappeared. Fearing that Stalin's secret police, the NKVD, would come and arrest him, Eisenstein began to fear for his life. This fear prompted Eisenstein and his musical composer, Sergei Prokofiev, to participate in the production of *Alexander Nevsky*. This film offered Eisenstein the chance to redeem himself, saving both his career and possibly his life.[77] In 1946, the Central Committee banned Part II of Eisenstein's *Ivan the Terrible*, claiming that Eisenstein expressed historical "ignorance in his depiction of historical facts, presenting Ivan the Terrible's oprichniki as a band of degenerates along the lines of the American Klu-Klux-Klan, and Ivan the Terrible, a man of strong will and character, as weak and irresolute, like some sort of a Hamlet."[78] Contrary to what many believe, Eisenstein requested a personal meeting with Stalin at the famous encounter at the Kremlin. On 25 February 1947, Eisenstein and N.K. Cherkasov—the Russian actor whom portrayed Ivan in the film—met with Stalin, Molotov, and Zhdanov at the Kremlin. Stalin told Eisenstein that he inaccurately portrayed Ivan, and that Eisenstein appeared ignorant to historical facts. They introduced Part II of *Ivan the Terrible* to the public in 1956 in an attempt to distance the new Soviet leadership from "Stalin's personality cult."[79] Even though Eisenstein had many hardships as a filmmaker under Stalinist Russia, he devoutly defended Soviet cinema.

INTERNATIONAL REACTION

Eisenstein, always a strong vocal proponent for Soviet cinema, claimed that Soviet film served not for "private profit," but for "popular needs."[80] It is unclear if Eisenstein actually approved the nature of Soviet film or if he was coerced into praising it. Regardless, he publicly continued to promote Soviet cinema when he stated, "soviet cinema aims primarily to educate the masses. It seeks to give them a general education and a political education; it conducts an extensive campaign of propaganda for the Soviet State and its ideology among the people."[81] By reading this quote, one might get the idea that Eisenstein did not recognize propaganda as a bad thing. That is exactly the case. It is one more piece of ideology that divides Russian and American culture. American newspapers and the U.S. government consistently dismissed Eisenstein's propaganda filmmaking. A *New York Times* article from 1940 discussed the boycott on Soviet films in the United States. The article mentioned that while U.S. intelligentsia considered Soviet cinema as a respectable pastime, the recent Soviet films severely lacked in quality. The article also mentioned that the Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact highly disappointed many Americans who grew sympathetic toward the Soviet cause, which served as a key factor in the boycott of Soviet films as well.[82]

The *New York Times* posted another article regarding Eisenstein's commission to make *Alexander Nevsky*, in which the article claimed the title of the film would be "Slaughter on the Ice." There is no mention of Alexander Nevsky in this article.[83] The article depicted sympathy for the Germans in the film, or possibly just a barbaric portrait of the Russian populace. French delegation member to the Atlantic Treaty Association Madame Suzanne Labin, distributed an essay on Soviet propaganda to the United States Congress.

[76]Gillespie, *Russian Cinema*, 109.

[77]Merritt, "Recharging Alexander Nevsky," 36.

[78]Platt and Brandenberger, *Epic Revisionism*, 167-8.

[79]Ibid., 168-9.

[80]Eisenstein, *Film Essays*, 21.

[81]Ibid., 25.

[82]"The Soviet Fadeout," *New York Times*, February 11, 1940.

[83]"Eisenstein Making a New Soviet Film; Producer, in Eclipse for Some Time, Is Commissioned to Try His Hand Again; His Last Work Rejected; 'Slaughter on the Ice' May Be the Title of Effort Now Approved by Trust," *New York Times*, December 31, 1937.

This document became a pivotal source for understanding and combating Soviet propaganda, domestically and abroad. Labin made bold statements regarding propaganda as "the primary front for the Soviets."[84] She also mentioned secret agents of Soviet propaganda, such as the 'permanents' (propaganda specialists of the Soviet Union) and 'auxiliaries' (a person who promotes communism).[85] Labin concluded her document by stressing the importance of counterpropaganda in her last segment, titled "VI. Constructive Proposals: Our Survival Depends on Counterpropaganda." The document states: "the very survival of the West is at stake. We only resist in fact on the military front. But owing to the balance of horror reached between atomic armaments, it is not in this sphere that the contest will be decided; it will be decided in the sphere of propaganda, where the West is inactive."[86] Labin legitimized the fear of communist propaganda when she claimed, "it is not sufficiently realized in the West that the seeds of propaganda have yielded the Soviets an extraordinary harvest of territorial and strategic advantages that could only be obtained up to now by arms."[87] She then compares the West's emphasis on the military and the lack of western propaganda to the failure of the French Maginot Line, in which the Nazis bypassed the directly fortified position, only to infiltrate and defeat France. Labin addressed NATO as assuming the role of creating western counterpropaganda to combat the Soviets.[88] After all of Labin's ranting about the evils of communist propaganda, her essay turned out to be nothing more than a huge propaganda piece, which is in line with her theory that the West needs to develop its own propaganda capabilities. It appears that she embodied this philosophy within herself. American critics aside, Eisenstein did have a remarkably unstable career considering the enormously cinematic feats that he produced.

Eisenstein did not recognize propaganda as a bad thing

LASTING IMPACTS OF THE DICTATOR AND THE DIRECTOR

Though riddled with problems, Eisenstein managed to keep his career alive, from one failed, misinterpreted film to the next. In his memoirs, Eisenstein expressed his fear that the last-minute edit of *Potemkin* would fall to pieces during its screening. In the last part of the film, with the sequence of the squadron, Eisenstein pieced together short cuts by "licking them with my tongue, and gave the reel to the assistant to splice." Eisenstein admitted his amazement when the film held together: "back in the cutting room we couldn't believe our own eyes – in our hands the short cuts came apart without the slightest effort, and yet they had been held together by some magic force as they ran, in one whole piece, through the projector."[89] *The Battleship Potemkin* opened to the Russian population "as the 'pride of the Soviet cinema', and shown simultaneously in twelve Moscow cinemas."[90] However, the release of *Robin Hood* shortened *Potemkin*'s debut, which quickly booted it from theaters. *The Battleship Potemkin* opened in theaters on 19 January 1926 and removed from theaters altogether on 16 February 1926.[91] It was in theaters for a little less than one month. *October* began filming in April 1927 and wrapped filming in October of the same year.

With Eisenstein editing on the fly, he screened an early version to an audience in the Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow on 7 November 1927, the

[84]U.S. Congress. Senate. *The Technique of Soviet Propaganda: A Study Presented by the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, 86th Cong., 2nd sess., 1960* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1960), 1.

[85]Ibid., 3-5.

[86]Ibid., 28.

[87]Ibid.

[88]Ibid., 29.

[89]Eisenstein, *Immoral Memories*, 84-5.

[90]Taylor, *The Politics of The Soviet Cinema*, 95.

[91]Ibid.



The Battleship Potemkin: Mother and dead child on the Odessa steps. Richard Taylor, ed., trans., *The Eisenstein Reader*, trans. William Powell (London: British Film Institute, 1998), 70.

actual tenth anniversary of the October Revolution.[92] *October* opened to mixed reviews. In June 1928, the pages of the *Sovetskii ekran* printed an anti-Semitic caricature of Eisenstein, whose career suffered drastically after *October* failed to live up to the Soviet expectations.[93] *Alexander Nevsky* enjoyed a relative amount of success, but with the signing of the Nazi-Soviet pact, Stalin's government pulled *Nevsky* from the theaters, as a goodwill gesture to Germany.[94] Even Part I of *Ivan the Terrible* received low appreciation when it came out. As Neuberger states: "at the time of its release, *Ivan the Terrible*, Part I was not a propaganda success; it failed to fulfill its commission to present a usable historical pedigree or a socialist realist epic."[95] It seemed that nothing regarding Eisenstein's four largest films went very smoothly. While current audiences praise these films, the movies struggled immensely within the social settings of their time.

Soviet film propaganda consumed the lives and careers of both Stalin and Eisenstein in early twentieth century Russia. Stalin directly involved himself in the censorship of Soviet films, and his Central Committee worked around the clock in order to promote and preserve Stalinist ideology. With Lenin's and Stalin's obsession with cinema, the Russian film industry became the primary vehicle for distributing Soviet propaganda. Stalin strongly attempted to create a cult of personality surrounding the role of Russian cinema, as he promoted propaganda film as the superior method for dispensing information amongst Soviet citizens. Clearly a lie, Stalin simply wanted to control the information flow to the Russian population and impose his own ideology throughout the Soviet Union. Ironically, Stalin fought to establish film as the primary medium of conveying 'controlled' information to the Soviet populace. However, during World War Two, he quarantines himself in the Kremlin, in which his only access to information is through Soviet film. It appears that Stalin fell into his own trap. Fearful that some would undermine his ideology with film, Stalin and the Central Committee placed heavy restrictions on filmmakers. Under these confines, Sergei Eisenstein developed numerous cinematic techniques that are still in use today, as well as

[92]Richard Taylor, *Film Propaganda: Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany*, 2nd ed. (New York: I.B. Tauris, 1979), 63.

[93]Ibid., 72-3.

[94]Perrie, *The Cult of Ivan the Terrible in Stalin's Russia*, 37.

[95]Joan Neuberger, "The Politics of Bewilderment: Eisenstein's *Ivan the Terrible* in 1945," in *Eisenstein at 100: A Reconsideration*, Al LaValley and Barry P. Scherr, eds. (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 246.

producing revolutionary historic works like *The Battleship Potemkin* (1925), *October* (1927), *Alexander Nevsky* (1939), and Part I and II to his intended trilogy of *Ivan the Terrible* (1946-1956). Eisenstein did not live to see the release of the second part of his film, for he died in 1948. When considering the vast restrictions on Soviet filmmakers and the role of the censor on Soviet film, it is amazing to think of the revolutionary accomplishments that Eisenstein achieved in cinema.

Against all odds, Eisenstein developed artistic marvels within a system that nearly eliminated all facets of artistic expression. One cannot help but think of what Eisenstein might have accomplished in a system with no artistic limitations. Would Eisenstein have more achievements if allowed to express himself as freely as possible? What other cinematic feats would he contribute to the history of filmmaking? Or, was it the restrictions placed upon Eisenstein that made his art so compelling and groundbreaking? Would Eisenstein have several grand magnum opuses without the guidance and oversight of Stalin and the Central Committee? These are all hypothetical questions that are worth asking, but there will never be a definitive answer. The nature of propaganda under Stalin's Soviet Union promoted Stalinist ideology. No filmmaker in Russian history successfully captured Stalinist ideology more accurately than Sergei Eisenstein. Propaganda in Soviet cinema consumed both of these men's lives. Both Eisenstein and Stalin left behind a historic legacy, remembering the glory days of Soviet cinematic propaganda.

The Siege of Constantinople 1453: A Mythopoetic Study

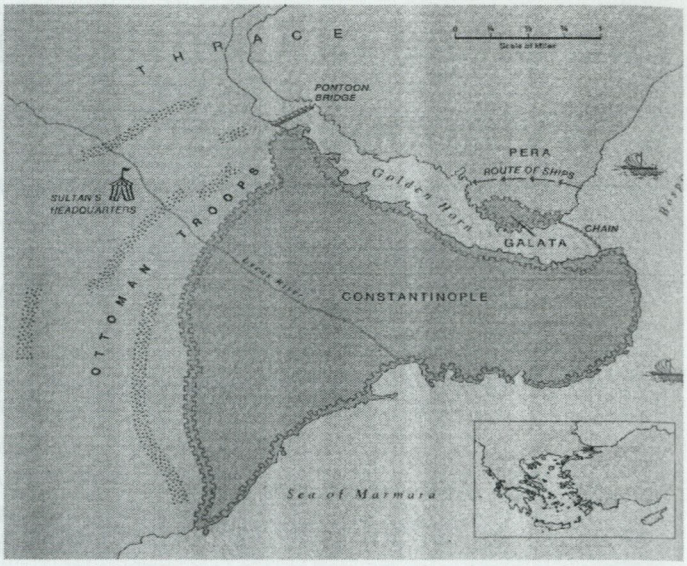
Warren Duke

Many people know about the Ottoman Turks storming the long-standing walls of the Byzantine capital, resulting in the end of the Eastern Roman Empire. Author **Warren Duke** analyzes three key developments surrounding the fall of Constantinople: the unlocked Kerkoporta Gate, the wounded Byzantine commander Giovanni Giustiniani, and the mysterious death of Emperor Constantine XI. Using mythopoetic discourse, Duke traces the evolution and mythologizing of these events throughout history.



The famous Byzantine Christian temple, Haggia Sophia, in Constantinople, converted into a Muslim mosque, which explains the Arabic scripture on the various plates. Sean McLachlan, *Byzantium: An Illustrated History* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 2004), 59.

The Ottoman Turks attacked Constantinople early in the morning of 29 May 1453. Brave warriors under the command of Emperor Constantine XI held off wave after wave of attacks for over fifty days. The full might of the Ottoman Empire stormed Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Empire. The Turkish cannons broke down the ancient walls of Constantinople just as time had weakened the might of Byzantium. The might of the Eastern Roman Empire[1] declined, and by the mid-fifteenth century, the Emperor Constantine XI ruled only the city of Constantinople and some small holdings in the Peloponnese. Constantinople remained a small outpost of Christianity in a region now under the rule of the Muslim Ottomans. Almost immediately after the city's fall, authors throughout Europe weaved their own stories of the siege in order to make it relevant to current events; using mythopoetic language, these authors made the story familiar to their audiences. As a result, these mythopoetic descriptions allow the historian to trace the development of Constantinople's tale, and develop a greater understanding of the sources available.



A map of Constantinople, surrounded by the Ottoman Troops. The Turks engulfed their Byzantine opponents by bypassing the defensive chain which protected the Golden Horn. David Jacobs, consultant Cyril A. Mango, *Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire* (London: Cassell Cravel, 1969), 20.

Such a climactic clash of ideals excited the imaginations of humanity. How could such a mighty city have fallen? Had God forsaken the Christian west? These were the questions on European minds following the capture of the Byzantine capital. As with countless battles before it, the siege of Constantinople developed into various stories which used archetypal myths of the hero, the villain, good vs. evil, and the end of the world to familiarize the tale, and more importantly, to entertain the reader. Such myths have persisted throughout time, because of their connection to humanity. This phenomenon is known as mythopoetic discourse,[2] and it is of great importance to the historian. Through an examination of the myths, stories, and narratives that authors have chosen to copy, retell, or invent, the historian is able to better understand how history truly evolves, and how history itself can shape the stories of the past.

The fall of Constantinople produced a variety of primary sources, some conventional to historical writing, while some are decidedly unconventional. These sources are best divided into contemporary and modern writings. Eyewitness accounts

[1]The word "Byzantine" comes from the ancient Greek city of Byzantium. Emperor Constantine I, also known as Constantine the Great, moved the capital of the Roman Empire there in 330 CE. He renamed his new capital Constantinople, and called it the new Rome. Centuries after the city's fall, Western scholars coined the term "Byzantine Empire." The inhabitants and rulers of the Byzantine Empire referred to themselves as Romans. See Cyril Mango, ed. *The Oxford History of Byzantium* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 1.

[2]The term "mythopoetic discourse" refers to the altering or repeating of stories through the use of archetypal images or characters. This essay is a study in the mythopoetic discourse of the siege of Constantinople. Rather than focus on military maneuvers or battleground actions, this essay will analyze why particular authors chose to tell, or retell, the battle in a certain way.

form part of the contemporary sources. These include the diary of Nicolo Barbaro,[3] the chronicle of George Sphrantzes,[4] and the letter of Archbishop Leonard of Chios.[5] These eyewitness accounts constitute the original stories regarding the siege of Constantinople and inspired many future narratives. Closely linked to eyewitness accounts are the authors who, though they were not present at the battle, wrote about it shortly after. These include Laonicus Chalcocondylas,[6] Michael Doukas,[7] and Tursun Beg.[8] Due to their nature, some of these eyewitness sources contain the earliest examples of Constantinople's varying firsthand accounts. However, some of these authors provided their own unique stories, influencing the work of later authors.

The full might of the Ottoman Empire stormed Constantinople

The more modern works on Constantinople's fall are best divided into fictional and scholarly writings. Though fictional accounts often give an inventive single series of events, and scholarly works often strive for an inclusion of multiple factual possibilities, both further mythopoetic discourse.[9] In both cases, later authors copied and reworked earlier narratives of the siege, prolonging the battle's myths and stories. Major fictional authors for the siege of Constantinople include: A. Wall (1897),[10] Captain Spencer (1855),[11] and John Mason Neale (1849).[12] Key scholarly authors include Edward Gibbon (1788),[13] John Julius Norwich (1995),[14] Steven Runciman (1965),[15] Donald Nicol (1972),[16] and Edwin Pears (1903).[17] Of these various, authors, only Donald Nicol addresses mythopoetic concepts. [18] However, Nicol begins one chapter with a warning that his work delves into the realm of myth. In doing so, he attempts to separate myth from history. The historian must go beyond such restrictions, and understand the importance of mythopoetic analysis. Hans Blumenberg explained the role of myth and its rational nature,[19]

[3]Nicolo Barbaro, *Diary of the Siege of Constantinople, 1453,* trans. J.R. Jones (New York: University Press, 1969).

[4]George Sphrantzes, *The Fall of the Byzantine Empire: A Chronicle,* trans. Mario Philipides (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980).

[5]*The Siege of Constantinople 1453: Seven Contemporary Accounts,* trans. J.R. Melville Jones (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1972), 11-41.

[6]*The Siege of Constantinople 1453: Seven Contemporary Accounts,* 42-55.

[7]Michael Doukas, *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks,* trans. Harry J. Magoulias (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1975).

[8]Tursun Beg, *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror,* trans. Halil Inalcik and Rhoads Murphey (Chicago: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1978).

[9]Modern scholars often strive to explain several possible stories or explanations, before arriving at the one they deem most likely based on historical evidence. However, in the process of explaining various accounts, the historian is in fact partaking in mythopoetic discourse, just as an author creating a fictional account is altering a preexisting story.

[10]A. Wall, *The Fall of Constantinople: An Historical Romance* (London: Hutchinson, 1897).

[11]Captain Spencer, *Constantine: Or the Last Days of an Empire,* vol. 2 (London: Sampson Low, 1855).

[12]John Mason Neale, *The Fall of Constantinople* (London: J. M. Dent, 1913; repr., New York: Dutton, 1926).

[13]Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* ed. David Womersley (London: Allen Lane the Penguin Press, 1994), vol. 3.

[14]John Julius Norwich, *Byzantium: The Decline and Fall* (New York: Knopf, 1996).

[15]Steven Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople 1453* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1965).

[16]Donald M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium: 1261-1453* (New York: St. Martin's, 1972).

[17]Edwin Pears, *The Destruction of the Greek Empire and the Story of the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1903; repr., New York: Greenwood Press, 1968).

[18]Donald M. Nicol, *The Immortal Emperor: The Life and Times of Constantine Palaiologos, Last Emperor of the Romans* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[19]Hans Blumenberg, *Work on Myth,* trans. Robert M. Wallace (Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1985) 34-57. Blumenberg held that myth served the purpose of destroying the unknown.

while Hayden White described the concept of emplotment and competing narratives.[20] Their work highlights the importance of mythopoetic discourse in historical analysis.

Three primary incidents occurred on the morning of 29 May 1453; namely: the storming of the Kerkoporta, the wounding and withdrawal of Giovanni Giustiniani, and the death of Emperor Constantine XI. Various authors have ascribed different causes to Constantinople's fall, and the Kerkoporta is one of the most popular in modern scholarship. Similarly, different authors propagated myths concerning Constantine XI and Giustiniani to further their own explanations. In one tale, Giustiniani is the traitor, in another version, he is the loyal companion. These conflicting portrayals are often used to either elevate or overshadow the deeds of Emperor Constantine XI. Through an examination of the similarities and variations found within the tales of Constantinople, one can understand the true value of mythopoetic analysis.

Various authors have ascribed different causes to Constantinople's fall

KERKOPORTA, AN EXPLANATION FOR THE DESTRUCTION

The Turkish entry into the city is one of the most pivotal events during the siege of Constantinople. The Turkish forces entered the city through a small gate known as the Kerkoporta, located near the meeting place of the Blachernae and Theodosian walls.[21] Emperor Constantine XI sealed the gate for some time, but then reopened it for military sorties against the Ottomans. Most modern scholars explain that, on the final morning of the siege, Byzantine soldiers forgot to lock the gate and left it lightly guarded.[22] As a result, a group of Turks stormed the Kerkoporta and gained entry into the city. However, nearly all of the early accounts fail to even mention the small gate. The inclusion of the Kerkoporta in modern accounts provides a clear-cut explanation for the fall of the city. However, the exclusion of the Kerkoporta allows the author to emphasize other reasons for the fall of the city. The sources regarding the fall of Constantinople are best divided into those which fail to mention, or even downplay, the importance of the Kerkoporta, and those which cite the gate as a leading cause for the city's fall.

The earliest works dealing with the siege of Constantinople almost unanimously fail to mention the Kerkoporta.[23] Nicolo Barbaro wrote one of the best known eyewitness accounts of the battle. He kept a diary during the Ottoman attack, and served as a doctor aboard a Venetian ship.[24] Barbaro fails to mention the Kerkoporta anywhere in his dairy. A likely reason he excluded the Kerkoporta is that he simply did not know about it. Aboard his ship, Barbaro did not know the full extent of what occurred along the city walls. Though there is no mention of the gate, Barbaro provides other explanations for the city's down

Myth is created to explain the inexplicable, and it is thus a rational reaction to the unknown.

[20]Hayden White, "Historical Emplotment and the Problem of Truth," *The Postmodern History Reader*, ed. Keith Jenkins (London: Routledge, 1997), 392-6. White argued that various accounts could use the same facts, but be told in very different ways. He called these different accounts competing narratives. If the author aims to tell a tragic story, then certain language is used. Another author could set out to tell a romance, and though using the same set of facts, can create a different story simply because of his aims. It was these "emplotments" which ultimately shaped an account.

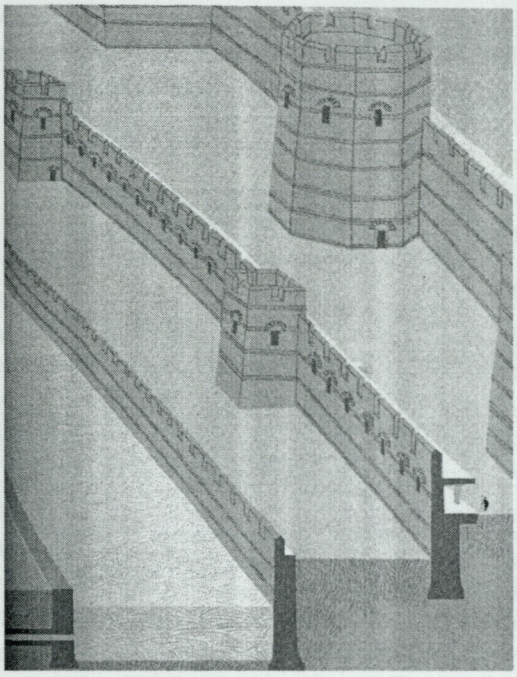
[21]For a comprehensive examination of the layout of Byzantine Constantinople; see Alexander Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople, the Walls and Adjoining Historical Sites* (London: John Murray, 1899).

[22]Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople*, 137-8. For a similar description of the Turkish entry through the Kerkoporta; see Norwich, *Byzantium*, 435.

[23]The account of Michael Doukas is the only contemporary story to mention the small gate, and the Turkish attack which took place there.

[24]Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople*, 195-6.

fall. As with many of his contemporaries, he felt that God himself willed the city to fall.[25] Rather than using an earthly cause, Barbaro is content with a supernatural explanation. Many fifteenth century Europeans were familiar with the concept of divine punishment.



An example of the defensive walls that fortified Constantinople. Note the staggered height of the walls, allowing for maximum firepower upon invading enemies. Philip Sherrard, *Byzantium, Great Ages of Man: A History of the World's Cultures* (New York: TIME, 1966), 90-91.

Authors of the time sought to explain how the city of Constantinople, capital of the Roman Empire for over a thousand years, fell to the Ottoman Turks in a month long siege. The account of Nestor Iskander delves into deeper spiritual causes for the city's fall. Nestor Iskander came from Russia. The Ottoman Turks took him as a young boy and eventually placed him in the Turkish military. He escaped just prior to the siege, and found refuge in Constantinople. There he became instrumental in explaining Ottoman military tactics to the Byzantines.[26] According to his accounts, he strongly disliked the Ottomans for his long years in captivity. Iskander saw Mehmet II as a scourge sent upon the Byzantines for their sins. He explained that the Mother of God no longer saw Constantinople as a place worthy of her presence or protection.[27] With these words, Nestor Iskander created a narrative involving divine judgment. His account succeeds in explaining the siege in this manner because he leaves out other possible causes, such as the Kerkoporta.

Leonard of Chios also added a divine element to the fall of the city. Leonard served as the Archbishop of Mytilene. He went to Constantinople to aid Isidore of Kiev—the cardinal of Russia—in the prospect of a church union between the East and the West.[28] As with many Latin sources for the siege, Leonard downplays the role of the Greeks and actually emphasizes their corruption. One example is his description of Greek soldiers who demanded wages before defending their own city.[29] Leonard's account is a letter to Pope Nicholas V in Rome, which somewhat explains his negative portrayal. In this climate of religious differences, Leonard glorified the Catholic West at the expense of the Orthodox East. Rather than mention the Kerkoporta, Leonard uses Lucas Notaras as the villain in the city's downfall.

Lucas Notaras held the title *megadux* and served as the chief minister and high admiral of the Byzantine Empire, second in power only to the emperor.[30] Notaras was vehemently opposed to church union, and is best known for his preference to see the turban of the Turks in his city rather than the Latin miter.[31] Notaras became the villain of Leonard's story, because Leonard saw him as a divisive element. Leonard chides Notaras' attempt to gain Mehmet's favor and pass the blame for the city's obstinacy onto the Venetians.[32] Leonard of

[25]Barbaro, *Diary of the Siege*, 61.

[26]Nestor Iskander, *The Tale of Constantinople: Of Its Origin and Capture by the Turks in the Year 1453*, trans. Walter K. Hanak and Marios Philippides (New Rochelle, NY: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1998).

[27]Iskander, *The Tale of Constantinople*, 33-5.

[28]*The Siege of Constantinople 1453: Seven Contemporary Accounts*, viii.

[29]Ibid., 26.

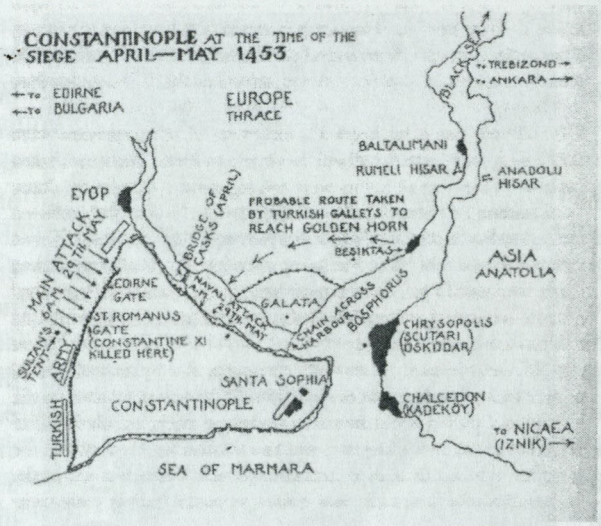
[30]Norwich, *Byzantium*, 416.

[31]Doukas, *Decline and Fall*, 210.

[32]*The Siege of Constantinople 1453: Seven*

Chios needs no Kerkoporta, the selfishness and greed of the Greeks—exemplified in their *megadux*—is cause enough for the city's downfall.

Edward Gibbon is best known for his massive six-volume work, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. His sixth volume recounts the fall of Constantinople. Though written in the late eighteenth century, Gibbon's narrative fails to mention the Kerkoporta. Gibbon wrote at a time when the British Empire constituted a major world power. He used the later Roman Empire as a lesson for his own British Empire. As a result, he turns the Byzantine Empire into a mere flicker of its former glory. The Byzantine rulers were, "princes of Constantinople, who so feebly sustained the name and majesty of the Caesars."[33]



A map of Constantinople during the Siege of April-May 1453. The map details the primary attack points of the Ottomans, including the St. Romanus Gate, where Constantine XI died in battle. Sean McLachlan, *Byzantium: An Illustrated History* (New York: Hippocrene, 2004).

Gibbon established a narrative warning what could happen to an empire that became too greedy, lavish, or superstitious, and he used the Byzantine Empire as his example. There was no need for a Kerkoporta; the failings of the Byzantine Empire brought about its own destruction. Gibbon's epic multi-volume work became a defining piece of Roman history. However, modern scholars have criticized Gibbon's work. In *Constantine Palaeologus*, Chemodil Mijatovich criticizes Gibbon for only using a few sources regarding the siege of Constantinople.[34] John Julius Norwich explains that the Byzantine Empire gained an unfair and untrue reputation for being a debased, fanatical, and overtly lavish society largely due to Gibbon's work.[35]

Edwin Pears provides a critique of Gibbon similar to Mijatovich and Norwich. Pears explains that Gibbon used only a handful of sources to strongly shape his arguments.[36] Pears gathers as many sources as possible before he concludes on the likely course of events. This inclusion of sources influenced many modern scholars to give multiple explanations for Constantinople's fall. Pears explains that the Kerkoporta may be significant, but he also concedes that only one contemporary source mentions the small gate.[37] Thus, Pears leaves the events of 29 May 1453 open to further interpretation, rather than giving a definitive series of events.

Michael Doukas is the only contemporary writer to describe an attack on the Kerkoporta. Despite only being mentioned in one contemporary account, the Kerkoporta has become a mandatory portion of nearly every modern account. Perhaps the best known mention of the gate is Stephen Runciman's, *The Fall of Constantinople 1453*.

Contemporary Accounts, 40.

[33]Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 3: 930.

[34]Chemodil Mijatovich, *Constantine Palaeologus, the Last Emperor of the Greeks, 1448-1453, the Conquest of Constantinople by the Turks* (Chicago: Argonaut Publishers, 1892), ix.

[35]Norwich, *Byzantium*, 449.

[36]Pears, *The Destruction of the Greek Empire*, 306.

[37]Ibid., 343.

According to Runciman, Constantine XI learned that the Turks gained entry into the city through the Kerkoporta. The emperor rode there to examine the situation and was pained to see the gate taken and the situation hopeless.[38] Runciman explains early on that his version is a tragic story in which the Greek people are the heroes.[39] Every tragedy must have its tragic flaw, and Constantinople's proved to be a tiny door that someone forgot to lock.

Stephen Zweig's portrayal of the Kerkoporta is similar to Runciman's work. Zweig, like many of the early authors, did not believe in the inevitability of a Turkish victory. Despite the Ottomans' impressive numbers, many believed the thick walls of Constantinople would surely repel another siege. The siege of 1453 was not the first attack on the city, but rather the last in a long series. In the eighth century, Byzantine defenders repelled a massive Muslim force at Constantinople, marking the first large-scale defeat of a Muslim army.[40] The Ottomans themselves attempted to break the city during Bayezid's blockade at the end of the fourteenth century, but failed.[41]

Zweig turns the Kerkoporta into the unexpected cause of the city's defeat. He concludes his account with the simple statement: "by whimsical chance, the forgotten door, decided the course of history."[42] Zweig leaves the fall of the city to chance, which is expected, as the overall theme of his book is how a small occurrence or poor decision can forever alter the course of human events. Similarly, the inclusion or exclusion of a small detail, or the slightest alteration in a story, can dramatically change the meaning of an historical account. Zweig's emphasis on a chance occurrence magnifies the tragic nature of the fall of the city. Zweig emphasizes that on any given day a small oversight can bring down an empire.

[T]he slightest alteration in a story can dramatically change the meaning of an historical account

Ultimately, these various authors used the story of the Kerkoporta for their own specific aims. The early authors largely ignored the Kerkoporta or were ignorant of its existence. Curious readers demanded an explanation for the fall of the city and various authors chose different culprits. These early writers often chose divine judgment. The sins of the Byzantines, or their church union sentiments, brought about God's wrath and ultimately the departure of his divine providence. As time went on, scholars distanced themselves from such supernatural explanations. Even though their causes are not divine in origin, these modern authors continue to propagate the mythic language of a tragic flaw in the siege of Constantinople. Hans Blumenberg explains that myth "abhors a vacuum."[43] In other words, the very nature of myth explains something that is otherwise inexplicable. The sudden fall of Constantinople shocked many people. Stories and myths stepped in to explain how the ancient city fell. An event, such as the simple neglect of a small gate, can be used to dramatically alter the story of a battle. A person can be used in a similar manner.

[38]Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople*, 139.

[39]Ibid., xiii.

[40]Paul K. Davis, *100 Decisive Battles: From Ancient Times to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 99-102.

[41]Mango, *The Oxford History of Byzantium*, 273-4.

[42]Stefan Zweig, *The Tide of Fortune: Twelve Historical Miniatures*, trans. Eden and Cedar Paul (New York: The Viking Press, 1940), 58. Other stories found in Zweig's work include the death of Cicero and Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo. Zweig highlights the irony that in making a spectacle of Cicero's death, Marc Antony immortalized his enemy. Zweig argues that history is not predetermined, and cannot be contained with rules and patterns.

[43]Blumenberg, *Work on Myth*, 39.

THE MANY WOUNDS OF GIOVANNI GIUSTINIANI

Giovanni Giustiniani hailed from Genoa. Various sources describe him as a well-known military figure of his day. At some point prior to the siege he came to the defense of Constantinople. Emperor Constantine XI granted him a position of military power. Many accounts explain that the emperor made Giustiniani commander-in-chief, while others describe him as a mercenary for hire. Regardless of his position, on the morning of 29 May 1453, Giustiniani fought at the St. Romanus Gate[44] with a large company of men. Some time shortly before the fall of the city an object struck him. As a result, he left the front lines and went to a nearby ship for treatment. During his withdrawal from battle, the Turks entered the city. Shortly after the Turkish entry, he set sail, dying several days later.[45] These general details are common to most accounts regarding the siege of Constantinople. However, every account alters various facts to suit its own needs. This concept is most clearly exemplified through an examination of Giustiniani's wound. The accounts are best divided into those which describe no wound, a mild wound, or a serious wound. The extent of Giustiniani's injuries determines whether he is the story's tragic hero or cowardly traitor.

> Barbaro's final attack against the Genoese targets their commander, Giustiniani.

Only two contemporary accounts fail to mention Giustiniani's wounds. The first is that of Nicolo Barbaro. As previously mentioned, Barbaro downplayed the Greek's role in the Constantinople's defense, going as far as calling the Greeks cowards.[46] As a proud Venetian, Barbaro emphasized the work of his fellow countrymen, and he did so at the expense of the Greeks.[47] He disliked the Genoese even more than the Greeks. The Genoese were Venice's long time rivals. Barbaro recounts the treachery of the Genoese as early as 20 April 1453. He even explains that the traitorous Genoese warned Mehmet II of Venetian naval plans, leading to their military failure.[48] Barbaro's final attack on the Genoese is targeted at their commander, Giustiniani. On the final morning of the attack, Barbaro explains that Giustiniani falsely yelled that the Turks were in the city, and these cries of defeat caused the defenses to break.[49] Giustiniani became Barbaro's true villain, whether out of cowardice or treachery, and his account of the siege of Constantinople became an extension of the conflict between Venice and Genoa.

The second account which fails to mention Giustiniani's wound is that of Laonicus Chalcocondylas, an Athenian who lived in the Peloponnese during the siege. His work focuses more on the rise of the Ottomans than on the fall of the

[44]The St. Romanus Gate was the focal point of the Ottoman attack. It was the weakest point in the massive Theodosian land walls. Here the walls crossed the Lycus River valley. For this reason, Mehmet focused on this location. The Ottomans breached the wall there several days before the final assault. According to many accounts, both the emperor and Giustiniani oversaw military actions at the St. Romanus Gate when Mehmet's intentions became clear, and both were present there on the final morning of the siege, evidence of the gate's importance. For more on the positioning of troops; see Runicman, *The Siege of Constantinople*, 92-6.

[45]For a concise overview of Giovanni Guglielmo Longo Giustiniani; see *Mehmed II the Conqueror, and the Fall of the Franco-Byzantine Levant to the Ottoman Turks: Some Western Views and Testimonies*, trans. and ed. Marios Philippides (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2007), 107.

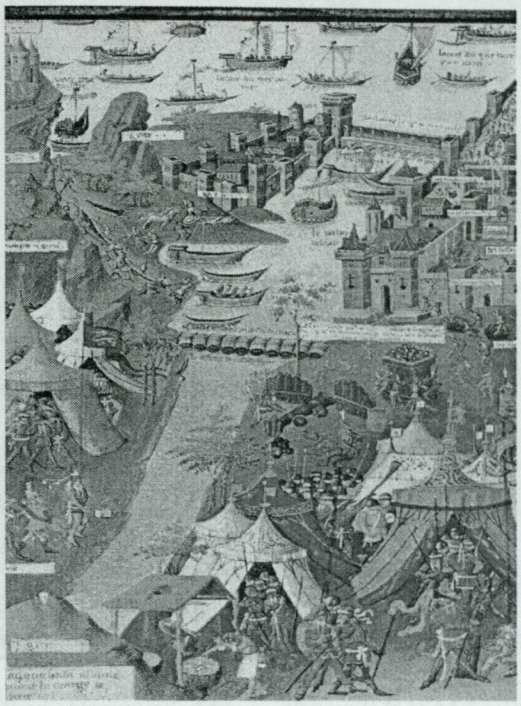
[46]Barbaro, *Diary of the Siege*, 50.

[47]Gibbon closely followed Barbaro's diary in his own account of the siege. It is no wonder that Gibbon saw the Greek defenders as superstitious fanatics unable to properly defend their city. For this portrayal; see Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 3: 947.

[48]Barbaro, *Diary of the Siege*, 39-40, 42.

[49]Ibid., 65.

Byzantines.[50] For this reason, Chalcocondylas largely ignores the religious and political conflicts of Constantinople. His account of Giustiniani does not mention any wound, but it does explain that the general left his post along with his men, and that his withdrawal caused a panic, leading to many defenders trampling one another to death.[51] Chalcocondylas failed to create a villain or hero out of Giustiniani, because it was not required for his story. The city fell, the Ottomans were victorious, and the siege became just another event in the rise of an empire.



The Turkish Army encampments outside of Constantinople in 1453. The Ottomans used the bridges made out of barrels (in the middle of the painting) to resupply their troops in the battle. Philip Sherrard, *Byzantium, Great Ages of Man: A History of the World's Cultures* (New York: TIME, 1966), 160. Original Source: *Siege of Constantinople*, manuscript illumination from the Voyage d'Outremer of Bertrandon de la Brocquiere, Ms. Fran. 9087, folio 207 verso, 1455, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.

The account of Leonard of Chios is the most scathing towards Giustiniani. Leonard calls Giustiniani's arrival a great misfortune. He goes on to mention that an arrow struck the commander, but chides Giustiniani for behaving like a child at the sight of his own blood. Giustiniani then fled his post, despite the emperor begging him to remain. Ultimately, Leonard explains that Giustiniani fled the city on his galley and died several days later either from his wound or out of shame.[52] It is unclear why Leonard turns Giustiniani into a coward. Leonard taught in Genoa and grew up on the island of Chios, controlled by the Genoese. Leonard possibly knew the man and held a personal reason for casting him in such a negative light. Regardless of his aims, Leonard's scathing account of Giustiniani influenced the writings of subsequent centuries.

The British fictional authors of the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries often downplay Giustiniani's wound. In A. Wall's *The Fall of Constantinople,* Giustiniani is not greatly wounded, but decides to leave his post. In this account, Giustiniani explains that he is not a Greek, and is not willing to die for the city.[53] Similarly, Captain Spencer's *Constantine: Or the Last Days of an Empire* explains that Giustiniani is slightly wounded, turns faint and leaves his post.[54] John Mason Neale's *The Fall of Constantinople* explains that an arrow pierces Giustiniani's hand, causing him to turn pale and nearly faint.[55]

These three authors all wrote roughly around the time when the British Empire fought the Crimean War against Russia. Their narratives became admonishments to their British readers. In his preface, Spencer likens Mehmet II to the Russian Tsar in his thirst for land, and explains that rather than allying with the Turks, the British should restore a Greek Empire to act as a buffer against Russian expansion.[56] Neale writes: "the sands of Turkish domination are now fast running out," and mentions a prophecy that Turkish rule over Constantinople would last for no

[50]*The Siege of Constantinople 1453: Seven Contemporary Accounts*, ix.

[51]Ibid., 50.

[52]Ibid., 17, 36-7.

[53]Wall, *The Fall of Constantinople*, 309.

[54]Spencer, *Constantine*, 309.

[55]Neale, *The Fall of Constantinople*, 337.

[56]Spencer, *Constantine*, 322, 324.

more than four hundred years.[57] Wall, writing after the Crimean War, dedicated his work to the descendants of Constantine XI, and explained the "excitement throughout the civilized world by the present condition of the Ottoman Empire."[58] These three men all diminish Giustiniani's wound, because their narratives are not concerned with the Genoese mercenary, but rather the noble Greeks and their courageous emperor.



The Leader of the Ottoman Turks, Sultan Mehmet II. Known as 'The Conqueror,' he was a brilliant military tactician. Philip Sherrard, *Byzantium, Great Ages of Man: A History of the World's Cultures* (New York: TIME, 1966), 169. Original Source: *Sultan Mehmet II*, oil painting by Gentile Bellini of Venice, 1480, The National Gallery, London, Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees (Culver Pictures).

All three authors make the fall of the Byzantine Empire a Greek tragedy to warn their own generation against an alliance with Turkey, and to raise concern about the Russians, depicting them as a new group of easterners bent on conquest. Spencer goes as far as to replace the figure of Giustiniani with a fictional character known as the Knight of the Falcon, a Scandinavian, who is called the Achilles of the Imperial Army, who twice unhorses Mehmet II in single combat.[59] Spencer substitutes the Genoese Giustiniani with a Northern European hero, because Giustiniani's character is no longer needed in a story exemplifying Greek courage.

David Dereksen[60] provides interesting examples regarding mythopoetic discourse shaping the course of history. Dereksen explains that a musket ball struck Giustiniani's hand or chest, and that the commander left for medical treatment. He then mentions that George Sphrantzes called Giustiniani a traitor, which he argues is an unfair judgment.[61] Dereksen likely refers to the document known as the *Chronicon Maius* attributed to George Sphrantzes. However, some recent scholars argue that the *Maius* is not the work of George Sphrantzes, but rather the writings of a known late sixteenth century counterfeiter named Makarios Melissenos.[62] Many subsequent authors have used Melissenos' embellished account, because they attribute the work to George Sphrantzes.

Makarios led a failed resistance movement in the Morea[63] following the Turkish defeat at Lepanto

[57]Neale, *The Fall of Constantinople*, xi.

[58]Wall, *The Fall of Constantinople*, vii.

[59]Spencer, *Constantine*, 226.

[60]David Dereksen, *The Crescent and the Cross: The Fall of Byzantium, May 1453* (New York: Putnam, 1964).

[61]Ibid., 233.

[62]For an explanation of this examination and conclusion; see George Sphrantzes, *The Fall of the Byzantine Empire*, 6-10.

[63]The Morea was a region in the Peloponnese. The heirs to the Byzantine throne ruled the region in

in 1571. After the movement's failure, he moved to Naples where he became a metropolitan.[64] Makarios' *Chronicon Maius* stands in contrast with the *Chronicon Minus* which is still attributed to George Sphrantzes, a close friend and administrator of Constantine XI.[65] Makarios adds numerous details to the original work of Sphrantzes. In regards to Giustiniani, Makarios explains that the wound is in the right leg near his foot, and that because of his lack of experience in war Giustiniani turns pale at the sight of his own blood, and leaves his post without a word.[66] In contrast, Sphrantzes' *Minus* is silent on the actions of Giustiniani. Sphrantzes is more concerned with the emperor.

> [T]hese cries of defeat caused the defenses to break.

Sphrantzes laments the loss of a friend and home, while Makarios attempts to rebuild his own Greek history that the Turks nearly extinguished more than a century before. Indeed, Makarios' account of Giustiniani's wound in the right ankle draws on the wound of Achilles in the *Iliad*. However, Makarios diminishes the figure of Giustiniani, casting him aside as a man new to war, and unable to handle the sight of his own blood. It is also interesting to note that many of the British fiction authors in the mid to late nineteenth century followed Makarios' description of Giustiniani, and Makarios likely followed the work of Leonard of Chios, whom obviously found a working discourse for diminishing the character of Giustiniani.

Not all authors lowered Giustiniani to the rank of coward. Many sources portray him as a hero, and explain that his grave wound forced him to retire. Tetaldi—a soldier during the siege—explains that a missile from a culverin pierced Giustiniani.[67] Tetaldi came from Florence and fought on the walls of Constantinople.[68] He makes Giustiniani a noble hero because of the severity of the wound. Unlike the previous examples which downplay the wound, Tetaldi describes a direct shot to the chest. He attempts to glorify the image of his fellow defender. The violence witnessed along the walls of Constantinople formed strong bonds among the surviving defenders, and news of the commander's death likely inspired honorary accounts of Giustiniani's valor and heroism.

The accounts of the Ottoman forces provide unlikely sources for the necessity of Giustiniani's departure. Konstantin Mihailovic, a Slavic soldier serving in the Sultan's army, explains that the Greek commander in charge of the breach fell, and the ensuing chaos allowed the Turks to storm the wall.[69] If Mihailovic—or the soldiers he heard the story from—thought the commander fell, the wound must have been severe. Similarly, Tursun Beg's Turkish account explains that Giustiniani received a wound in the belly, and that his injury caused the Byzantine troops to be overcome.[70]

For Mihailovic, the Byzantine commander's death is a likely explanation for the success of the Turkish attack. As an eyewitness to the events, he might have even seen Giustiniani wounded. Mehmet II entrusted Tursun Beg to write a chronicle of Mehmet's reign.[71] Giustiniani's wound was a common enough tale for Tursun Beg to include in his chronicle without fear of arousing Mehmet II's suspicion. The serious wounding and death of

later centuries. Constantine XI was crowned in the city of Mistra, the capital of the region. For roughly a decade after the siege the region remained independent until the Turks conquered it as well. For Constantine's coronation: see Runciman, *The Siege of Constantinople*, 51-2.

[64]Sphrantzes, *The Fall of the Byzantine Empire*, 8-9.

[65]Ibid., 9-13.

[66]Ibid., 127.

[67]*Mehmed II the Conqueror*, trans. Philippides, 185.

[68]Ibid., 23.

[69]Konstantin Mihailovic, *Memoirs of a Janissary*, trans. Benjamin Stolz (Ann Arbor, MI: Lithocrafters, 1975), 93.

[70]Beg, *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, 36.

[71]Ibid., 11.

Giustiniani is taken for granted in both accounts. The goals of these accounts differ with those of western views, such as Tetaldi. The Ottoman sources are not concerned whether Giustiniani is a hero or a coward. Rather, these authors use his wounding to explain how the Turks stormed the breach in the walls and achieved victory.

The differences in Giustiniani's wound highlight Hayden White's concept of competing narratives. Though the general facts of the story remain the same—Giustiniani received a wound in the defense of the city and withdrew from battle—the meaning behind these facts alters.[72] If an author chooses to leave out Giustiniani's wound, the commander becomes a coward who withdraws from the battlefield out of fear and self-preservation. If Giustiniani is only slightly wounded, the author seeks to downplay his importance and show him as a man easily startled. Only if Giustiniani receives a serious wound does he remain a hero who fought bravely, that is until his wounds forced him to seek medical attention. Thus, the various wounds attributed to Giovanni Giustiniani directly affect his character's portrayal. The authors' depictions of Giustiniani often went hand in hand with their portrayal of Constantine XI. By diminishing one, the author often exalted the other.

Giustiniani turns pale at the sight of his own blood

THE DEATH OF AN EMPEROR AND HIS CITY

Emperor Constantine XI's life is shrouded in mystery. Very few physical depictions remain for modern scholars to examine.[73] His death is equally mysterious. No author witnessed the emperor's death. Due to Constantine XI's own orders, George Sphrantzes—his close friend and administrator—was not present at the emperor's death.[74] As a result, the event has taken on mythic proportions. The fact that every modern account of the emperor's death is built on rumors or hearsay produces potential within mythopoetic discourse. That the emperor died is not enough. The question of how the emperor died must be answered; and myth and legend fill in the void left behind.

Nicolo Barbaro provides an interesting account of the emperor's death. Barbaro gives two conflicting accounts that he heard. One story explains, after realizing the futility of the city's defense, the emperor hung himself. The second story explains that the emperor begged one of his courtiers to kill him; when all those around him refused, he charged headlong into the Turkish forces. Barbaro does not mention which story he finds more likely and seems fairly indifferent to the emperor's death.[75] For Barbaro, the emperor could have died as a coward committing suicide or as a hero in battle. This indifference reflects his belief that the Greeks were not active in the Constantinople's defense. He did not feel Constantine was the true commander of the defending forces, nor did he think that the manner of his death affected the outcome of the battle. Barbaro's distance from the city walls, and pride in his fellow Venetians, shaped his opinion of the Greek emperor.

At the beginning of his entry for 29 May 1453, Barbaro includes a Byzantine legend. This legend explained that the statue of Constantine I in St. Sophia pointed east to Anatolia, the direction of the destroyer of his empire. The legend also explained that the empire would fall when another

[72]White, "Historical Emplotment and the Problem of Truth," 393-5.

[73]For an examination of the conflicts over the image of Constantine XI: see Margaret Carroll, "Constantine Palaeologus: Some Problems of Image," *Maistor, Classical, Byzantine and Renaissance Studies for Robert Browning*, ed. Ann Moffatt (Canberra: The Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1984), 329-43.

[74]Sphrantzes, *The Fall of the Byzantine Empire*, 70.

[75]Barbaro, *Diary of the Siege*, 68.



Emperor Constantine XI Palaiologos, depicted here as a humble man in a painting from Paris, 1584. Donald M. Nicol, *The Immortal Emperor: The Life and Legend of Constantine Palaiologos, Last Emperor of the Romans* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992), between 82 and 83.

Constantine, son of Helena, came to power.[76] This legend could be legitimate or a later invention. Regardless of its nature it explained the loss of Constantinople. People read Barbaro's account, because it was an eyewitness story of the city's fall. Barbaro's mythic explanation symbolized finality; the first Constantine gave way to the last, and the line of emperors nearly came full circle in the city's destruction.[77]

The chronicle of Nestor Iskander is particularly interesting in regards to the emperor's death. In Iskander's account, Constantine XI gathers a group of men for one final assault on the Turks. Iskander explains that Constantine killed six hundred men with his own hands, and goes on to mention a prophecy that the city's end would come with a Constantine on the throne.

However, Iskander does not end there. He continues to mention other prophecies that were fulfilled that day, and adds one concerning the future, explaining that the Russians would vanquish the Muslims and inherit Rome.[78] As a Russian who witnessed the capture of Constantinople himself, Iskander saw firsthand the lack of aid sent by the Catholic West. He saw his own people as the true inheritors of the Orthodox religion and the Roman Empire. Thus, Iskander's inclusion of the third Rome prophecy answered why the city fell. Constantinople fell to make way for a new Rome.[79]

[76]Barbaro, *Diary of the Siege*, 61. Both Constantine XI and Constantine I were sons of Helena.

[77]The number twelve is of great significance in the Orthodox world, because it represents the number of Jesus' apostles. Constantine the Great was buried alongside twelve other tombs representing Christ's apostles. He used the title *Isapostolos*, meaning "equal of the Apostles." The line of emperors had not come full circle, because they ended with the eleventh. See John Julius Norwich, *A Short History of Byzantium* (New York: Vintage, 1999), 18.

[78]For Constantine's last stand, the prophecy of the first and last Constantine, and the prophecy of the Russians; see Nestor Iskander, *The Tale of Constantinople*, 87, 95.

[79]The concept of Russia as the third Rome is not something new. For a concise examination of this

Kritovoulos provides an account contemporary to the fall of the city and gives the emperor a noble death.[80] Kritovoulos constructs an elegy for Constantine XI. In it, he states that the emperor: died fighting, lived wisely and in moderation, quickly understood his duty, and swiftly carried it out. Kritovoulos compares Constantine XI to Pericles, an early Athenian statesmen and general, known for his wise judgment. He claims that the emperor's final words were: "The city is taken, and it is useless for me to live any longer," shortly before he hurled himself into the midst of enemy forces.[81] Thus, a Byzantine author gave a Byzantine emperor an elegy which lifted his death to near mythic heights.

"The city is taken, and it is useless for me to live any longer"

Most modern accounts draw on these early writings which portray the emperor in a noble manner. Even Edward Gibbon, known for his dislike of the Byzantine Empire, managed to write: "the nation was indeed pusillanimous and base; but the last Constantine deserves the name of a hero." Gibbon embellishes that true Roman virtue inspired the last Roman emperor in his final hours.[82] In contrast to his cowardly Giustiniani, Gibbon's Constantine XI is a shining example of true valor, flinging off his imperial insignia and charging into battle. He ultimately dies alongside countless other brave individuals who served as the heroic emperor's final companions in death.[83] Similarly, Charles Diehl explains that Constantine XI died in the breach like a hero, shedding one final ray of splendor on the city he ruled for such a short time. In the final hours of Constantinople, Giustiniani's character is diminished or vilified, while Constantine XI and new characters are glorified.[84] According to Stephen Runciman, three knights are at the emperor's side in his final minutes, including Theophilus Palaeologus, who charges into a swarm of Turks quickly followed by his emperor.[85] John Julius Norwich follows the same story, adding the names of the emperor's final companions, Don Francisco de Toledo, Theophilus Palaeologus, and John Dalmata, who together plunged into the battle and were never seen again.[86] Thus, the mythical archetype of the hero's companion is propagated even in the modern stories surrounding the death of Emperor Constantine XI.

The various stories of the siege of Constantinople allow the historian to better understand the roots of historical source material and the way in which they develop over time. Mythopoetic language and devices explain the events of 29 May 1453. Various authors used mythopoetic ideas such as: the wrath of God, the tragic flaw, the traitor, the hero, the companion, and even the hero's death to familiarize their reader to these distant and confusing events. Competing narratives make up the basic structure of battle myths. Though the overall picture largely remains the same, the slight variations found in each account highlight the author's unique interpretation, or alteration. Myth explains the inexplicable. Many Europeans found the fall of Constantinople difficult to fathom. Later generations of authors analyzed at the siege and adapted the story to fit their own time and place.

doctrine; see Dimitri Stremooukhoff, "Moscow the Third Rome: Sources of the Doctrine," *Speculum* 28 (Jan. 1953): 84-101.

[80]Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, trans. and ed. Charles T. Rigg (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954).

[81]Ibid., 81-2.

[82]Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 3: 950.

[83]For Gibbon's portrayal of Giustiniani and Constantine's final charge; see Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* 3: 961, 962.

[84]Charles Diehl, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, trans. George B. Ives (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1925), 168.

[85]Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople*, 139-140.

[86]Norwich, *Byzantium*, 435.

A focus on the varying sources surrounding three separate events that occurred on the final morning of the siege of Constantinople highlights the evolution of mythopoetic discourse in history and how it unfolds. However the siege lasted well over a month. Numerous other events, such as Mehmet II's overland transport of ships into the Golden Horn, the various naval battles, mining excursions, and depictions of the Turkish armies, lend themselves to mythopoetic examinations. A study of the portrayals of Mehmet II proves a rich topic for further mythopoetic study. It is unfortunate that the siege of Constantinople has not inspired the modern film or television industry. In a time so concerned with terrorism and the clash of East and West, it will be interesting to see how today's generation uses the story of Constantinople. The stories of battles have been told for millennia, and will continue to be crafted and developed with every new generation. It is the calling of the historian to examine why these developments and variations take place, and what language and devices shape them. An understanding of mythopoeia will only aid in this quest.

Divided by an Ocean, United by Injustice: The African-American Fight for Human Rights in the United States and the Belgian Congo, 1880-1909

Ryan Tickle

African Americans constituted the front lines in the Congolese Rights movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. **Ryan Tickle** demonstrates how prominent African Americans battled the Belgian propaganda machine of King Leopold II to bring worldwide attention to the atrocities committed. They accomplished this goal by utilizing popular and influential media such as newspapers, lecture tours, photographs, and literature. In addition, they organized civil rights groups to promote equal rights for Blacks and end Leopold's regime in the Congo.



King Leopold II of Belgium claimed the Congo as his personal colony. "Leopold II, King of Belgium," 1835-1909, bust portrait. Photograph by Chemar Freres. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, BIOG file.

The European "Scramble for Africa" began in the 1880s and continued a worldwide policy of discrimination against Africans and those of African heritage. Britain, France, Germany, Portugal, Spain, Belgium, and Italy divvied up the continent of Africa and "v[ied] with one another for prestige and strategic advantage...investment outlets and new sources of raw materials."[1] They altogether ignored the rights of the natives living there. The most atrocious example of abuse occurred in the Belgian Congo, where King Leopold II ordered the locals tortured, maimed, and murdered as they harvested rubber and ivory. Life at the end of Reconstruction did not fare much better for African Americans in the United States. However, in the face of entrenched worldwide scientific and political racism, African Americans continued their struggle for equality and the rights of the exploited Congolese using a variety of methods. George Washington Williams, Booker T. Washington, William Sheppard, and others, utilized popular and influential tools such as newspapers, literature, the lecture circuit, human rights associations, missionary reports, and photography to combat Leopold's well-oiled propaganda machine. They fought to bring attention to the plight of the oppressed Congolese people and persuaded the United States citizenry and government to act.

> [O]bservers routinely equated Africans with animals...generally lack[ing]... redeeming qualities...

While there existed a European interest in the Congo since the Portuguese "claimed" it in 1482, it received scant attention until Henry Morton Stanley trekked through the territory nearly four hundred years later.[2] His vivid accounts of the "Dark" continent's "unsophisticated," "clotheless," and "overtattooed" inhabitants echoed the opinions of most Europeans about Africans.[3] Journalist Neal Ascherson averred, "by 1875, the inhabitants of Western Europe still knew more about the physical geography of the moon than of the interior of Africa."[4] Stanley's observations varied little from those of Englishmen in the late 1500s. As historian Winthrop Jordan noted, explorers who encountered West Africans and Congolese on trading voyages wrote, "the Negro was ugly, by reason of his color...his 'horrid Curles' and 'disfigured' lips and nose."[5] These observers routinely equated Africans with animals or Neanderthals and concluded that darker people generally lacked the redeeming qualities, especially the mental capabilities, of white men.[6] Unluckily for the Congolese, King Leopold II of Belgium proclaimed himself leader and funded Stanley's aggressive push across their homeland and the well-publicized and overtly racist findings that followed.

King Leopold's deceitful rule in the Congo during the rubber boom, which began in the 1890s, became a chilling example of the crushing force of economic greed and racism. Sovereign of one of the smallest European nations, Leopold claimed one of the richest and largest pieces of the African continent.[7] He accomplished this with relative ease by "putting up a façade of virtue, investing the start of his African adventure with an aura of missionary and philanthropic beneficence."[8] Leopold enticed the world with the promise of free trade with the Congo and enlisted the help of many Americans, including General Henry Shelton Sanford, former minister to Belgium, and John H. Latrobe,

[1]James T. Campbell, *Middle Passages: African-American Journeys to Africa, 1787-2005* (New York: Penguin, 2006), 137.

[2]H. L. Wesseling, *Divide and Rule: The Partition of Africa, 1880-1914*, trans. Arnold J. Pomerans (Westport, CT: Praeger 1996), 74.

[3]Henry Morton Stanley, *The Congo and the Founding of Its Free State*, vol. 2 (New York: Harpers, 1885), 100.

[4]Neal Ascherson, *The King Incorporated: Leopold the Second and the Congo* (London: Granta Books, 1963), 85.

[5]Winthrop Jordan, *The White Man's Burden: The Historical Origins of Racism* (New York: Oxford, 1974), 6.

[6]Ascherson, *The King*, 128.

[7]Wesseling, *Divide and Rule*, 76.

[8]Ibid., 79.

president of the American Colonization Society, to lobby for the support of the United States government.[9] In 1879, Sanford wrote, "nearly 5 million of our people are of African race...contact with whites...[has] made them far the superiors of the parent race...these people [should] return to Africa and regenerate the parent country."[10] Sanford viewed the native African as a blank slate, ripe for exploitation and repopulation with African Americans. Latrobe agreed. Disregarding the rights and wishes of the Congolese and the black population in the United States, Sanford and Latrobe used the Congo as an excuse for shipping African Americans back to Africa and reaping the benefits of its re-energized economy.



A caricature of Blacks enjoying the "Darky's theme and dream" at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. *Darkies' Day at the Fair* by Fredric B. Opper, Illus. in Puck, 21 August 1893, 186, ©Keppler & Schwarzmann.

Leopold's desire to hoard the Congo's ivory and rubber, at the expense of human rights, needed the support of more than two eager assistants. Leopold's expansive and expensive propaganda machine included newspapers and reporters, United States government officials like Sanford and Rhode Island Senator Nelson Aldrich, and influential clergymen in the Catholic Church such as Cardinal James Gibbons of Baltimore.[11] Gibbons once defended his support of Leopold against ridicule and described him as a "wise as well as humane ruler."[12] Sanford touted Leopold's determination to forge the Congo colony in the name of scientific progress and the end to Arab slavery.[13] The New York State Chamber of Commerce bought into Sanford's rhetoric about Leopold's philanthropic motives and resolved to send the President of the United States a recommendation to recognize the king's bogus International African Association (IAA).[14] Even the king published a report in the *London Times* espousing his version of the Red Cross under the anonymity of "a Belgian correspondent."[15] Undoubtedly, the most powerful of Leopold's associates included multi-millionaire Senator Nelson Aldrich, a "trusted card-playing intimate of [J.P.] Morgan and Cardinal Gibbons...and father-in-law to John D. Rockefeller, Jr."[16] However, he was not only influential among the nation's wealthy. President Theodore Roosevelt once remarked to Lincoln Steffens, "I bow to Aldrich; I talk to Aldrich; I respect him...I'm just a president, and he has seen lots of presidents."[17] Through the powerful Senator, pulling political strings in Washington became easier for Leopold. The Belgian king successfully gained access to the inner circles of American politics and manipulated U.S. foreign policy.

The United States, eager to harvest a share of the Congo's riches and fooled by Leopold's empty promises, became the first country to recognize

[9]Henry S. Sanford, "Report of the Hon. Henry Shelton Sanford, U. S. Delegate from the American Branch to the Annual Meeting of the African International Association in Brussels, in June 1877, to the Hon. John H. B. Latrobe, Brussels, 30 June 1877," *American Geographical Society Journal* 9 (1877): 103-8. Quoted in Elliott Skinner, *African Americans and U.S. Policy toward Africa 1850-1924: In Defense of Black Nationality* (Washington, D. C.: Howard University Press, 1992), 216.

[10]Skinner, *African Americans and U.S. Policy*, 216.

[11]Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa* (Boston: Mariner Books, 1998), 66, 244.

[12]"Congo Rule Humane, Says Cardinal Gibbons," *New York Times*, 16 December 1906.

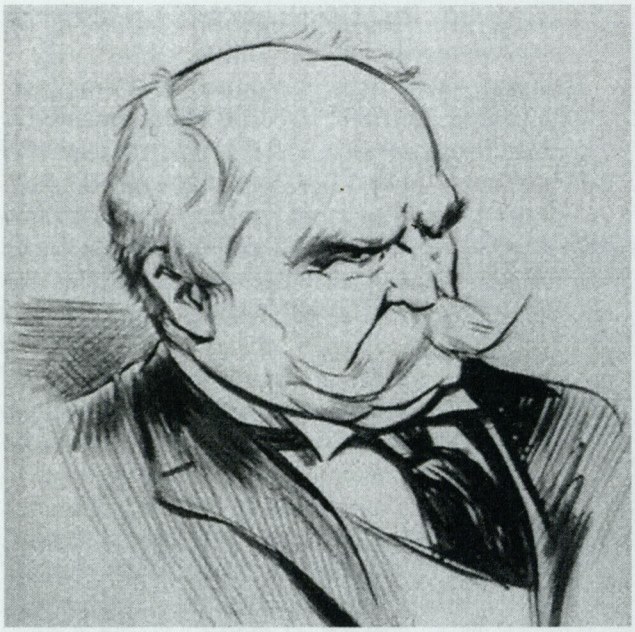
[13]Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost*, 66.

[14]Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York. *Free Navigation of the Congo: Proceedings of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New-York*, 10 January 1884 (New York: Chamber of Commerce, no. 63 Williams St., 1884), 12.

[15]Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost*, 66.

[16]Jerome L. Sternstein, "King Leopold II, Senator Nelson W. Aldrich, and the Strange Beginnings of American Economic Penetration of the Congo," *African Historical Studies* 2, no. 2 (1969): 193.

[17]Ibid.



Senator Nelson Aldrich fought for Leopold's interests in Washington, D.C. "Senator Nelson Wilmarth Aldrich" drawing by Arthur Garfield Dove. Published in *Success*, 1909.

the IAA in 1884. The IAA announced its goal "to open to civilization the only part of our globe where it has yet to penetrate."[18] Henry Shelton Sanford, Abraham Lincoln's appointed minister to Belgium, served as the association's Chief Exectutive Officer (CEO).[19]

With strong political ties to Washington, he corresponded with President Chester A. Arthur regarding Leopold's "plans" for the Congo over a period of two years.[20] Sanford served as the conduit through which Leopold's lies flowed directly into Washington. According to President Arthur, the king's resolve to provide a colony free from political bickering and control inspired the IAA.[21] Leopold claimed he held no hidden agenda and assured world leaders that "Belgium...is happy and satisfied with her lot. My only ambition is to serve her."[22] In a message to Congress in December of 1883, Arthur guaranteed Americans that the Congolese rested "under one flag which offers freedom to commerce and prohibits the slave trade."[23] Hearing his words read before Congress could not have pleased Leopold more. With the American government securely under his thumb, the Belgian king sought the approval of the American public. This came with ease.

Rampant racism in the United States facilitated Leopold's advances in the Congo. Instead of a marked improvement after Reconstruction, life for African Americans consisted of "Jim Crowism, disfranchisement, economic exploitation, lynching, rapes, and other institutionalized barbarities... [that] sought to keep the race forever in a state of powerlessness."[24] Anthropologist Elliott Skinner argued that African Americans in the 1880s "crouched at the feet of whites begging for [work]."[25]

While African Americans held political rights, whites employed the Ku Klux Klan, poll taxes, and violence to silence the black voice. Similarly, Jim Crow laws enacted in Southern states ensured continued white domination and revealed Republicans' abandonment of the black

[18]Thomas Pakenham, *The Scramble for Africa: White Man's Conquest of the "Dark" Continent from 1876 to1912* (New York: Avon Books, 1991), 21.

[19]Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, *Free Navigation*, 2.

[20]Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost*, 77.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Pakenham, *The Scramble*, 21.

[23]Chamber of Commerce, *Free Navigation*, 2.

[24]Jinx Coleman Broussard. *Giving a Voice to the Voiceless: Four Pioneering Black Women Journalists* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 2.

[25]Skinner, *African Americans and U.S. Policy*, 216.

cause.[26] Ida B. Wells-Barnett lamented that while slavery ended with the Civil War, it also left them "homeless, penniless, ignorant, nameless, and friendless."[27] Wells's frustration highlights the desperation that many in the African-American community faced. This institutionalized discrimination further desensitized a white population already apathetic to the struggle of black Americans.

Negative images and representations of Africans, African Americans, and all racial minorities proliferated in the United States after emancipation. In one instance, the absence of an African-American face best exhibited racism's stronghold. Officials at the World's Fair of 1893 in Chicago, known as the World's Columbian Exposition, sought to placate the black population and declared 25 August 1893 "Colored People's Day," while they concurrently denied African Americans the right to assemble their own exhibits.[28]

In her anger over this decision, Ida B. Wells-Barnett along with Frederick Douglass, Irvine Garland Penn, and Ferdinand Barnett co-wrote and edited a pamphlet in protest. "The Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in the World's Columbian Exposition" bluntly describes multi-faceted American racism. African Americans faced uncontestable accusations, hostile policies, and the convict lease system.[29] To combat the negative press attention, Penn offered proof of African-American advancement educationally, financially, and professionally since emancipation.[30] A few sentences into the introduction, Frederick Douglass stingingly remarked, "There are many good things concerning our country and countrymen of which we would be glad to tell in this pamphlet, if we could do so, and at the same time tell the truth."[31]

Even three decades after emancipation, Douglass observes, blacks in the United States struggled to find much salvation in their freedom. Living in an overtly hostile environment, African Americans faced a daunting challenge to secure their own rights, let alone those of Africans. Racists in the United States ostracized and exploited African Americans in much the same way the Congolese suffered under Belgian rule.

Wells-Barnett gained international acclaim for her tenacious attack on another serious issue related to American racism. At speaking engagements, she exposed Americans and Europeans alike to the horrors of lynching in the United States, particularly in the South. Lynching continued well into the twentieth century, perpetuating racial violence and terror toward African Americans and mirroring crimes perpetrated in the Belgian Congo.

In 1919, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) published a report on the lynching epidemic between 1889 and 1918. They cited 3,224 deaths from lynching; over 2,500 of the victims involved African Americans.[32] Many of these murders involved a degree of morbid curiosity, vile racism, and cruelty. In horrific detail, the *Springfield Republican* described the 2 April 1899 murder of Sam Hose in Newman, Georgia:

> Before the torch was applied to the pyre, the negro was deprived of his ears, fingers and genital parts of his body. He pleaded pitifully for his life while the mutilation was going on, but stood the ordeal of the fire with surprising fortitude. Before the body was cool, it was

[26]Beverly Jones, "Mary Church Terrell and the National Association or Colored Women. 1896-1901," *Journal of Negro History* 67, no. 1 (1982): 21.

[27]Ida B. Wells et al., *The Reason Why the Colored American is not in the World's Columbian Exposition: The Afro-American's Contribution to Columbian Literature*, ed. Robert Rydell (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 17.

[28]Barbara Hochman, "*Uncle Tom's Cabin* at the World's Columbian Exposition," *Libraries & Culture* 41, no. 1 (2006): 101.

[29]Wells, *The Reason*, 23-7.

[30]Ibid., 44-64

[31]Ibid., 7.

[32]National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, *Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States, 1889-1918* (New York, 1919), 29-30 as cited in Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism, 1850-1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 104.

> cut to pieces, the bones were crushed into small bits, and even the tree upon which the wretch met his fate was torn up and disposed of as "souvenirs." The negro's heart was cut into several pieces, as was also his liver. Those unable to obtain ghastly relics paid their more fortunate possessors extravagant sums for them. Small pieces of bones went for 25 cents, and a bit of liver crisply cooked sold for 10 cents.[33]

The grotesque nature of this murder, and many others like it, exposed the degree of hatred and inhumanity in American communities. Far beyond an abuse of human rights, this blatant degradation of the African-American body and organs further illustrates the impact of scientific racism and the universal defilement of blacks it incited. Sadly, this sentiment was not uniquely American.

White American attitudes toward minorities and foreigners improved very little, if at all, by the 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis. The "Louisiana Purchase Exposition" featured displays of cultures from around the world. These "human zoos" included "native people of Alaska... recently conquered Philippines...Japan... South America...North America" and "pygmies from the Congo."[34] W. J. McGee, head of the Anthropology Department of the St. Louis Fair, set about, as the *New York Times* phrased it, "gathering types and freaks from every land."[35] Dr. McGee gathered "strange" people for display; visitors undoubtedly anticipated the African Pygmies the most.[36] These "amazing dwarfs of the Congo Valley...some red, some black... fearless midgets who boldly attack elephants" became a crowd favorite.[37]

The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* article continued, providing a list of rather unflattering "facts" about these Congolese: if captured young enough, the pygmies make great servants; the pygmies are cannibals, Godless, without history or tradition; and they can change the color of their skin according to season.[38] One warning about the Congolese pygmies of note: "[One] pygmy servant...was so confirmed in the habit of leaping like a grasshopper that he could never carry a plate without spilling more or less of its contents."[39] After the World's Fair, one of these Pygmies found himself on display on the east coast, a sad representation of race relations in the United States and around the world.

> Housed among the chimpanzees and orangutans was Ota Benga...

On 8 September 1906, visitors to the Bronx Zoological Park in New York witnessed a rather unsettling display. It drew laughs and sneers from many while at the same time raising concern for others. There was "something about it that I don't like," remarked one onlooker.[40] "Is it a man?" inquired another.[41] Housed among the chimpanzees and orangutans stood Ota Benga; a Congolese man plucked from Africa two years prior for display at the World's Fair in St. Louis.[42]

Support for the Bronx exhibition came from the medical and science fields and perfectly represented scientific racism's dehumanizing effects on Africans and people of African descent. One doctor assured readers of the New York Times that the exhibit would "help our clergymen familiarize themselves with the scientific point of

[33]Ralph Ginzburg, *100 Years of Lynching* (Baltimore: Black Classics Press, 1988), 12. As quoted in Harvey Young, "The Black Body as Souvenir in American Lynching," *Theatre Journal* 57, no. 4 (2005): 639.

[34]Bradford and Blume, *Ota*, 3.

[35]Ibid., 242.

[36]Ibid., 243.

[37]Ibid., 247.

[38]Ibid., 248-9.

[39]Ibid., 249.

[40]"Bushman Shares a Cage with Bronx Park Apes," *New York Times*, 9 September 1906. Pg?

[41]Phillips Verner Bradford and Harvey Blume, *Ota: The Pygmy in the Zoo* (New York: St. Martin's, 1992), 179.

[42]"Hope For Ota Benga: If Little, He's No Fool," *New York Times*, 30 September 1906. Pg?

view so absolutely foreign to many of them."[43] A newspaper reporter noticed of Ota and his orangutan roommate, "their heads are much alike, and both grin the same way when pleased."[44] An encaged and exploited Ota Benga represented all too well the situation of his Congolese people in Africa during this period and equally represented the plight of African Americans struggling to escape the racism still plaguing them after Reconstruction.

In light of these conditions, it may come as a surprise that an African American first exposed the fraudulent Congo Free State. A native of Bedford Springs, Pennsylvania, George Washington Williams accomplished a great deal in his life of only forty-two years. Born on 16 October 1849, the second child of Thomas Williams and Ellen Rouse, George enlisted and fought as a Civil War soldier at age fourteen, later fought for Mexico in her War for Independence, and concluded his military career on the Plains battling the Indians.[45] Williams maintained an active life after his discharge from the military in 1868. He "became a polished writer and speaker...was installed as pastor of the Twelfth Baptist church in Boston" and later moved to Washington, D.C. "where he edited *The Commoner*, an African-American newspaper. Soon afterward he settled in Cincinnati...pursuing a varied career as pastor; columnist...lawyer, first black member of the [Ohio] state legislature; and historian of his race."[46] Williams' talents and success in such a difficult era for African Americans boded well for the black community but not so well for his adversaries.

Williams' journalistic prowess earned him the opportunity to travel to Europe, a trip that reinforced his desire to uplift the black race from its current social restraint. Williams went abroad in November 1889 on assignment for the Associated Literary Press to cover an antislavery conference and write a few brief articles.[47] He also scheduled an interview with Leopold where the monarch made quite an impression on the young journalist.

Williams employed physiognomy to describe Leopold: "His features were strong and clear... ears set well back of the brain...[his] mouth showed strength and generosity, and his chin indicative of decision and courage..." the star-struck Williams wrote.[48] The king won an admirer; Williams defended Leopold, citing particularly his unselfishness and Christian motives in Africa. Williams mingled with other attendees of the antislavery conference, including American railroad magnate Collis P. Huntington. Desirous of a railroad through the Congo, Huntington sought someone to assess the idea's plausibility. These encounters only fueled Williams' desire to visit the great king's new colony and place African Americans at the forefront of progress.

Political connections and a chance encounter with a wealthy businessman put Williams' plans for a Congo visit in motion in 1889.[49] Huntington needed someone for a reconnaissance mission to the Congo as U.S. President Benjamin Harrison remained unsure about ratifying the Berlin Act that essentially handed the Congo over to Leopold.[50] Two days before Christmas 1899, Williams met with President Harrison and informed him of his plans. President Harrison agreed not to sign the Berlin Act until he received Williams' report on the Congo.[51]

Huntington supplied Williams with financial support of £100, confident of Williams' ability to educate Americans on the Congo. The reaction in Brussels was quite different. Leopold's warm personality disappeared when he and Williams met again in 1890. Initially, the king denied Williams the use of "State-Steamers" for travel. Subsequently, he and Belgian officials resolved to "do everything in [their] power to defeat Williams' mission," after hearing that Huntington

[43]"Ota Benga Having a Fine Time," *New York Times*, 13 September 1906.

[44]Bradford and Blume, *Ota*, 181.

[45]John Hope Franklin, *George Washington Williams: A Biography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 4-10.

[46]Ibid., xvi.

[47]Ibid., 181.

[48]Ibid.

[49]Ibid., 182.

[50]Ibid., 187.

[51]Ibid.

provided funding for the voyage.[52] It did not take long for Williams to learn why Leopold and his business interests fought so hard to keep him out of Africa.

Immediately on arrival in the Congo, Williams realized "the Providence of God" led him to the suffering natives.[53] He regarded Leopold's Congo as a prison and declared it "the Siberia of the African Continent."[54] After earlier accepting Leopold's promises as truth and subscribing to the notion that Africa needed enlightening, reality proved difficult for Williams to comprehend. He wrote to Huntington about his bitter resentment of the "deceit, obtrusiveness, ignorance and cruelty of the State of the Congo."[55] The enslaved people lived in squalor; hospitals with dirt floors, no blankets or Chaplains, and their dead carelessly thrown into nearby fields.[56] In Stanley Falls he composed "A Report on the Proposed Congo Railway" on 16 July 1890 and his "Open Letter to His Serene Majesty Leopold II" two days later. On 14 October 1890, Williams documented the deplorable conditions of the Congolese people and the insidiousness of Leopold and Stanley in "A Report upon the Congo-State and Country" to President Harrison.[57] These published reports provided the first undistorted accounts of Leopold's Congo and urged the United States to intervene on behalf of the suffering natives.

Williams' biographer and historian, John Hope Franklin, describes the "Open Letter" as a "systematic, wide-ranging, rather calm indictment of the king's rule in the Congo."[58] Beginning his indictment by questioning the legitimacy of the Free State, Williams doubted the legality of Leopold's ownership, which resulted from the hundreds of ill-begotten treaties agreed upon between tribal chiefs and Stanley years earlier.[59] Leopold's simple instructions: make the treaties "as brief as possible...and in a couple of articles [they] must grant us everything."[60]

Because no written language existed in the Congo, African leaders could not fathom the implications of their scribbled signature. Williams made several charges against the king: failure to provide any humanitarian assistance, education, or jobs to the Congolese. Williams recounted the promises made by Leopold to the President of the United States and asserted Leopold kept none. Instead, Leopold's soldiers robbed the locals for necessities and burned the houses of those who refused. The Congolese found themselves left with no recourse; the laws and courts operated poorly and held favor for the Belgian officers while doling out harsh punishments to blacks. Williams announced, "Your Majesty's Government has sequestered their land, burned their towns, stolen their property, enslaved their women and children, and committed other crimes too numerous to mention in detail."[61] Williams made bold accusations for a man of color to make against a white king, but he remained steadfast in his convictions.

Williams' letter, a "cry of outrage that came from the heart," as journalist and author Adam Hochschild describes it, made it into 14 April 1891 editions of the *New York Herald* and *New York Times* where it caused a significant stir.[62] Initial comments from the Herald supported Williams' claims and added legitimacy to his charges against Leopold and Stanley.[63] When interviewed, Stanley dismissed the letter as a blackmail attempt.[64] John Hope Franklin contests that the "blackmail" claim became a common tactic with men such as

[52]Ibid., 189.

[53]Ibid.

[54]Ibid., 191.

[55]Ibid., 195.

[56]Ibid., 191.

[57]George Washington Williams, "A Report upon the Congo-State and Country to the President of the Republic of the United States of America, by Colonel the Honorable Geo. W. Williams." Appendix 3 in John Hope Franklin's *George Washington Williams: A Biography.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985, 265-7.

[58]Franklin, *George Washington Williams*, 202.

[59]Ibid.

[60]Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost*, 71.

[61]George Washington Williams, "An Open Letter to His Serene Majesty Leopold II, King of the Belgians and Sovereign of the Independent State of Congo, by Colonel the Honorable George W. Williams, of the United States of America." Appendix 1 in John Hope Franklin's *George Washington Williams: A Biography*, 246.

[62]Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost*, 114.

[63]Franklin, *George Washington Williams*, 208.

[64]"Col. Williams Charges," *New York Times*, 14 April 1891.

the Belgian minister to the United States. British officials Alfred LeGhait and Martin Gosselin also used the strategy to brush off Williams.[65] Leopold personally addressed Williams' remarks, explaining to any doubters that because he refused to buy a copy of the American's forthcoming book, "[Williams] was seeking to levy blackmail by publishing his violent attack against the... State."[66] With the king's propaganda machine at full speed, many historians have long rendered Williams' public condemnation of Leopold as insignificant.[67] However, he evoked an emotional reaction from supporters and opponents alike by his publications.

While a concerted worldwide effort for Congo reform did not evolve until later, the public remarks of George Washington Williams did not fall upon deaf ears in 1891. Following the printing of his letter in the *New York Herald* and *New York Times*, reporters conducted interviews with Belgian administrators and explorers and retaliatory articles to Williams' charges surfaced. An exchange of correspondence from government and business officials flowed back and forth, as they contemplated what to do and say in response to the allegations.[68] In essence, their reaction proves the value of the "Open Letter." "Too much was at stake [for Leopold and his business interests] in terms both of the Congo State as a commercial enterprise and of the credibility and integrity of the king."[69] Arguing point-by-point against Williams' assertions, an article published in the *Mouvement Géographique* on 14 June 1891 diverted attention from the Congo situation and instead questioned the treatment of the Apache and Sioux Indians by the United States government.[70] The *Journal de Bruxelles* titled a June 1891 article in response to Williams, "The Congo and its Slanderers."[71] The Belgian Parliament even addressed the remarks in their meeting on 18 June 1891, as a sign of protest against the "American slanders."[72]

> [U]ndistorted accounts...urged the United States to intervene on behalf of suffering natives

Inspired by Williams' courage, African Americans aired their opinions in newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, and letters in response to the racial violence in the late nineteenth century. According to historian Walter Williams, "by 1890 nearly six hundred black newspapers had been started, and ten years later over one hundred and fifty papers were in operation."[73] Black journalists frequently expressed negative opinions about Africa and Africans, such as the need for "civilizing" and rejection of Africa as their "natural home."[74] However, once the press caught wind of the abuses in the Congo, it used editorials, columns, and photographs to keep its readership informed

[65]Franklin, *George Washington Williams*, 209.

[66]Lord Vivian to Lord Salisbury, Brussels, 4 April 1891, British Foreign Office Files, F084/2118, no. 23, Africa, Confidential, Public Record Office. Quoted in Franklin's *George Washington Williams*, 210.

[67]John Hope Franklin argues in his introduction to *George Washington Williams: A Biography*, that "there was little reaction in the United States to his attacks on King Leopold." Pagan Kennedy asserts in her biography of William Henry Sheppard that "the flimsy document [Williams' *Open Letter*], just a few pages long, was no match for the effusions of the king's media machine." Quoted in Pagan Kennedy, *Black Livingstone* (New York: Penguin Group, 2002), 34. Catherine Ann Cline also refers to E. D. Morel as the first to expose the Leopoldian system, ignoring Williams altogether in her article, "The Church and the Movement for Congo Reform," *Church History* 32, no.1 (1963): 46-56.

[68]See John Hope Franklin's discussion of the many articles published and letters sent from men such as British East Africa Company official, Sir William Mackinnon to King Leopold regarding the *Open Letter* on pages 208-17.

[69]Franklin, *George Washington Williams*, 210.

[70]Ibid., 211.

[71]Ibid.

[72]Ibid., 214.

[73]Armistead S. Pride, "Register and History of the Negro Newspaper in the United States, 1827-1950 (PhD dissertation, Northwestern University, 1950), 5; John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (3rd ed., New York, 1967), 411, quoted in Walter Williams, "Black Journalism's Opinions about Africa during the Late Nineteenth Century," *Phylon: The Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture* 24, no. 3 (1973): 224.

[74]Sylvia Jacobs, *The African Nexus: Black American Perspectives on the European Partitioning of Africa, 1880-1920* (Westport, CT.: Greenwood, 1981), 89.



George Washington Williams exposed the atrocities committed under Leopold's regime. Published in George W. Williams, *A History of the Negro Troops in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865* (New York: Harper, 1888), ii.

and promote activism.[75]

Activism in the U.S. increased as African Americans united around the Congo issue. Historian Sylvia Jacobs asserts, "black journalists of this period, such as Harry C. Smith, Fred Moore, T. Thomas Fortune, and W.E.B. Du Bois...express[ed] the need for racial solidarity concerning...European imperialism in Africa."[76] Smith, the editor of the *Cleveland Gazette*, voiced his displeasure at the hypocrisy of the Belgians, their king, and the torturous conditions they subjected the Congolese. The *Gazette*, one of the most vociferous opponents of Leopold, ran a series of articles in March 1906 pertaining to the Congo.[77] One writer lamented that, despite sufficient evidence, the American government failed to intervene.[78] T. Thomas Fortune urged the United States to support "the right of the natives to refuse to work for the Belgian exploiters."[79] Another writer highlighted the incoming reports from African missionaries of the "Congo crimes," as just cause for intervention.[80] *Alexander's Magazine*, edited by Charles Alexander and financially supported by Booker T. Washington, re-stressed, in a December 1905 issue, the theme of racial solidarity in fighting against Leopold and attracting worldwide attention to the crisis.[81] African Americans after emancipation used the printing press to expose simultaneously the assaults on their human rights in the United States and the rights of the Congolese.

Whites in Jim Crow America did not make life for African Americans easy after Reconstruction. With the advertising assistance of the African-American press, black communities across the United States organized groups and associations in an effort to "uplift" their race. Black women took the first steps, creating the National Association of Colored Women in 1896, National Federation of Afro-American Women, the Women's Loyal Union of New York, the Women's League, and numerous others in the late nineteenth and early

[75]Ibid.
[76]Ibid., 90.
[77]Ibid.
[78]Ibid.
[79]Ibid., 95.
[80]Ibid., 90.
[81]Ibid., 91.

twentieth centuries.[82] Ida B. Wells and W. E. B. Du Bois helped found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1909 to demand equal rights while Booker T. Washington founded and operated the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama to teach the skills he deemed necessary to succeed in society. Usually at loggerheads ideologically, Du Bois and Washington united over Congo Reform, seeing it as immensely important to the black community. While black groups formed to solve the problems of freed slaves in the United States, they also addressed global issues confronting everyone of African heritage.

Usually at loggerheads ideologically, Du Bois and Washington united...

Individual humanitarians seeking change in the Congo joined forces to strengthen their influence with United States government and their call for justice. Formed in 1904 by Edmund Morel, the Congo Reform Association attracted support from the most prominent citizens of the era, such as Joseph Conrad, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, and Mark Twain. In the United States, the American Congo Reform Association (ACRA), headquartered in Boston, circulated *The Congo News Letter* to inform Americans of the situation and capitalized on the reputation of Booker T. Washington to enhance the legitimacy of its message. As the ACRA Vice President in 1905-6, Washington invited a delegation from the National Baptist Convention to join in a meeting with President Roosevelt to lobby for Congo reform.[83] Washington also addressed the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and collaborated with Twain on the lecture circuit in cities across the United States to bring attention to the plight of the Congolese.[84] Washington wrote in October 1904, "it seems that King Leopold has a systematic method of pulling the wool over the eyes of most people who go to Brussels to protest about conditions."[85] Well aware of the king's intentions, Washington declined an offer from Leopold for "an all-expenses paid trip to the Congo, and, when that didn't work, a trip to Belgium."[86] Usually described by historians as a quiet, acquiescent man, Washington pushed to the fore of the Congo Reform movement and developed into the enemy Leopold feared.[87] The ACRA militated Leopold's regime with a combination of efforts, namely their newsletter and the writings and speeches of a powerful black leader, Booker T. Washington.

Another group, witnesses to the horrors at the center of the ACRA's campaign, also sought to end Leopold's reign. In 1888, the segregated Southern Presbyterian Church, based in Alabama, offered a young black priest from Kentucky, William Henry Sheppard, an opportunity to travel to Africa on a missionary quest. Using the same reasoning as Sanford and Latrobe, the church sent black members to Africa to lessen their presence in the congregation and encourage others to leave.[88] The clergy decided a white man must accompany him on the journey to properly establish and maintain an orderly mission.[89] Although the church's policies mirrored the racist environment of the post-Reconstruction United States, Sheppard built a reputation for overcoming such obstacles. Two years later, an elated Sheppard and his white partner, Samuel Lapsley, sailed out of New York harbor toward Africa.[90]

The proverbial odd couple, one a son of former slave masters, the other a descendant of former slaves, Sheppard and Lapsley trekked through the Congo for nearly a year before settling near the Kasai River at Luebo. There, they established the American Presbyterian Congo Mission on 18 April 1891, the most successful of its kind in

[82]Moses, *The Golden Age*, 105.

[83]Jacobs, *African Nexus*, 100.

[84]Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost* 241.

[85]Booker T. Washington to Robert Curtis Ogden, Tuskegee, AL, 14 October 1904, in *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, vol. 8, ed. Louis Harlan (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1979), 94.

[86]Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost*, 241.

[87]Ibid.

[88]Mike Tidwell, "The Missionary Who Fought a King," *American Legacy* 5, no. 4 (2000): 12.

[89]Ibid.

[90]Pagan Kennedy, *Black Livingstone: A True Tale of Adventure in the Nineteenth-Century Congo* (New York: Viking, 2002), 3.

Africa, according to historian Michael Kasongo.[91] Immediately the pair noticed rampant alcoholism and among the people heard circulating rumors of mistreatment by Belgian officials.[92] Tragedy struck the expedition when Lapsley died from blackwater fever on 26 March 1892. Sheppard set out with a new partner, William Morrison, to "fulfill Lapsley's goal of proselytizing the powerful Kuba people, a tribe with which foreigners had little contact."[93]

Because Sheppard learned the language of the Kuba before meeting with their king, Kot a Mbweeky, treated him as a re-incarnated-ancestor god.[94] He quickly earned the Kuba's respect and admiration and finally felt at home among the Africans, something he longed for.[95] In establishing and efficiently operating his mission, Sheppard left behind the racism of the United States and worked feverishly to improve the lives of the Congolese.

The black missionary made a habit of avoiding the politics involved with his journey, but in September 1899, Sheppard found himself in an unavoidable situation. The Zappo-Zap people "were hundreds strong, hardened from years of slave trading and armed with expensive European rifles" and they traveled to the Lower Kasai region.[96] The Zappo-Zaps, Africans hired by the Belgian government as part of their Force Publique or localized law enforcement, demanded payment from everyone in the form of slaves, livestock, food, and rubber.[97] The armed Zappo-Zaps mistook Sheppard for a Belgian official because of his lighter skin and western-style clothing.[98] The account of the grisly scene he witnessed sparked worldwide controversy and served as some of the CRA's most powerful evidence of injustice.[99] Sheppard's biographer, Pagan Kennedy describes the camp:

> Inside the huge enclosure, the missionary surveyed the remains of a blood orgy. Bits and pieces of bodies lay scattered about. Fires smoldered, and over them hung bamboo poles strung with flesh—what Sheppard claimed was flayed human skin. The corpses on the ground had been cut up and played with. And above it all floated a stink that clotted up his lungs, the air smoky with death...[over] it all, over the flyspecked blood and the greasy smoke with its smell of burning hair...fluttered a blue banner emblazoned with a gold star: the flag of the Free State government.[100]

Under the impression Sheppard worked for the government, the murderers openly admitted that the Belgian administration ordered the collection of tribute from the native tribes of the Lower Kasai.[101] The murder and mutilation of innocent civilians in Sheppard's description mirrors the lynching violence in the United States—a testament to the disregard for human life by the Congo administration. Additionally, Sheppard photographed several captives with his new Kodak box camera, enabling the world to match a terrible newspaper account or speech with a very real image.[102] After two days, Sheppard concluded his documentation of the institutionalized racism in Belgium's colonial policy and sent the report to colleagues in Luebo.

William Morrison felt that, once publicized, his partner's scathing depiction of the Zappo-Zap raid and critique of Belgian policy would spark international outrage. Belgian Parliament

[91]Michael Kasongo, "A Spirit of Cooperation in Mission: Professor John Wesley Gilbert and Bishop Walter Russell Lambuth," *Methodist History* 36, no. 4 (1998): 261.

[92]Kasongo, "A Spirit of Cooperation," 261.

[93]Tidwell, "The Missionary," 12.

[94]Stanley Shaloff, "William Henry Sheppard: Congo Pioneer," *African Forum* 3-4 (1968): 55.

[95]Tidwell, "The Missionary," 12.

[96]Kennedy, *Black Livingstone*, 136.

[97]Ibid., 137.

[98]Ibid., 139-40.

[99]Ibid., 149.

[100]Ibid., 139.

[101]Shaloff, "William Henry Sheppard," 57.

[102]Perhaps the most widely circulated of the photographs is one of a human hand recently sawed off above the wrist. Because Belgian officials provided their forces with ammunition and wanted to conserve money whenever possible, they required that soldiers present the right hand of a victim for every bullet expended.

discussed the charges, as did the Aborigines Protection Society of London.[103] An "important humanitarian book, Civilization in the Congoland" also addressed Sheppard's accusations.[104] Yet, according to Sheppard's biographer, Pagan Kennedy, the report failed to initiate legitimate change.[105] She argues, much like the claims before it, the missionary report succumbed to Leopold's well-financed propaganda efforts. While initially true, historian James Campbell contests that "Congo reformers lionized William Sheppard. His 1899 report acquired an almost scriptural status in the movement, so frequently was it quoted."[106] Sheppard's missionary report not only thrust the Congo into the international media spotlight and provided substantial evidence for reform movements; it provided another public condemnation of white policy by a black man.

[D]ark details of misrule and inhumane treatment leaked from the courtroom…

Leopold's associate, Baron Ludovic Moncheur, advised Sheppard to discontinue his public denunciation of the Belgian ruler after a meeting with Theodore Roosevelt in 1905. The incident indicated Leopold viewed the American missionary as a justifiable threat.[107] Sheppard temporarily remained silent, but later in the year he laced his public speeches with Congo horror stories.[108] Moncheur attended one of Sheppard's speeches where he "retrac[ed] his journey through the burned-out villages…describing the half-gnawed bodies and the blood-soaked dirt…"[109] The most famous of Sheppard's tales described Belgian officers slow-cooking eighty-one right-hands over fire to dry them out—making them suitable for presentation to Belgian officials—evidence they did not waste ammunition.[110] In addition to infuriating the Baron, Sheppard's official report and stories whipped the local and national media into a frenzy while highlighting the inhumane treatment of the Congolese by the Belgian administration.

Newspaper accounts of the lectures coincided with the release of Mark Twain's King Leopold's Soliloquy, a harsh critique of Leopold in which Twain made specific reference to Sheppard and his influence on the reform movement.[111] Leopold complained, "In print I get nothing but slanders-and slanders again-and still slanders…Grant them true, what of it? They are slanders all the same, when uttered against a king."[112] The king dismissed Sheppard's report as mere "slanders," but not everyone agreed. In January 1908, the *Kasai Herald*, a missionary journal, ran Sheppard's article denouncing Leopold and the Kasai Company's (a rubber company using a forced labor policy through which the Belgian government worked) practices of enslaving the locals and murdering any who resisted.[113] To prevent public outrage and any future critique, Leopold filed a lawsuit against both Sheppard and Morrison.[114]

The two missionaries transformed their trial in Leopoldville, the Congo's capital city, into an international spectacle and successfully turned the tables on their accuser. During testimony, dark details of misrule and inhumane treatment

[103]Kennedy, *Black Livingstone*, 147.

[104]Ibid.,

[105]Ibid.,

[106]Campbell, *Middle Passages*, 179.

[107]Kennedy, *Black Livingstone*, 157.

[108]Ibid., 162.

[109]Ibid.,

[110]Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost*, 259.

[111]Mark Twain played an integral role in the American Congo Reform Association and his short satire of Leopold, *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, published in 1905 by International Publishers in New York, captured well the absurdity of the king's excuses and the extent of his lies: After reading Twain's headlines of "Butchery of women and children" and "They put a knife through a child's stomach," Leopold scoffed and remarked, "It has a sort of pitiful sound, although they are only blacks." After reading another headline about the starvation of the Congolese, Leopold said with a sigh, "Ah, well, it cannot be helped; circumstances make this discipline necessary." In Mark Twain, King *Leopold's Soliloquy* (New York: International Publishers, 1905), 60-4.

[112]Ibid., 32.

[113]Jacobs, *African Nexus*, 86.

[114]"To Defend Missionaries," *New York Times*, 2 August 1909.

escaped the courtroom as pressure mounted against the Belgian leader. The *New York Times* reported in June 1909 that the General Council of the Alliance of Reformed Churches "voted unanimously to ask President Taft to intervene in behalf of [Sheppard and Morrison]...under indictment...in the Congo Free State."[115]

When the trial commenced, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle described Morrison as more of a beacon of inspiration than the Statue of Liberty.[116] Doyle omitted Sheppard in his statement, reflecting the pervasiveness of racism. However, the Boston Herald praised Sheppard as a man who "not only stood before kings... [but] also stood against them... [and] has dared to withstand all the power of Leopold."[117]

The trial ended short for Morrison. On a technicality, the judge dropped all charges pending against Morrison, leaving Sheppard as sole defendant. The judge understood the political interest in the trial and ruled Sheppard did not intend to destroy the reputation of the Kasai Company because he did not mention it in his report. Sheppard's trial ended with a "not guilty" verdict. The decision caused celebration among the missionaries and reformers. However, it marked the end for King Leopold. Combined with the trial coverage, reformers turned to current technology to spread their message and further tarnish Leopold's reputation.[118]

Advanced technology of the early 1900s allowed reformers like William Sheppard to argue their point with more than words. The Belgians could easily dismiss a sixteen-page letter from George Washington Williams as nonsense in the political and social climate of the late nineteenth century. Photographic evidence however, proved difficult to refute. According to Sharon Sliwinski, the Congo Reform Association "was not only the largest humanitarian movement of the era, it was also the first to use atrocity photographs as a central tool. Crimes occurring in far-away places were made publicly visible for the first time in history."[119] Sheppard's photographs of a young female Zappo-Zaps prisoner, packed a greater punch than a gifted orator could deliver.

Sheppard's photographs of Belgian cruelty contributed to an international trend in the crusade for human rights. Mark Twain recalled Leopold's reaction to the missionary's photographs, "The Kodak has been a sore calamity to us. The most powerful enemy indeed...The only witness I have encountered in my long experience that I couldn't bribe!"[120] Following years of bribery, lies, and control, the power of photography rendered Leopold defenseless. With a click of Sheppard's camera, the severed hand became symbolic of Leopold's brutality and prompted international action.

Following years of bribery, lies, and control, Leopold found himself defenseless...

Called together by the Belgian parliament, a Commission of Inquiry heard testimony from Congolese regarding of forced enslavement, torture, maiming, and murder in their homeland. Tales of Africans forced to stick rubber onto their skin, to wear back to camp, and to have it peeled from their flesh, shocked listeners.[121] One after another, world powers such as the United States, Britain, and France called on Leopold to relinquish his personal control over the Congo Free State. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts and Secretary of State Elihu Root both urged Congress to support the British government in their investigation into the abuses revealed by the Congolese.[122] With justice on the horizon, Leopold's health deteriorated rapidly. On 17 December 1909, he died from an intestinal

[115]"To Appeal To Taft For Missionaries," *New York Times*, 25 June 1909.

[116]Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost*, 262.

[117]Ibid., 264.

[118]Ibid., 265.

[119]Sharon Sliwinsky, "The Childhood of Human Rights: The Kodak on the Congo," *Journal of Visual Culture* 5 (2006): 334.

[120]Twain, *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, 73.

[121]Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost*, 161.

[122]Ibid., 249.

complication, closing a dark chapter in world history.

George Washington Williams coined the phrase "crimes against humanity" when he described the wretched treatment of the Congolese people to a friend in September 1890.[123] It almost sounds like an understatement considering that most estimate the number of Congolese killed in the Belgian Congo at around ten million.[124]

Unfortunately, many Americans and Europeans still did not recognize these native Africans as humans. If Ota Benga and his fellow tribesmen made for suitable displays at the World's Fair or the Bronx Zoo, then surely a European king could employ Africans for his rubber harvest without opposition. Faced with these seemingly insurmountable odds, African Americans retaliated with the same weaponry as the perpetrator, Leopold: newspapers, lectures, associations, missionary reports, and photography. While Leopold fought his battle from a palace in Brussels, his opponents waged a campaign on all fronts. In doing so, they exposed the plight of their people to the world and forced change.

[123]Ibid., 112.

[124]Hochschild remembers Mark Twain estimating the number of dead at five to eight million in *King Leopold's Ghost*, 3. He cites that current demographic reports indicate that half of the twenty million Congolese died during Leopold's reign in "Leopold's Congo: A Holocaust We Have Yet to Comprehend," *Chronicle of Higher Education* 46, no. 36 (2000): 2.

"Wolves to Lambs": Captive Missionaries and the Ursuline School for Girls

Albert D. Ybarra

"'Wolves to Lambs': Captive Missionaries and the Ursuline School for Girls" traces the development of native female missionaries and their utility as facilitators for French Colonial expansion. Data extracted from *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* reveal the existence of factionalism within Iroquois communities. **Albert D. Ybarra** contends the Ursuline School for Girls facilitated said transformation extending the limited effort of the Jesuit Fathers.



Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France 1610-1791*, vol.62, (New York: Pageant Book, 1959), Frontispiece.

"[They sent her] like a Lamb among wolves; for a Jesuit, a Preacher, a Missionary among the Iroquois is a Lamb among ravenous Wolves. It is a marvel to see a Lamb among Wolves without being eaten by the Wolves; but it is a greater marvel to see Wolves changed into Lambs by Lambs."[1]

The four-hundredth anniversary of Quebec City fostered renewed academic interest into the French North American colonies. Recent scholarship called for the re-examination of Euro-native communities focusing on the cultural exchange that developed from the close proximity of European and native societies. Previous studies recorded the exchange of attitudes and beliefs, but solely attributed the successes on the new continent to the monumental effort and sacrifice of the Jesuit Fathers.[2] Often overlooked, however, is the primary method utilized by the European Fathers that fostered cultural transmission. Native Christian missionaries that lived among non-Christian Indians furthered European ideology through hybrid communities[3] via communication and information network systems that rippled throughout the continental northeast.[4] Native women, once considered the prized sex of native society, often assumed the role of cultural transmitter and created factions within non-Christianized communities.[5]

French colonists sought to convert uncontrolled native women

Displaced of native tradition, the new woman of the native northeast—no longer beholden and stripped of privileged status—soon experienced methods of torture normally reserved for men. The punishment of captive female missionaries suggests a new role for women as fifth column agents for the Catholic enterprise. This examination responds to Pauline Turner Strong's call for analysis into the "transformation of gender roles, social and cultural constructions of gender...hybrid and marginalized subjectivities, discipline and embodiment, [and of] hegemony and resistance."[6] Using a comparative analysis, this study extends current scholarship on this subject as it identifies and records the transformation of native women. Native female missionaries successfully disrupted the Iroquois captive-wife process and preconditioned the Iroquois for Jesuit ministry and colonial endeavor.

Selections from Christian missionaries best demonstrate the transformation. Data extracted from the *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents,* reveal the impact of female conversion and its substantive effect upon the native community. French colonists sought to convert uncontrolled native women – perceived as wolves – to simple creatures similar to a lamb; gentle, docile, and feminine. Considered ripe for conversion, the French community builders used converted women as a tool for the replenishment of deceased Iroquois populations.[7] Their utility as intermediaries between native and European cultures, allowed for the establishment of missions and the task of formal education for both male and female natives.[8]

[1]Reuben Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents 1610-1791*, 73 vols (Cleveland, OH: Burrow Brothers, 1896-1901) 43: 209.

[2]Daniel K. Richter, "Iroquois versus Iroquois: Jesuit Missions and Christianity in Village Politics, 1642-1686," *Ethnohistory* 32, no. 1 (1985): 1.

[3]Brian Sandberg, "Beyond Encounters: Religion Ethnicity, and Violence in the Early Modern Atlantic World, 1492-1700," *Journal of World History* 17, no. 1 (2006): 8.

[4]Carol Devens, "Separate Confrontations: Gender as a Factor in Indian Adaptation to European Colonization in New France," *American Quarterly* 38, no. 3 (1986): 461-80.

[5]Daniel K. Richter, "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience," *William and Mary Quarterly* 40, no. 4 (October 1983): 542.

[6]Pauline Turner Strong, "Feminist Theory and the 'Invasion of the Heart' in North America," *Ethnohistory* 43(Fall 1996): 699.

[7]Richter, "Iroquois Experience," 542.

[8]Devens, "Separate Confrontations,"461-80.



Allen Greer. ed., *The Jesuit Relations: Natives and Missionaries in Seventeenth-Century North America* (New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000), 99.

In less than twelve years, Fathers Lallemant and Le Jeune, who in 1625 first conceived of mass evangelism, established fifteen missions including two in Quebec and one in Sillery. Fourteen years later, Father Vimont, successor to Le Jeune reported the first substantial results achieved,[9] however, the task required innovative methods, resources, and personnel. Marie de l'Incarnation's Ursuline School for Girls, founded in 1636, proved the most successful path for ministry and education. Networks established and nurtured by the Ursuline School allowed for development of syncretic communities and laid the primary foundation for mass conversion. Understated and underrepresented, Marie's school provided the Jesuit Fathers with a Christian network hidden within native settlements.

The Ursuline School proved a success. The Jesuit Fathers' "flying missions,"[10] extended further into the interior sending girls back for education. Previous methods of native education utilized the French language; however, Marie de l'Incarnation wrote catechisms, prayer books, dictionaries, and other books regarding sacred and holy instruction in Algonquin, Huron, and Iroquois languages. The speed and quickness of the female students both surprised and delighted the Ursuline Mother as she noted that the dedication and discipline of her students surpassed "the girls in France."[11] After 1640, the Jesuits reaped the fruits of their labor as converted Indians soon acted as preachers of God. New chapters developed[12] and over 1200 baptisms[13] occurred as women, once apprentices, now occupied positions as facilitators in the absence of Jesuit Fathers.[14] Regarded as political leaders, native women now held dual roles as political and spiritual administrators. Rapid military engagement and the quest for population growth expanded their influence.

Continued encroachment combined with European disease and weaponry, significantly reduced the Iroquois population.[15] Viral infection ranging from small pox to influenza,[16] escalated the Iro-

[9]J. H. Kennedy, *Jesuit and Savage in New France*, (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1971), 64.

[10]Natalie Zemon Davis, *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives* (London: Harvard University Press, 1995), 108.

[11]Ibid, 93.

[12]Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 21: 13-5.

[13]Ibid., 18: 119.

[14]Ibid., 21: 115.

[15]Daniel K. Richter, "Iroquois Experience," 537.

[16]Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 47: 193; 45: 79-83; 60: 175.

quois' need for war and, more importantly, prisoners. Captives replenished the ranks of the victorious tribe. New members received new names, identities, and roles in the host community. Prior to French influence, captive-adoption allowed for seamless acceptance and transition into the host tribe. Neighboring tribes that surrounded the Iroquois, once the source-pool for tribal replenishment developed into the well for cultural disruption.[17] Inter-tribal adoption forced the Iroquois to accept captives Indian in appearance, yet, Christo-European in identity.[18] The hidden syncretic nature of the newly adopted "cultural seed"[19] began the process of Iroquois transformation.



Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France 1610-1791*, vol. 62 (New York: Pageant Book Company, 1959), 176.

The disruption of tradition forced the Iroquois to reconsider privileges extended to captive women. Jesuit records from 1632-44 best demonstrate this change. Placed at the center of ritual torture the Fathers' writings described the varied methods of torture women employed. Torture ceremonies ranged from quick merciless deaths including scalping, to slow roasts over fire, and cannibalism.[20] The joyous participation of women who "greatly surpass[ed] the men in their cruelty; for by their cunning they invent [the most] cruel torments and take delight in them. Thus they cause the prisoners to end their lives in the deepest suffering.[21] Over twelve years, the Jesuit's recorded ten accounts of women as prime participants and willing torturers. Only three accounts place women as victims, with only two brief references describe women offering aid to tortured captives. Of the three tortured, two displayed great fear. This suggests that torture for women proved uncommon.

The years 1645-56 note the transition for female captives as they moved from willing torturers to unwilling participant-captives. The move to the auxiliary position as reluctant participant-captives reinforced the decreased desire to engage in ritual torture. Resistant behavior underscored the shift in identity for female captives, and the captive process overall. Rejecting the predetermined roles of the host tribe reluctant captive-participants now expressed pain and sorrow as they inflicted pain upon their victims. The displeasure of the participant-captives marked the first shift for women who retained and cherished their former identity to the near rejection of prescribed roles.

Women assumed roles as missionaries, captives, victims, observers, and escapees. In roughly eleven years that marked the mid-seventeenth century, three women assumed the new role of captive and the recipient of torture. The newly created female captive, now a potential victim herself, increased 100 percent. The Iroquois now considered war upon women and saw no problem with it. No previous Jesuit records demonstrate such defiance among native women to integrate. Adherence to previous identity symbolized one ele-

[17]See Plate I.

[18]Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 9: 13-5.

[19]Robert Kuhn, "Reconstructing Patterns of Interaction and Warfare between the Mohawk and Northern Iroquoians during the A.D. 1400-1700 Period," in *Archaeology of the Iroquois: Selected Readings and Research Sources*, ed. Jordan E. Kerber (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 322-4.

[20]Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 10: 225-7.

[21]H. P. Biggar, *The Works of Samuel De Champlain in Six Volumes* (Toronto:University of Toronto Press, 1936), 2: 137.

ment of transformation as captive women deviated from native tradition and retained European cultural and associative ties.

Previous accounts recorded women only as aids in ritual torture, however, in less than ten years since the establishment of Marie de l'Incarnation's Ursuline School for Girls, female missionaries appeared among the Jesuit records. Moreover, five new catechumens denote the influence of Christian women among the Iroquois nations. This new woman symbolized and embodied the culture and identity of the European in native form. Female escapees reported that the Iroquois' practice of torture now extended equally to all who opposed the Iroquois, or challenged their world-view. Jesuit missionary Isaac Jogues noted that one female victim burned in the fashion of men whence she was thrown upon a fire, burned, and scattered to the edges of their region.[22]

Captives replenished the ranks of the victorious tribe

Continued warfare produced brief treaties and few results. The quick incursion of Jesuit missionaries and the missions they erected within Iroquois country were soon destroyed as the Iroquois swiftly expelled all visible Christian influence among them. Priests not captured and tortured soon fled.[23] Only native Christianized women remained.

Female converts continued their mission as Christian-Iroquois hidden beneath the mask of captive-adoption. During the period 1656-63, the number of female captives increased over 400 percent while the number of total victims increased nearly 500 percent from the earliest Jesuit records. Female missionary effort additionally expanded from five to nine reflecting an 80 percent increase from the decade prior. Moreover, expanded torture against women produced several accounts of women professing Christianity while being tortured. Such vibrant vocalization during torture, typically a tradition demonstrated by male victims, challenged every observer and executioner in attendance.[24] One tortured woman openly recited Christian prayers and inspired a prominent Iroquois warrior to convert, as a result many others followed.[25] Continued defiance deprived the Iroquois of the social and cultural satisfaction previously gained through the collective experience of ritual torture.[26] Resistant female Iroquois created the divisive wedge needed for the Catholic enterprise and French expansion.

Renewed militarily effort against the Iroquois hastened the destabilization process. In 1667, the French militia effectively diminished Iroquois forces and stabilized the French colonies. With renewed vigor, the Iroquois continued to reestablish and replenish their deceased ranks. The Iroquoian captive-adoptive process after 1667 yielded the greatest results for the Christianizing efforts of Marie de l'Incarnation and the Jesuit Fathers. The absorption of high levels of Christianized natives provided the final and fateful swell for the Iroquois captive-adoptive process. The overwhelming influx of former enemies now found themselves leaders of Iroquois communities and councils. Selective placement within the Iroquois hierarchy, aided the Christians in restructuring the Iroquois social and political framework at all levels.[27] "Thousands of prisoners came to regard themselves as Iroquois," yet they proved culturally and socially distinguishable from their captors.[28]

[22]Richard Vanderbeets, "The Indian Captivity Narrative as Ritual," *American Literature* 43(January 1972): 550.

[23]Kennedy, *Jesuit and Savage*, 42-3.

[24]Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 36:165; 49:103.

[25]Ibid., 53: 151.

[26]Brian Sandberg, "Beyond Encounters: Religion Ethnicity, and Violence in the Early Modern Atlantic World, 1492-1700," *Journal of World History* 17, no. 1 (2006): 19.

[27]Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 42: 57.

[28]Bruce G. Trigger, "Maintaining Economic Equality in Opposition to Complexity: An Iroquoian

Female captivity from 1662-1702 equaled all previous Jesuit records combined. The number of female victims tallied twenty and women freely offered aid to tortured captives not yet adopted. Native women now undertook the task of ministering to captives before death,[29] and ventured to comfort others in neighboring villages. Christian-Iroquois women covertly assembled away from non-Christian Iroquois and fortified their faith through collective prayer and discrete ministerial activity.[30]

Father Lallemant, in the year 1664, wrote:

> [These] Matrons, who constitute flying and hidden Churches... who assemble either in the thickness of the forests or in some out-of-the-way Cabins... recite there what prayers they know. So it is that our Forests conceal generous souls... who show that we have Doctors, Confessors, and Martyrs among the Barbarian.[31]

Strength and determination characterized female missionaries. During the peak of the 1660s—the height of the missionary effort – one Jesuit Father took great effort to account for a woman whom he described as the "nun" when most female-missionaries were slaughtered.[32] Furthering this sentiment, a woman named Felicite "fill[ed] to perfection the office of Catechist.... If I had many like her, this whole [region] would be very soon converted."[33] In a letter dated 1671, Father Chaumont commented that a woman and daughter taken captive from a distant country still untouched by Christianity, became Christians among the Iroquois. Retaining Christian values in the midst of enemy territories proved a remarkable feature demonstrable of the resilience of female-missionaries. Lambs among wolves, the continued evangelical effort, combined with the cohesive female network constructed and nurtured, succeeded and touched upon the farthest reaches of the Northeastern nations.

Not restricted to missionary activity alone, expanded female agency influenced tribal policy as well. During the latter-half of the seventeenth century, the demographics of the Iroquois permanently shifted. Once occupying a territory 500 leagues in circumference, the depleted Iroquois numbered less than 1200 pureblood in all of the Five-Nation Iroquois territory.[34] This large influx of non-native Iroquois, combined with the religious attachment to the French Jesuits, provided the necessary pre-requisites to establish Christian political autonomy within the Iroquois.

> Continued warfare produced brief treaties and few results

In 1691, Father Millet wrote on his captivity. Paraded like a trophy he met many women whom he recognized and received him as a Christian Father. Village to village, Millet commented that word of his arrival preceded every community he entered. Upon arrival into the final settlement he met Susanne Gouentagrandi a prominent woman and wife of a respected tribal leader. Intent on saving the Father, she successfully encouraged her husband and the tribal council to confer upon Millet the name of an ancestor not killed in war. Renamed "Otasseté," the Jesuit Father – reborn into the tribe – inherited the identity of a highly respected founding member of the Iroquois Nation. The added benefits included voting privileges in tribal councils that determined the political course of the Iroquois. The Father, now a highly regarded man of influence among the Iroquois, enjoyed

Case Study." in *The Evolution of Political Systems: Sociopolitics in Small-Scale Sedentary Societies*, ed. Steadham Upham, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 141.

[29]Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 33: 103-5.

[30]Ibid., 47: 57.

[31]Ibid., 49: 103-9.

[32]Ibid., 51: 231.

[33]Ibid.

[34]Ibid., 45: 207

full liberty in his village and furthered the Christian Faith among the Iroquois.[35]

The reduction of female torturers denoted a significant movement for the Iroquois. From 1630-50, the rate of decline tallied fifty percent increasing to sixty percent by the 1660s. The ratio of women as victims, to women as torturers, was over 3:1.[36] Data examined post 1670 reveal no further accounts of female torturers. [37] As women undertook the roles of missionaries, accounts of tortured women rose sharply reflecting the intense response of the non-Christian Iroquois. The spike in violence against Christian-Iroquois women during the middle decades of the seventeenth century coincided with the incorporation of Marie de l'Incarnation and the Ursuline School for Girls and underscores the syncretic role of hybrid-women within colonial New France. As political agents hidden within the confines of an Iroquois world, female missionaries severed ties to former roles and forged new identities and kin.

Evidence presented revealed the destabilization and transformation of Iroquois communities. The Ursuline Mothers and the network they established furthered the limited success of the Jesuit Fathers. The transformation of women from prized captives and seeds for cultural renewal allowed for continued fragmentation and cultural disintegration. The adopted Christian wife transplanted into non-Christian environments fragmented and shattered the dominant communal ideology of war, religion, and identity. Importation of Christians, en masse, into a non-Christian world strengthened the identity of the captive-female-missionary as the expression of female agency affected all.[38]

Although no single paradigm for cultural conversion remains absolute,[39] the transformation of Iroquois society achieved pivotal success via avant-garde methodology and expanded female agency. The Ursuline Mothers, and their native apprentices, laid the initial foundation for subsequent colonial endeavor into the Iroquois interior.

Once unattainable for Jesuit and French authorities, the socio-cultural and political frontiers of the Iroquois transformed via the syncretic, hybrid, Franco-native network of women. From this analysis of female captivity and adoption, native missionaries materialize as a primary agent in both community building and civic planning.

[35]Ibid., 64: 67-259.
[36]See Table I.
[37]Ibid.
[38]Strong, "Feminist Theory," 693.

[39]Cornelius J. Jaenen, "French Expansion in North America," *History Teacher* 34 (February 2001): 155-64.

Guilt by Association: The Geographical Misfortune of the Community of Watts

Blythe Gipple

Racial tensions in the Los Angeles Watts Community erupted in August 1965 when police forcefully arrested the Frye family after a traffic stop. **Blythe Gipple** asserts that the subsequent riot coverage by the printed press assigned blame to Watts instead of wider Los Angeles. National and larger press outlets used sensational and inflammatory language and photographs to portray a biased perspective of the riots—one which overwhelmed neutral local papers. The media's misrepresentation reinforced the belief of Watts as a blighted district, a conviction perpetuated in the present.



Soldiers patrol in the aftermath of the Watts riots. Affordable Housing Institute, http://affordablehousinginstitute.org/blogs/us/2005/11/city_of_light_c.html.

The infamous Watts riots of 1965 exemplify the phrase 'guilt by association.' While the riots occurred in the Los Angeles community of Watts, upheaval spread beyond the local. Calling the incident the "Los Angeles Riots of 1965," as officially identified by the McCone Commission report, accurately describes the full extent of the riots. However, because of the city's close proximity to where significant destruction occurred, the media immortalized the events as the "Watts Riots", thus creating a negative reputation that scarred the community. The events that occurred over forty years ago still color the perception outsiders have about Watts. The implications of guilt have not diminished despite changes in demographics. The media's 1965 riot coverage and their continued reinforcement of negative community aspects perpetuated the perception of Watts as an undesirable location.

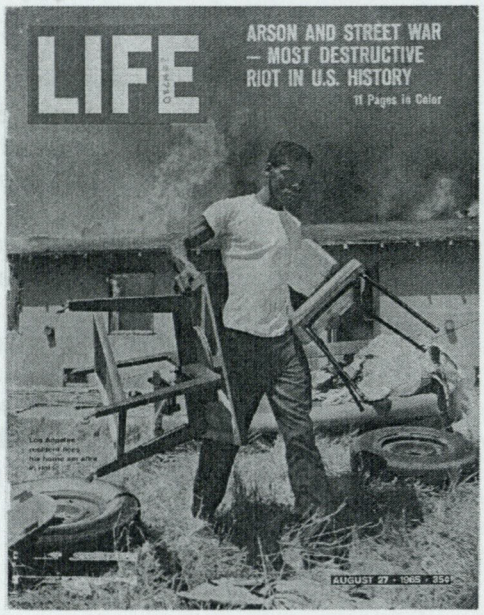


Figure 1 The cover of LIFE magazine depicting a Los Angeles resident fleeing his fire-consumed home. "Arson and Street War: Most Destructive Riot in U.S. History." LIFE, August 27, 1965

At 7:00 p.m. on the evening of 11 August 1965, a white California Motorcycle Patrolman, Lee Minikus, pulled over twenty-one-year-old black male, Marquette Frye, for suspected drunk driving, near the intersection of Avalon Boulevard and 116th Street in Los Angeles. After failing a field sobriety test, Minikus arrested Frye and radioed for a pickup. Frye's twenty-two-year-old brother Ronald Frye, a passenger at the time, left the scene to get their mother Rena Frye who lived a few blocks away from the arrest site. When Marquette's mother and brother returned, he grew agitated and resisted arrest. In turn, the officers on site brutally subdued the Frye family, before taking them away to the sheriff's substation. The warm summer evening and the commotion from the arrests brought many spectators out to watch the event. However, the arrest and brutal treatment of the Frye family incensed the crowd, which had grown to a thousand in just over thirty minutes.[1] The angry crowd began to act out, propagating violence and spitting on police officers, causing the arrests of two more individuals. As the officers retreated, the crowd threw rocks at the police cars before moving to the streets, ignoring the police demands to disperse.[2] At this point, the riot split into two phases. In the first portion, the crowd dissipated from the area of the arrest and commenced physical violence against police officers and whites.[3] "Police officers, representatives of the media and white motorists were verbally abused, stoned, and beaten, while their cars were set on fire."[4] These forms of upheaval lasted until the morning of 13 August 1965. The second phase, characterized by looting and destruction of property with less aggression towards whites, lasted from the evening of 13 August 1965 and ended 17 August 1965.

Left with over one-thousand injured, thirty-four reported dead and millions of dollars in property damage, the city of Los Angeles started to rebuild.[5]

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[1]Governor's Commission on the Los Angeles Riots. *Violence in the City: an End or a Beginning?* (A Report Issued by the State of California, 1965), 11.

[2]Paul Model, "The 1965 Watts Rebellion: The Self-definition of a Community." *Radical America* 24, no. 2 (1990): 74-88., Sandra Ball-Rokeach, and Sorin Adam Matei. "Watts, the 1965 Los Angeles Riots, and the Communicative Construction of the Fear Epicenter of Los Angeles." *Communication Monographs* 72, no. 3 (2005): 301-323., Governor's Commission, *Violence in the City.*, Robert Conot, *Rivers of Blood, Years of Darkness*, (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1968).

[3]Paul Model, "The 1965 Watts Rebellion: The Self-definition of a Community." *Radical America* 24, no. 2 (1990): 76.

[4]Ibid.

[5]There are many conflicting reports as to the

Unfortunately, instead of attributing the riots to the city of Los Angeles the community of Watts took the blame. The main rioting took place along the corridor of 103rd Street—the main commercial district of Watts where police arrested Marquette Frye—and arsons and looting occurred outside of Watts.[6] As a result, the event produced a negative association with the community, permanently scarring its reputation. The Watts community already had a local reputation before the riots occurred. Pacific Electric built Watts Station at the turn of the Twentieth century with a parcel of land purchased from Julia A. Watts. The railway men who worked at the depot subsequently named the surrounding area 'Watts'.[7] In 1907, the locale incorporated, but by 1926, the city of Los Angeles absorbed it as a borough. "Even then the cheap land and the corruption gave Watts something of a local reputation."[8] Many of the railway workers settled around the station. This part of the city—also known as 'Mudtown'— attracted blacks from the American south through chain migration.[9] Even before minority groups moved to Watts in significant numbers, a rough reputation preceded the low-income neighborhood. Before 1945, Watts was a mixed, poverty-stricken population of whites, blacks and Mexicans. During World War II, the black population expanded in Los Angeles due to the availability of jobs in the shipyards and aircraft plants. Most of this new population settled in Watts, which constituted a predominantly black community.[10]

> [T]he officers on site brutally subdued the Frye family

At this point in its history, Watts endured an influx of generally transient and low-income minority populations. Out of the new demographic the conditions for the 1965 riots spawned. The residents suffered the following circumstances: poor living conditions coupled with a high cost of living, unemployment and underemployment, bad transportation out of the area, lack of quality education, high dependency on government assistance, insufficient healthcare facilities, lack of a local hospital, and police brutality towards minorities.[11] Brewing among the residents for decades before the rioting occurred, government entities identified these problems as early as 1947, nearly twenty years prior to the riots, but did not institute plans to improve circumstances.

This extraction from the Los Angeles Department of City Planning's assessment identifies the situations that existed and described Watts as:

> An obsolescent area in which all the social and physical weaknesses of urban living are to be found. Some streets are unpaved, others have fine concrete roadways and ornaments; some structures seem about to fall apart, while next to them exist new, standard buildings. In some areas, a great number of twenty-five foot lots stand vacant, while in others six or more dwellings are crowded into a similar parcel... Some of the worst interracial conflicts occurring in the past decade were in this area. The low rental pattern, the low assessed value in property, the high disease and delinquency rates, all reflect the blighted character of the district.[12]

This clearly shows that city planning and government officials ignored the problems and failed to implement the needed solutions. Those

actual dollar amount of damage, but all agree they amounted in the multi-million dollar range.

[6]Paul Bullock, *Watts: The Aftermath: An Inside View of the Ghetto by the People of Watts* (New York: Grove Press, 1969), 33. The area earned the nickname "Charcoal Alley" after the riots because of the number of burned out buildings.

[7]Ibid., 12.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Sonora McKeller, "From *Watts – Little Rome*," In *From the Ashes: Voices of Watts*, ed. Budd Schulberg. 213-218 (Cleveland, OH: The World Publishing Company, 1969), 213; Governor's Commission, *Violence in the City*, 75.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Bullock, *Aftermath*, 16.

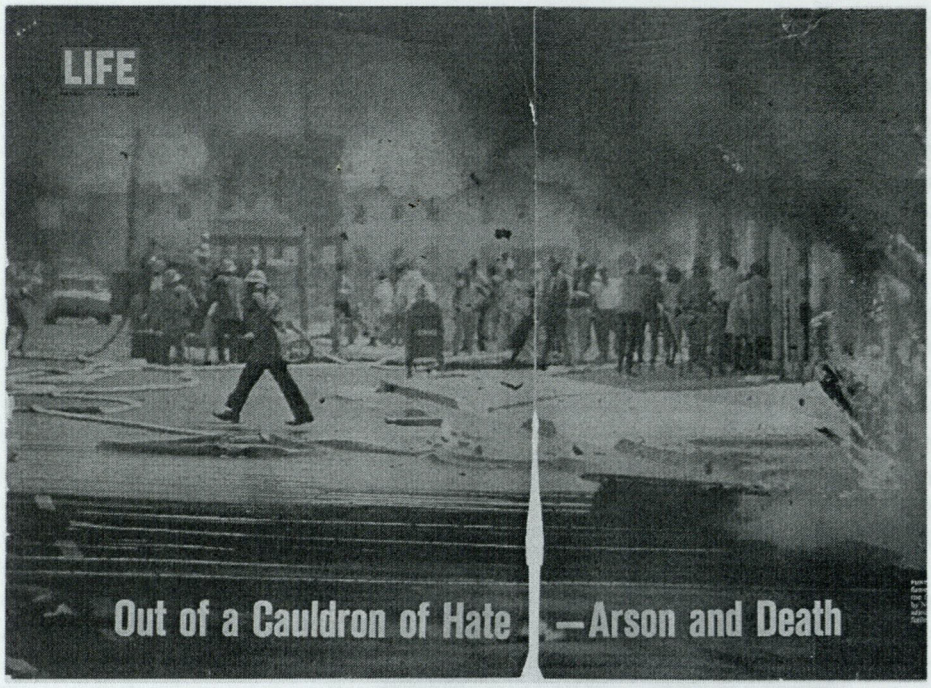


Figure 2 LIFE magazine spread with a sensational caption and photograph. "Arson and Street War: Most Destructive Riot in U.S. History." LIFE, August 27, 1965, 2-3

in power heard the voice of the people, but chose to ignore it.

The initial post-riot impact of the print media influenced the perception of the Watts area both locally and nationally. Local newspapers such as the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Los Angeles Sentinel*, presented the mixed feelings of fear, disbelief, curiosity, and triumph experienced by the residents of Watts as well as the Los Angeles area. These feelings continued to spread through features in large national publications such as LIFE magazine, which circulated to a high subscription and newsstand readership. Because of the initial coverage and portrayal of the riot actions, these publications shoulder much of the responsibility for the public reaction to the riot. Each of these publications offered a unique voice in their contribution to the creation of modern Watts.

The *Los Angeles Sentinel*, a weekly newspaper publication that began in the 1930s, is a responsible voice of the black community in Los Angeles. Its slogan in 1965, "Education Will Lead to the Truth" showed its dedication to the community by not focusing on "sensational" or "inflammatory" journalism.[13] The *Sentinel's* riot coverage kept with its usual journalistic integrity, and provided a balanced representation of events. Published on 18 August 1965, just after the events ended, the issue did not focus solely on the rioters or any kind of justification for their actions, nor did it focus solely on police brutality. The issue included "four pictures of looters, four pictures of police officers using various degrees of force in making arrests, four pictures of fires burning and one picture of a 'breadline'."[14] In fact, "in 1965, the *Sentinel* deplored the violence and feared the riots had hurt the community."[15] Of the three publications examined, the Sentinel painted the least sensationalized picture of events. However, lower circulation of this publication than other major news publications limited its influence primarily to the black community in Los Angeles.

[13]Frederic C. Coonradt, "The Negro News Media and the Los Angeles Riots." (The School of Journalism, University of Southern California, 1965) 7-8.

[14]Ibid., 17-8.

[15]Susan M. Strohm, "From *The Black Press and the Black Community: The Los Angeles Sentinel's Coverage of the Watts Riots*," in *Framing Friction, Media and Social Conflict*, ed. Mary S. Mander, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 77.

In contrast to the *Los Angeles Sentinel*, the *Los Angeles Times* is a source with a far greater subscription base both then and now. Because it is a mainstream news publication, the voice spoke for a much greater number of diverse individuals and it is a far more extensive daily publication. The *Los Angeles Times* is a source that is responsible, knowingly or not, for providing outsiders with a view of Watts. In examining the coverage of the riots by the *Times*, only photos of white victims and black rioters appeared in the front-page coverage of these events.[16] This is problematic because it paints a picture of Watts as black residents who collectively showed aggression towards whites. Other articles that appear in the Times that counteracted this idea remained buried on subsequent pages. For example, a short article entitled "Negro Heroism Saves Whites in Riot Danger"[17], appeared in the 13 August 1965 edition on page three, and detailed two accounts of blacks rescuing of whites after rioters attacked them. By choosing to display the stories in this way, the *Times* constructed a narrative with black residents lumped together as aggressors and the white residents as victims. This assessment gave a distinct impression to outsiders about the demeanor of the residents of Watts.

> [O]nly…white victims and black rioters appeared in…front-page coverage

The third publication for examination is not a newspaper, but a mainstream publication that reaches across the nation. The 27 August 1965 issue of LIFE magazine effectively presented vivid images of the rioting that occurred along the corridors of Los Angeles.[18] Many of these photos depict average situations, but bold headlines sensationalized events. By the title on the cover alone, "Arson and Street War – Most Destructive Riot in U.S. History"[19] (Figure 1), the scene set for a sensational description of events.

"Out of a Cauldron of Hate – Arson and Death"[20] splashed across the two-page set up for a 17-page article about the riots (Figure 2). This large photo depicts a scene set in a smoky haze with what appears to be a recent fiery explosion, firemen in the streets with their hoses trying to contain the destruction, debris littering the streets and a cluster of black youth shoving towards a broken store front window, looting despite the events going on around them. In another series of photos, LIFE displays the title "'Get Whitey!' The War Cry That Terrorized Los Angeles"[21] (Figure 3). This title is under a close up photo of an angry black youth missing a front tooth with a do-rag wrapped around his head. In contrast, placed right next to this photo and title, another photo shows a row of all-white National Guardsman in full tactical gear carrying rifles along the city streets. Another photo on this same two-page spread depicts a young man, simply identified as a Mexican, stabbed and bleeding on the sidewalk as a National Guardsman comes to his aid. Still, another photo sits in the bottom right hand corner of the page depicting a wounded National Guardsman cared for by a medic and his fellow Guardsman. Another two-page spread of the most sensationalized depictions of LIFE magazine photos are found where the headline reads: "Wild Plundering – Grab It and Run"[22] (Figure 4). These pages encompass a series of five photos depicting the looting aspects of the riots and the chaos in the streets. In one photo, black youth are ripping grocery items off a shelf through what appears to be a broken storefront window. The largest photo depicts a chaotic mess of the streets, littered with trash and showing individuals running, most with arms full of looted items. Another photo shows a shopping cart packed with grocery items racing down the littered street, pushed by two young

[16] Jill A. Edy, *Troubled Pasts, News and The Collective Memory of Social Unrest* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006), 33.

[17] "Negro Heroism Saves Whites in Riot Danger," *Los Angeles Times*, August 13, 1965.

[18] "Arson and Street War: Most Destructive Riot in U.S. History." *LIFE*, August 27, 1965.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.


'Get Whitey!' The War Cry That Terrorized Los Angeles

(Figure 3) Close-up photograph of a "violent" black resident adjacent to images of national guardsmen. "Arson and Street War: Most Destructive Riot in U.S. History." LIFE, August 27, 1965, 4-5

black women with curlers in their hair. A set of two photos at the bottom of the page depict young black men, women and children walking in to a store through a broken window and retrieving guns. All of these photos and the wording of the title on the first page alone, "A Cauldron of Hate", presents a vivid image and provides a prepackaged idea about the events that occurred, which perhaps does nothing more than reinforce already formed opinions about racial issues.

LIFE magazine encompasses a large number of the photos that attributed to a collective thought about the Watts area. They referred to its location as Los Angeles but soon called it the Watts Riots, the imagery transferred over—attributed solely to Watts. Circulated across the nation, LIFE magazine resolved into an "authoritative" voice on the riots. People in small rural towns as well as big cities who had never heard of Watts saw these images and formed opinions about this place, further contributing to this widespread feeling of distrust. Knowingly or not, LIFE presents ample justification for why this area is associated with fear and hate.

As a result of the media coverage of the events, a stigma developed about the Watts community because of their proximity to the riot zone. In a decade when race relations between whites and blacks theoretically improved, the riots showed how far behind the large "open-minded" metropolitan remained in improving relationships. These actions took many by surprise, and as a result, the government outlined a plan to rehabilitate Watts to encourage economic growth, education and living conditions. However, the media infiltrated this avenue of government aid as well.

Surprisingly, prior to the riots the media indicated improving race relations between whites and blacks. The National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorder stated "The Los Angeles Riot, the worst in the United States since the Detroit riot of 1943, shocked all who had been confident that race relations were improving in the North, and evoked a new mood in the ghettos around the country."[23] In the same tone, California Governor Edmund G. (Pat) Brown said, "Here in California, we have a wonderful working relationship between whites and Negroes. We got along fine until this happened".[24] Not only the white

[23]Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1968), 38.

[24]J. Cohen and W. S. Murphy, *Burn, Baby, Burn! The Los Angeles Race Riot, August, 1965* (New York: Dutton, 1966) 261, as quoted in Edy, *Troubled Past.*,



(Figure 4) Multiple photographs of blacks looting stores and businesses during the 1965 riot. "Arson and Street War: Most Destructive Riot in U.S. History." LIFE, August 27, 1965, 10-11

community anticipated improving race relations, but a prominent voice in the black community felt improvement as well. In the *Los Angeles Sentinel*'s 12 August 1965 publication, the paper indicated, "the future is bright... if we continue to work along the lines we have been working."[25] These comments are interesting to consider, especially side-by-side comments such as the ones made by Los Angeles Police Chief William H. Parker in reference to the rioters acting "like monkeys in a zoo,"[26] which proved to outrage the residents with his blatant offensive terms. Instead of bolstering race relations, comments like these created a deeper wedge. A quote found in *Newsweek* shortly after the events, summarizes the relationship between the white police force and black residents of Watts in just a few lines: "For all their celebrated professionalism, Chief Parker and his men are... despised by Watts Negroes.... There is ample evidence to suggest why....Among some LA cops, a billy club is familiarly known as a 'nigger knocker'...."[27] Statements such as these exemplified the lack of improving race relations at the time between whites and blacks.

In connection with race relations, and in response to the riots, California Governor Pat Brown commissioned a report,[28] popularly referred to as the McCone Commission Report. This report dealt with many of the issues that led to the riot and resulted in a series of solutions to ensure that an event like this would not occur again in the future. The report identified Watts as a ghetto, already known by nearby residents of the "lily-white communities like South Gate and Huntington Park, Inglewood and Gardena."[29] Although initially toted as an unbiased assessment of the events of the Los Angeles Riots of 1965 put out by the government, it is responsible for laying the blame on Watts as a focal point for the riots, further illustrating that the media influenced the committee that created the report. Instead of identifying Los Angeles as a whole, the report attributed the reasons for the concentration of rioting to a small community called Watts.[30] By the end of the report, the impression given is that change could and would happen. However, discarding plans for improvement not long afterwards, the city had little to show for the

[25]Coonradt, "Negro News," 16.

[26]Edy, *Troubled Past*, 30.

[27]"The Reasons Why," (*Newsweek*, August 30, 1965, 66), 18, as quoted in Edy, *Troubled Pasts*, 35.

[28]Governor's Commission, *Violence in The City*.

[29]Bullock, *Aftermath*, 33.

[30]Governor's Commission, *Violence in The City*, 75.

participants extensive efforts. Because of the failure of the McCone Report to implement its proposed changes effectively, Watts entered a downward spiral, further contributing to the problems that ultimately bred the fear that exists about this locale that the media grossly exploited.

Race relations may not have improved prior to the riots, but it is interesting to note that no significant attempts to remedy them appeared in post-riot Watts. Tension between the police and the residents of the community remain a point of conflict, despite the more racially integrated police force. The McCone Commission Report had the potential to turn Watts around and rebuild. Instead, its failure to do so provided the basis for many complaints about this blighted district, and remains one of the foremost reasons for the city's undesirability.

> [T]he report attributed the... rioting to a small community called Watts

The media's portrayal of Watts ran farther than the initial coverage of the event. It would be unlikely to assume that coverage immediately following the riots is the only reason for its stigma, but rather it is attributable to a persistent stream of negative press presented to the public. Through recent studies and newspaper interviews with Watts's residents, reinforcement that the city remains an undesirable location—something conjured by the mention of the place alone—continues to influence outsiders, in spite of many published articles and studies for educational purposes, and not for that of diffusing negative press.

A study published in 2005 offers a reason as to why outsiders still hold a negative association with the name Watts. Geographers Sandra Ball-Rokeach and Sorin Adam Matei, detailed their study in an article called "Watts, the 1965 Los Angeles Riots, and the Communicative Construction of the Fear Epicenter of Los Angeles."[31] They "explain why fear is focalized on Watts and which of the two central communication channels, television or newspapers, seems to be more important in fostering such a fear."[32] This study places a large amount of blame on the television media because of its ability to perpetuate stereotypes and manipulate its viewer's emotions. They suspect that continued fear by outsiders is a direct result of the 1965 riots. To prove this, they randomly selected and categorized residents of the Los Angeles County area into two groups: those who primarily relied on the television for news, and those who primarily relied on the newspaper for news. The two groups, given a labeled map of Los Angeles County, indicated the locations where they had feelings associated with comfort, fear or neutrality.

Overwhelmingly, those who relied on the television for news indicated fear of the Watts area than those who relied primarily on newspaper for news. In order to rule out reasons that would affect the feeling of comfort in Watts, the authors collected both actual and probable crime statistics of cities and defined areas of Los Angeles County. Surprisingly, crime rates fell below in Watts than in areas such as Universal City/West Hollywood and the City of Industry, although study participants indicated these as areas as safer places. The authors conclude that fear of Watts is a result of its violent historical past and the role of television news media in fostering this fear. The article made a case that changes, such as the discarding of the label "Watts Riots," must occur before the fear associated with Watts can dissipate.[33]

With more on local perception, a *Sentinel* article published on the thirtieth anniversary of the riots, quotes a Watts resident:

> People just want to look at the bad. They say 'Oh, don't go to Watts or South Central cause you might not make it out alive.' That is the media's doing. We have a lot of good people here and a lot of good

[31]Sandra Ball-Rokeach and Sorin Adam Matei. "Watts, the 1965 Los Angeles Riots, and the Communicative Construction of the Fear Epicenter of Los Angeles," *Communication Monographs* 72, no. 3 (2005): 301-23.

[32]Ibid., 304.

[33]Ibid., 321.

things going on that you never read about in the newspaper.[34]

The statement encompasses a general outside view of Watts, with which not all residents necessarily agreed. Just ten years later in a fortieth anniversary article in the Los Angeles Sentinel, entitled "20 Reflections: The '65 Watts 'Riots'" shares informally collected local black opinion about Watts.[35] F. Finely McRae sought to locate and introduce reason to the current state of the Watts area of Los Angeles. This article harbored no specific agenda, but the structure demonstrated a clear purpose. One quote summarizes the feelings of many residents: "not much has changed since the rebellion, we are still harassed by the police, racism still exists and so does Black-Latino conflict. If communities are to begin to get what they need, let's have employment, teen centers and drug rehabs for youth." [36] Although the results are only a few lines from each individual interviewee, there is a common theme found in all of the interviews: after the riots, residents of Watts hoped for change, but nothing really happened.

Similar anniversary style articles published in the *Los Angeles Times*, looked at how far Watts has come and the progress, or lack thereof, that it has encountered since the riots over forty years ago. Without meaning to, the picture of uneasiness about Watts rematerializes by simply stating the facts. The article entitled "We Only Burned Ourselves, Baby", [37] detailed statistics about the area, sharing that "in 2005, black high school seniors' math and reading levels on average are no higher than those of whites and Asians in the eighth grade."[38] This statement coupled with statistical data reveals that an overwhelming amount of the city's homicides occur in this area of South Los Angeles and about forty percent of the homicides have involved black victims, and "the vast majority killed by other blacks."[39] The author concluded with a thoroughly echoed statement that changes are necessary. In another article "Watts Riots Remembered", lists poverty and joblessness as major concerns in this community as well as "crime and tensions with the police."[40] Both of these articles provide an insight to the community of Watts as portrayed by outsiders. Even outsiders see that they need help, but still there is no change. These sentiments are uncomfortably reminiscent of the 1947 City Planning Assessment about Watts. Identification of the problems has completed, but nothing has arisen to rectify the issues.

Watts is a derelict community of individuals and property

The community of Watts, having the misfortune of being so nearby the rioting of 1965 will be forever associated with the negative effects. The media's portrayal of Watts led to a deep-rooted sense of fear and distrust of the area. This coverage only further embedded into the minds of the public the perception that Watts is a derelict community of individuals and property and cannot ever hope to reach its full potential. However, if because of this association the city has no chance of renewing itself, then the media must accept blame in this association and take steps to restore their damage. By promoting positive statistics, news stories, and accomplishments, and increasing awareness of the human condition in this area, the media can begin to create positive imagery in an otherwise ugly mental landscape. If Watts cannot rid itself of the conditions that created the need to riot and remove the stigma associated with riots that occurred over forty years ago, then history is destined to repeat itself before this community's voice will finally be heard.

[34]Malaika Brown, "WATTS RIOTS: Thirty Years Later Reflections on What Was, Is and ... Shall Be?" *Los Angeles Sentinel*, August 23, 1995, sec. A.

[35] F. Finley McRae, "20 Reflections: The '65 Watts 'Riots,'" *Los Angeles Sentinel*, August 11-17, 2005, sec. A.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Hicks, "Burned Ourselves."

[38]Ibid.

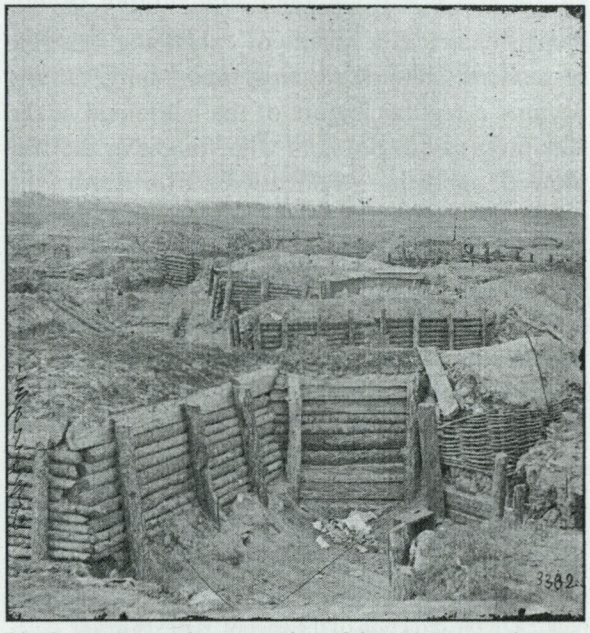
[39]Ibid.

[40] Jessica Gresko, "Watts Riots Remembered; Community Members Recall Turmoil 40 Years Ago that Echoed across the Country," *Los Angeles Times*, August 6, 2005.

Digging in: Field Fortification in the American Civil War, 1861-4

Blake McWhorter

The Civil War changed American lives immeasurably. Due to the growing use of field fortifications, it also revolutionized the way soldiers fought. By utilizing natural barriers as fieldworks, both Union and Confederate forces experienced higher casualties, trepidation, and a resistance to fight. **Blake McWhorter** traces the development of defensive works from First Manassas to Petersburg. He shows the global ramifications of contemporary warfare, particularly for the troops.



The interconnected construction of these CSA trenches outside Petersburg allowed reinforcements to shift safely and quickly to areas under increased threat. Hirst Millhollen and Donald Mugridge, comps., *Selected Civil War Photographs, 1861-1865* (Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 1977), no. 0429.

The Civil War affected profound changes in many areas of American life, both civilian and military. Especially in regards to the art of warfare, the Civil War marked an era of rapid change in the tactical application of field fortification. Early in the war, fortification prominently surfaced in the adaptation of existing terrain, with limited artificial construction, for defensive or offensive purposes. While such features as rifle pits, breastworks, *abattis*, and *glacises*[1]—easily created from materials readily available on the battlefield—proved common features of early infantry battles, complex, interlaced trench networks did not appear until later in the Civil War. In the early battles, the primary role of fortification centered on slowing an enemy's advance, allowing time for massed fire to inflict casualties. While these fortifications possessed certain advantages, their strength arose primarily from strategic positioning in relation to natural features.

Construction, as a means of enhancing strategic or tactical value of existing topography, rapidly became a regular feature of the battlefield as the war progressed. Soldiers who fought in the war viewed opposing fortifications with terror; the battle of Cold Harbor in particular—where casualties reached approximately 4,000 on 3 June 1864—speaks volumes on the power of a few dug-in defenders against a numerically superior foe.[2] Soldiers' fear and resistance to frontal assaults on defensive works following this attack plagued General Ulysses S. Grant throughout the ensuing campaign at Petersburg, one of the most heavily fortified Confederate cities. The growing sophistication of field fortifications during the American Civil War, from the early confrontations at Manassas and the Seven Days' battles to Cold Harbor and the quagmire outside Petersburg, transformed the initially mobile war into a static, attritional affair that inspired fear, increased casualties, and generated resistance among soldiers. Furthermore, the importance of field fortification in later campaigns of the war reveals the changes in warfare wrought by this long, bloody conflict.

FIRST USE OF FIELD FORTIFICATIONS

In the initial battles of the conflict, simplistic and spontaneous use of the existing terrain with limited construction dominated the tactical application of fortification in the field. Outnumbered at least two to one, P.T. Beauregard, commanding Confederate general at First Manassas, detailed his plans to exploit natural features for the defense in a letter to Jefferson Davis on 11 July 1861:

> In consequence of this great disparity in numbers, I have...concentrat[ed] my troops in the exigency on the naturally strong positions...afforded by Bull Run...so as to induce the enemy to offer me battle...where his numerical superiority would be materially counterbalanced by the difficulties of the ground, and my previous preparations there...[3]

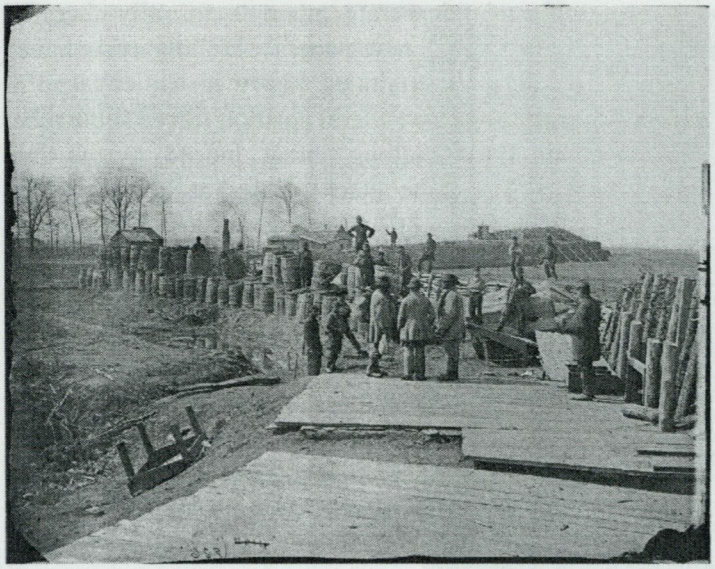
Beauregard planned to channel his numerically superior enemy into tight spots, such as river crossings, where his limited fieldworks could have the greatest effect. These works included abattis[4] around the river crossings and limited entrenchment at the Confederate camp, which Beauregard intended to use as a second line of

[1]General terms are provided for clarification: **Abbattis**: a series of felled trees, frequently sharpened, pointed in the direction of the enemy. **Breastworks, earthworks, trenches**: chest-high earthen dug-outs or mounds designed to provide a stable firing surface and cover a soldier's body from enemy fire. **Glacis**: a cleared field of fire. **Rifle pit**: similar to a trench, but intended for one to five riflemen.

[2]Gordon C. Rhea, *Cold Harbor: Grant and Lee May 26-June 3, 1864* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 2002), 386.

[3]Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard, Letter to Jefferson Davis, 11 July 1861, in *A Commentary on the Campaigns and Battles of Manassas* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1891), 141.

[4]James Barnet Fry, Letter from James Barnet Fry, 20 July 1861, in *Narrative of Military Operations, Directed, during the War between the States* (New York: D. Appleton, 1874), 472-3.



Union soldiers inspect captured Confederate fieldworks at First Manassas. Hirst Millhollen and Donald Mugridge, comps., *Selected Civil War Photographs, 1861-1865* (Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 1977), no. 0022.

defense in the event his army gave ground.[5] Confederate troops also utilized natural cover, such as wooded areas and wheat fields to conceal their positions. One Union soldier, wounded in the engagement, described the difficulty of hitting enemy troops "so completely hidden down in the grainfield that [their] colors and the smoke from [their] guns were all we had for a target."[6] Facing such conditions, it seems hardly surprising that Union soldiers' fears factored heavily into the rout that followed.

Trepidation, especially of Confederate fortifications, played a prominent role in the Union defeat at First Manassas. In the days before the battle, Northern newspapers reported on the Confederate forces' positions, indicating that hidden artillery batteries supported the well-fortified rebels.[7] The purportedly covert nature of these works likely enhanced feelings of menace in soldiers marching to the field. It is one thing to fight an enemy one can see, but a hidden enemy can strike at any time, in any number. These reports spread like wildfire among Union troops. Abner Small of the 3rd Maine, described the penetration of such rumors into his unit, claiming that nearly all his comrades wrote home about various traps the Confederacy allegedly built for the battle.[8]

Even the public heard stories of extensive defensive works; William Howard Russell, an English correspondent in Washington in July 1861, discussed in his diary the "flaming" newspaper accounts that told of Union bravery in the face of "masked" batteries.[9] Although the majority of these rumors proved false, they certainly contributed to soldier's fears, turning the Federal defeat at Manassas into a panic-driven rout. Paddy Griffith, author of *Battle Tactics of the Civil War*, attributes the Federal retreat to the limited skill of the soldiers in executing McDowell's attempt to flank the Confederate defenses, coupled with the rebels' adept reinforcement of threatened parts of their lines.[10] The inability to carry the Confederate works confirmed Union soldiers' fears; due to

[5]Beauregard to Jefferson, 142.

[6]William J. Crossly, Diary, July 1861, in *Extracts from My Diary, and from My Experiences with Jefferson Davis in Three of His Notorious Hotels, in Richmond, Va., Tuscaloosa, Ala., and Salisbury, N.C., from July, 1861 to June, 1862* (Providence, RI: Stone & Farnham, 1903), 9.

[7]Earl J. Hess, *Field Armies & Fortifications: The Eastern Campaigns, 1861-1864* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 32.

[8]Ibid.

[9]William Howard Russell, Diary, July 1862, in *My Diary North and South* (T.O.H.P. Burnham, 1863), 463.

[10]Paddy Griffith, *Battle Tactics of the Civil War* (New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press, 1989), 31-2.

the natural strength of the Confederate line, it remained unbroken despite the Federal onslaught.

CONFEDERATES FACE FORTIFICATIONS

Confederate soldiers later gained a healthy respect for the danger of attacking natural fortifications during the last of the Seven Days' battles. Brigadier General John Fitz Porter, the ranking Union officer on Malvern Hill, supported by thirty-seven fieldpieces and nearly 18,000 men, ably held piecemeal Confederate attacks at bay due primarily to the natural features of his position and limited fortification in the form of rifle pits and breastworks.[11] Alfred Lewis Castleman, a Union soldier who fought on Malvern Hill, described the effectiveness of the natural fortress in horrific detail:

> Charge after charge is made on our artillery, with a demoniac will to take it, if it costs them half their army. Down it mows their charging ranks, till they lie in heaps and rows, from behind which our men fight as securely as if in rifle pits... the slaughter is terrible...[12]

Clearly, even limited construction, when coupled with the natural features of Malvern Hill, created a highly effective defensive position. The rebels, although in this case numerically superior, suffered the effects of fear much like Federal forces at Manassas. J.J. McDaniel, a Confederate soldier of the 7th South Carolina Regiment involved in the battle, noted the fate of one brigade, "retreating in disorder" despite their officers' "desperate attempts to rally them."[13] In this case, newspapers did little to enhance soldiers' uncertainties; heavy casualties taken in assaults on the Federal position forced some rebel units into headlong retreat. Indeed, by the time the attacks ceased at dusk on 1 July 1862, Confederate losses numbered 5,600 compared to Union losses of 3,000.[14] Malvern Hill remained in Union possession for the time being. Ever increasing casualties taken in frontal assaults on fortified positions like Malvern Hill, continued to inspire fear, and in later battles, resistance among soldiers.

> [A] hidden enemy can strike at any time, in any number.

GROWING SOPHISTICATION

As the war progressed, battles involving field fortifications began to take on a different character. Fortifications' sophistication steadily increased as field armies utilized them more often. Although terrain still factored into fortification of a battlefield, the focus shifted to construction as the best way to enhance the tactical value of the field. As commanders increasingly relied on entrenching for offense and defense, soldiers became comfortable behind their fieldworks. Griffith describes this process as follows:

> A logical theorem may be drawn to show that if both sides in a war believe that it is impossible to storm breastworks then neither side will feel safe until it is sitting behind them, and no one will wish to put a serious effort into storming the enemy's. Hence, both sides will actually have gained security, regardless of any material weaknesses in the trenches themselves, because their beliefs will have turned into a self-fulfilling prophecy.[15]

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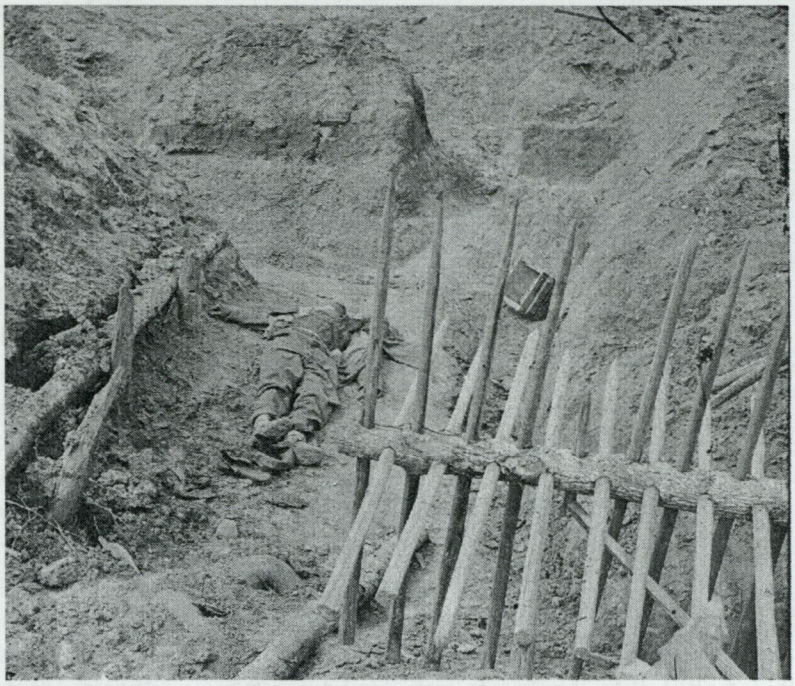
[11]Hess, *Field Armies*, 126.

[12]Alfred Lewis Castleman, Diary, July 1862, in *The Army of the Potomac, Behind the Scenes: A Diary of Unwritten History: From the Organization of the Army... to the Close of the Campaign in Virginia, about the First Day of January, 1863* (Milwaukee: Strickland & Co., 1863), 174.

[13]J. J. McDaniel, Diary, June 1862, in *Diary of Battles, Marches and Incidents of the Seventh S.C. Regiment* (Privately Published, 1862), 8.

[14]Hess, *Field Armies*, 126.

[15]Griffith, *Battle Tactics*, 132-3.



A typical Civil War era entrenchment. The wooden object in the foreground is an example of a chevaux-de-frise. Hirst Millhollen and Donald Mugridge, comps., *Selected Civil War Photographs, 1861-1865* (Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 1977), no. 0426

Soldiers viewed their defensive works as a primary means of defending themselves during both enemy assaults and assaults made on the enemy. This difference did not go unnoticed by officers. Colonel Theodore Lyman, in a letter to his wife in August 1864, explained the difficulty in finding men courageous enough to storm enemy entrenchments: "the men who stormed the Rappahannock redoubts in November '63 would have walked over the breastworks and driven Beauregard into the Appomattox; but those men are on the ground between here and Rapid Ann, or fill the hospitals in the North."[16] Lyman further believed that a man in fieldworks could beat back "three times his number even if he [was] not a very good soldier."[17] For this reason, Confederate generals increasingly utilizedfield fortification in response to tactical problems in order to increase the power of their men on defense. Grant, for example, shifted wagons with entrenching tools to the front of his supply columns to ensure quick access in the field for the upcoming 1864 campaign.[18] These changing facets of field fortification coalesced during the Federal offensive in 1864, as demonstrated by the battles at Cold Harbor and Petersburg.

At Cold Harbor, sophisticated fortifications played a key role in the battle and the early stages of resistance among soldiers. Awaiting the Union advance on 1 June 1864, Confederate forces constructed a complicated defensive line in depth, including a rifle-pit first line, a second line of forward entrenchments a half-mile to the rear, followed by a glacis, obstacles, and a final defensive line.[19] While this line did take advantage of the natural features of the battlefield, such as forests, ravines, and marshy areas, the rebels focused on construction as their primary means of enhancing the defensive value of the land. Indeed, the rebels achieved the desired effect with their defensive works; Grant's intended full-strength

[16]Theodore Lyman, Letter to Elizabeth Russell Lyman, 24 August 1864, in *Meade's Headquarters, 1863-1865: Letters of Colonel Theodore Lyman from the Wilderness to Appomattox*, George Agassiz, ed. (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1922), 224.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Edward Hagerman, *The American Civil War and the Origins of Modern Warfare: Ideas, Organization, and Field Command* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 254.

[19]Rhea, *Cold Harbor*, 224.



An example of the fortifications around Petersburg, including bunkers and a permanent breastwork. Hirst Millhollen and Donald Mugridge, comps., *Selected Civil War Photographs, 1861-1865* (Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 1977), no. 0422.

assault turned back after less than an hour.[20] In this assault, the strength of Confederate positions led many commanders in the Union lines to make half-hearted attacks, if not forgoing the attack altogether. While some commanders did make an effort to establish forward lines of entrenchments, in many places Confederate soldiers remained unaware that an attack even occurred.[21] Thus Griffith's version of the self-fulfilling prophesy of fieldworks came true on the Cold Harbor battlefield. Union soldiers and commanders, keenly aware of the dangers involved in a frontal assault on well-fortified positions, frequently chose to ignore their orders in an effort to prevent unnecessary casualties.

RESISTANCE

This resistance to frontal assaults on enemy works fully developed during the nearly year-long siege at Petersburg. As each army settled into the siege, they dug extensive fieldworks, by far the most intricate yet seen in the Civil War.[22] Elements of these works included forward rifle pit lines, bunkers, interlaced networks of communication and reinforcement trenches. Dangerous obstacles such as *fraises* and *chevaux-de-frise*—higher degrees of abbattis refinement—attempted to accomplish the common goal of slowing an enemy by placing sharpened timbers at chest-level.[23] The presence of such hazardous defenses often led men to become "lost" in traversing the open ground between entrenchments, especially during night operations. Lemuel Abijah Abbott, a company commander at Petersburg, recalled in his memoir the confusion he felt at this not-so-subtle whittling of his numbers. "...[W]hat had become of G Company was a quandary, as not a man could be found."[24] During the course of an advance, many of Abbott's men snuck off into the darkness, hoping to escape what they surely perceived as certain death. Abbott stated the enemy works appeared "wonderfully strong," yet still seemed surprised that his numbers only increased as stragglers caught up with the main

[20]Ibid., 358.

[21]Ibid., 342-3.

[22]Noah Andre Trudeau, *The Last Citadel: Petersburg, Virginia June 1864-April 1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991), 192.

[23]Ibid., 288.

[24]Lemuel Abijah Abbott, Memoir, in *Personal Recollections and Civil War Diary, 1864* (Burlington, VT: Free Press, 1908), 267.

body of his force.[25] Disappearing in the middle of an attack marked one way soldiers resisted their commanders' orders to assault heavily fortified earthworks.

Soldiers' resistance took on other forms as well. Opposing entrenchments outside Petersburg, frequently separated by at least a mile, sometimes sat as close as a hundred yards apart. In these close quarters with the "enemy," soldiers began to recognize the coequal suffering of men just across no-man's-land. For example, one Rhode Island soldier remarked that when he and the Confederates were not busily engaged in killing one another, they could, in fact, be friends.[26] John Gardner Perry, a surgeon in the war, witnessed one spectacle indicative of the friendly, if not morbid, relationship between enemies:

> Towards noon yesterday, weary...of the inaction, a Confederate sharpshooter mounted his earthwork and challenged any one of our sharpshooters to single combat, Lieutenant G --, a fine fellow, standing at least six feet two in his stockings, accepted the challenge, and they commenced what to them was sport. Life is cheap in this campaign! Both fired, and the Confederate dropped. G -- 's great size was so unusual that his opponent had the advantage, and our men tried to make him give way to a smaller man.[27]

Abbott's men snuck...into the darkness, hoping to escape... certain death

Although the lieutenant rejected his comrades' suggestions that he make the game more fair, and later took a bullet for his troubles, this bizarre event displays the monotony of life in the trenches and the ways soldiers, even across no-man's-land, coped with the stress of constant fighting. Even though these soldiers did not actively resist any orders in this situation, the simple fact that they engaged in this "game" with their enemies suggests that they perceived them as equals.

Throughout the war, the fighting involving field fortifications defined soldiers' experiences. Fear of enemy works, fanned by rumor and justified by immense casualties sustained in assaults, led to dependence on fortification as means of reducing casualties and providing a measure of security to the men. The continuous increase in the application of fortification by generals only encouraged this mentality, such that by 1864, the pattern of "lots of digging, lots of skirmishing, noise and smoke, lots of respect for the enemy's line" with little actual fighting had become well established.[28] Although maneuver remained an important aspect of tactics during the final months of the war, the growing resistance of the men to engaging their opponents while entrenched ensured that fortification continued to occupy an important place in American tactical thought.

CHANGES IN WARFARE

The fighting in the Civil War, and in particular the role afforded to fortification, demonstrates the changes in warfare already underway during this period. Indeed, the concepts of mass maneuver and close-order drill, nearly useless against a well-fortified position, received intense scrutiny in the years immediately following the Civil War. One British tactician described the problem as follows: "'a certain space of from 1,500 to 2,500 yards swept by fire, the intensity of which increases as troops approach the position from which that fire is delivered, has to be passed over.

[25]Ibid., 268-7.

[26]Trudeau, *The Last Citadel*, 292.

[27]John Gardner Perry, Letter from John Gardner Perry, 20 June 1864, in *Letters from a Surgeon of the Civil War*, Martha Derby Perry, comp. (Boston: Little, Brown, & Co., 1906), 191-2.

[28]Giffith, *Battle Tactics*, 135.

How shall it be crossed?'"[29] A Union officer, Emory Upton, who commanded troops at Spotsylvania and Cold Harbor in 1864, published a tactical manual in 1867 that suggested organizational changes with an eye toward solving the tactical problems field fortifications posed during the war. Upton served prominently on a board of military officers that attempted to create a system of assimilated tactics compatible across the three traditional services—infantry, artillery, and cavalry.[30] Although the War Department never actually authorized use of Upton's manual, it adopted many of his ideas and reorganized the army into a more fluid and flexible force. Thus, the tactical problems created by extensive use of fortification during the Civil War forced a change in the theoretical doctrine of the United States Army.

These changes in tactics and organization, observed and studied abroad, transplanted well to other parts of the world. Despite the obvious differences between the conflicts, the prevailing tactical theory during German Wars of Unification (1861-71) exhibits many similarities to that developed during the American Civil War. The use of field fortification in both cases encouraged "tactical paralysis," especially with improvements in rapid-fire weapons technology.[31] Thus, the experiences of soldiers and generals facing strong field fortification was effused with a larger meaning; although the soldiers experienced fear, heavy casualties, and began to resist their roles in the field during the static campaigns of the Civil War, these problems forced a fundamental change in tactical theory and the experiences of future soldiers.

[29]Robert Home, *Précis on Modern Tactics* (London, 1882), 70-1, as quoted in Perry D. Jamison, *Crossing the Deadly Ground: United States Army Tactics, 1865-1899* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1994), xii.

[30]Perry D. Jamison, *Crossing the Deadly Ground: United States Army Tactics, 1865-1899* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1994), 6.

[31]Roger Chickering, "Some Parting Shots," in *On the Road to Total War: The American Civil War and German Wars of Unification, 1861-1871*, Stig Forster and Jorg Nagler, eds. (Washington, DC: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 690.

The Historical Significance of the West Virginia Mine Wars

Zachary Briggs

Zachary Briggs argues that the West Virginia Mine Wars of 1912-13 and 1920-21 are neglected conflicts in American history. The 1912 struggle cost the state roughly 100 million dollars, fifty lives, and untold misery and hardship. On 26 August 1920, President Warren G. Harding threatened to send federal troops and MB-1 bombers to quell the hostilities. These mine wars remain misunderstood or unknown; American history curricula must teach these important events.



Miners turning in their weapons following the Battle of Blair Mountain. Photo courtesy of Babbette Tyler.

Conflict and struggle shape much of the history of the United States of America. Escalating to an extreme level of violence and armed warfare, the West Virginia Mine Wars of 1912-13, and 1920-21 provide a telling example of a neglected conflict in American history. Left out of the school curriculum, these events remain misunderstood or entirely unknown to many students. Are these events less important than those currently taught by educators of American history? If not, the West Virginia Mine Wars of 1912-13 and 1920-21 are significant occurrences in U.S. history that must be included in the standardized American history curriculum.

In order to fully grasp the scope of these events and their needed inclusion amongst other American historical events taught to students, a brief overview of the West Virginia Mine Wars is necessary. Categorized into two sections, the 1912-13 conflicts and the 1920-21 conflicts respectively, the latter is further divided into two subsections: the Matewan Massacre followed by the Battle of Blair Mountain. A comparative study between the West Virginia Mine Wars and several other American-historical episodes with similar political, cultural, and military issues proves that the West Virginia Mine Wars of 1912-13 and 1920-21 are worthy to hold their rightful place among what is considered standardized American history curriculum.

THE 1912-13 CONFLICTS

The first conflict of 1912-13 involved the violent struggle between southern West Virginia bituminous coal miners and the miner's employers. This particular struggle took place in and around two small rivers known as Paint Creek and Cabin Creek. Prior to this confrontation, the Paint Creek/Cabin Creek area held ninety-six fully-operational coal mines with 7500 miner employees.[1] Forty-one of these mines were unionized in addition to the coal fields of the Kanawha river area. The remaining fifty-five mines near Cabin Creek stayed non-unionized,[2] though those miners wanted unionization as a result from striking. Despite unionization of the other miners, the Paint Creek employees suffered a discrepancy in their compensation per ton of coal mined, of two and a half cents less than other unionized employees in the Paint Creek/Cabin Creek Mines.[3] In 1912 the United Mine Workers (UMW) attempted to renegotiate the Paint Creek union contracts in order to increase the compensation rate to equal the rates of adjacent mines. The raise in rates would only cost the employers fifteen cents per miner per day.[4] However, the operators refused to comply with these demands and the union subsequently felt compelled to officially strike, beginning 18 April 1912.[5]

Pain Creek employees suffered a discrepancy in their compensation

The demands stipulated by the union during the strike were no different from the demands of other strikes during the years between 1900-30. The demands included

> ...recognition of the union by the operators, miner's rights to free speech and peaceable assembly, the discontinuations of black-listing discharged workers, the ceasing of compulsory trading at company stores, the discontinuation of 'cribbing' so that 2,000 pounds of mined coal would constitute a ton, that scales be installed at mines to weigh the tonnage of the miners, that miners be allowed to employ their own check-weigh men to check against the weights found by company check-

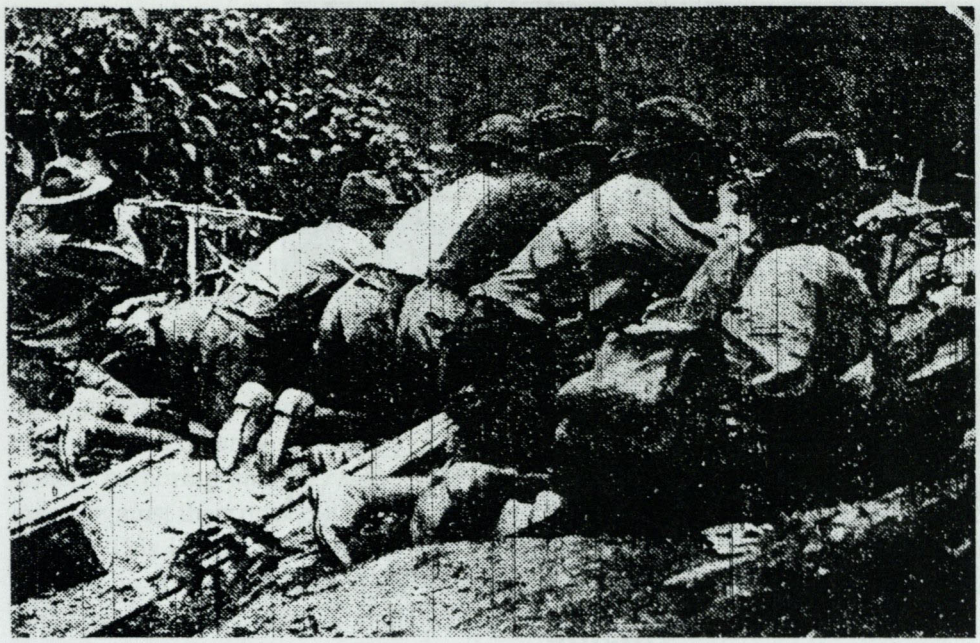
[1]Howard B. Lee, *Bloodletting in Appalachia: The Story of West Virginia's Four Major Mine Wars and Other Thrilling Incidents of Its Coal Fields* (Morgantown, W.Va: West Virginia University Library, 1969), 17-8.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid.



Scene of actual fighting of Blair Mountain. Photo courtesy of Babbette Tyler.

> weigh men, as provided by law, and that the two check-weigh men determine all docking penalties."[6]

The first few demands in this list, such as those about free speech and assembly, are guaranteed in the U.S. constitution. Evidence would then suggest that the miners not only drafted their demands based on the U.S. constitution, but that the miners viewed themselves as subjects to unconstitutional oppression on behalf of the mine operators. Additionally, these demands reflected the time period and conditions, as they "simply asked for observance by the operators of individual rights guaranteed to miners by state statutes and the federal and state constitutions."[7] However, the mine operators denied these employee demands thereby encouraging the miners to strike. Following minor deliberation, the Cabin Creek employees joined the Paint Creek employees creating a striking-force sizeable enough to demand action from the operators.

In retaliation, the Paint Creek and Cabin Creek owners contracted hired gunmen from the Baldwin Felts Detective Agency in order to put down the strike. The agency sent three hundred mine guards and elected Albert Felts, Lee Felts, and Tony Gaujot to lead the movement.[8] In contrast, full economic support was pledged by the UMW union in an effort to incorporate the union into more mine fields in southern West Virginia. With UMW support, these miners organized the strike for the first month that Spring. However, by 10 May 1912, miners' and guards' emotions heated to a boiling point and gunfire erupted between both sides along Paint Creek and Cabin Creek. The fighting itself lasted for merely a half an hour by most accounts, but with a tragic and costly outcome. Local officials calculated costs of the strike and subsequent violence to exceed 1 million dollars.[9] Additionally, the conflict resulted in fifty casualties among both miners and guards, not including additional deaths suffered by striking miners due to starvation and malnutrition.[10]

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[6]Robert Shogan, *The Battle of Blair Mountain: The Story of America's Largest Union Uprising* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2004), 26.

[7]Lee, *Bloodletting in Appalachia*, 18.

[8]Shogan, *The Battle of Blair Mountain*, 11.

[9]Ibid., 6-7.

[10]Lee, *Bloodletting in Appalachia*, 22.



Miners take a break during the fighting at Blair Mountain. Photo courtesy of Babbette Tyler.

THE 1920-21 CONFLICTS

Because the miners accepted their poor and unfair employment circumstances, the violent conflicts between miners and hired guards subsided for almost a decade. Finally, the angst of conflict with the operators and the threat of poverty erupted in a full-scale combat in 1920 and 1921. The triggering incident, that gave way to state-wide violence, occurred in the small southern West Virginia mine town of Matewan. Again local coal companies employed Baldwin-Phelps to deal with the possibility of rebellion by miners who felt the sting of eviction, underpayment, and otherwise poor and unfair treatment by the company. All of this culminated into the "Battle of Matewan," better known as the Matewan Massacre, which again pitted local miners and citizens of Matewan, West Virginia, against hired gunmen from the Baldwin-Phelps Detective Agency.

Accompanied by armed and temporarily deputized miners, Matewan Police Chief Sid Hatfield issued arrest warrants for the detectives, as they gathered at the Matewan train Depot, in the middle of the Matewan mercantile and downtown area.[11] Upon presentation of the warrant, Baldwin-Felts officials issued a counter-warrant to Hatfield implicating him in unsubstantiated charges for crimes committed by the detectives themselves. All emotions came to a head when a violent shoot-out erupted on the streets of downtown Matewan.

Although no one knows, who fired the first shots, the armed miners and Baldwin-Felts detectives engaged in full combat and open firefight in the streets leaving unarmed Matewan Mayor Cabell Testerman, and Albert Felts of the Baldwin Felts Agency, as the first casualties. Within about five minutes, the violence caused the deaths of seven Baldwin Felts agents, including two armed Baldwin-Felts agents, two armed miners, and Mayor Testerman.[12]

Many historians list Sheriff Hatfield among the casualties of the massacre after being assassinated along with a friend, Ed Chambers, in front of the McDowell County courthouse in Welch, West Virginia, on 1 August 1921. Although witnessed by many, officials never charged the Baldwin-Felts agents who openly perpetrated the assassination.[13] Word of the Matewan Massacre and

[11] *New York Times* "Twelve Men Killed in Pistol Battle in West Virginia," May 20, 1920, 1.

[12] Shogan, *The Battle of Blair Mountain*, 20-6.

[13] Ibid., 158-9.

Hatfield's assassination spread quickly to other nearby West Virginia mining communities. In late summer 1921 coal miners from many parts of West Virginia gathered in the city of Charleston to discuss the earlier event and the possibility of a state-wide coal miner unionization effort. Determined to organize the southern coalfields and fight against the tyranny and poor working conditions imposed by their employers, the miners began a march to Logan County, in order to confront the coal companies headquartered in that area. These miners joined other West Virginia miners harboring similar resentments against their respective operators. This increase in numbers resulted in a force identified as "the largest armed insurrection in the U.S. since the American Civil War."[14]

Word of the Matewan Massacre and Hatfield's assassination spread quickly

The following two-year "Coal War" became known as the "Battle of Blair Mountain" wherein 10,000 to 15,000[15] coal miners battled company-contracted detectives to press the miners' demands and make efforts to implement the United Mine Workers union into the remaining counties of southern West Virginia.[16]

The morning of 25 August saw small initial skirmishes with the majority of miners still en route fifteen miles from Blair Mountain. In marked contrast, by the second day, the violence escalated compelling threats from President Warren G. Harding to send federal troops and Army Martin MB-1 bombers to suppress the conflict.[17] Finally, an agreement made during a hearing in Madison, West Virginia, persuaded the miners to return to their homes. Despite this agreement, Logan County Sheriff Don Chafin, an ally with the company operators, along with his men, intentionally gunned-down union men and their families in Sharples, West Virginia, five miles north of Blair Mountain. Incensed, many miners returned to Blair Mountain, some utilizing stolen or commandeered trains. On 29 August 1921, the rest of the miners and hired guards previously en route joined the battle. Despite being severely outnumbered, Chafin's men, continued to prevail against the miners by utilizing both their position on higher ground, and their advance weaponry such as private planes modified to release crudely-made bombs on the striking miners. In addition, the miners were subjected to World War I-era gas and explosive bombs obtained from US military surplus.[18] Eventually, the striking miners recovered one of the unexploded bombs and used it as evidence months later during their own trials when charged by the state with murder and treason, after the wars. This aerial-assault aspect of the Battle of Blair Mountain is identified as "the first and only example of Air Power being used by the federal government against U.S. citizens."[19]

Intermittent shootings persisted for a further week. At one point the miners almost broke through guarded lines to Logan, West Virginia, attempting to unionize the Logan and Mingo counties to the south. Chafin's side reported up to thirty deaths; Union leaders reported fifty to one hundred casualties among miners; while other sources reckoned many hundreds more injured, including "3 members of the West Virginia State Police."[20] Finally, on 2 September federal troops appeared on to quell any remaining insurrection by the miners. Realizing the inevitable loss of life by the miners if the battle continued, now against

[14]Shogan, *The Battle of Blair Mountain*, 47.

[15]Ibid., 52.

[16]The Battle of Blair Mountain is also referred to as the "Redneck War", due to the red bandanas worn by striking miners during times of battle. Done to discern allies from enemies, it is thought that this characteristic of the Battle of Blair Mountain may be the origination for using the Scottish term "red neck" in commonplace American vernacular.

[17]Shogan, *The Battle of Blair Mountain*, 117-8.

[18]Ibid., 198-200.

[19]Ibid., 221.

[20]Shogan, *The Battle of Blair Mountain*, 208-9.

the U.S. military, Union leaders directed the miners to begin traveling home by the next day.

During the trip home many miners, suspecting arrests and charges for crimes, attempted to hide their rifles and other weapons in the surrounding woods, prior to their departure of the Logan county area. Accordingly, "many present-day collectors and researchers are still finding weapons and ammunition embedded in old trees and in rock crevices."[21]

According to eye witness Bill Blizzard:

> Following the battle, 985 miners were indicted for 'murder, conspiracy to commit murder, accessory to murder, and treason against the State of West Virginia. Though some were acquitted by sympathetic juries, many were also imprisoned for a number of years, and all were eventually paroled in 1925.[22]

The conflicts seemed to result in favor for the mine operators and management. Following the battle, the United Mine Workers Association membership dropped drastically, with membership declining from 50,000 miners to only a few hundred, over the course of the next five years.[23] Only with the aid of president-elect Franklin Delano Roosevelt did the UMW finally organize chapters in southern West Virginia.

Both the events of 1912-13 and 1920-21 represent a turbulent time in American history and labor reform. The statistical data of the violence from these wars speaks for itself. The 1912 conflicts began with a deployment of 300 detectives against the miners, resulting in fifty casualties and 100 million dollars worth of punitive damages to the state of West Virginia. Likewise, the 1920 events are characterized by the infamous Matewan Massacre, the killing of prominent community figures and other hired detectives, followed by the involvement of 10,000 to 15,000 miners in the Battle of Blair Mountain with its corresponding casualties, costs, and indictments. Coupled with the sever decline of United Mine Worker membership just following the Battle of Blair Mountain, these events and statistics demand analysis as to their historical significance.

A WELL-ACCEPTED STANDARD

Examination of the West Virginia Mine Wars inevitably leaves any researcher fascinated by the circumstances and issues that created such explosive acts of violence. Moreover, these events beg question their relative neglect in historical curriculum. According to Criterion Eight of the Fifteen Criterion for the National Standards of History, which is used to dictate historical curriculum in over thirty states, the West Virginia Mine Wars are perfectly qualified for inclusion in standard U.S. History curriculums. Criterion Eight states, "Standards for United States History should reflect both the nation's diversity exemplified by race, ethnicity, social and economic status, gender, region, politics, and religion, and the nation's commonalities. The Contributions and struggles of *specific groups and individuals* should be included."[24] In this manner, beginning American history students will likely learn about American triumphs in the Revolutionary War, and common practices and lifestyles of the colonists prior to the war. Students will learn of the formation of the U.S. government and its innovation credited to inspiring figures such as Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Adams, Franklin, and others. Students will learn of the settlement of the country and the exciting frontier spirit of the pioneers that made such settlement possible.[25]

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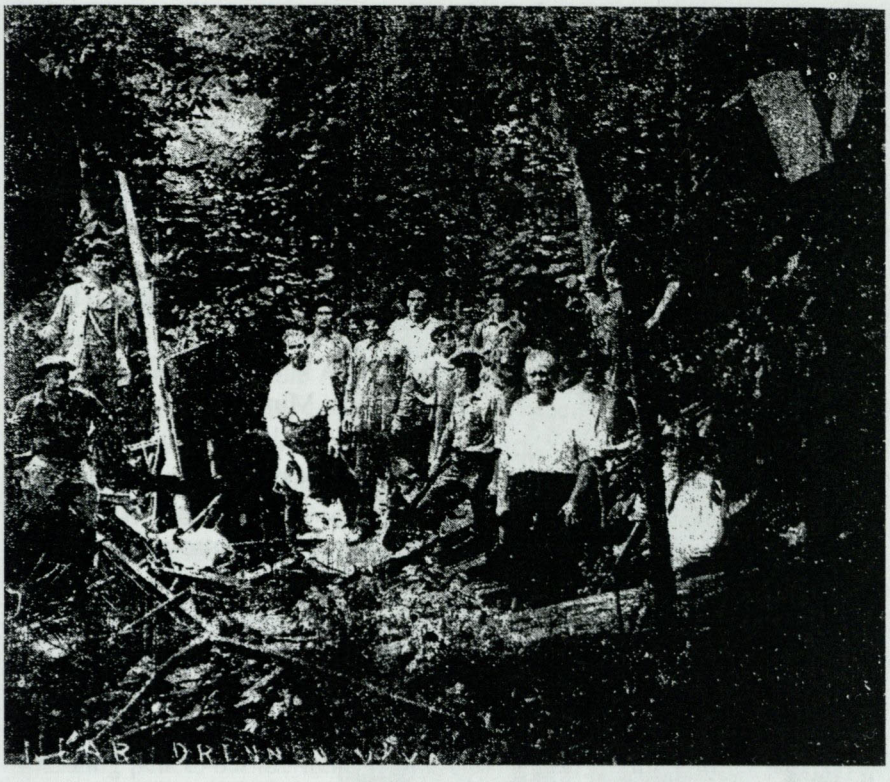
[21]Lee, *Bloodletting in Appalachia*, 49.

[22]William C. Blizzard, *When Miners March* (Gay, WV: Appalachian Community Press, 2005), 1.

[23]Shogan, *The Battle of Blair Mountain*, 219.

[24]Schaun Wheeler. "History Is Written by the Learners: How Student Views Trump United States History Curricula." *History Teacher* 4. (November 2007): 21 (Emphasis added).

[25]David Warren Saxe. "State History Standards: An Appraisal of History Standards in 37 States and the District of Columbia." *Fordham Report* 2. (February 1998): 22.



Wreckage of the Martin bombing plane No. 5 of government forces. Photo courtesy of Babbette Tyler.

This is not to say that these themes are exclusive and that basic American historical education disallows negativity. However, if the majority of events considered and taught in beginner curricula are of a positive and inspirational nature, often with polarized and easily discernable protagonists and antagonists, why then must the West Virginia Mine wars be neglected during the creation process of the standardized American history curriculum? Research yields only two conclusions: that these mine wars fail to meet Criterion Eight of the Fifteen Criteria for the National Standards of History, or, more plausibly, a deliberate neglect in favor of more positive inspirational events in American history occurred. If the latter is true, then this serious misrepresentation needs addressing.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSES

The reasons why general American historical education neglects the West Virginia Mine Wars is reasonably ascertained through observation of the current curriculum included in a basic study of American history. In such an observation, the researcher can devise reasons why these wars are not taught, despite flaws within this rationale. The general experience of the beginning American history student, and the desire for instructors to leave a positive impression of American history, is fundamental in shaping the students' newly acquired knowledge of American history.

This is not to say that historical education is inherently undesirable and acquired through some uncomfortable measures by students. However, instructors typically provide the subject matter, and display its universal practicality in the everyday life of the student. Subjects such as arithmetic and the sciences are more easily visible as to their application in student's lives. Although the subject of history is equally applicable, it is less visible, and meant more to inspire and help the student gain better understanding of where practices, cultures, policies, and geographical lines derive. Additionally, students learn from their past to gain a better understanding of who they

are and what mistakes they should strive not to repeat in the future.

Reasons arguing the implementation of the West Virginia Mine Wars into American historical education vary, though the reasons are not unrealistic. These wars display the turmoil of the early 1900's in the US, and are significant in an examination of early American labor laws, and the violence and unrest that led to modern labor laws that Americans live under today. The wars are studied for their relevance in military history along with an instance of guerilla warfare fought in the Appalachian regions, and the impact of World War I's weapon and military technology with its impact upon civilians. The wars are studied for their cultural and social significance, exposing the lives and times of Appalachian coal miners in the early1900's. The wars provide an understanding as to the technologies pertaining to fuels and nonrenewable recourses of the early twentieth century. In all, much wisdom is gleaned from a careful study of the West Virginia Mine Wars. A student learning of these events will benefit from this knowledge as easily as from other popular subjects of American historical education. Compared to other popular events in American history, the wars are valued for their examples of issues pertaining to each of the following categories: war, culture, and politics.



A train sent to transport miners after the Blair Mountain battle. Note that the miner is wearing a regulation U.S. Army coat. Photo courtesy of Babbette Tyler.

First, in the category of war, an easily comparable topic of basic American history to the West Virginia Mine Wars is that of the American Civil War. Although The War Between The States experienced a far greater mortality rate, greater political implications, and wide-spread effect on the U.S. as a whole, next to it the West Virginia Mine Wars stand conspicuously as the largest war fought on American soil by Americans. This comparison is important when considering that Americans on either side of the conflicts fought both the American Civil War and the West Virginia Mine Wars on American soil. Both events contain less visible protagonists and antagonists, along with controversial reasons behind the conflicts themselves.

One then asks why the American Civil War is taught and the West Virginia Mine Wars are not. First, the American Civil War and the following civil rights legislation is entirely too massive to gloss over in an American historical course. The influences of the American Civil War is still felt today by many Americans. Additionally, unlike the West Virginia Mine Wars, a researcher or educator considers that many instructors attempt to remedy the controversial hero-villain confusion from the American Civil War by blaming the underlying causes of the war as the conflict over the sole issue of slavery in America. This notion effectively vilifies the Confederate cause, despite varied causes for the war and great leaders and heroes on either side of the conflict. Summarily, the Civil War, though similar to the West Virginia Mine Wars, is included in basic curriculum and due to its immensity and impact upon American history and culture. It is then often justified for inclusion in the curriculum by teaching it in a biased fashion to match the earlier themes of inspiration and

well-defined protagonist/antagonist actions. Often not until advanced historical education and social-historical studies are applied can students truly see the grey area of such conflicts as the American Civil War.

As far as the categories under the umbrella of U.S. culture, cultural conflicts, and cultural reform, the West Virginia Mine Wars share some similarities to that of the conflicts between the U.S. government and the American Indians during the nineteenth century. An examination of the general commonly-known aspects of the contentious relationship between the U.S. government and the American Indians resounds in familiarity with cultural aspects of the Mine Wars.

Both movements represent an oppressed people finally driven to insurgency in what they view to be justifiable violence. Both movements are riddled with negotiations and decisions aimed at obtaining peace, but are later revealed to be spurious and non-committal, thereby furthering the violence. And both movements pit a little-regarded minorities against forces in control of wages, shelter, sustenance, and the means of life.

Politically, the West Virginia Mine Wars measure up to other popularly-taught events in American history. The post-Revolutionary War incident known as Shay's Rebellion concerned disgruntled working-class Americans turning to violent means in order to regain the equitable treatment and wages they thought they deserved. Identical to the motivating factors surrounding the mine wars, Shay's Rebellion shares comparable political ramifications involving the U.S. government's reaction to the insurrection. Additionally, Shay's Rebellion is commonly taught in standardized curriculum, in conjunction with events immediately following the American Revolution and birth of the nation.

As monumental a comparison as the Civil War is to the mine wars, Shay's Rebellion is a comparison on a much smaller scale. In both the mine wars and Shay's rebellion, the circumstances involved a group of laborers disgruntled by their working conditions and financial problems related to their employment. In both cases the rebellions are immediately put down and resolved with what is viewed as unfair results. In both cases, violence escalated to the point that necessitated federal involvement. Finally, and most importantly, both Shay's Rebellion and the mine wars forced the country at large to review, and somewhat reform, labor conditions and the rights of the working class.

It is obvious that other events in American history share similar characteristics to the West Virginia Mine Wars, such as other instances of union strikes labor uprisings, and any number of militaristic skirmishes. However, for comparison purposes, only standardized events commonly taught or known, such as the Civil War, American Indian conflicts, and Shay's Rebellion, are used to argue The West Virginia Mine War's rightful place in basic curricula.

PROGRESS TOWARD INCLUSION

Many educators are changing their current curriculum to include events like the West Virginia Mine Wars, though not the wars specifically. For example, American History Professor Shaun Wheeler of the University of Connecticut, states:

> By presenting historical information in a format that more closely resembled the way students already viewed their world, I was able to motivate my students to learn some history. My study[s] suggests that we can better accomplish our goals as history teachers by better understanding the knowledge students bring with them on the very first day of class. In this sense, understanding those who learn history may be just as important as the history itself.[26]

From a socio-historical perspective, the idea of

[26]Wheeler. "History Is Written by the Learners," 22.

allowing students to value their own experiences as historically significant, and relate them to those experiences of their ancestors is unique and effective. Obviously, not all students are related by blood to historical giants such a George Washington or Napoleon. As history is brought to a more personal level, and shown that it is experienced by normal people in extraordinary circumstances like the West Virginia Mine Wars, a far deeper and more lasting education of history will occur.

Educators argue that a negative and somewhat controversial event such as the West Virginia Mine Wars are suitable only in upper division courses. Two factors are considered before subscribing to this ideology. First, the measurement of exposure to students is weighed. Educators are informed and apply limits as to how much a student is entitled to learn, though not in terms of appropriate age-level comprehension, but certain aspects of censorship involved with choosing to teach about a violent negative historical event or not. Educators must use careful judgment when deciding what is taught to students, and what is avoided in order to shelter younger minds from uglier scenes of historical content. How much exposure of such events taught to the student also depends on community and parental concerns, as well as educator's personal employment criteria. A solution in this manner suggests the West Virginia Mine Wars are mentioned simply in elementary historical education, while taught in depth within high school and college courses. The West Virginia Mine Wars are, however, too significant to remain unmentioned at all.

Educators are informed and apply limits

The West Virginia Mine Wars, though clearly worthy for upper division college history courses, are still not popularly taught, and mostly unknown by collegiate students of American history. These factors indicate that the neglect to teach the West Virginia Mine Wars is not a matter of censorship at all, but an unauthorized anonymous decision to purposefully disregard teaching these events. It is uncertain why these events are judged inappropriate to teach at any level, and so the West Virginia Mine Wars remain obscure and unknown to the student of American history.

The West Virginia Mine Wars are historically significant and must be taught universally to age-appropriate students. The merit and value of these events from an educational standpoint is clear: if the goals for pursuit of historical knowledge are to learn from the past, and thereby learn who we are and where we come from, it is important to consider the West Virginia Mine Wars. Likewise, if the goals for pursuit of historical knowledge are to ensure that the mistakes of the past are unrepeated so progress and evolution will continue in a forward motion, then the West Virginia Mine Wars again stand with other historical events in their value to the student.

The West Virginia Mine Wars are an important and pertinent piece of American history, whether formally taught to students or not. Why then, do they continue in obscurity when students learn about other events that occurred and helped shape the United States of America? It is all too apparent that this neglect is a mistake when historical evidence shows this long-neglected slice of American history as a saga of conflicting political, economic, and cultural forces that shaped the power structure of twentieth-century America. These characteristics are directly applicable to the themes and impressions conveyed to American history students by their instructors.

As evidenced by the accepted standards and comparisons to other commonly-taught historical events, the West Virginia Mine Wars must gain rightful inclusion in basic American history curricula. These wars represent an important chapter of U.S. history that benefits students tremendously, if taught. More importantly, the educator

of America history benefits by teaching these events, or is remiss in their duties otherwise. Finally, the historian benefits by remembering the West Virginia Mine Wars in the proper context of current events and significant historical events that occurred on U.S. soil, and shaped the way U.S. citizens view labor rights, company management, civil unrest, warfare, and other cultural conflicts seen today.

Femarines, SPARS, and Everything in Between

Adan Vazquez

For countless centuries, societies barred women from military service. During the crucible of World War II the United States changed policies on what made a marine. **Adan Vazquez** looks into the history and maturation of female Marines, the tribulations they overcame, and their advancements. Utilizing written, oral, and visual histories this writer paints a vivid picture of the marine experience. Vazquez depicts, despite a torrent of verbal abuse, they overcame all obstacles.



Posters like this one encouraged women to participate in the war effort. http://www.history.navy.mil/ac/posters/wwiiwomen/81-156-aw.jpg.

Before the United States entered World War II (WWII), many Americans hoped for a repeat of the Great War experience in regards to their late entry towards the end of that first world event. Sadly, the U.S. jumped into the clutches of WWII following the tragic events that occurred at Pearl Harbor by the Japanese Empire. Unfortunately, the war dragged on much longer than expected, and this caused the nation's economy to shake at its foundation.

Due to the overwhelming number of troops needed to fight the war on both the home front and the front lines, the U.S. experienced a gap in its workforce in both civilian and military areas. As a result, the U.S. government began a ration system to support the troop's necessities, such as rubber tires, shoes, food, clothing, and gasoline.[1] They used this as a means of easing the tension in the economy, yet even with rationing in place, many jobs needed continued operation in order to keep the nation stable while the troops fought on both the Pacific and European fronts. The U.S. government also recognized the fragile state of several simple, yet essential jobs such as crop harvesting, aircraft production, and automobile manufacturing; trades that the U.S. could not afford to lose as they provided great value to the economy in terms of war production and homeland employment. After realizing the trouble, civilians, including women and religious leaders from all backgrounds offered their own time to help in the war effort, taking jobs that men traditionally held. Employment consisted of factory work, farm labor, and manufacturing. Various production factories that manufactured automobiles, auto parts, and tin cans for example, became military Jeep factories and torpedo production yards, also referred to as "Tin Fish".[2] Even Hollywood showed support hosting rallies with both actors and actresses, who made guest appearances in order to support the ration system and the sale of war bonds.[3] Countless women volunteered in order to aid the war effort on the civilian side; others chose service as part of the U.S. military.

Armed forces distributed recruiting propaganda directly aimed at women

In order to fill the job vacancies left by the many men overseas fighting in Europe and in the Pacific, the armed forces distributed recruiting propaganda directly aimed at women in order to satiate Military Occupational Specialties (MOS). Since the military needed a large number of women in a world where men dominated, the military realized the need for auxiliary elements made especially for women and as a result, all of the services created specialty female-only units.

The Army first created the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) on 15 April 1941, which later became a permanent section of the Army as the Women's Army Corps (WAC);[4] President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) created the SPARS (a contraction of the U.S. Coast Guard's Latin motto *Semper Paratus* and its English translation "Always Ready") on 23 November 1942.[5] The Air Force started the Women Air Force Service Pilots (WASP) headed by Jacqueline Cochran

[1]"Rationing on the US Homefront during WWII," http://www.ameshistoricalsociety.org/exhibits/events/rationing.htm, (accessed 11 November 2008).

[2]Scott Ellsworth, "Women at War, from the Home Front to the Front Lines," in *V for Victory*, VHS, written by Scott Ellsworth, 45 min. (Atlas Video, 1991).

[3]Graham McNamee, "Women on the Front Lines," in *America, the War Years. Volume 1, 1941-1942*, VHS, written and directed by Graham McNamee (New York: Goodtime Entertainment, 2003).

[4]Judith A. Bellafaire, *The Women's Army Corps: a Commemoration of World War II Service*, http://www.history.army.mil/brochures/wac/wac.htm, (accessed 15 November 2008).

[5]Robin J. Thomson, USCG, *SPARS: The Coast Guard & the Women's Reserve in World War II*, http://www.uscg.mil/history/articles/h_wmnres.asp, (accessed 9 December 2008).

and Nancy Harkness Love;[6] the Navy formed the Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service (WAVES) in August 1947,[7] and the Marines finally gave in and authorized the U.S. Marine Corps' Women Reserve (USMCWR).[8] Each service commander segregated many of these women's reserve units from the general male population and placed them in female-only MOSs with separate work areas. Rather than to cause further problems for the nation during its time of crisis, ladies of the newly formed auxiliary units did not cause conflicts in their services, for they knew that the U.S. government stepped outside of its comfort zone by even allowing women to serve in the armed forces.



Figure 1

The government and the military services often exploited the "weaker sex" units for their benefit; some of these events involved public appearances, parades, and ceremonies to further recruit and encourage the sale of war bonds to help the government secure funds for war expenses. The ladies reserve units allowed the government to portray them as female groups rather than their respective titles from each service, from initial training, MOS training and working in the fleet, they were treated as such. Yet one service chose to ignore the new trends in American life and kept their traditions untouched. During WWII, the U.S. Marine Corps did not allow pressure—in respect to society's wanting for an immediate solution to the dwindling numbers in the military due to the need for men overseas on both the Pacific and European Theatres—to affect its traditions, foundations, and standards as a military power in regards to its initial training of women.

The U.S. Marine Corps was the last of the American armed services to allow women to enter its ranks, in order to avoid overreaction from the press. General Thomas Holcomb, seventeenth Commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps, announced on 13 February 1943 that women could enlist in the Marines. Later, Colonel Mary Stremlow succinctly described the publics' immediate interest and the Commandants' response,

> The public, anticipating a catchy nickname for women Marines much like the WACS, WAVES, and SPARS, bombarded Headquarters with suggestions: MARS, Femarines, WAMS, Dainty Devil-Dogs, Glamarines, Women's Leather-neck Aides, and even Sub-Marines. Surprisingly, considering his open opposition to using women at all, General Holcomb adamantly ruled out all cute names and acronyms and when answering yet another reporter on the subject, stated his views very forcefully in an article in the 27 March 1944 issue of *Life* magazine: 'They are Marines. They don't have a nickname and they don't need one. They get their basic training in a Marine atmosphere at a Marine post. They inherit the traditions of Marines. They are Marines.'[9]

[6]National Museum of the United States Air Force, WASPS: *Breaking Ground for Today's Female USAF Pilots*, http://www.nationalmuseum.af.mil/factsheets/factsheet.asp?id=1610, (accessed 2 March 2009).

[7]Department of the Navy - Naval Historical Center, *World War II era WAVES*, http://www.history.navy.mil/photos/prs-tpic/females/wave-ww2.htm, (accessed 5 March 2009).

[8]Nancy Goldman, "The Utilization of Women in the Military," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 406, *Military and American Society* (March 1973): 113.

[9]Colonel Mary V. Stremlow, USMCR, *Free a Marine to Fight: Women Marines in World War II*, http://

The U.S. Marine Corps began its female-oriented recruiting campaign February 1943, under Major Ruth Cheney Streeter, the first commanding officer of the USMC Women's Reserve.[10] She implemented the use of media available during that period; the most effective came in the form of war posters. These portrayed female Marines as just that, Marines, without the social additive of belonging to a women's auxiliary group. All advertised joining the Marines, not a woman's auxiliary group, as the Corps wanted women who could endure the strenuous training and hardships and not earn the title of Marine by simply signing a contract.



Figure 2

Corporal (Cpl.) Faye Shumway, who was stationed at Marine Corps Air Station (MCAS), El Toro during the war, recalls the decisive day she chose to join the Marine Corps and the poster that influenced her decision. It shows variation involving either a male or a female civilian in distress after reading a newspaper, with the heading "HUNS KILL WOMEN AND CHILDREN," and the bold caption at the top reads, "TELL THAT TO THE MARINES," (Figure 1)[11]

> I remember it was a Sunday night. I was reading the *Atlanta Constitution* (the local newspaper), and in it I saw a great big ad of a female Marine and the caption read "If you've got anything to say, say it to the Marines!" And later that month I was sworn in on March 8, 1944, on my twentieth birthday. I was going to become a Marine to relieve a man for the frontlines.[12]

Cpl. Vera Nelson, one of the first ten female Marines to be stationed at MCAS at El Toro, also remembers the day the Marines entered her life; she mentions a poster which shows two adaptations both of which represent a female Marine sergeant in her Service "A" (Alphas) uniform. One shows the Marine at attention with male Marines in the background jumping over a barricade in a combat environment (Figure 2)[13]. The other has the Marine looking towards the sky, a clipboard in her possession, and a F6F Hellcat fighter plane in the background (Figure 3),[14]

> In the month of July of 1943, I saw a poster of a Marine girl and the poster said 'Be a Marine, Free a Marine to Fight!' She was standing so proud and she looked amazing in her uniform, at that moment I wanted to be a Marine. I even told my father that I was gonna free two Marines to fight.[15]

All these posters and numerous others supported the Marine Corps' goal in recruiting ideal women who showed potential in earning the title of Marine. With successful propaganda, recruiters experienced a high volume of females wanting to join the military services. In one instance, Vera Nelson, at her local recruiting station observed

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www.nps.gov/archive/wapa/indepth/extContent/usmc/pcn-190-003129-00/sec1.htm, (accessed 7 October 2007).

[10]Alexander Molnar Jr., USMC/USA, "What? Women Marines? You've Got to Be Kidding," in *Navy & Marine Corps World War II Commemorative Committee: Women in the Marine Corps*, http://web.archive.org/web/20060506021047/http://www.chinfo.navy.mil/navpalib/wwii/facts/mcwomen.txt (accessed November 11, 2008; Washington, D.C.: Navy Office of Information).

[11]James Montgomery Flagg, "TELL THAT TO THE MARINES!" ca. 1942, National Museum of the Marine Corps.

[12]Corporal Faye Shumway, USMC, interview by Kira Gentry, 11 May 2007, transcript, Center for Oral and Public History, Paulina June and George Pollak Library, California State University, Fullerton, Fullerton, CA.

[13]"BE A MARINE...Free a Marine to Fight" ca. 1942, National Museum of the Marine Corps.

[14]"BE A MARINE...FREE A MARINE TO FIGHT" ca. 1942, National Museum of the Marine Corps.

[15]Corporal Vera Nelson, USMC, interview by Brenda Areola, 27 April 2007, transcript, Center for Oral and Public History, Paulina June and George Pollak Library, California State University Fullerton, Fullerton, CA.

long lines outside of each armed service save the Marine Corps, after going in and asking the recruiter why there was not a line like the others; the recruiter told her "the Marines don't take just anyone." Nelson realized "when they took me in, I knew the hardest thing to get in to had to be the best."[16] The Marine Corps held true to that saying, for after prospective enlistees completed the initial phase, the next step required them to pass stringent qualifications in order to ship out to recruit training.

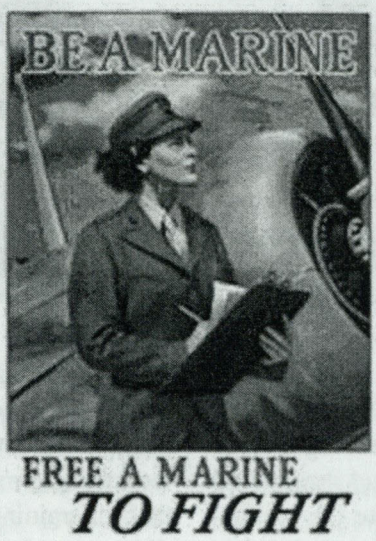

Figure 3

At the beginning of the 1940s, with the war raging in Europe, it was only a matter of time before the U.S. entered WWII. In order to deal with the upcoming demand of soldiers, the government implemented a draft to augment the military. Many men took the initiative and joined the service of their choice rather than assignment to an undesirable field. William Greenhouse, a Marine stationed at MCAS at El Toro during WWII, explains his reaction to the draft,

> I joined the Marines when I was twenty-five years old. At that point they had the draft going on, so every man was fair game to get sent overseas. I would rather have the ability to choose which service I would join than to be a 'draftee,' so I joined the Marine Corps, I had heard that they were the best, and I wanted to be the best.[17]

In comparison, the women who offered to join the armed services did so out of their own free will and never felt the threat of a draft. The women obviously did not need a draft, as they overwhelmed recruiting stations across the nation. Although various females expressed noble intentions of serving their country in a time of desperate need, not all women met the requirements of the service.

The Marines set forth the most inflexible qualifications in regards to making the grade to even be allowed on the pathway of future Marines. They put into practice harsh, but much needed eligibility requirements including: "U.S. citizenship; not married to a Marine; either single or married but with no children under 18; height not less than 60 inches; weight not less than 95 pounds; good vision and teeth."[18] They also took an aptitude test similar to the modern Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB), which showed their areas of knowledge and helped in job placement. For those who completed the initial recruiting phase, the next stop for the women was recruit training.

The Marines have a long-standing tradition of providing the longest and most arduous recruit training, or "boot camp," of all the armed forces. Male recruits endured eight weeks of intense training, during which Marine instructors tested the recruits physically, mentally and emotionally. Their training included close order drill (COD); weapons handling and firing qualification; obstacle and confidence courses; three to fifteen mile hikes known as "humps"; and "The Crucible," a three day event that engrossed all of their training from day one. In order to adhere to women's physical abilities, Headquarters Marine Corps modified their recruit training to six weeks in duration, and lacked the obstacle course, weapons handling, and "The Crucible." At the time, females did not receive weapons handling instruc-

[16]Ibid.

[17]William Greenhouse, USMC, interview by Maria Carillo, 27 May 2007, transcript, Center for Oral and Public History, Paulina June and George Pollak Library, California State University Fullerton, Fullerton, CA.

[18]Stremlow, *Free a Marine*.

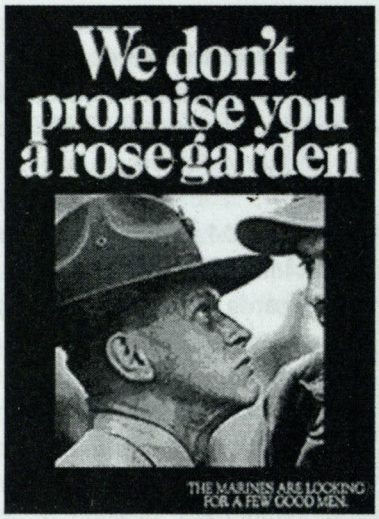

Figure 4

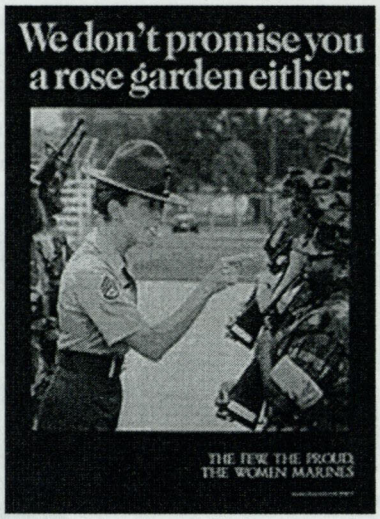

Figure 5

tion based on the non-combat related Military Occupational Specialties (MOS) that headquarters allotted. In time, with the advancing role of women in the military, the command designated male weapons instructors to educate the incoming women on proper handling, use and cleaning of the various arms used.[19] Once the general Marine population found out that the Commandant allowed women in and that they would endure a similar recruit training, the men formed mixed opinions of their female counterparts. Lieutenant Colonel Walter Bartosh, a Marine officer once stationed at MCAS at El Toro, expressed his feelings towards women who chose to enlist,

> To me, I was indifferent about it. If they want to do it, that was their business. I kind of felt sorry for them because, you know, the Marine Corps is kind of rugged and women aren't that rugged, physically and mentally. So I felt sorry for them, for what they had to go through.[20]

Even with some aspects lacking from the rugged training the males went through, the main motivator behind "boot camp" remained the same for both men and women: the legendary Marine Corps Drill Instructor (Figure 4[21] and Figure 5[22]). When the initial wave of women reported to recruit training, the Marines lacked female drill instructors, so male drill instructors engaged in the task of training female recruits. Female recruits did not receive special treatment from their Drill instructors; in fact, they considered them equal to their male counterparts as the Marine Corps: "heinous recruits."[23] Loretta Peterson, a Marine stationed at MCAS at El Toro during WWII, recalls a memorable experience at recruit training,

> When we were at boot camp, we had male drill instructors, and they didn't like us, they would tell us how much they hated us everyday. When we picked up, our senior [drill instructor] told us, "first they let dogs into my Corps, now they let women in?" He would shake his head in disgust at us. If you fell while marching, instead of walking over you, they [recruits] would kick you.[24]

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[19]Ibid.

[20]Lieutenant Colonel Walter Bartosh, USMC, interview by Janet Tanner, 24 April 2007, transcript, Center for Oral and Public History, Paulina June and George Pollak Library, California State University Fullerton, Fullerton, CA.

[21]"We don't promise you a rose garden," ca. 1960, National Museum of the Marine Corps.

[22]"We don't promise you a rose garden either." ca. 1960, National Museum of the Marine Corps.

[23]Corporal Juan Silva Jr., USMC, discussion by Adan Vazquez, 9 November 2007, La Habra, CA.

[24]Loretta Peterson, USMC, interview by Maria Hernandez, 6 May 2007, transcript, Center for Public and Oral History, Paulina June and George Pollak Library, California State University Fullerton, Fullerton, CA.

Cpl. Nelson experienced a comparable incident during COD; a fellow recruit fainted on the parade deck; Nelson expected her drill instructor to assist the fallen recruit, but to no surprise, he kept drilling the platoon and "when the woman stirred, the drill instructor said 'get off your ass and fall in!'"[25] Many consider these incidents as cruel, but one must realize that although these future Marines did not go overseas to fight, the Corps trained all who chose the path to Marine as equal. A year after women entered the Marine Corps, male drill instructors trained females as drill instructors from the first line of women Marines, and they subsequently replaced their male counterparts.

With the arrival of women drill instructors, female recruits held some common ground with their teachers. Shumway describes how female drill instructors had moments with their recruits where they acted like human beings, as opposed to the nightmare that the recruits battled with daily:

> Our D.I. was a Master Sergeant and during the day she was a D.I., but at night she would go around all the racks and sing lullabies to girls that were crying, because she knew all too well the feeling of being lonely and away from home for the first time. That was one of the few times she was nice. [26]

Aside from all the physical and mental assessments induced on the females by their drill instructors, the Marine Corps kept its tradition of instilling their future Marines with knowledge, history, and pride in their Corps. Upon asking Marines what the Corps gave to them, the mixed replies always echo with "honor, courage, commitment, discipline, duty, country, and Corps."[27] All of these traits are learned during recruit training, several of them through small, trying tasks such as field days, in which each platoon thoroughly cleaned their respective squad bays prior to inspections the following day by the company staff.

Captain Clarence Nelson and his wife Vera shared two analogous experiences during "boot camp"; during squad bay inspections, their racks had to be so firm when their respective drill instructors dropped a half-dollar on the rack it needed to bounce.[28] Those who failed that uncomplicated task often found his or her rack overturned along with their rack mates' rack. This seems callous, but if recruits did not muster the proper discipline for performing simple tasks such as cleaning and making tight racks, their superiors evaluated their progress, or lack thereof, and decided whether or not they could advance to more rigorous training. Females who met or exceeded the standards set by the Marine Corps made it to graduation day.

Most Marines remember their completion of recruit training and the ensuing day when they graduated as Marines. Shumway proudly recalls that momentous occasion,

> The last week no one could touch us, not even our drill instructors. We got ready for graduation in our Dress Greens, with our red tassels just right. We all had our 'Montezuma' red lipstick on, and the band was playing and the generals were in the grandstands, and when we marched by them our drill instructor yelled out, 'Eyes Right!' we look to the right and the general saluted us, at that point I realized ... (begins crying)...I realized I was an honest-to-goodness real American Marine, I'll never forget that.[29]

After the graduation ceremony, new Marines returned to their drill instructors for the last time; they then received their individual billet (MOS) and new assignments (either further training depending on MOS or their primary post to which

[25]Cpl. Nelson, transcript.

[26]Shumway, transcript.

[27]Silva, discussion.

[28]Captain Clarence M. Nelson, USMC, interview by Robert Miller, 27 April 2007, transcript, Center for Oral and Public History, Paulina June and George Pollak Library, California State University Fullerton, Fullerton, CA.

[29]Shumway, transcript.

to report to). Furthermore, at this point, the drill instructors took off their campaign covers, spoke to their Leathernecks as fellow Marines, and gave them advice for their future in the Marine Corps. For most of the new Marines, this came as somewhat of a shock to see his or her drill instructors act as human beings instead of the men and women they feared and loathed for eight weeks. Some female drill instructors announced they would miss their new fresh Devil Dogs, even shedding a tear or two, as did Shumway's senior drill instructor.[30] Females who survived the six-week ordeal of Marine Corps recruit training earned the coveted title of U.S. Marine.

Females who survived...recruit training earned the title of U.S. Marine

In comparison to females in the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Coast Guard auxiliary groups that became part of the individual armed service upon signing their contracts, women who aspired to attain the title Marine did not have that luxury. Various newsreels from the 1940s depict the recruiting of women into the military services, and often showed the women from the WAACs, WASPs, WAVES, and SPARS going off to their MOS school with no mention of a basic training comparable to the Marines.[31] It seemed as though all the services, save the Marines, needed the females' support so desperately that they overlooked the need for basic military training and discipline, and wanted quantity over quality. Marine Headquarters never allowed anyone to join the ranks by merely signing a contract; they earned it as their predecessors did before them. From the time since women first enlisted in the U.S. military service to the present era, no females have been assigned a combat-directed MOS; instead, all of their posts included non-combat roles such as personnel and administration, supply administration and operations, aircraft maintenance, public affairs, financial management, drill instructor duty, motor transport, and food service. In the end, the overwhelming need for women during WWII did not hinder the Marine Corps traditions and its expectations of what a Marine embodied despite gender.

Currently, Marine Corps Recruit Training remains unchanged largely in terms of the physical, mental, and emotional challenges set forth by recruiting command. Many tactics used by drill instructors described by the Marines of the WWII era have been around since recruit training began and many are still carried out to this day. Corporal Juan Silva Jr., a Marine stationed with the 4th Medical Battalion at the MCAS at Miramar, recalls an experience similar to Vera and Clarence Nelson's rack event, "when we had squad bay inspections, if our drill instructor found a wrinkle on a rack and were not tight like 'virgin pussy'...both racks were gone and those recruits would be on the quarterdeck getting annihilated, so mine was always tighter than virgin pussy."[32] His experience, and others like it, show that the U.S. Marine Corps has not, and probably will not, make drastic changes to its basic training for either sex based on social expectations of the civilian side.

In retrospect, all of the women who offered their lives to the military to aid in the war effort deserve respect no less than their male counter-parts. Although David Gaylord, a Marine once stationed at the MCAS at El Toro during WWII, describes his feelings about the Corps allowing females in, his demeanor can be wide-spread to cover all the women who helped the war effort,

> I think they were an asset to the Marines, I really do. They done very good...and they relieved a lot of men, so they could go overseas, which I think was great. I think a lot of them are unsung heroes too...

[30]Ibid.

[31]Ellsworth, "Women at War."

[32]Silva, discussion.

> because of their tremendous sacrifices and what they did during the war.[33]

Gaylord's feelings towards the females he trained represent the three core values of honor, courage, and commitment that the Marine Corps instills in all who chose to follow the path to Marine regardless of gender or social expectations. As Cpl. Silva recalls, the Recruit Training Handbook says, "Every Marine a Rifleman," not, "Every man or woman a Rifleman."[34]

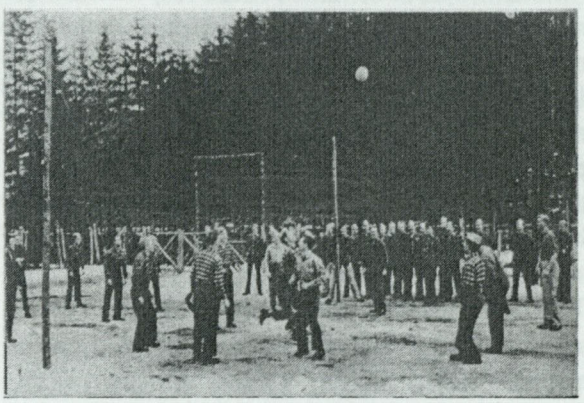
[33]David Gaylord, USMC, interview by Janet Tanner, 18 June, 2007, transcript, Center for Oral and Public History, The Paulina June and George Pollak Library, California State University Fullerton, Fullerton, CA.

[34]Silva, discussion.

World War II: Treatment of POWs

Nguyen Tran

The great disparities in the care of World War II detainees by belligerents serve as testaments to nationalistic ideologies and human virtues in times of war. **Nguyen Tran** provides a comparative analysis of each detaining powers' treatment of captives. Evaluating the conditions of concentration camps in the South Pacific, Europe, and in the United States, he relays a solemn message: belligerents in future wars may choose to acquiesce to the terms of the Geneva Convention, but the cultural ideology of each will determine the actual policies affecting the care of prisoners of war.



Inmates at a POW camp find entertainment in a game of volleyball. Douglas Collins, *P.O.W.* (New York: Norton, 1968).

As World War II (WWII) raged in the European, African, and South Pacific theatres, popular world opinion speculated whether the countries involved would adhere to the standards of the 1929 Geneva Convention. The principles set forth in the convention completed the provisions of the prior Hague Regulations of 1899 and 1907, rectifying the previous deficiencies and vague wording that inhibited its application during World War I (WWI).[1] The credibility of the Hague Regulations came under fire as WWI Prisoners of War (POWs) endured up to fifteen years of captivity after the cessation of hostilities, horrific living and working conditions, and abuse by the detaining powers.[2] The International Committee of the Red Cross developed new provisions and presented them at the third Geneva Convention to an international body, representing the belligerents of future wars, for ratification in respect to the treatment of POWs. In addition, the innovations specifically addressed the prohibition of reprisals and collective penalties, directed the nature of prisoner's work, and outlined responsibilities of the detaining powers in caring for the POWs.[3] The 1929 Geneva Convention relayed honorable intentions of ameliorating the plight of the POWs, facilitated reciprocity among the nations, and simultaneously safeguarded their humane treatment.

The 1929 Geneva Convention served as a universal guideline to all parties and addressed extensive issues in affording fair and humane reciprocal treatment to the POWs. For instance, prisoners expected, in accordance to Article twenty-six, food rations equivalent in quantity, quality, and variety equal to the detaining power's troops.[4] Furthermore, Article fifty-two outlined the use of POW labor specifically prohibiting countries' utilization of POWs when deemed physically unfit or to expose them to unhealthy or dangerous work.[5] The modification of other provisions, such as Article four, meant to address the classification of certain civilians, such as civilian war correspondents and military contractors, to ensure their treatment as POWs.[6] Moreover, the provisions attempted to limit the severity and length of punishment in relation to a POWs health. Implementation of the 1929 Geneva Convention by all governments gave soldiers the option of surrender, instead of impending death, and ensured they would not experience dehumanizing acts.

Provisions attempted to limit the severity and length of punishment

In accordance to the 1929 Geneva Convention, captives expected certain inalienable liberties with a means of redressing their concerns in regards to the conditions of their captivity. For example, the provisions guaranteed the ability of POWs to relay concerns directly to the representatives of the detaining powers and to expect no repercussions for so doing.[7] Furthermore, Articles thirty-four through thirty-eight compelled the POWs to expect and exercise their right to freely practice religion and partake in sporting activities for recreation.[8] Additionally, Article sixty-two dictates the POWs are not to suffer loss of pay and required simultaneous compensation for every day in captivity at the rate of the detaining powers' officers.[9] The POWs' knowledge of their individual rights upon capture, by a nation that acceded to the provisions of the Geneva Convention, encouraged them to await patiently

[1]Angela Bennett, *The Geneva Convention: Hidden Origins of the Red Cross* (Gloucestershire, UK: Sutton, 2005), 218.

[2]Ibid., 223.

[3]Ibid., 217.

[4]Geneva, "Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War," (27 July 1929), In *The Laws of Armed Conflicts*, 3rd ed., eds. Dietrich Schindler and Jiri Toman (Alphen ann den Rijn, Netherlands: Sitjoff and Noordhoff, 1988), 348.

[5]Ibid., 352.

[6]Ibid., 358.

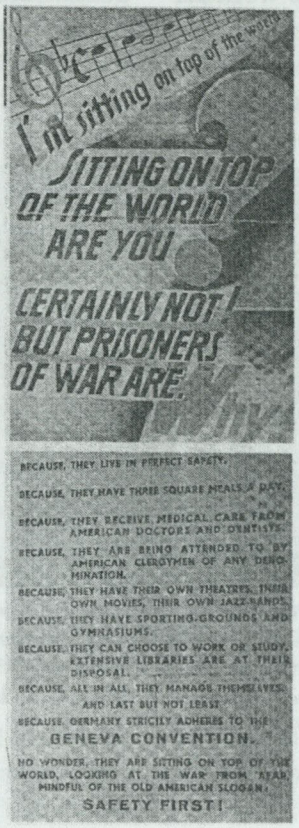
[7]Bennett, *The Geneva Convention*, 230.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Geneva, "Convention," 352.

their repatriation. Unfortunately, the idealist principles of the Geneva Convention did not remedy the actual experiences of the WWII POWs. Guidelines cannot always ensure meticulous enforcement when superfluously interpreted by the cultural ideologies of individual governments.

The treatment of WWII POWs varied among each belligerent in concurrence with the cultural ideological beliefs held. These inherent values affected the decision making of nations to impose different interpretations of the 1929 Geneva Convention. The overall humane care provided by detaining powers, the usage of POW labor in wartime economies, and the implementation of political indoctrination reveals each culture's social ideology in choosing whether to uphold or assiduously violate certain provisions. Examination of the conditions afforded to Allied POWs demonstrates the implementation of policies that benefited the welfare of its captives in hopes of reciprocity and coincided with the American ideals of moral diplomacy.



This piece of propaganda, meant to encourage troops to surrender, discusses the benefits of POW treament. Lewis H. Carlson, *We Were Each Other's Prisoners: An Oral History of WWII American and German POWs* (New York : Basic Books, 1997).

The U.S.'s moral diplomacy, evidenced in Wilson's Fourteen Points, advocated the nation's adherence of the Geneva Convention's provisions in treating WWII POWs with conditions favorably better than their counterparts in the European and Pacific fronts. During the war, the government incarcerated German, Italian, and Japanese POWs in concentration camps dispersed throughout the states, notably, Utah, Montana, New Mexico, and Texas.[10] The U.S. valued world opinion and exemplified the image of an ideal nation in order to pressure the governments of Japan and Russia, whom did not ratify the Geneva Convention, to abide by its terms and promote reciprocity. For instance, American policy towards POWs issued food rations of the same quantity and quality of U.S. soldiers.[11] Furthermore, German POWs held at a New Mexico compound, disclosed candid astonishment at the lavishness provided for meals consisting of pork chops, sausages, desserts, the quality of furnishings, and functioning showers.[12] The U.S. enacted benevolent policies representative of their righteousness in compensating and disciplining the POWs.

The U.S. integrated democratic principles amid the 1929 Geneva Convention's policies intended to exceed or meet the requirements. For instance, the U.S. issued considerably less harsh penalties in reprimanding escapees, such as relegating them on bread and water rations, in contrast to German policies that resulted in executions.[13] Additionally, in the rare cases of severe criminal acts such as murder, the U.S. provided military trial by jury in prosecuting the defendants and rarely imposed the death penalty.[14] Moreover, unlike any other Axis or Allied power, the democratic principles of fair compensation applied and extended to the

[10] Michael R. Waters, *Lone Star Stalag: German Prisoners of War at Camp Hearne* (College Station: Texas A & M, 2004), 27.

[11] John B. Mason, "German Prisoners of War in the United States," *American Journal of the United States* 39 (April 1945): 207.

[12] Walter Schmid, *A German POW in New Mexico*, ed. Wolfgang Schlauch trans. Richard Rundell (Albuquerque: New Mexico Press, 2005), 27.

[13] John H. Moore, *The Faustball Tunnel: German POWs in America and Their Great Escape* (New York: Random House, 1978), 228.

[14] Wilma Parnell, *The Killing of Corporal Kunze* (Secaucus, NJ: Lyle Stuart, 1981), 148.

POWs the highest uniform rate of a three-dollar monthly allowance and daily wages for work per hour equivalent to the salary of U.S. troops.[15] The U.S. applied moral democracy in upholding the judicial rights of the POWs to fair trial and furnished adequate financial compensation during captivity. Examining the working conditions of the POWs discloses the humane conditions afforded and signifies the use of their labor, rather than exploitation benefiting the war effort, as a means in keeping them physically and mentally fit.



Some examples of the rations available to prisoners of the U.S. Lewis H. Carlson, *We Were Each Other's Prisoners: An Oral History of WWII American and German POWs* (New York : Basic Books, 1997).

The U.S. employment of German POWs in various industries, not directly related to the war effort, affirmed the country's commitment to chivalry in times of war. The U.S. employed POW labor in agricultural and forestry industries to supplement the costly labor shortages related to war—although not as productive as their predecessors—and compensated them for their days work.[16] Furthermore, three-quarters of work consisted of labor used in military officers' messes, construction of buildings, roads, and fences which maintained the detention camps.[17] The use of POW labor benefited the detaining powers while they simultaneously kept the health and the morale of the captives.[18] Lastly, if POWs suffered work-related injuries, the U.S. government provided compensation to them at forty cents a day, a higher amount versus other countries. [19] Language barriers hampered utilization of prisoner labor; over time, these labor inefficiencies later diminished due to the POWs' improvement of their English knowledge and ability in following instructions from supervisors.[20] The U.S. relied on its democratic principles and kept the POWs from exploitation during captivity, allowing them to exercise their freedom to enjoy familiar recreations instead of planning constant escape attempts.

The Allied POWs, although behind barbed wire, became less inclined to escape captivity due to the availability of entertainment, enjoyed their modest accommodations, and governed themselves accordingly. For instance, the government entertained their captives with a measure of recreation that varied from importing and watching movies, allowance of the creation of theater troupes, availability of athletic programs, and the right to have musical presentations.[21] Notably, the Allies allowed German prisoners to form a musical band with their earnings and often provided concerts for the camp.[22] Furthermore, German POWs ruled themselves democratically and carried out their own camp justice when theft or other crimes occurred amongst one another.[23] In addition, although German POWs did not take to playing baseball over the game of soccer, they did partake in baseball leagues with the camp authorities.[24] The POW's life became amenable due to adequate provisions by the U.S.

[15]Walter Rundell Jr, "Paying the POW in World War II," *Military Affairs* 22 (Autumn, 1958): 122.

[16]James E. Fickle and Donald W. Ellis, "POWs in the Piney Woods: German Prisoners of War in the Southern Lumber Industry, 1943-1945," *Journal of Southern History* 56 (November 1990): 720.

[17]Mason, "German Prisoners," 207.

[18]Howard S. Levie, "The Employment of Prisoners of War," *American Journal of International Law* 57 (April 1963): 323.

[19]Rundell, "Paying the POW," 123.

[20]Fickle and Ellis, "POWs," 719.

[21]Waters, *Lone Star Stalag*, 27.

[22]Schmid, *German POW*, 56.

[23]Waters, *Lone Star Stalag*, 75.

[24]Tim Wolter, *POW Baseball in WWII* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2002), 192.

government, humane treatment, and various pursuits to satisfy their monotony until repatriation. The application of democratic principles led to the controversial consideration of political indoctrination.

The U.S. employed a system of political indoctrination, in the vein of the British system employed in the South Pacific, aimed to instill democratic virtues upon POWs with hopes of converting them into productive individuals. For instance, the government subtly disseminated propaganda through newspapers, lectures, radio broadcasts, and through courses taught to improve their English.[25] This system did not altogether prove successful in converting the captured to the American cause. First the political indoctrination program revealed signs of failure in that it became hampered by the emphasis on work programs that engulfed a majority of the POWs time in America and did not succeed for fear of political alienation.[26] Next, the prisoners feared repercussions from their fellow comrades in cavorting with the detaining government thereby disassociating themselves from the majority. Democratic political indoctrination did succeed for some POWs whom needed to think about re-building their countries upon their return or, in the case of Japanese POWs, in reevaluation of living with disgrace as a POW.[27] The POWs did not suffer ideological torment due to political indoctrination and the attempt to coerce them in changing their ideologies failed due to the unwillingness of the POWs themselves. Unfortunately, the POWs behind Axis lines experienced lesser, if not mixed, humane conditions that caused anticipation of repatriation for fear of prolonged starvation.

> The U.S. employed POW labor in... industries to supplement...labor shortages

Germany's militant fanaticism and narcissist tendencies disseminated policies that denied necessary benefits to the POWs, failed to adhere to the standards of the 1929 Geneva Convention, and caused a bleak existence for its unfortunate captives. Due to war-torn economies, the Axis Nations held the American, British, French, and Russian POWs in various deprecated concentration camps throughout Europe.[28] Nazi Germany believed their racial and military superiority and, to their chagrin, attempted to cultivate world opinion via half-hearted complicity with the Geneva Convention. For instance, POWs generally received meager rations typically consisting of black bread, boiled soup for lunch, weevil-ridden beans, and an occasional moldy cheese to sustain them for the remainder of the day.[29] Furthermore, poorly clothed POWs suffered severe starvation to the point that upon liberation ate fresh rabbits and made grass soup.[30] Germany endorsed policies that disregarded the overall health of POWs, their ideology perceived POWs to be the byproduct of a conquered peoples, with little or no rights.

The Germans adopted strict militaristic principles in dealing with the POWs, in the vein of war criminals, relegated to a life of misery and inhumane conditions in violation of the Geneva Convention. Captors inflicted corporal punishment, in the form of torture and beatings, upon

[25]T. R. Sareen, *Japanese Prisoners of War in India, 1942-46* (Kent, UK: Global Oriental, 2006), 131.

[26]Allan K. Powell, *Splinters of a Nation: German Prisoners of War in Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah Press, 1989), 76.

[27]Sareen, *Japanese Prisoners*, 130.

[28]Gerald H. Davis, "Prisoners of War in Twentieth Century War Economies," *Journal of Contemporary History* 12 (October 1977): 623.

[29]Frederick D. Worthen, *Against All Odds* (Santa Barbara: Narrative, 1996), 117.

[30]Donald Nost, "Liberator of Hemer," in *Witnesses to the Holocaust: An Oral History* by Rhoda G. Lewin (Boston: Twayne, 1990), 209.

the POWs for several days with a consolatory-cigarette offered under sardonic smiles.[31]

In addition, POWs deemed uncooperative spent periods of solitude confinement in damp dungeons, traumatized into contemplating their sanity and plead for lenience through service hatches.[32] Furthermore, Germans enacted a policy of execution or shoot on site repercussions in deterring POWs whom attempted to escape.[33] However, rampant abuse still inclined POWs to attempt escapes over treacherous terrain where the German citizens identified them easily as foreigners once they spoke.[34] The Germans applied harsh codes of conduct to the chagrin of the POWs, violated their rights via excessive oppression according to their military ideologue, and treated them like mindless cattle minced by the war machine. The use of POW labor to military advantages divulges their exploitation by an unscrupulous captor.

> Germany endorsed policies that disregarded the overall health of POWs

The Germans revealed their continual disregard of the Geneva Conventions via their militaristic exploitation of POW labor—to benefit the war effort—at the cost of the POWs' lives. For instance, the German military utilized POW labor directly in airplane and munitions factories in desperate hopes of gaining an advantage over the Allies.[35] Furthermore, the Germans violated the maximum hours provisioned by the Geneva Convention inducing POWs to labor in mines for seventeen hours a day; later to be used as an underground armaments factory.[36] Unfortunately, the Nazis assigned some POWs to a morbid work detail, in which they piled bodies of those beaten by the guards, killed by dogs, or starved to death in maintenance of the sanitization of the camps.[37] Moreover, POWs, already suffering from poor health, faced grueling marches from distant work locations and feared repercussions for lagging behind in work.[38] The German ideologue of military necessity over humanitarian responsibility overrode the conditions afforded to the POWs; however, the Germans did attempt to abate suffering via token gestures.

The Germans, for sake of public image, upheld some standards of the Geneva Convention to alleviate the dismal plight of POWs. For instance, the distribution of Red Cross parcels to POWs temporarily lessened their dismal plight save for dwindling quantities toward the end of the war.[39] The parcels contained corned beef, powdered milk, chocolate, and other sundries—items commonly traded amongst prisoners for fear of consumption—due to malnourished stomachs that induced them to vomit.[40] In addition, games included within the parcels gave some form of recreation to the POWs in aiding their mundane captivity. Moreover, POWs played baseball together with the German camp guards at some concen-

[31]Guglielmo Petroni, *The World Is a Prison*, trans. John Shepley (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1999), 76.

[32]Christopher Burney, *Solitary Confinement* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1952), 17.

[33]Ernest de Los Santos, "Escape," in *We Were Each Other's Prisoners: An Oral History of WWII American and German POWs* by Lewis H. Carlson (New York: Basic Books, 1997), 135.

[34]Douglas Collins, *POW* (New York: Norton, 1968), 69.

[35]Felicia Weingarten, "Lodz, Poland Labor Camp," in *Witnesses to the Holocaust: An Oral History* by Rhoda G. Lewin (Boston: Twayne, 1990), 82.

[36]Sanford Lubinsky, "American Sonder Prisoners," in *We Were Each Other's Prisoners: An Oral History of WWII American and German POWs* by Lewis H. Carlson (New York: Basic Books, 1997), 197.

[37]Don Coulson, "American Sonder Prisoners," in *We Were Each Other's Prisoners: An Oral History of WWII American and German POWs* by Lewis H. Carlson (New York: Basic Books, 1997), 192

[38]Harold Denny, *Behind Both Lines* (New York: Viking Press, 1942), 46.

[39]Alexander Jefferson, *Red Tail Captured, Red Tail Free: Memoirs of a Tuskegee Airman and POW* (New York: Fordham, 2005), 78.

[40]Collins, *POW*, 51.



Prisioners of the U.S. enjoy a show. Allan K. Powell, *Splinters of the Nation: German Prisoners of War in Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah Press, 1989).

tration camps.[41] The Germans, although a party to the Geneva Convention, primarily abused the POWs within their captivity and at times upheld certain standards.[42] However, POWs in the South Pacific suffered harsher conditions under a country that refused to ratify the terms of the Geneva Convention.

The Japanese military tradition influenced the country's decision to refuse ratification of the Geneva Convention and thus brutally managed the POWs as casualties of war. The British, Indian, Canadian, and American POWs in the South Pacific suffered from a hostile environment for which insufficient medicine induced susceptibility to malaria, and the inability to defend against it, inadequate camp facilities, and found themselves overworked and underfed.[43] Refusal of acknowledging the rights of POWs stems from the Japanese cultural belief, dubbed militant bushido, entrenched in the philosophy that military soldiers upon capture surrendered all rights to the enemy.[44] Furthermore, the Japanese thought it unfair to provide for another nation's soldiers when the Japanese believed their soldiers faced no other recourse lest an honorable death in battle or suicide.[45] However, Japan later changed its stance in attempting to care for POWs and as a token of good will acquiesced to abide by the terms in hopes of reciprocity.[46] The Japanese primarily viewed the POWs as burdens and consequently enacted policies disregarding their health; their ideology relegated the POWs as commodities of war intended for exploitation by the enemy.

The Japanese respected western military principles such as that of Germany and applied brutal conditions afforded to war criminals. The haphazardly-built camp facilities provided insufferable conditions such that on average a hut, packed thirty-two POWs like sardines, leaving only a two-and-a-half by six feet space for each, reminiscent of coffin space.[47] The Japanese induced severe torture techniques to gain compliance via beatings and burning of flesh which left disfiguring scars for lack of medical treatment.[48] Furthermore, the POWs faced trials by military tribunal, and if convicted, met summary executions via beheading.[49] In addition, the subjection of POWs in the Philippines Japanese propaganda

[41]Wolter, *POW Baseball*, 196.

[42]Jefferson, *Red Tail Captured*,76.

[43]Charles G. Roland, *Long Night's Journey into Day: Prisoners of War in Hong Kong and Japan, 1941-1945* (Ontario, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier, 2001), 45.

[44]Sareen, *Japanese Prisoners*, 3.

[45]Ibid., 5.

[46]S P Mackenzie, "The Treatment of Prisoners of World War II," *Journal of Modern History* 66 (September 1994): 488.

[47]Roland, *Long Night's Journey*, 227.

[48]Ibid., 299.

[49]Ibid., 298.

aimed to lower morale.[50] The Japanese maintained their authority over POWs via tyranny and caused anticipation of repatriation for fear of prolonged starvation.

The Japanese provisioned the POWs with very little food and caused POWs to relish meals as if it were their last. POWs learned to replace their fear of death at the hands of camp guards with the realization of painfully dying from starvation and malnutrition due to poorly prepared food or inadequate food supplies.[51] Lack of nutritious foods worried POW mothers for the health of their children, susceptible to hookworm due to inadequate bamboo shoes and rampant malaria for which inadequate medicine could lead to death, and a direct result of malnourishment.[52] Furthermore, the POWs learned, via the inhumanity of the Japanese, to live with hunger as meals became scarce, to treat rotting fish a luxury, eggs a rarity, and bananas as treasure.[53] The less food available to POWs in the South Pacific, the more adults relied on obtaining tobacco to abate their hunger as they sacrificed their own food portions to feed their children.[54] The worsening conditions intensified for the captives as implementation of a reward program by camp authorities to institute bug catching supplemented their horrid plight.[55] This contest cruelly served as amusement for the camp authorities and sardonically hoped to improve hygiene and sanitation. The POWs learned quickly in order to survive as the Japanese subjected them to harsh labor.

The Japanese used forced labor to maintain campgrounds and at times dishonestly coerced them into doing so. Working conditions included simple routine maintenance of gardening, waste disposal, preparation of food, and sanitation of the grounds.[56] However, implementation of cruel methods, such as withholding Red Cross food parcels from POWs, sought to coerce them into working.[57] The Japanese resorted to overruling the examinations of medical officers and forced the ill to work in disregard of their health.[58] They also refused to recognize the Geneva Convention, and freely abused the prisoners in their care as dominant masters of a slave people.

WWII captives experienced varying degrees of humane treatment based upon the detaining powers' recognition of the Geneva Convention and in relation to their own cultural and political ideologies. The policies enacted by the detaining power often did not coincide with the best interest of the POWs; however, they were attuned to the cultural values and beliefs of each nation. The US supplied exemplary conditions in provisioning their POWs and chose to exemplify democratic moral authority. The Germans induced strict militaristic interpretations of the Geneva Convention and put military necessity above the prisoners' health, exploiting their labor to benefit the war effort in line with their preconceived notion of POWs as war criminals. The Japanese afforded atrocious conditions, in line with their militant bushido, viewing POWs as a dishonored class of peoples with no rights and refused to recognize the Geneva Convention. Belligerents in future wars may choose to acquiesce to the terms of the Geneva Convention, however, the cultural ideology of each will determine policies affecting the care of POWs.

[50]Elizabeth H. Vaughan *Community under Stress: An Internment Camp Structure* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1949) 131.

[51]Ibid., 127.

[52]Agnes N. Keith, *Three Came Home* (New York: Little, Brown, 1946), 142.

[53]Ibid., 181.

[54]Ibid., 119.

[55]Roland, *Long Night's Journey*, 59.

[56]Vaughan, *Community under Stress*, 50.

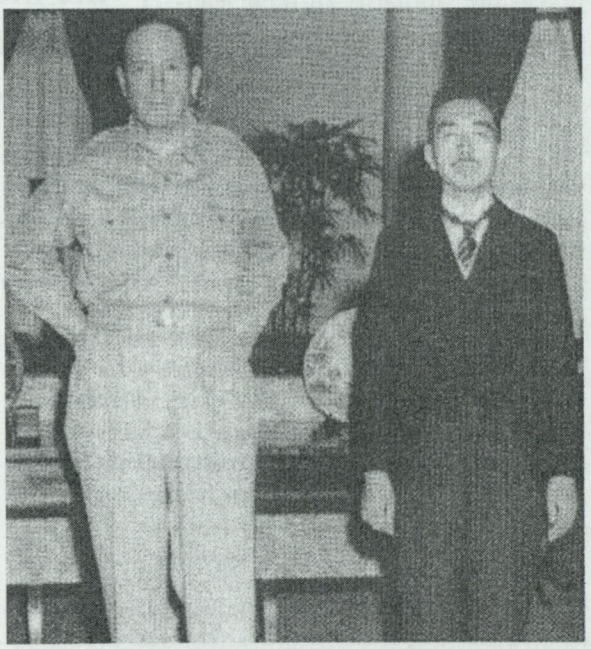
[57]Roland, *Long Night's Journey*, 221.

[58]Ibid., 237.

The Tokyo Trials

Jennifer Yaeger

American political motives indelibly subverted justice within the post-WWII Tokyo Trials and affected development of Japan. **Jennifer Yaeger** scrutinizes the progression of these trials and the occupation of Japan in a quest to reveal American and Soviet struggles which imbued policies with Cold War fears. Juxtaposition of these trials to Nuremberg provides clarity in identifying America's direct manipulation: withholding of heinous biological testing in attempt to control this knowledge as well as the pardoning of Emperor Hirohito and other leaders to create a Japanese ally against the Soviet bloc.



Premonition: MacArthur standing by the emperor. John Dower. *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II,* (New York: Norton, 1999), 294.

The unprecedented war crimes trials following World War II (WWII) attempted to hold the defeated legally responsible for actions committed during war. In Germany, these trials lasted one year immediately after peace whereas the Japanese trials did not begin until 1946, reaching conclusion two and a half years later. Similar to the differences in timetables, divergences in leadership and the choices of indictments allowed America to utilize the Tokyo Trials to create a self-sufficient ally against the Soviets.

American-led far eastern trials took a deliberate path, representative of the power struggle and bifurcation into the Soviet and American blocs. This paper intends to outline the drives, a result of the Cold War, which imbued policy in the Tokyo Trials. Within this study, the juxtaposition of the trials and the occupation serves to reveal the similarity of their leadership and objectives. These trials and the way in which they determined the course of the occupation (tenable only because of the American autonomy and power not possible in Nuremberg) vastly affected the postwar development of Japan. Despite their profound impact, the historiography devoted to these trials pale in comparison to Nuremberg.

[T]he encroaching Cold War loomed over the indivisible Tokyo Trials

The historiography of WWII war crimes trials encompasses the Nuremberg Trials with a brief reference or footnote covering the trials in the Far East. Typifying this relegation of the Tokyo Trials, Brackman, along with the majority of historians, refer to it as "the other Nuremberg."[1] When historians study the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE) the focus usually falls upon the role of race and whether it facilitated "victors' justice" as Minear posited.[2] Although these factors arose, they did not serve as the focus of this paper. Race inevitably factored in the trials but, contrary to many studies, this paper argues that the Cold War context became the strongest catalyst.

Within this context, America stood to gain or lose depending upon the outcome of the intertwined occupation and trials. America actively took a leading role in the occupation and established the procedures and goals of the trials. The dual intentions of America to utilize the trials as a lesson in democracy for Japan as well as to ensure stability during and after occupation limited the justice served in Tokyo. The goals of the trials, elucidated by these tendencies, intended primarily to choose defendants easily found guilty: those deemed representative of the militarist factions and symbolic of the pretext of conspiracy.[3]

The justification for the trials derived from the belief that indictments could deliver justice. The Japanese "willingly dealt with human beings as chattels and pawns...," participating in the "murder and the subjugation and enslavement of millions."[4] For this reason, the goals put forward for the IMTFE included meting out justice and prevention of future aggressive wars. The tribunal, however, failed to reach these high aspirations. The specter of the encroaching Cold War loomed over the indivisible Tokyo Trials and occupation hindering the actions taken against Japan.

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[1]Arnold C. Brackman, *The Other Nuremberg: The Untold Story of the Tokyo War Crimes Trials* (New York: William Morrow, 1978), 27.

[2]Richard H. Minear, *Victors' Justice: The Tokyo War Crimes Trial* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 19.

[3]Philip Piccigallo, *The Japanese on Trial: Allied War Crimes Operations in the East, 1945-51* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), 15.

[4]"Opening Statement by Joseph Keenan," *Trial of Japanese War Criminals* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1946), 2.



Keenan (third from left) and his staff embark to Tokyo. Tim Maga, *Judgment at Tokyo: The Japanese War Crimes Trials* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 30.

Within the occupation, America strove to foster democracy and demilitarization. America accomplished this through indirect control, so Japanese figures important in political and economic stability such as the zaibatsu, the powerful industrialists, and the emperor would not face indictment. In order to undermine Japan's militaristic actions in WWII, they required some sort of punishment. The question became how to accomplish this without threatening the occupation in tandem. In this way, the decisions made by the tribunal symbolized the choices for the structure and government in occupied Japan. With all actions sifted through the filter of Cold War mentality, the motives and outcomes of the Tokyo Trials and occupation represent America's goals for Japan as an ally writ large.

America reconciled the opposing forces, vengeance versus pragmatism, by choosing to indict only a "symbolic handful" to dissociate the actions of the few from the rest of society.[5] Pragmatism almost completely supplanted vengeance. This separation of the retained political and economic leaders and the public from the war crimes trials lifted culpability. This represented the largest divergence from the Nuremberg Trials. The idea that WWII resulted from a conspiracy of the militarists allowed the Japanese population to diminish responsibility and increased grassroots support for the occupation. Whereas conspiracy defined action in Germany, since specific groups such as the Gestapo and the SS maintained control, the trials needed to create artificial conspiracies of militarists in the case of Japan. In addition to portraying the war as a conspiracy, America ensured that certain data and groups never reached the trial. This led to concealment of atrocities such as biological testing on POWs, with not one indicted by the IMTFE, unquestionably revealing the American attempt to hide information from the Soviets. Similarly those necessary for economic stability also escaped trial. Further entrenching this idea, no Japanese equivalent of Hitler existed. They left the true symbol of Japan, a ruler of supposed divine lineage, untarnished. Osiel compared the tribunal's inability to indict the emperor to attempting "a staging of Hamlet without the prince."[6] The effect of disassociating

[5]Piccigallo, *Japanese on Trial*, 14.

[6]Mark Osiel, *Mass Atrocity, Collective Memory, and the Law* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1997), 139.



International panel of judges at IMTFE trial. Arnold C. Brackman, *The Other Nuremberg: The Untold Story of the Tokyo War Crimes Trials* (New York: William Morrow, 1978), 165.

the militarists from the population and imperial government in the trials led to greater stability within Japan, support for the occupation, and gained America an ally against the Soviets.

The trajectory of postwar Japan depended heavily upon American policies. The State, War, and Navy Coordinating Committee (SWNCC) and the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP), Douglas MacArthur, aimed to ensure that Japan would "not again become a menace to the United States or to the peace and security of the world."[7] The chosen modi operandi, through occupation and war crimes trials, aimed to instill democracy and topple the militarist faction.

The leaders of the occupation and trials fulfilled their duty to uphold these ambitions. The leader of the occupation, MacArthur, served a leading role in the Pacific War. The American Chief Prosecutor, Joseph Keenan, received vast control of the trials. While in Nuremberg they named four Chief Prosecutors, in Tokyo, MacArthur and the president appointed Keenan alone to the position.[8] In Nuremberg, common opinion deemed American Chief Prosecutor Robert H. Jackson an eminent man of great stature, whereas Keenan earned the reputation of "second-rate."[9] His ideology filled as important a role as his low approval. He conformed to the ideals of the trials because, as quoted by Minear, he believed:

> The situation of the defendants was comparable to that of American soldiers about to take a beachhead; that is, the lives of morally and legally innocent men may be sacrificed in the achievement of the ultimate purpose, but the common good requires the taking of the beachhead.[10]

This statement justified command responsibility and the utilization of trials for the American agenda. He believed the trials should not serve legal justice but instead needed to accomplish certain ends. Keenan became Chief Prosecutor to ensure that the trials followed a particular trajectory.

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[7]"United States Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan," *Occupation of Japan: Policy and Progress*, Appendix 13 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, n.d.), 74.

[8]B. V. A. Röling, *The Tokyo Trial and Beyond: Reflections of a Peacemonger* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), 3.

[9]Ibid., 31. His background and vices contributed to this assessment. He received training in criminal law but in Washington served as a politician and New Deal bureaucrat. Also, in many instances his sobriety came into question. Minear, *Victors' Justice*, 40, 211.

[10]Ibid., 176.

MacArthur also ensured that the trials served America's best interests. He created the tribunal on 19 January 1946 and ordered in Article 2 of the SCAP proclamation that "[t]he Constitution, jurisdiction and functions of this Tribunal are those set forth in the Charter of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East, approved by [him] this day."[11] Americans alone drafted the Charter, unilaterally approved it, and the consultation of Allies occurred only after its issuance.[12] MacArthur held the power to appoint the eleven judges from those submitted by the signatories.[13] Tying the goals further, the Tokyo Charter included a provision for MacArthur's review of the tribunal's decisions and, if necessary, the reduction of the severity of the sentencing.[14] This pervasive control by Americans, especially MacArthur, in different realms of postwar policy elucidates the political nature of the trials and the centralization of power over procedure.[15]

America assured the defeat of Japan before the USSR's involvement in order to exert necessary monolithic control against disparate Soviet policies. This centralized control alone could ensure stability in the occupation and the creation of an ally against the Soviets. The competition for Japan with the Soviets began soon after Japan's surrender. The first international body, Far Eastern Advisory Commission (FEAC), proposed to formulate Japanese policy on 21 August 1945.[16] The USSR rebuffed membership because the FEAC served only an advisory role with SCAP making all final decisions. Their refusal necessitated the creation of a new, slightly more powerful commission, the Far Eastern Commission (FEC). Similar to the FEAC the FEC recognized the "sole executive authority" of SCAP; they only conceded that, in the case of large-scale fundamental change, the FEC could challenge the decision.[17] Thus the battle for Japan began. This struggle represented not only America's assurance of hegemony in Japan but also the dichotomy between the goals of America and the USSR.

In accordance with the exclusive control supporting specific political motives, shifts in occupation policy either encouraged or occurred simultaneously with changes in the trials. The Nuremberg trials occurred before Germany's occupation, whereas the Tokyo trials began after the establishment of occupation goals for Japan. Any action would then either uphold the aims of occupation or undermine them. Initially the occupation policy required "control of Japan...be exercised through the Japanese Government."[18] To match this, the IMTFE, following Article 5 of the Tribunal's constitution, only tried "Far Eastern war criminals who as individuals or as members of

[11]"Establishment of an International Military Tribunal for the Far East," *Occupation of Japan*, Appendix 31, 146-7.

[12]Yves Beigbeder, *Judging War Criminals: The Politics of International Justice* (New York: St. Martin's, 1999), 55.

[13]Ibid. Eleven justices represented the signatories (the UK, Australia, China, the USSR, France, Canada, the Netherlands, New Zealand, and the U.S.) as well as the two additions, India and the Phillipines. The justices chosen: Carr, Mansfield, Che-Chun, Golunsky, Oneto, Nolan, Mulder, Quilliam, Keenan, Pal, and Lopez (respectively). "Indictment of the IMTFE," *Trial of Japanese War Criminals*, 62-3.

[14]Lawrence Taylor, *A Trial of Generals: Homma, Yamashita, MacArthur* (South Bend, IN: Icarus, 1981), 130. This provision for review did not exist in the Nuremberg Charter. The Americans, represented by Keenan, drafted the Tokyo Charter but only consulted with the Allies after its issuance. Röling, *Tokyo Trial*, 2.

[15]The legality of MacArthur's power in the trials, in addition to the occupation, evoked fears of his bias. In February 1946, Solicitor General McGrath reported the petitioner of the Yamashita case felt MacArthur evinced "a personal interest adverse to that of the accused" which seemed unjust and defied Military Justice Procedure. Letter from J. Howard McGrath to Theron L. Caudle, 7 February 1945, World War II File, Bontecou Papers, Harry S. Truman Presidential Museum & Library, 2.

[16]"United States Proposal for Establishment of Far Eastern Advisory Commission," *Occupation of Japan*, Appendix 11, 67.

[17]"Agreement of Foreign Ministers at Moscow on Establishing Far Eastern Commission and Allied Council for Japan," *Occupation of Japan*, Appendix 12, 72-3.

[18]"Authority of General MacArthur as Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers," *Occupation of Japan*, Appendix 16, 89.

organizations are charged with offenses which include Crimes against Peace."[19] Unlike Nuremberg, the IMTFE arraigned only Class A war criminals.[20] Individual nations could prosecute all Class B and C criminals only after the conclusion of the IMTFE out of public view. Reserving the Tokyo Trials for only Class A criminals allowed the preexisting political and economic structure to survive these trials. The occupation necessitated this pragmatic justice.

American leaders valued the trials' ability to assist in the demilitarization of Japan. In arresting and trying these war criminals, the IMTFE removed them from the population. Thus, those initially tried and executed matched this premise, while those not executed did not. Soon after the end of occupation, eleven out the sixteen who received life sentences received their parole early by the mid-1950s.[21] Thus when demilitarization ceased so did punishment of those who represented the militarists. The American leaders again undermined the legitimacy of the trials for the preservation of their aims.

[T]he occupation necessitated this pragmatic justice

The methodology of the trials also supported the occupation goal of democracy. While the conspiracy shielded the population from blame, the trials attempted to unveil certain atrocities and punish the conspirators. As B. V. A. Röling, one of the justices at the Tokyo Trials stated, "Americans were in control of most aspects of the trial...the trial was very much an American performance."[22] He further described the trial as, "a huge-scale theatrical production," "Hollywoodesque," and "very ceremonial."[23] This resulted from the symbolic nature of the trials (shown in the inclusion of only Class A criminals) and because SCAP encouraged the Japanese press to publish activities of the trials.[24] The trials thus intentionally accomplished three things: they punished the undemocratic militarists, staged the trials as a performance of democracy, and encouraged the press to publish, as well as the Japanese public to watch the trials, to instill democracy. In establishing democratic discourse, the trials supported the democratization as well as demilitarization within Japan to manipulate the archipelago's postwar development.

Just as the goals of occupation determined the formation of the trials, changes required adjustments in the trials later in 1947 and 1948, a time when increasing tensions in the Cold War precipitated reactionary movement. In this the bifurcation of the world worsened as competing powers espoused new ideologies and policies, relations in the Middle East disintegrated, and communist forces increasingly gained power in China.[25] This

[19]"Charter of the IMTFE," *Trial of Japanese War Criminals*, 40.

[20]Class A war criminals included those involved in "the planning, preparation, initiation or waging of a declared or undeclared war of aggression, or a war in violation of international law, treaties, agreements or assurances, or participation in a common plan or conspiracy for the accomplishment" of Conventional War Crimes (Class B which is the violation of customs of war) or Crimes against Humanity (Class C which are basically inhumane acts including but not limited to murders, rapes, or enslavement). Ibid.

[21]Tim Maga, *Judgment at Tokyo: The Japanese War Crimes Trials* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 134.

[22]Röling, *Tokyo Trial*, 31.

[23]Ibid., 20.

[24]Piccigallo, *Japanese on Trial*, 44.

[25]Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945-2002* (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2002), 34-40, 55. Different events precipitated changing American perceptions of the conflict. Covert and overt actions in China and the Middle East exacerbated tensions. In China, the nation already suffered from inflation and corruption and now faced divided leadership between Mao and Chiang. The Soviet occupation troops which remained after war (similar to the situation in the Middle East) withdrew suddenly leaving the communist forces a windfall of equipment. This weakened Chiang's power and destroyed American hopes of a Nationalist China. Similarly in the Middle East Cold War tensions manifested themselves. Again the USSR stalled withdrawal, this time from Iran, hoping to gain oil concessions. Also they attempted to gain control of the Dardanelles Straits. Both

context catalyzed the development of the "reverse course" in the occupation, a movement from ideals of democracy to stability.

Also in this period during the occupation, MacArthur abandoned the partial dissolution of the zaibatsu, eventually permitted Self Defense Forces despite Article 9, and stood by as the economic and political trans-war leaders returned to power.[26] Despite the "dissolution" of the zaibatsu ordered by SCAPIN 224 in November of 1945 (never fully enforced) they survived and soon returned to power.[27] Since these big businesses controlled the economy and proved pivotal to stability, their elimination would devastatingly weaken Japan and counter the mission to revitalize the country as a self-sufficient ally. The failure to complete a peace treaty while the trials continued precipitated the finalization of the trials to protect trans-war leaders and create a treaty.



Class A war criminals dining on hamburger steaks. Tim Maga, *Judgment at Tokyo: The Japanese War Crimes Trials* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 3.

American leaders feared that waiting for the natural end of the trials would compromise their objectives. Despite the existence of many untried Class A war criminals, they wanted to meet the target date for the end of the trials, the end of August in 1948.[28] SCAP extended the deadline, urging them to finish the trials in November, forever ending the trials of Class A criminals.[29] In the closing statements in November of 1948, the IMTFE acknowledged the existence of some untried war criminals, leaving the explanation at that.[30] The rapid, premature conclusion represented the rejection of due process rampant throughout the trials.

Representing the parallel course of the trials and the occupation, the reverse course also affected the occupation. Stability supplanted the initial goals of democracy and demilitarization during the 1947 occupation. Immediately after occupation, idealistic goals of democracy led the occupation forces to allow the socialist party within Japan to gain power. As tensions with the Soviets climaxed and the Nationalists in China increasingly lost ground, America viewed socialism within Japan as a menace. This led SCAP to ban the general strike by the socialists against the Yoshida cabinet on 2 February 1947, representative of the turning point in

attempts failed. These instances worsened relations and led political rhetoric to intensify.

[26]Andrew Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan from Tokugawa Times to Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 241-2. Article 9 of the Showa Constitution renounced forever the use of a military in Japan implicitly including SDF.

[27]"Report of the SCAP," *Political Reorientation of Japan, September 1945 to September 1948*, vol. 2, Deconcentration of Economic Power, Appendix 6a (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1949), 565.

[28]Maga, *Judgment at Tokyo*, 131-2.

[29]Piccigallo, *Japanese on Trial*, 47. Class B and C cases continued at other tribunals.

[30]Maga, *Judgment at Tokyo*, 132. Kishi Nobusuke, one of those in custody, escaped conviction because of the premature end of the trials. Not only did he highly influence the Japanese economy during the war but also enslaved numerous Chinese for forced labor. Following his release, he became Prime Minister in the 1950s. John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: Norton, 1999), 454.

occupation policy.[31] Especially in 1948, stability substituted the goals of occupation and systematically quelled the socialists.[32] The dual threat of instability and socialism necessitated change. Thus, both the trial and occupation faced pragmatic compromise and restructuring preventing justice and true resolution.

While historians commonly accepted the occupation as the child of the Cold War and existence of obvious ties to the trials' policies, they often ignore the effect of the Cold War upon justice in the Tokyo Trials. In the study of the similarity of the initial development and the later alterations of the two, their intertwined nature becomes obvious. In laying out the occupation as a template for the effects of the Cold War, the juxtaposition of the Tokyo Trials reveals the similarities. Revealing the Cold War as the driving force, the effects of this impetus upon Japan deserve discussion.

> [T]he rapid, premature conclusion represented the rejection of due process

The trials by the IMTFE of twenty-eight defendants occurred between 3 May 1946 and 12 November 1948.[33] During the trials two defendants died of natural causes, one suffered a mental breakdown, and of the twenty-five found guilty, seven of them met execution.[34] Despite the existence of many that warranted prosecution, the question becomes who they chose and why. According to historian Philip Piccigallo, four qualifications existed: the defendant committed Class A crimes, many could consider them representative of realms of the conspiracy, they served as the primary leaders, and little chance of acquittal existed.[35] From the outset, the limitations and definitions determined the future of the trials.

These four factors typified the objectives of the IMTFE to blame only the "criminal, militaristic clique" and its political supporters, separating their actions from the Japanese public.[36] To achieve this, they manipulated "justice" at the Tokyo Trials. They officially accused the criminals of, according to Count 1 of 54, "participat[ing] as leaders, organisers [sic], instigators, or accomplices in the formulation or execution of a common plan or conspiracy, and are responsible for all acts performed by any such person in execution of such plan."[37] This limited the pool responsible and exculpated all other Japanese people.

The last of the four qualifications proved easiest to assure due to the procedures for evidence in the trials. According to section 4 article 13 of the Charter:

> The Tribunal shall not be bound by technical rules of evidence. It shall adopt and apply to the greatest extent expeditious[38] and non-technical procedure, and shall admit any evidence which it deems to have probative value. All purported admissions or statements of the accused are admissible.[39]

This included questionable documents, diaries, affidavits, and hearsay.[40] These procedures for

[31]Gordon, *Modern History of Japan*, 237-8.

[32]Ibid., 239.

[33]Maga, *Judgment at Tokyo*, xi. The defendants included: Araki, Dohihara, Hashimoto, Hata, Hiranuma, Hirota, Hoshino, Itagaki, Kaya, Kido, Kimura, Koiso, Matsui, Matsuoka, Minami, Muto, Nagano, Oka, Okawa, Oshima, Sato, Shigemitsu, Shimada, Shiratori, Suzuki, Togo, Tojo, and Umezu. "Statement of Individual Responsibility for Crimes Set Out in the Indictment," *Trial of Japanese War Criminals*, 97-104.

[34]Maga, *Judgment at Tokyo*, 134.

[35]Piccigallo, *Japanese on Trial*, 15.

[36]"Indictment of the IMTFE," *Trial of Japanese War Criminals*, 45.

[37]Ibid., 47.

[38]Italics added for emphasis.

[39]Ibid., 42-3.

[40]Ibid.



Two rows of Japanese defendants on trial. Arnold C. Brackman, *The Other Nuremberg: The Untold Story of the Tokyo War Crimes Trials* (New York: William Morrow, 1978), 164.

evidence ensured the conviction of a defendant that met the first three qualifications.

Further obscuring justice, by definition Class A crimes do not require the involvement or awareness of inhumane acts or acts against the customs of war by the criminal; one only needs to lead a group that perpetrates this. Historians define this concept as command responsibility: allowing one leader to assume culpability for vast atrocities. This again diverged from procedures at the Nuremberg Trials with the goal of limiting the number of those tried.[41] American leaders used this strategy in the Tokyo trials since twenty-four of the twenty-eight defendants held very high positions politically or militarily.[42] Also unlike the Nuremberg Trials, the inclusion of crimes against soldiers emphasized that military action could be deemed punishable.[43] In redefining punishable action for the trials in Tokyo, many escaped trial, creating an impression of innocence among the public.

The case of Shigenori Togo revealed the issues that arose with command responsibility.[44] In taking office, he intended to negotiate peace with the United States and only supported war after it began because of loyalty. For his role in the cabinet, they indicted him and convicted him on five counts.[45] Both Röling and India's Justice Radhabinod Pal submitted dissenting opinions arguing that simply acting within the cabinet did not justify his conviction. Pal stated, "absolutely nothing against Togo [existed] showing him even as a sympathizer with the alleged conspiracy" and further that "it could not even be suggested that he was in any way in the good grace of the

[41]Ann Prevost, "Race and War Crimes," *Human Rights Quarterly* 14, (August 1992), 328.

[42]Beigbeder, *Judging War Criminals*, 56-7. They overwhelmingly charged officers and Prime Ministers. The four unaccounted for also could fit the mold of leaders, not pawns, since three served as bureaucrats and one as a theoretician.

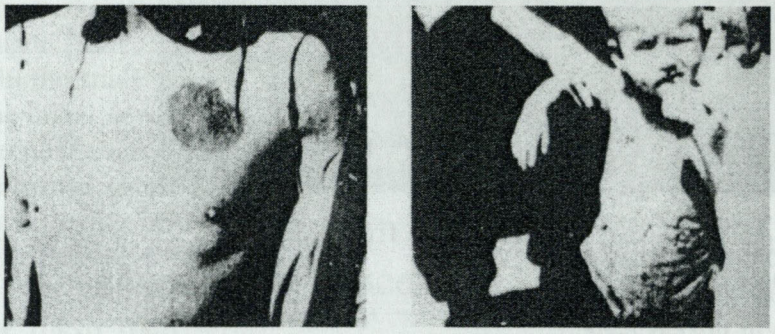
[43]This addition proved important for the punishment of offenses against POWs during the war. The Tribunal found that the POWs interned by the Germans and Italians suffered a death rate of four percent, while the POWs interned by Japan suffered a significantly higher death rate of about twenty-seven percent. Tanaka, *Hidden Horrors: Japanese War Crimes in World War II* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1996), 2.

[44]Togo served as the foreign minister in the Tojo cabinet and later as a part of the cabinet of Teiichi Suzuki. Maga, *Judgment at Tokyo*, 59.

[45]"The Verdict," *Petition to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers: For Review of the Verdict and Sentence of Togo Shigenori*, 19 November 1948, 7.

conspirators."[46] Thus similar to the others, Togo faced indictment simply because of his high position in the government prior to and during the war. The fate of Togo represents the American modus operandi of only seeking men of limited culpability. This served the dual purpose of protecting those considered useful for occupation and lifting responsibility from the general populous.

Overall these policies revealed the IMTFE's attempts to manipulate the trials to punish Japan in a limited way. If the goals solely represented revenge perpetuated by racism, additional men from more diverse and culpable realms would have been indicted. This did not happen. Thus, prejudice cannot serve as the sole explanation for the methodology of the trials. Instead only in light of the Cold War goals of unquestioned control over the indictment process, which preserved the pretext of conspiracy, can a complete explication of these strategies occur.



Disfiguration and scars of biological testing. Sheldon H. Harris, *Factories of Death: Japanese Biological Warfare, 1932-45, and the American Cover-up* (London: Routledge, 1994), 142.

The choice of which people the Americans intentionally excluded, as well as the motives for their exclusion, also illuminate the goals of the trials. Those who faced or escaped indictment reflected the objectives of America. The indirectly governed occupation required the retention of figures important for economic and political stability, specifically the emperor and the zaibatsu. Similarly, the Cold War context unquestionably secured the immunity of those who conducted biological testing on POWs and captives, such as Unit 731.[47] Those who escaped punishment reveal the twisted "justice" in the Tokyo Trials, unveiling the unalloyed self-interest of America within the Cold War context.

As the powerful leader of Japan, under the premise of command responsibility, Emperor Hirohito could face trial, but Keenan and MacArthur intentionally prevented this. He actually met all four of the previously discussed key factors for indictment and his trial would send the harshest message to Japan.[48] Keenan himself stated in an interview that, "[s]trictly legally, Emperor Hirohito could have been tried and convicted, because under the constitution of Japan, he did have the power to make war and stop it... we could have convicted him."[49] However, not only did he escape indictment, Keenan attempted to ensure that others' testimony did not implicate the emperor.[50] Despite indictments of Hirohito's close advisors, his worth in the eyes of MacArthur assured him immunity.[51]

[46]"Dissenting Opinion," *Petition*, 15.

[47]Sheldon H. Harris, *Factories of Death: Japanese Biological Warfare, 1932-45, and the American Cover-up* (London: Routledge, 1994), 74.

[48]That is not to say that, because of the possibility of indictment, a case against the emperor needed to occur. Quite the opposite, such a case would have been tenuous and they could not rule out the possibility of failure. The decision did not however result from judicial pragmatics. Instead the emperor escaped judgment for the sake of the occupation. MacArthur's impetuses and the Soviet reaction to his immunity, along with their impotence in controlling the trials in general, reveal the prevalence of the utilization of indictments, (against Soviet objections) to fit America's designs.

[49]Minear, *Victors' Justice*, 113.

[50]Osiel, *Mass Atrocity, Collective Memory, and the Law*, 138.

[51]Minear, *Victors' Justice*, 116.

MacArthur believed that the emperor would be indispensable for the occupation. Before Article 1 of the new constitution, his divine lineage from the Sun Goddess Amaterasu gave him political legitimacy.[52] MacArthur wanted to use this legitimacy to mollify the population. As quoted by Brackman, MacArthur believed the indictment of Hirohito would "unquestionably cause a tremendous convulsion among the Japanese people, the repercussions of which cannot be overestimated."[53] As an ally, Japan's stability stood foremost to America. If stability required the emperor, and America desired a self-sufficient ally, then the emperor must remain in power.

This belief that the emperor should escape trial in no way went uncontested. The USSR struggled fiercely to indict the emperor yet ultimately failed. As quoted by Piccigallo in 1948 by Markov, the writer for the Soviet paper, *New Times*, accused the Americans of guiding policy with the intent of "reviving Japanese imperialism and making it a satellite of the American expansionists."[54] This sectional attitude reveals why the USSR demanded that the Soviets choose two of the defendants (Shigemitsu and Umezu). Keenan and MacArthur consented only after the Soviets threatened to walk out if they did not accept this term. These disagreements revealed that interactions at times proved far from amiable and often revealed that the factions made decisions based on their "national interests and policies."[55] These self-interested decisions altered the outcomes of the trials and the understanding of their meaning.

> [D]espite indictments of Hirohito's close advisors... MacArthur assured him immunity

If Japan's idolized emperor faced arraignment, the citizens would have internalized the responsibility for war. Not indicting Hirohito "impeded the sort of searching self-examination of national morality and identity that war crimes trials successfully induced in West Germany."[56] With no Japanese equivalent of Hitler, the blame did not fall upon the nation. Deeming Hirohito culpable essentially spreads the culpability to the Japanese people. The trials' premise of hijacking and deceiving the Japanese, excluded the possibility of their complicity. MacArthur considered this political stability, which only the emperor could provide, necessary for revitalization of postwar Japan to counter the rising opposition of China in the communist bloc.

In addition to political stability, America wanted to maintain economic stability in Japan. For this reason, not one member of the zaibatsu faced indictment, an act which neglected the precedent of Nuremberg where German industrialists stood trial.[57] Because they buttressed the government, the Nuremberg Trial found them liable for the government's actions. In Japan, the zaibatsu collaborated with the militarist bureaucracy even developing industries in Manchuria.[58] The businesses' blatant connections to the militarists supported their prosecution even more so than the case in Germany but their economic strength shielded them.

Further supporting the inequity of their immunity, the Soviets, who wanted to indict the industrialists, charged that America protected them because of their economic ties with American monopolies.[59] These connections (not an impartial legal decision), they contended, explained why Keenan denied the role of the "industrial and

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[52]"The Constitution of Japan," *Political Reorientation of Japan*, 671. Article 1 disavowed the divinity of the emperor. To do so, however, did not greatly diminish the role of the emperor within society. His heritage became accepted as legend not fact.

[53]Brackman, *The Other Nuremberg*, 78.

[54]Piccigallo, *The Japanese on Trial*, 148.

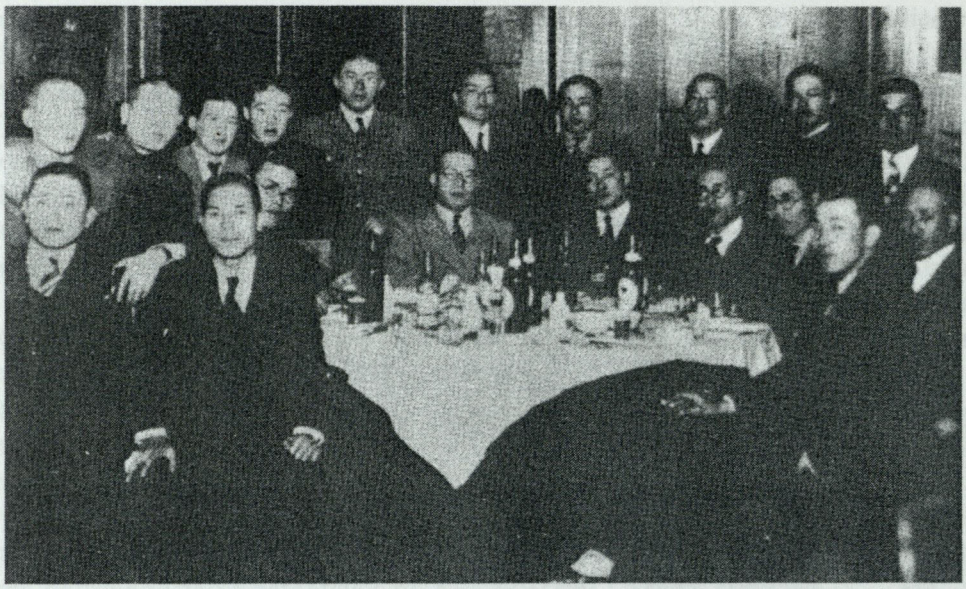
[55]"Opening Statement by Joseph Keenan," *Trial of Japanese War Criminals*, 8.

[56]Osiel, *Mass Atrocity, Collective Memory, and the Law*, 183.

[57]Röling, *The Tokyo Trial and Beyond*, 39.

[58]Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, 194.

[59]Piccigallo, *The Japanese on Trial*, 153.



Leading scientists of the infamous Unit 731. Sheldon H. Harris, Factories of Death: Japanese Biological Warfare, 1932-45, and the American Cover-up (London: Routledge, 1994), 143.

financial magnates in planning and organizing the second world war."[60] Although the Soviets later prosecuted members of the zaibatsu in their national trials for Class B and C crimes, they failed to obtain their indictment during the international IMTFE.[61] This legitimized the zaibatsu and allowed their continued influence.

During occupation the zaibatsu returned to power and supported the weak economy. Initially Americans presupposed that the dissolution of these businesses would redistribute the nation's wealth, but as the economy worsened, arguments for their revitalization began in late 1946 and enabled their return to power.[62] The zaibatsu returned to power after the conclusion of the temporary "dissolution" which lasted until the occupation's reverse course began. If their indictment occurred it would prevent their return and lead to the continued stagnation of the economy. Thus the zaibatsu filled a pivotal role in the economy during the occupation; their prosecution would have been detrimental for America's new ally.

While the zaibatsu gained immunity for the sake of the Japanese economy indirectly for Cold War purposes, America protected Unit 731 for the biological advances they obtained to ensure their advantage over the USSR. Despite their illegal actions, biological testing received mention only once at the trials.[63] Thus, where Americans could argue that the immunity of the zaibatsu represented a legal or political choice, the escape of Unit 731 unquestionably symbolized a cover-up.

[60]USSR, *Materials on the Trial of Former Servicemen of the Japanese Army Charged with Manufacturing and Employing Bacteriological Weapons* (Moscow, 1950), indictment, 477-8. The Soviets argued further that the zaibatsu held accountability for the war and biological testing. Ibid, 471.

[61]Piccigallo, *The Japanese on Trial*, 151. The difference in choices of indictment between the American-led IMTFE and the later Soviet trials illuminate their divergent utilization of Japan. This, like many other actions, shows the use of Japan as a pawn in the Cold War.

[62]Henry Oinas-Kukkonen, *Tolerance, Suspicion, and Hostility: Changing U.S. Attitudes toward the Japanese Communist Movement, 1944-1947* (Westport: Greenwood, 2003), 29, 69.

[63]USSR, *Materials on the Trial*, 220. This is an excerpt included from the IMTFE. It stated that on 29 August 1946 the evidence introduced found that a "medical laboratory" existed in which the number "slaughtered by this detachment cannot be ascertained...." This served as the IMTFE's only mention. In the later Soviet trial in Khabarovsk many of the lower generals faced charges for breaking the Geneva Protocol. The Soviets found much evidence and placed most blame on Hirohito. Ibid, 409, 413.

Unit 731 committed inhuman crimes against Chinese and Allied soldiers alike, yet Americans made the abstruse choice to disregard their actions. This unit in the northeast of China became the most notorious of the Japanese biological and chemical testing units, which also included Unit 100, Unit Ei 1644, Unit 565, and Unit 2646.[64] This unit conducted secret tests on animals and humans but ironically initially operated under the guise of the Epidemic Prevention and Water Purification Department of the Kwantung Army in 1936.[65] The militarists established widespread divisions in Beijing, Nanjing, Guangdung, and Singapore.[66] Although they performed the majority of biological experiments on Chinese POWs, testing on 1,485 American, British, Australian, and New Zealand POWs occurred in Mukden alone.[67] The fact that the testing on Allied POWs existed and went unpunished eliminates the explanation that racism against the Chinese accounted for the trial's omission of the biological warfare units. In this case the Cold War, not racism or pragmatic political or economic choices, drove their exculpation.

> [T]he escape of Unit 731 unquestionably symbolized a cover-up

SWNCC sought two objectives within the Cold War context: the committee wanted to ensure that the amassed research reached American scientists alone and that the Soviets learned nothing of the experiments.[68] According to Sheldon Harris the 1946 Pentagon policy sent to MacArthur decided to conceal "intelligence which, in the opinion of the [Supreme] Commander responsible for action...might jeopardize the security of the US... or derogate from the US advantages in the field of scientific research and development."[69] These experiments on humans revealed more relevant information for war than animal testing ever could. This information, which supplemented and complemented previous knowledge, held the most worth if monopolized. America desired this advantage as relations with the Soviets deteriorated.

With all these possible benefits for America, MacArthur quickly acquiesced when General Ishii Shirō, who controlled Unit 731, proposed a negotiation. In conversations with Murray Sanders, an intelligence officer sent by MacArthur, Ishii offered to provide all their findings in return for exemption from the Tokyo Trials.[70] Soviets, aware of the testing but unable to obtain results, requested that the leaders with all their findings reach the IMTFE. They quickly rejected this appeal.[71] As quoted by Piccigallo, the writers M. Raginsky and M. Markov, for the New Times in 1950 stated that MacArthur protected the organizers of the bacteriological testing and their findings, "with a view of using them in another world war." In addition, they intended to use Japan as "the chief operational base for aggressive war against the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic."[72] Thus, purely for an advantage over the Soviets, America manipulated the trials to exclude all leaders involved in biological testing.

Their preoccupation with obtaining this information and concealing it from the Soviets abrogated the possibility for justice for Western and Chinese POWs. Pragmatism and self-interest again superseded justice as the Pentagon and MacArthur decided to forgo prosecuting these criminals at the Tokyo Trials. According to Harris, SWNCC 351 from February of 1947 purported that:

> Since it is believed that the USSR possesses only a small portion of this technical information, and since any "war crimes" trial would completely reveal

[64]Harris, *Factories of Death*, 4.
[65]Tanaka, *Hidden Horrors*, 135-6.
[66]Ibid., 137.
[67]Ibid., 158.
[68]Harris, *Factories of Death*, 209.
[69]Ibid., 209.
[70]Tanaka, *Hidden Horrors*, 159-60.
[71]Ibid., 159.
[72]Piccigallo, *The Japanese on Trial*, 155.

> such data to all nations, it is felt that such publicity must be avoided in interests of defense and security of the US.[73]

Further, their immunity could be utilized as a bargaining tool to extract more information. Through their exclusion the US would gain more information to use against the Soviets and greater grassroots support for the occupation in Japan.[74]

> SCAP utilized the IMTFE to...further America's Cold War policy

While the internal support for the occupation served as one of many justifications for the exemption of Unit 731, it also undergirded America's decision to ignore the use of comfort women—forced into prostitution to serve the soldiers—received no justice similar to the POWs.[75] The Allies knew of these stations and even repatriated some of these women.[76] They recognized their existence in the intelligence report, Amenities in the Japanese Armed Forces.[77] Despite the prevalence and official organization of these stations, they received no compensation, no recognition from the Japanese population, and no indictments of those who organized them.[78]

Indictments for the organizers of both the comfort stations and bacteriological warfare could be justified under the same concept used for the militarists, command responsibility, but this did not happen. This shows that the US not only manipulated "justice" at the Tokyo Trials; they also did not follow consistent patterns, catering instead to their own desires and designs. Since legal recognition would unearth the horrors committed and undermine the grassroots support for the occupation, America chose to neglect their stated goal of justice.

Thus, they retained the zaibatsu to ensure the stability of the economy, the biological testing units gained immunity through negotiations to secure an American monopoly upon the findings, and the emperor as well as those organizing the comfort stations avoided even mention at the Tokyo Trials at the expense of justice and for the sake of internal support. In this way, those not indicted as much as those indicted expose America's objectives for the IMTFE, the occupation, and Japan post-occupation. This seemingly unrelated assortment, which escaped prosecution, protected America's binary goals of producing a self-sufficient ally and, more generally, of ascendancy over the USSR.

Instead of achieving the lofty goals of justice set forth in Keenan's opening statement, SCAP utilized the IMTFE to support the occupation and further America's Cold War policy. Differences in the leadership, resulting from differences in occupation, in Tokyo and Nuremberg dramatically affected their postwar development. America's

[73]Harris, *Factories of Death*, 212.

[74]Ibid., 212.

[75]George Hicks, *The Comfort Women* (St Leonards, Australia: Allen & Unwin, 1995), 228, 128. Koreans from both the peninsula and Japan comprised the majority. Initially the comfort women filled the role of professional prostitutes, but this situation devolved into one of deception and eventually seizure.

[76]Ibid., 228.

[77]Ibid., 60.

[78]This represents the overall theme within postwar Japan of diminished war guilt, which is a direct result of the American choices in the war crimes trial and the occupation. The diminished culpability serves as yet another repercussion of the actions taken in Tokyo (and as further evidence of the failure of "justice" supplanted by pragmatic Cold War policies). The choice of those not indicted including the emperor, the zaibatsu, and especially the organizers of the bacteriological units and comfort stations allowed Japanese atrocities to escape trial, and therefore discourse and memory. Further, those indicted received parole early and returned to high positions in the name of anti-communism. Contemporary evidence of diminished war guilt, revealed in the emperor's continued, polemical visitation of the Yasukuni Shrine (the shrine for the war dead including those executed) and the controversy over reparations to Korean comfort women as the nationalistic Liberal Democratic Party still denies their existence. These and many other contentions exacerbated poor relations with East Asia. Thus Japan's inability to internalize war guilt is another symptom of the flawed justice carried out in Tokyo. Dower, Embracing Defeat, 30, 341, and 454.

near monopoly on power in Tokyo, only thwarted by the advisory FEAC, allowed the manipulation of the trials. The juxtaposition of the trials with the occupation illuminated the pervasive role of MacArthur in controlling the development and reviewing the ruling of the tribunal. His dominance represents the political nature of the trials and the significance of both the trials and the occupation in creating an ally. Furthermore, shifts in occupation policies, driven by tensions fostered by standoffs in China and the Middle East, accordingly brought about the unnatural end of the trials, ignoring untried Class A criminals for the support of Japan. In this way, the trials and the occupation occurred in tandem under unified leadership in order to determine unilaterally the postwar development of Japan.

Beyond coincidence and cohesive leadership, the choice of indictments reflected the modus operandi of the occupation—indirect rule—by America. Under MacArthur's approval, American leaders appointed Keenan as Chief Prosecutor. Keenan's firm belief in purpose above procedures underpinned the choice of defendants. By prosecuting only Class A criminals, most in high political and economic positions maintained power. Those indicted manifested the conspiracy interpretation. The utilization of command responsibility and manipulation of legal procedures disassociated most of the populous. The indictments engendered support of the populous for occupation and America and ensured Japan's economic and political stability.

Similarly, those with immunity revealed the omnipresent struggle with the Soviets during the IMTFE as well as whom specifically SCAP needed to disassociate to support the occupation. The Soviets fought doggedly to prevent these choices, but the emperor, the zaibatsu, and the organizers of comfort stations and biological testing escaped trial. These groups proved paramount to political stability, economic stability, grassroots support, and technological supremacy over the USSR respectively and therefore would best achieve America's agenda if not tried.

Thus, while the decision for indictments under the guise of command responsibility represented a conservative decision to prevent drastic change in Japan's organization, the choice of who not to indict fulfilled the goals of creating a stable, loyal ally and attained an advantage over the Soviets. These myopic decisions, precipitated by the political milieu, drove the American manipulation of Japan's postwar development. Through inducing America to manipulate the leadership and indictments, the Cold War context eclipsed the initial ideals of the Tokyo Trials, as competition superseded justice. The complete disuse of the trials as a precedent, despite their revolutionary methodology and decisions, substantiates the flawed nature of justice at Tokyo. While the historiography often cites the racist undertones, this paper shows that the most pervasive element became the pragmatic, Cold War-driven American policies.

Unity through Religion, Security, and Free Enterprise: The Reflection of 1950s Anti-Communism in Eisenhower's Presidency

Eric McGee

Amidst the overt American struggle with global communism during the Cold War, a battle commenced domestically. **Eric McGee** posits that President Dwight D. Eisenhower attempted to ensure unity with the encouragement of religiosity, security, and a free-enterprise economy. The consensus culture, which upheld these three values, differentiated America from the communists and denigrated the Soviet Union. Although Eisenhower attained unity, it came at a price; his rhetoric and actions worsened relations with the Soviet Union and prolonged the Cold War.



President Dwight D. Eisenhower and his wife, Mamie, at the World Council of Churches Second Assembly (1954), Evanston, Illinois. http://people.cohums.ohio-state.edu/childs1/Chronology1944-1961_files/image045.jpg

Dwight David Eisenhower, president from 1953 to 1961, epitomized the Cold War context of the 1950s by defining America in opposition to communism in multiple facets of everyday life. Eisenhower's political goal of demonstrating superiority over the Soviet Union, coupled with a middle class domestic culture that reinforced this aim, conformed the 1950s to domination by the Cold War. Movies and television advertising became an integral part of the decade and helped to create the consensus culture that Eisenhower reflected.[1] In an attempt to unify the country behind his Cold War mentality, Eisenhower approached spirituality, government employees, and the economy through a framework of anti-communism.

> Eisenhower viewed the world as a battle...

He fought the Cold War with the Soviet Union not only through covert and overt activities in the Third World, but more significantly through an American cultural identity by emphasizing religious faith, security, and a free enterprise economy in his rhetoric and actions. Eisenhower succeeded in attaining popularity, but his anti-communist concepts shunned complexity by treating the United States as the beacon of righteousness and the Soviet Union as the negative "other." This oversimplification had important ramifications for future presidents who carried Eisenhower's legacy into Cuba, Vietnam, and other areas throughout the world.

A pervasive belief in the value of religion distinguished 1950s American culture from previous and future decades by disassociating the general public and elites from Soviet atheism. Stephen Whitfield asserts, "In the twentieth century, formal church affiliation had never been as high as it was in the 1950s, and it would never be as high again."[2] Confirming this point, church membership increased from 64.5 million people in 1940—50 percent of the population—to 114.5 million in 1960—63 percent of the population.[3] Moreover, according to a 1954 survey utilized by Whitfield, nine out of ten Americans accepted the divinity of Christ and nearly two-thirds believed the devil existed. Demand for the *Revised Standard Version of the Bible*, published in 1952, illustrated the reverence for religion in the 1950s. Americans purchased 26.5 million copies of the text within one year of its release.[4] Furthermore, the classification of the work as non-fiction reflected 1950s culture.[5] God and the devil appeared very real to American citizens taught to fear and combat atheism by politicians and other powerful figures.

Influential elites effectively tied spirituality to patriotism and helped make opposition to atheism a defining feature of American life. J. Edgar Hoover, the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation during Eisenhower's presidency, revealed the centrality of religion to the Cold War when he stated that "the danger of [c]ommunism in America...lies not in the fact that it is a political philosophy but in the awesome fact that it

[1]The term "consensus culture" is problematic. Joanne Meyerowitz admirably addresses women's activism in the 1950s in her edited anthology entitled *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), and William Graebner analyzes postwar adolescent subcultures in *Coming of Age in Buffalo: Youth and Authority in the Postwar Era* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990). It is beyond the scope of this study to examine challenges to the consensus culture of the 1950s by women, juveniles, and minority groups, which has received a significant amount of attention by historians since the 1990s. This article addresses the primarily white, middle-class culture that Eisenhower's Cold War mentality reflected.

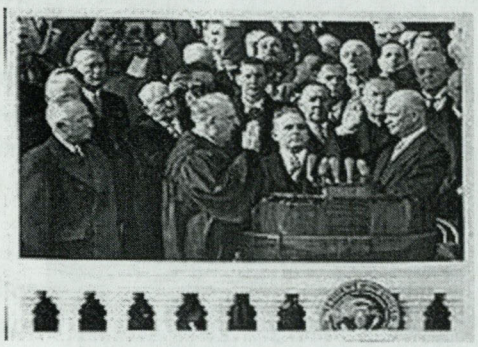
[2]Stephen J. Whitfield, *The Culture of the Cold War*, 2nd ed (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 83.

[3]Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 20.

[4]Whitfield, *The Culture of the Cold War*, 84.

[5]Ibid.

is a materialistic religion, inflaming in its adherents a destructive fanaticism."[6] Hoover's belief that religion carried more importance to Soviet communism than politics demonstrated the powerful effect of religion on the American mindset of the 1950s. He helped engrain this mentality in American society with a book which denounced communism and advocated religion to combat it. In *Masters of Deceit: The Story of Communism in America and How to Fight It*, Hoover decried that communists had "always made it clear that communism [was] the mortal enemy of Christianity, Judaism, Mohammedanism, and any other religion that believe[d] in a Supreme Being."[7] Hoping to extend his antagonism of the ideology to as many people as possible, Hoover juxtaposed communism with any belief in God. This reflected his awareness of the broad religiosity that permeated the 1950s. Elites like Hoover successfully equated spirituality with freedom and democracy.



Chief Justice Frederick Vinson administering the oath of office to Dwight D. Eisenhower on the east portico of the U.S. Capitol, 20 January 1953. Library of Congress, *Prints and Photographs Division, New York World-Telegram & Sun* Newspaper Photograph Collection. Reproduction number: LC-USZ62-126332.

Irving Kaufman, who presided over the 1953 trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg for passing atomic secrets to the Soviet Union, shared Hoover's bipolar outlook. He cited the Rosenbergs' devotion "to the Russian ideology of denial of God" as one of his reasons for sentencing them to death.[8] Patriotic citizens linked believing in God to democracy in the 1950s, and atheists, real or perceived, suffered from violating this connection. As a result, "conspicuously active church membership became the most effective shield against the suspicion of subversiveness."[9] Thus, the regular church attendance practiced by the majority of Americans during the 1950s affirmed a disassociation with communism, representing one manipulation of religion during the Cold War.

Religious movies which revolved around action further indicated the prevalence of the Cold War in American culture during the 1950s. Hollywood corporate leaders helped "create the culture of the [C]old [W]ar" by seeking "to make Hollywood a model of an unprecedented American identity rooted in consensus and consumption."[10] Action rather than theology characterized 1950s religious films. They represented, according to William Young, "blind faith in an age of anxiety."[11] Young's choice of the word "blind" to depict American religious faith in the 1950s reveals the simplicity of the era's religious expressions. Nora Sayre substantiates the non-pious nature of 1950s religious films. She states that "Christianity as a commodity—as a wellspring of happiness, as a bulwark against the Red tide—was a boon for Hollywood: Bible epics provided an opportunity to inject action movies with the new religiosity."[12] The intertwining of religion and action as well as Christianity and commodity by anti-communist film directors permeated the Cold War-dominated 1950s.

[6]Ibid., 85.

[7]J. Edgar Hoover, *Masters of Deceit: The Story of Communism in America and How to Fight It* (New York: Pocket Books, 1958), 299.

[8]As quoted in Whitfield, *The Culture of the Cold War*, 87.

[9]Ibid., 83.

[10]Lary May, "Movie Star Politics: The Screen Actors Guild, Cultural Conversion, and the Hollywood Red Scare," in Lary May, ed., *Recasting America: Culture and Politics in the Age of Cold War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 148-9.

[11]William H. Young, *The 1950s* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2004), 194.

[12]Nora Sayre, *Running Time: Films of the Cold War* (New York: Dial Press, 1982), 206.



Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin holding up a report linking yet another politician to a host of extreme left-wingers, even Alger Hiss. This represented his inflammatory anti-communism. *I Hold in My Hand*, photograph by UPI Newspictures, 27 October 1952.

Cecil DeMille, the director of *The Ten Commandments*, exemplified the key role that anti-communism played in the religious films of the Eisenhower Era. DeMille, an ardent Cold Warrior, "led a [1950] campaign to require all members of the Screen Actors Guild to sign a loyalty oath, and he threatened to quote the remarks of his opponents to Joseph McCarthy."[13] DeMille's political background influenced the content of his films, and his anti-communism resonated with many Americans.

In the prologue to *The Ten Commandments*, released in 1956, DeMille stepped in front of a gold curtain and stated that "the theme of th[e] picture [was] whether men [were] to be ruled by God's law—or whether they [were] to be ruled by the whims of a dictator."[14] He then asked if men existed as "the property of the state" or "free souls under God," and warned that this battle existed in the present world.[15] He used the themes of dictatorship and property of the state to allude to the Soviet Union and communism, while the United States embodied the concept of "free souls under God" who lived according to His law.

DeMille effectively utilized anti-communism to make *The Ten Commandments* successful. According to Charlton Heston, the movie's main actor, DeMille displayed a "mastery of public relations."[16] DeMille's awareness of popular 1950s culture resulted in one of the three highest-grossing films in American history.[17] He effectively utilized anti-communism to make a substantial amount of money by embracing religious faith and denouncing atheism. An emphasis on action also contributed to the film's success.

The spiritual films of the 1950s intended to unite viewers through an appreciation for action scenes rather than the promotion of ideology. *Ben-Hur*, a religious film released in 1959, provides an example of grand spectacle. Heston, again employed as the primary actor, "race[d] his chariot around the Roman Forum" in a manner indicative of the "Bible spectaculars of the [1950s], where

[13]Ibid., 207.

[14]As quoted in Sayre, *Running Time*, 207.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Charlton Heston, *In the Arena: An Autobiography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995), 127.

[17]Ibid., 145. Heston converted the film's ticket prices to those of the 1990s to make this assertion.

the action rarely sag[ged]: infinite chases—often in chariots, sometimes in catacombs"—occurred frequently.[18] Indeed, Heston recalled in his autobiography that the production company hired four thousand local people to cheer for the "chariots thundering through the turns" which served as the primary focus of *Ben-Hur*.[19] They applauded the chariots instead of discussing ideological issues. The emphasis on spectacle instead of a specific theology demonstrates that movies of the 1950s reflected the deep anxiety of the Cold War era and intended to unite rather than divide viewers.

Eisenhower, in a similar fashion to how anticommunist directors employed religion in their movies, strove for unity and downplayed ideology. Whitfield sums up 1950s religious culture by stating that "[w]hat was revived was not so much religious belief as belief in the *value* of religion."[20] Eisenhower demonstrated his recognition of this cultural value when he told a confidant before his presidential campaign that he needed to remedy the fact that "his own worship had been lax" because the American people would not follow a figure who did not attend a church.[21]

Consequently, Eisenhower joined a church for the first time in his adult life.[22] The specific denomination turned out to be Presbyterianism, but this resulted from certain pastors supporting the Republican Party rather than a specific interest in this branch.[23] Eisenhower revealed his lack of adherence to a concrete doctrine when he famously stated that the American government "makes no sense unless it is founded on a deeply felt religious faith—and I [do not] care what it is."[24]

Furthermore, Eisenhower told Senator Nelson Rockefeller in response to the proposal that the motto "In God We Trust" be placed on paper currency that he supported the measure, but reiterated that he intended to "express a...moderate view," not "conduc[t] a crusade."[25] Once again, the president stressed that belief in a Supreme Being rather than a specific theology characterized the American way of life. Evidently, most Americans felt the same way, as Eisenhower's religiosity did not lead to public controversy.[26] Thus, the broad sense of religious faith that permeated American life and movies during the 1950s facilitated Eisenhower's use of religion.

> [S]ecurity from communist infiltration became one of Eisenhower's major goals

Eisenhower consistently incorporated religion in his rhetoric to contrast America with the Soviet Union. He began his 1953 inaugural address with a prayer, and the speech's "heavy religious overtones" continued through the rest of his presidency.[27] Merlin Gustafson asserts that this religiosity resulted from the Cold War and provided a contrast to Soviet atheism. He supports this argument with the view of Frederick Fox, a Congregationalist minister who functioned

[18]Sayre, *Running Time*, 210.

[19]Heston, *In the Arena*, 191.

[20]Whitfield, *The Culture of the Cold War*, 86. The italics were present in the text.

[21]Ibid., 88.

[22]Ibid.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Patrick Henry, "'And I Don't Care What It Is': The Tradition-History of a Civil Religion Proof-Text," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 49, no. 1 (1981): 36.

[25]DDE Memorandum to Nelson Rockefeller, 5 March 1955, Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library, Abilene, Kansas, Ann Whitman File, Administration Series, Box 31.

[26]Merlin Gustafson, "The Religious Role of the President," *Midwest Journal of Political Science* 14, no. 4 (1970): 710.

[27]Cynthia Toolin, "American Civil Religion from 1789 to 1981: A Content Analysis of Presidential Inaugural Addresses," *Review of Religious Research* 25, no. 1 (1983): 40.

as the "White House Pastor" by serving as a "liaison... to religious interest groups."[28]

Fox became the central figure dealing with religious issues in the White House, thereby altering the previously unstructured nature of church-state relations.[29] He stated that this role necessitated from Eisenhower "kn[owing] that the health of [American] democracy depend[ed] upon...the free churches in America."[30] The words "democracy" and "free" especially indicate the polar world context in which American churches functioned during the 1950s. Eisenhower viewed the world as a battle between religious democracies and atheist nations.

> [M]ovies...helped establish the cultural necessity of demonstrating anti-communism...

"Ike" encouraged domestic spirituality and the association of the Soviet Union with atheism. This reflected his desire to use "civil religion" to foster an American religious culture that led the free world's battle against secular communism. Sociologist Robert Bellah argues that American presidents, to varying degrees, have embraced a religion separate from Christianity in their speeches, and that their civil religion simply involves a reverence for a God or Supreme Being.[31]

Eisenhower assessed political power in terms of the binary Cold War and used civil religion to a great extent in an attempt to win the cultural battle with the Soviet Union. Substantiating this point, Eisenhower asserted during an August 1957 breakfast conversation with Senator William Knowland that:

> the central influence in all [America's] foreign relations was the polarization of world power in Washington and in Moscow, with a whole group of free nations loosely attached to each other by a common desire for independence and a religious basis opposed to a monolithic and atheistic dictatorship.[32]

The diction "polarization," "independence," "monolithic," and "atheistic" connotes Eisenhower's sense of a divided world. The president further believed that "everything ha[d] to be "gauged and measured against... the problems created by this basic antagonism and struggle."[33] Religion became part of the Cold War "struggle."

Eisenhower intended to use this struggle to unite Americans and international leaders behind his religious rhetoric. He demonstrated this aim when he decried that "the very concepts of freedom are under relentless attack by an atheistic ideology...The liberties we so much love... demand that we stand together steadfastly against the relentless assaults of international communism."[34] This quotation illustrates Eisenhower's linking of atheism with communism and religiosity with democracy. This link extends beyond Ike's reaction to domestic figures. A 1958 letter to Dr. Edward Elson revealed that the president emphasized spirituality in his interaction with international leaders. In this document, Eisenhower stated that in all forms of communication with Arab leaders, he never failed "to stress the importance of the spiritual factor in [their] relationships" or to argue that "belief in God

[28]Gustafson, "The Religious Role of the President," 711, 713.

[29]Ibid., 721.

[30]Ibid., 713.

[31]Robert N. Bellah, "Civil Religion in America," *Daedalus* 96, no. 1 (1967): 1-21, in Robert N. Bellah and Steven M Tipton, eds., *The Robert Bellah Reader* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 225.

[32]Dwight D. Eisenhower, letter to Christian Archibald Herter, 16 August 1957, in Louis Galambos and Daun Van Ee, eds., *The Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower*, vol. XVIII (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1970), 377. Hereafter cited as *PODDE* with appropriate volume.

[33]Eisenhower, letter to Christian Archibald Herter, 16 August 1957, in Galambos and Van Ee, *PODDE*, vol. XVIII, 377.

[34]Eisenhower, letter to Bishop Robert Raymond Brown, 27 September 1957, in Galambos and Van Ee, *PODDE*, vol. XVIII, 465.

should create between them and us the common purpose of opposing atheistic [c]ommunism."[35] Thus, Ike employed civil religion as a unifying force amidst anxious times in both the international and domestic realms. His linking of religion and anti-communism reflected his desire to gain domestic and international allies also wary of Communist aggression.

The 1956 movie *Operation Alert* depicted popular Cold War fears of the Eisenhower era while advocating unity and preparation to defeat these fears and ensure the nation's security. The film presented a confident image of the nation undertaking Operation Alert 1956, an exercise of survival in the event of a thermonuclear catastrophe.[36] Live television broadcasts occurred from Eisenhower's headquarters during Operation Alert 1955, confirming his support for the film's message. Eisenhower successfully used public relations and the media to make "the most effective use of the presiden[cy]."[37] *Operation Alert* demonstrated Eisenhower's ideal of unity, as the film portrayed America as "a strikingly homogeneous society."[38] More significantly, it reflected Eisenhower's desire to reassure tense Americans of their safety from Communists.



Film poster of the anti-communist 1958 film, The Blob. http://www.explorepahistory.com/images/ExplorePAHistory-a0j9g5-a_349.jpg Credit: Courtesy of the Theater Collection, Free Library of Philadelphia.

The science fiction movies of the 1950s reflected ordinary Americans' Cold War fears in an extreme fashion. Ardently anti-communist, their scenarios frequently involved "hostile forces that were eager to enslave or obliterate Americans."[39] Three science fiction movies of the Eisenhower era depicted fervent anti-communism: *Them!*, *Invasion of the Body Snatchers*, and *The Blob*. These movies portrayed communism as an evil entity attempting to destroy humanity.

Vicious ants and plants symbolized Communist aggression in *Them!* and *Invasion of the Body Snatchers*. In the 1954 movie *Them!*, "giant ants run amok" and frighten the human race.[40] Sayre points out that the ants demonstrated an extreme talent for "social organization" which, not coincidentally, resembled a "communistic-sounding trait."[41] The 1956 film *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* contained a plot that boiled down to "plants from another world gain[ing] possession of human bodies" as a consequence of atomic mutation and transforming American society into "a regime of totalitarian vegetables," with survivors comparing their experience to that of possessing a malignant disease.[42] Its recurrent imagery of brainwashing, confirmed by close friends or relatives in the movie depicted as behaving unlike themselves, paralleled the popular 1950s belief that American prisoners in Korea endured

[35]Eisenhower, letter to Dr. Edward Lee Roy Elson, 31 July 1958, in Galambos and Vaun Ee, *PODDE*, vol. XIX, 1027.

[36]Guy Oakes, *The Imaginary War: Civil Defense and American Cold War Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 96.

[37]Ibid., 88.

[38]Ibid., 96.

[39]Sayre, *Running Time*, 191.

[40]Ibid., 192.

[41]Ibid.

[42]Ibid., 201.

thought control.[43] Desperately seeking security from the invading, mind-controlling force which represented communism, Americans hid in their basements after thoroughly checking for the vicious plants.[44] Therefore, *Them!* and *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* reinforced stereotypes of Communists as violent and manipulative, while depicting scared Americans trying to find safety.

The Blob, released in 1958, continued the common Cold War theme of Americans subjected to mind control by a sinister enemy that symbolized communism. In this film, "a species of ooze that was the by-product of a fallen meteor which engaged unwary persons" increased in power and physical size in direct proportion to its number of victims.[45] Nora Sayre sums up *The Blob*, and 1950s anti-communist films as a whole, with her statement that they "yielded metaphors for the larger malignancies of the Cold War, when a neighbor or one's former teacher might suddenly be labeled as a subversive."[46] In fact, approximately ten to twelve thousand individuals, including a substantial number of teachers, longshoremen, and writers, lost their jobs and had great difficulty finding new ones.[47] By making communism appear deadly to unsuspecting Americans, movies such as *The Blob*, *Them!*, and *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* helped establish the cultural necessity of demonstrating anti-communism in order to avoid the label of "subversive."

Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin greatly assisted in creating this environment with his February 1950 speech in Wheeling, West Virginia, which accused the State Department of Communist infestation and resulted in Eisenhower's decision to strictly evaluate government employees for the security of the nation.[48] Eisenhower's demand that government employees disassociate from communism reflected the strong influence of McCarthy on American culture in the early 1950s. The president resolved to end any "skepticism toward security risks in government," and he set forth his standards for internal security during his first Cabinet meeting in January of 1953.[49] According to the president, the risk of blackmail by Communists meant that "working for the government must be regarded as a privilege and not a constitutional right."[50] Moreover, he wanted to immediately ensure that all presidential appointees receive "extensive background investigations by the Federal Bureau of Investigation."[51] Clearly, Eisenhower believed that the nation's security from communism took precedence over individual freedoms.

Ike's Executive Order 10450 established a new government employee security program which put these ideas into effect. Consequently, Eisenhower "dropped" fourteen hundred employees "from the federal payroll, including more than eight hundred who had been dismissed," by October of 1953.[52] Eisenhower justified these dismissals and resignations by stating that the United States could not "afford to relax for one moment its vigilance in protecting the internal security of [its] government."[53] This strong language revealed that Eisenhower's desire for security, more so than religious faith, instigated decisions that directly affected thousands of people in his government. He fired many government employees who risked blackmail because of perceived weak character traits such as alcoholism, homo-

[43]Ibid.

[44]Tom Engelhardt, *The End of Victory Culture: Cold War America and the Disillusioning of a Generation* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998), 104.

[45]Sayre, *Running Time*, 198.

[46]Ibid., 204.

[47]Ellen Schrecker, *Many are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 363.

[48]Stephen E. Ambrose, *Eisenhower: The President* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984), 83.

[49]Dwight D. Eisenhower, *The White House Years: Mandate for Change 1953-1956* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1963), 308. Eisenhower disagreed with former president Harry Truman's focus on loyalty in his internal security standards.

[50]Ibid., 309.

[51]Ibid.

[52]Ibid., 310.

[53]Eisenhower, *Mandate for Change*, 310.

sexuality, or previous associations with left-wing political groups. Indeed, Eisenhower regarded safety from communism as the crucial requirement for government employment. His choice to establish security by firing numerous government employees revealed the powerful effect which the nation's pervasive fear of communist subversion had on his decision making.



Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, the infamous communists, sentenced to death for espionage in 1953. From ABC-CLIO CD-ROM, Resource Link: 20th-Century American History. http://www.albany.edu/jmmh/vol2no1/EthelRosenberg.jpg

The president's decision in the Rosenberg case later in 1953 demonstrated his insistence that the safety of the nation as a whole came before the individual to an even greater extent. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg had been sentenced to death for espionage, but applied for executive clemency. The president rejected their appeal because their actions involved "the deliberate betrayal of the entire nation" as they "exposed to greater danger of death literally millions of [American] citizens."[54] This reason for denying their clemency aimed at uniting Americans behind security from anti-communism. The risk of the Soviet Union using the secrets to kill millions of people rather than a mere act of disloyalty to the government inspired Eisenhower's decision to allow their execution to take place. In addition, Eisenhower emphasized the potentially disastrous consequences of not permitting the death of Ethel in order to gain the maximum amount of support from the American public. He specifically justified the execution of Ethel by stating that if he failed to allow it because of her gender, "the Soviets would simply recruit their spies from among women."[55] Eisenhower effectively linked Ethel to the loyalty of "all women." Loyalty to the American government became tied to the security of the entire nation during the Cold War.

Eisenhower's decision in this case reflected the strong influence of McCarthyism on mid-1950s America. A 1954 public opinion poll revealed that more than half of the American people regarded McCarthy favorably.[56] Even though Eisenhower disagreed with McCarthy's extreme methods, he felt that the senator "did not pose a major threat to the nation's system of government."[57] Eisenhower's actions and rhetoric in his government employee security program and the Rosenberg case reflected the 1950s mindset of anti-communism that McCarthy espoused. In a nation supposedly rife with traitors, security from Communist infiltration became one of Eisenhower's major goals.

The president's treatment of the well-known scientist, Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, also confirmed his adherence to the culture of McCarthyism. Eisenhower acknowledged that Oppenheimer, a leading figure in the development of the atomic bomb, "had helped to create several of...the nation's most important secrets."[58] Nevertheless, the former Chairman of the General Advisory Committee of the Atomic Energy Commission held "close relations with Communist party members in the United States."[59] Oppenheimer thus garnered his fair share of enemies and a massive FBI folder detailing his past.[60] These circumstances

[54]Ibid., 224.

[55]Ibid., 225.

[56]Walter Lafeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945-2002* (Boston: McGraw Hill, 2002), 183.

[57]Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, 164.

[58]Eisenhower, *Mandate for Change*, 310.

[59]Lafeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War*, 184.

[60]Ibid., 184-5.

eventually culminated in his investigation for national security reasons in April of 1954. A three-man committee, by a two-to-one margin, deemed Oppenheimer "a security risk, though a loyal citizen" and recommended prohibiting Oppenheimer from accessing classified information.[61] Oppenheimer's investigation and subsequent restriction from attaining nuclear secrets stemmed solely from his affiliation with a stigmatized political party.

Cold War fears rather than logical thinking discredited the promising scientist. The one dissenter who argued Oppenheimer's disloyalty, Thomas Murray, admitted several years later that he cast his vote "within the exigencies of the moment."[62] Eisenhower, however, stated that he did not reinstate Oppenheimer's access to classified material due to Oppenheimer's own testimony and the "fundamental defects in his character" cited by the majority of the Atomic Energy Commission.[63] Nevertheless, these words ignored the fundamental truth that "the exigencies of the moment" dictated Eisenhower's decision to prohibit Oppenheimer from receiving any more classified information. More specifically, Eisenhower reacted to the anti-communist mainstream culture of a Cold War-dominated era which regarded any association with communism as a security risk. Unfortunately for Oppenheimer, who, ironically, helped develop the weapon that gave the United States added security, Eisenhower reflected this culture by treating him primarily as a security risk, not a loyal citizen. Middle-class America sought security and feared the loss of prosperity through disloyalty.

> Eisenhower approached [unity]... through a framework of anti-communism

During the 1950s, the middle class strongly influenced American culture. This middle class formed largely as a result of economic prosperity. Between 1950 and 1960, the gross national product escalated from $285 billion to $500 billion. During the same period, median family income nearly doubled, rising from $3,083 to $5,976 per year. Furthermore, taking into account inflation, wages increased 30 percent. Employment statistics offered the most dramatic evidence of the prevalence of the middle class in 1950s America, as by 1956, for the first time ever, white-collar (office) employees outnumbered blue-collar (factory) workers. The following year, the service industry surpassed manufacturing as the leading facet of the national economy.[64] The economic boom created a new and prosperous middle class which eagerly spent money and expected America to overcome any challenges it faced.

Prosperity, coupled with television advertising, resulted in conspicuous consumption. William Young asserts that this consumption became such a distinctive part of American culture that "[i]f the 1950s did nothing else, they heralded an onslaught of personal consumption the likes of which the world ha[d] never seen."[65] Television advertising spurred this consumption and served as a voice and vision of conformity.[66] Annual United States spending for advertising increased from $5.7 billion to $12 billion at the conclusion of the decade.[67] Nine out of the top ten television advertisers manufactured automobiles during the 1950s, and they successfully "exploited the renown and talents of major show business personalities."[68] This had its intended effect, as

[61]Eisenhower, *Mandate for Change*, 312.

[62]Lafeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War*, 185.

[63]Eisenhower, *Mandate for Change*, 313.

[64]All of these statistics regarding 1950s economic prosperity and the middle class are from Young, *The 1950s*, 3-5.

[65]Ibid., 4.

[66]Ibid., 21.

[67]Ibid., 44.

[68]Ibid.

the percentage of families owning automobiles skyrocketed from 60 percent in 1952 to 77 percent in 1960.[69] The explosive growth of advertising caused a corresponding increase in private debt, which went from $73 billion in 1950 to $196 billion in 1960.[70] Credit cards helped advertising fuel consumer spending. The credit card revolution "reflected a profound transformation in attitudes about debt" as "businesses exhibited a willingness to extend credit to their newly affluent customers."[71] Whites primarily accrued the wealth because financing done by the Federal Housing Administration reinforced local "red-lining" policies that put minorities, particularly African Americans, on the bottom of the hierarchy of desirable neighborhoods.[72] Consequently, advertising and lending agencies targeted the main beneficiary of 1950s economic prosperity: middle-class whites.

Eisenhower reflected his era's cultural viewpoint...

Eisenhower's support of America's free enterprise economy in his rhetoric and actions reflected the growing influence of the middle class and television in 1950s culture. As he did with religion, the president juxtaposed the American economy in glowing terms against the ideology of the Soviet Union and its followers. In a 5 April 1954 speech to a nationally televised audience, Eisenhower highlighted the country's economic prosperity when he stated that America enjoyed "the most productiv[ity] on earth" and became richer by any standard of comparison, than... any other nation in the world."[73] One year later, Eisenhower denigrated the Soviet Union's Marxist economic system:

> The [c]lass [s]truggle [d]octrine of Marx was the invention of a lonely refugee scribbling in a dark recess of the British Museum. He abhorred and detested the middle class. He did not foresee that, in America, labor, respected and prosperous, would constitute—with the farmer and businessman—his hated middle class.[74]

This quotation substantiates that Eisenhower intended the notion of prosperous free enterprise to unite American laborers, farmers, businessmen, and other groups behind a middle class reverence for the capitalistic economic system.

Eisenhower effectively utilized television advertising in his 1952 and 1956 presidential campaigns to gain the support of this diverse middle-class constituency.[75] His second campaign became particularly effective because by 1955, approximately 65 percent of the nation's homes possessed a television.[76] The president took advantage of television and prosperity to gain popularity by espousing the virtues of a "free economy" while condemning the limited economic opportunities of the Soviet Union to a wide audience.

Eisenhower's desire for political unity and domestic economic growth as a model to the free world occurred within the context of the Cold War. Under one aspect of "Modern Republicanism," the concept Eisenhower coined in an attempt to unite his party behind core principles, the government encouraged "private enterprise."[77] Eisenhower believed that "governmental strength and social

[69]Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, 250.

[70]Young, *The 1950s*, 6.

[71]Ibid., 6.

[72]Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Knopf, 2003), 170-171.

[73]J. Fred MacDonald, *Television and the Red Menace: The Video Road to Vietnam* (New York: Praeger, 1985), 65.

[74]Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic*, 152.

[75]Ibid., 333. Eisenhower advertised at the end of top-rated programs.

[76]Lynn Spigel, *Make Room for TV: Television and the Family Ideal in Postwar America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 32.

[77]Eisenhower, letter to Hugh Meade Alcorn, 30 August 1957, in Galambos and Van Ee, *PODDE, vol. XVIII*, 397.



The Clay Committee presents its report with recommendations concerning the financing of a national interstate highway network to President Eisenhower on 11 January 1955. http://www.tfhrc.gov/pubrds/summer96/imgs/p96su16.jpg

stability call[ed] for an economic environment which [was]...dynamic."[78]

Sound economic growth in the free world became a major objective of this goal. Ike felt that heightened productive investment in the domestic arena helped to maintain international economic growth, and saw the United States as the leader of the free world.[79] In a letter to Bernard Baruch, one of his informal political advisors, Eisenhower revealed that during his 1952 presidential campaign, his opposition brought up a remark he made in December of 1947 at an informal dinner conversation in which he stated that industrialists needed to make sacrifices in order to combat inflation.[80] He felt that his rivals took this remark "out of context and distorted [it] to imply that [he] was at heart a socialist" and that "[he] wanted to destroy free enterprise."[81] Eisenhower's detailed description and response to an apparently trivial personal assault demonstrates the centrality of the notion of free enterprise during the Cold War-dominated 1950s. Anyone who wanted to reform the American economy, including a presidential candidate, could appear to destroy the sacred idea. Ike intended his rhetoric and actions regarding the economy, like religion and government service, to provide clear imagery of superiority over communism and the Soviet Union. This threat placed "extraordinary financial burdens upon [America]" that a devotion to capitalism combated.[82]

The interstate highway system became a major emblem of capitalism supported by Eisenhower. According to Dr. Gabriel Hodge, an economic advisor on Eisenhower's White House staff, the fundamental purpose of the president's plan for the interstate highway system in November of 1955 boiled down to managing the economy.[83] Ike labeled it as "the biggest peacetime construction project of any description ever undertaken by the United States or any other country."[84] He authorized the utilization of nearly two billion dollars of funds to create a total amount of pavement which "would make a parking lot big enough to hold two thirds of all the automobiles in the Unit-

[78]Eisenhower, letter to Robert Bernerd Anderson., 26 August 1958, in Galambos and Van Ee, *PODDE, vol. XIX*, 1073.

[79]Ibid.

[80]Eisenhower, letter to Bernard Mannes Baruch, 28 February 1959, in Galambos and Van Ee, *PODDE, vol. XIX*, 1383.

[81]Ibid.

[82]Eisenhower, letter to Bion Rose East, 12 September 1957, in Galambos and Van Ee, *PODDE, vol. XVIII*, 435.

[83]Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, 301.

[84]Eisenhower, *Mandate for Change*, 548.

ed States."[85] The president's ambitious project reflected the confidence in the American capitalistic economy that characterized the consumption-oriented culture of the 1950s.[86] Massive federal projects such as the interstate highway system demonstrated that Eisenhower, like his prosperous constituency, did not hesitate to spend money to make America exceptional.

Two recessions interrupted the economic affluence of the 1950s. Eisenhower supported the extension of Social Security benefits, a mandatory increase in the minimum wage from seventy-five cents per hour to one dollar per hour, and giving unemployment compensation to several million additional workers to help the nation recover from the post-Korean War recession of 1953-54.[87] However, the president believed that the "outstanding feature of the 1953-54 recession was the transition from federal to private spending."[88] He resisted desperate "crash" public-works programs that many proposed as solutions, and stipulated that "a mood of confidence...and not governmental measures—the people and not a spending program"—ended the recession.[89] Summing up his attitude toward the 1953-54 recession, Eisenhower stated in his memoirs that "while the groundwork for economic recovery must be laid by the government, *recovery itself is the work of the American people*."[90] Therefore, Eisenhower's confidence in the nation to overcome economic troubles without drastic governmental intervention represented a central tenet of "free enterprise." He believed that the freedom to solve recessions through consumer spending allowed the United States to demonstrate superiority over the Soviet Union's command economy.

> Eisenhower's one-sided ideology... started the United States down the path to the Cuban Missile Crisis...

Eisenhower's response to a more serious recession which began in August 1957 and resulted in a seven percent increase in unemployment and a twenty-five percent decrease in corporate profits by April 1958 confirmed this outlook.[91] He vetoed a 1958 farm bill that established high federal price supports for one year, as well as the Rivers and Harbors Bill, which authorized 310 million dollars in funds to finance rivers, harbors, and flood-control projects.[92] Furthermore, he opposed federal intervention in the 1959 steel strike. This came about in July, when half a million members of the United Steel Workers of America, including workers in Gary, Youngstown, Birmingham and Pittsburgh (areas which produced more than eighty-five percent of the country's steel) went on strike and demanded a wage increase. The situation ended in a voluntary settlement by labor and management.[93] Eisenhower reasoned that if the government "regulate[d] wages and prices in major industries, it c[ould] run the entire economy... for political, not economic, advantage."[94] The president, who felt that America's free enterprise economy could largely solve its own problems, put forth another thinly-veiled criticism of the Soviet economy. Indeed, criticizing communism in any way became a frequently employed method of unity during Eisenhower's presidency.

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[85]Ibid.

[86]Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, 251. Stephen Ambrose contends that it also demonstrated Eisenhower's Cold War concerns about evacuating the capital and other cities in the case of a nuclear attack because if a war ensued, four-lane highways leading out of the cities would ease the movement of military traffic.

[87]Ibid., 249.

[88]Eisenhower, *Mandate for Change*, 307.

[89]Ibid.

[90]Ibid. The italics are present in the text.

[91]Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, 460.

[92]Ibid.

[93]Dwight D. Eisenhower, *The White House Years: Waging Peace 1956-1961* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965), 453-9. The statistics regarding the number of strikers and United States steel production are from the memoirs, 453.

[94]Ibid., 454.

Eisenhower desired to unite his political party as well as the nation as a whole. The advent of a consumer-based American society and the growing influence of the middle class affected how the leader of the 1950s chose to accomplish this feat. Ike demonstrated a reverence for religious faith, security, and free enterprise in order to achieve consensus. Thus, Eisenhower negatively looked upon any perceived form of extremism or dissent. This became especially evident in his demand that government employees not have any association with communism. Eisenhower reflected his era's cultural viewpoint that the ideological conflict of the Cold War, characterized by binary divisions such as religious versus atheistic nations and capitalistic against command economies, should translate to everyday life. Movies, religiosity, and conspicuous consumption manifested this belief in 1950s America. Anti-communism pervaded the culture of the 1950s and turned anyone into a potential traitor. Consequently, Eisenhower attached anti-communism to his treatment of religion, government employees, and the economy during his presidency in order to gain a maximum amount of popularity.

Eisenhower succeeded in uniting the majority of America behind his anti-communist mentality, but it did not come without a cost to future generations.[95] He failed to steer common discourse away from hyperbolic attacks on communism and examine the full complexity of America's relationship with the Soviet Union. Although the Korean War ended at the beginning of his presidency and no major conflicts replaced it, the Cold War did not end until nearly forty years after Eisenhower took office. He articulated the "domino theory" in 1954, which stipulated that allowing "even an underdeveloped country with no industrial-military capacity to fall under communist control could shake self-confidence throughout the non-communist world."[96] This theory ensconced anti-communist culture into an uncompromising foreign policy. Eisenhower's one-sided ideology that divided the world into religious, secure, and free democracies and atheistic, aggressive, and restricted communist nations started the United States down the path to the Cuban Missile Crisis and the escalation of the Vietnam War. To a large extent, these outcomes occurred because Eisenhower embraced an anti-Communist national identity.

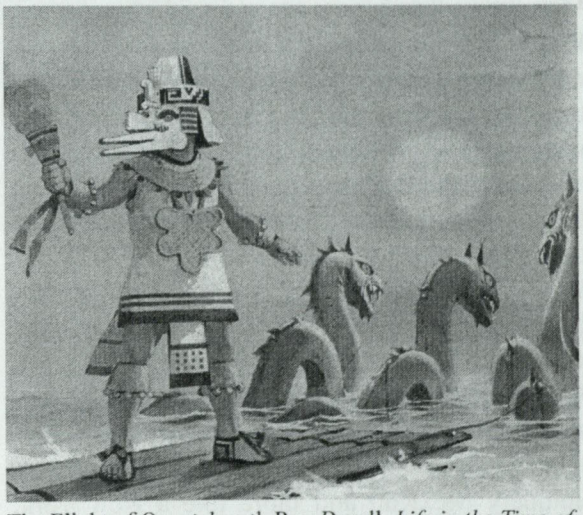
[95]John Patrick Diggins, *The Proud Decades: America in War and Peace, 1941-1960* (New York: Norton, 1988), 347. Diggins states that Eisenhower "proved to be one of the very few presidents who left office more popular than when he entered," yet his actions "prolong[ed] the cold war."

[96]John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (New York: Penguin Press, 2005), 123.

Dark Omens: A Mythopoetic Study of the Battle of Tenochtitlan

Raymond Martin

In the sixteenth century, the Aztecs created the second largest civilization in the ancient Americas. With the arrival of a new foe in 1519, the world the Aztecs knew changed drastically. **Raymond Martin** analyzes many of the myths and legends that haunted the Aztecs. He proves Aztec culture, history, and memory did not end at the battle for Tenochtitlan. Through various mythopoetical sources—including fiction, film, television programs, and game media—he demonstrates how these myths live on and capture people's imaginations. He argues that through this discourse, the story of the battle became a staple of Mexican national and cultural pride.



The Flight of Queztalcoatl. Roy Burell, *Life in the Time of Moctezuma and the Aztecs* (Austin: Raintree Steck Vaughn Publishers, 1993), 44.

This sixteenth-century Aztec commemoration poem on the fall of Tenochtitlan from *The Broken Spears* (1992) evokes a feeling of desperation and of hopelessness, a sense of betrayal by those higher powers that had once been in the Aztecs' favor.

> Broken spears lie in the roads; we have torn our hair in our grief. The houses are roofless now, and their walls are red with blood. We have pounded our hands in despair against the adobe walls, for our inheritance, our city, is lost and dead.[1]

It is hard to believe that this poem describes the same location as modern Mexico City. Today, the city is no longer a battlefield, but a bustling metropolis that rivals many other great cities around the world. It is easy to assume that the battle for Tenochtitlan signaled the end of Aztec culture, history, and memory. However, this study will prove that the opposite occurred. Various mythopoetical sources, such as fiction, film, television programs, and game media, will demonstrate how these myths lived on and captured the minds of people. More importantly, this paper will argue that through this mythopoetic discourse, the story of the battle for Tenochtitlan became a source for Mexican national and cultural pride.

"Broken spears lie in the roads; we have torn our hair in our grief"

Scholars Michael C. Meyer, William L. Sherman, and Susan M. Deeds state, "like a giant magnet, it [Mexico City] draws people from the countryside, adding hundreds of thousands to its population each year, and in the process becomes less uniquely Mexican and more like a New York, Paris, or London."[2] Just like today, Mexico City emerged as a dominant city and the capital in the sixteenth century. An island in the middle of a lake, it became home to possibly 200,000 people and the seat of a powerful ruler: Montezuma II.[3] The Aztecs, one of many nomadic groups, migrated to central Mexico in the early thirteenth century.[4] Like their Toltec[5] predecessors, the Aztecs, a warlike people, through a combination of marriage alliances and expansive war campaigns, consolidated their authority and became the dominant power in the valley of Mexico.[6] Michael E. Smith states, "[by] the year 1519 this was the second-largest empire in the ancient New World (the Inca empire of South America covered more territory), and there were few if any signs of decline or decay."[7] However, in that same year, the Spanish conquistador Hernan Cortes arrived in Mexico with a small army at hand and set into motion one of the most mythical clashes in world history.

In 1519, Cortes led an expedition from Veracruz into the interior of Mexico. By November, he reached the city of Tenochtitlan where he met the superstitious Aztec leader, Montezuma. Over the next three years, fueled by the prospect of wealth

[1]"The Story of the Conquest as Told by the Anonymous Author of Tlatelolco" (1528), in Miguel León-Portilla and others, *The Broken Spears: The Aztec Account of the Conquest of México*, expanded ed. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992), 137.

[2]Michael C. Meyer, William L. Sherman, and Susan M. Deeds, *The Course of Mexican History*, 8th ed. (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 640.

[3]Paul K. Davis, *100 Decisive Battles from Ancient Times to the Present: The World's Historical Battles and How They Shaped History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 175.

[4]Susan T. Evans, *Ancient Mexico & Central America: Archaeology and Culture History* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2004), 426.

[5]The Toltecs were, according to Albert M. Craig and others, a militaristic people who rose to prominence around 900 C.E. in the valley of Mexico and were one of the northern "barbarian" groups that paved the way for the Aztecs. The Aztecs themselves claimed descent from the Toltec. For a recent study on the ancient civilizations of Mexico, see Michael D. Coe, *Mexico: From the Olmecs to the Aztecs*, 4th ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 1994).

[6]Albert M. Craig and others, *The Heritage of World Civilizations*, Vol. 1: To 1700 (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2005), 284.

[7]Michael E. Smith, *The Aztecs* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 58.

and glory, and with the aid of thousands of native allies, the Spanish conquistadors involved themselves in several bitter clashes against the Aztecs. On 26 May 1521, the Spanish began their siege of the Aztec capital, which lasted for ten weeks. In 13 August 1521, Cortes launched his final assault, which resulted in the decimation of the Aztec empire.[8]



The Eagle on the Prickly Pear. Roy Burell, *Life in the Time of Moctezuma and the Aztecs* (Austin: Raintree Steck Vaughn Publishers, 1993), 9.

Why do the stories of the battle of Mexico bring out such interest in people? People are fascinated by this battle because it is steeped in myth and legend; these quintessential tales transport us to a different time and help us explain the inexplicable, for example, how a comparatively small group of Spanish conquistadors could bring down an empire. According to Hans Blumenberg, "myths are stories that are distinguished by a high degree of constancy in their narrative core and by an equally pronounced capacity for marginal variation."[9] What this means for the study of battles and battle myths is that the basis for these stories remains generally the same. Certain details surrounding the stories have and will continue to change, but the aforementioned "constancy" is key, for those battles and battle myths researchers, because it enables the researcher to distinguish common themes within the sources. Also important for this type of study is "variability," which takes form in the way stories have been passed down. Many cultures throughout history have transmitted battle myths orally. Others have conveyed myths through some written language, while yet others have passed myths down through dance. Blumenberg states, "Variability produces the attraction of trying out new and personal means of presenting them [i.e. myths]."[10] Therefore "constancy" gives the scholar a theme to research such as how people have interpreted a historical myth while "variability" gives the scholar many avenues by which to research such as through film, fiction, song, dance, and so forth.

Mythopoetic discourse is a fairly new area of study. Authors like Joseph Campbell[11] and Hans Blumenberg have been at the forefront of the importance of myth and mythopoetic discourse. With regard to the battle of Tenochtitlan, Matthew Restall, in *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest* (2003), approached the study of myths in this new light. Restall attempts to break down the myth of Spanish superiority, "a subset of the larger myth of European superiority and the nexus of racist ideologies that underpinned colonial expansion."[12]

The structure of this paper will form several categories, which range from fiction, film, and television programs, to game media. Each source will be discussed in chronological order so that the reader will recognize a progression in the mythopoetic discourse.

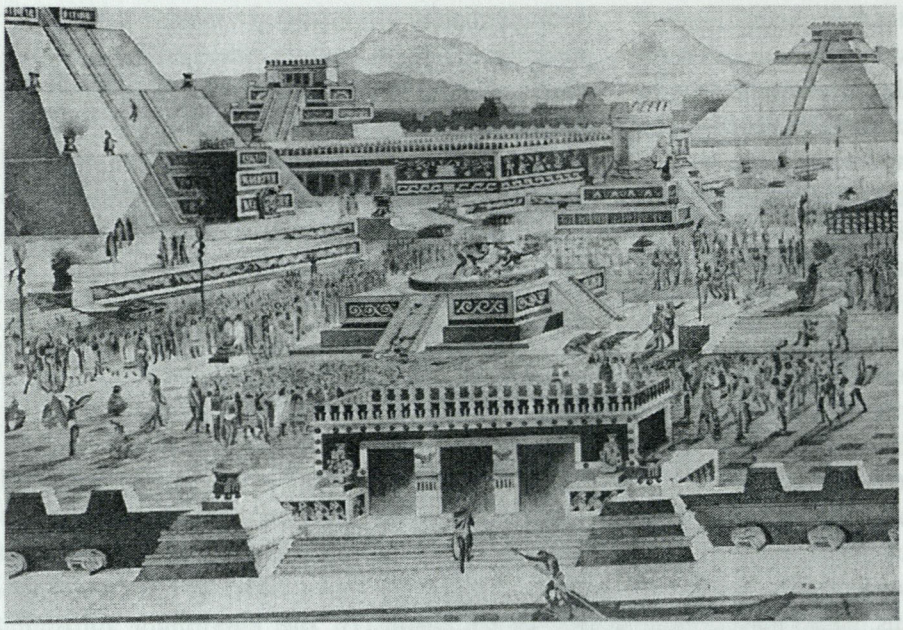
[8]Davis, *100 Decisive Battles*, 175-80.

[9]Hans Blumenberg, *Work on Myth*, trans. Robert M. Wallace (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1985), 34.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Joseph Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (Princeton: Bollingen, 2nd ed. 1968), 334-41.

[12]Matthew Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), xix.



The Aztec Capital of Tenochtitlan in 1519. Ignacio Marquina, *New Book Of Knowledge* (Connecticut: Grolier,1992), A 570.

The study of mythopoetic discourse in many ways fits perfectly with research about the Aztec civilization. For instance, the Aztecs, before settling Tenochtitlan, were nomads believed to be from Aztlan—the mythical "Place of Cranes."[13] Another example of the importance of myth to Mexican identity is displayed on the modern Mexican national flag, the eagle on the prickly cactus. John Bierhorst, like Matthew Restall, composed works, which illustrate Aztec mythology. In his book, Bierhorst recounts the founding of Tenochtitlan. *Huitzilopochtli,* the most important Aztec god, in the poetic fashion resembling the way Moses, by the power of God, led the Israelites out of peril in Egypt, pointed to the final sign that the Aztecs had found a permanent home. "It is a prickly pear, and on top of it you will see an eagle, contentedly eating, and sunning himself."[14] He continues, "This is Mexico, this is Tenochtitlan."[15]

Aztec accounts of the conquest of Mexico renewed interest in the battle for Tenochtitlan. In particular, selections from the works of Father Sahagun's native informants and Diego Munoz Camargo described the occurrence of eight strange omens before the coming of the Spaniards. In regards to the first omen, Camargo states, "[when] this sign and portent was first seen, the natives were overcome with terror, weeping and shouting and crying out, and beating the palms of their hands against their mouths, as is their custom. These shouts and cries were accompanied by sacrifices of blood and of human beings, for this was their practice whenever they thought they were endangered by some calamity."[16] The story of the omens is followed by the more intriguing legend, that in the year 1519, the god Quetzalcoatl was to return.[17] Quetzalcoatl was one of two important figures in Aztec mythology, the other was Tezcatlipoca. According to legend, Tezcatlipoca tricked Quetzalcoatl, a wise priest and leader of

[13]Alan Knight, *Mexico: From the Beginning to the Spanish Conquest* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 135.

[14]John Bierhorst, ed., *The Hungry Woman: Myths and Legends of the Aztecs* (New York: Quill William Morrow, 1984), 82.

[15]Ibid.

[16]"The Omens as Described by Munoz Camargo," in Miguel León-Portilla and others, *The Broken Spears: The Aztec Account of the Conquest of México,* expanded ed. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992), 7.

[17]Charles Flowers, *Cortes and the Conquest of the Aztec Empire in World History* (Berkley Heights, NJ: Enslow Publishers, 2001), 8.

the Toltecs,[18] to become drunk and have sex with his sister, reasons for which he "was exiled from Tula."[19] Quetzalcoatl "sailed away on a raft of serpents and promised to return some day."[20] In his article, "Tactical Factors in the Spanish Conquest of the Aztecs," Douglas A. Daniel recognizes that "[most] interpretations of the Spanish Conquest of the Aztecs attribute the Spanish victory to psycho-social factors—the Aztecs had a different conception of warfare, or they were paralyzed by the Quetzalcoatl myth—or to technological factors, such as the supposed superiority of firearms and steel swords, or to combinations of the two."[21] Daniel's focus is on how the Aztecs lost militarily, a different approach to the very popular reference of Spanish superiority and the return of an ancient deity. Esther Pasztory points out that in this "heroic epic,"[22] which explains the decline of the Toltec civilization and the rise of the Aztecs, Montezuma had to make sense of the "otherwise inexplicable arrival of the Spaniards and to explain his own vacillation in dealing with them."[23] Indeed a force arrived, and the collision that occurred has been retold many times. As Charles Flowers points out, "because these stories were not recorded until years later, some might have been created by the defeated Aztec to explain how so few Spaniards could have conquered them."[24] This clearly Mexican interpretation adds to the allure of the battle, but also gives modern Mexicans a voice in the larger body of Spanish sources.

> According to legend, Tezcatlipoca tricked Quetzalcoatl

Fernando Benitez reveals in his book, *In the Footsteps of Cortes* (1952),that the Spanish conquistador, Hernan Cortes, understood he is viewed as a god by the Aztecs and therefore uses it to his advantage. Benitez states "Cortes granted the petition, but at the same time thought of a clever stratagem. "You know, gentlemen," he said to his captains, "how these Indians take us for gods."[25] Using this to his benefit Cortes commanded a disfigured soldier "they believe that we are gods... as you are badly featured, they will believe that you are an idol."[26] What effect do these details have on the story of the conquest? These details spark the imagination of people who in turn create a variation of the story.

Fictional books use the popular myths of the omens of Montezuma and the return of the god Quetzalcoatl in order to retell variations of the battle for Tenochtitlan. *The Feathered Serpent* (1981) is the second book by author Scott O'Dell that continues the story of Julian Escobar, a Spaniard who found himself among the Maya[27] in the Yucatan of Mexico. Escobar is mistaken for the god Kukulcan, the Mayan equivalent of Quetzalcoatl. Escobar states "Julian Escobar a god? Unbelieving, I said the words aloud. "A god, the Feathered Serpent of the Maya!"[28] Julian is a prisoner of his title as he is forced to perform the duties of the god; he is also aware that his enemy,

[18]Bierhorst, *The Hungry Woman*, 8.

[19]Esther Pasztory, *Aztec Art* (New York: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 20.

[20]Ibid.

[21]Douglas A. Daniel "Tactical Factors in the Spanish Conquest of the Aztecs." *Anthropological Quarterly* 65, no. 4 (1992) 187-194.

[22]Pasztory, *Aztec*, 20.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Flowers, *Cortes and the Conquest*, 10.

[25]Fernando Benitez, *In the Footsteps of Cortes* [Translation of *La ruta de Hernan Cortes*] (New York: Pantheon Books, 1952), 127.

[26]Ibid., 127.

[27]The Maya, according to Brian Hamnett, were an ancient cultural group who developed in the lowland jungles of Mexico. They created a vast network of trade-connected cities, a complex written language, and had a remarkable understanding of astronomy. The Maya are characterized also by the exaltation of dynastic kings and ritual propitiation of gods. For a recent study on the ancient civilizations of Mexico, see Michael D. Coe, *Mexico: From the Olmecs to the Aztecs*, 4th ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 1994).

[28]Scott O'Dell, *The Feathered Serpent* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1981), 3.

Don Luis de Arroyo, established himself as a god of a nearby rival city.

An excavation project and the yearning to learn how to rule his people takes Julian to Tenochtitlan, and before long he becomes a witness to the grand encounter between Cortes and Montezuma. While retelling the story, O'Dell is able to depict the various peoples of ancient Mexico, Mayans and Aztecs, as compassionate peoples with a great understanding of the world. For instance, after killing two deer, Julian's Aztec porters conducted a traditional ceremony before preparing the animals. "It was an apology for the act of killing, made to the animals who were dead in the name of the living, honoring the law which decreed that all life was sacred, kin one to other—the leaves of the maguey, the deer, ourselves."[29] Through this description, O'Dell reveals the humanity of these peoples, previously depicted as barbarous and uncivilized. The Aztecs viewed in this new light, is for modern Mexicans, an image of their heritage they can be proud of. O'Dell refers to the omens of Montezuma to connect with the reader. Julian is asked to counsel the troubled Montezuma after he has received a strange omen, one of "the latest of many evils that have come to pass."[30] Julian is forced to join Cortes's army when he escapes Tenochtitlan. One of Montezuma's nobles, Tzapotlan, informs Julian that Montezuma believed Cortes to be Quetzalcoatl, clearly derived from the Aztec accounts.



Montezuma's Spirit Does Battle with Cortes. Rob Kidd, *Jack Sparrow: The Sword of Cortes* (New York: Disney Press, 2006), 73.

In his book, *Aztec Autumn* (1997), Gary Jennings develops a story one generation after the fall of Tenochtitlan. A defiant Aztec, Tenamaxtli, refuses to submit to Spanish rule and begins an insurrection in order to restore Aztec dominance. Tenamaxtli is motivated to salvage lost Aztec grandeur and threatens the powerful Spanish overlords. In telling this story Jennings includes the curiosity and confusion that resulted from the arrival of the Spanish. Jennings states, "we had heard the first startling news: that The One World had been invaded by pale-skinned and heavily bearded strangers. It was said that they come from across the Eastern Sea in huge houses that floated on the water and were propelled by immense birdlike wings."[31] He continues, "that the Feathered Serpent, the once-greatest of all monarchs, Quetzalcoatl of the Tolteca—he who eventually was worshipped as the greatest of gods—was described as having a very white skin and a bearded face."[32] What is it that this story accomplishes in retelling these myths and ultimately the defeat of the Aztecs? Tenamaxtli wages a war for years against the Spanish. Although he cannot recoup what has been lost in the old empire, he never gives up his freedom or identity. At the story's conclusion, he has his daughter, Veronica, write down the details of his life and struggles. Like modern Mexicans, he accepts what has passed and is proud of Mexico's new identity. Veronica is the embodiment of this new identity in that she is a mixture "of so many different bloods."[33] Tenamaxtli goes on to say, "I realize now—and I accept—I am even proud—that your lovely face, Veronica, is the new face of The One World. To you and to your sons and daughters and to The One World, I wish all good things."[34] This story of heroism and of tyrannical defiance therefore gives Mexicans a source to look to for

[29]Ibid., 116.
[30]Ibid., 141.
[31]Gary Jennings. *Aztec Autumn* (New York: Tom Doherty Associates, 1997), 13.
[32]Ibid., 13.
[33]Ibid., 377.
[34]Ibid.

inspiration as they reflect on the bravery of Aztecs like Tenamaxtli.

Fictional works retelling the prominent myths about the conquest of Mexico were created to gain the attention and interest of children. One such book is, *Jack Sparrow: The Sword of Cortes* (2006). Jack Sparrow is a teenage stowaway who discovers the lost sword of Cortes that is "imbued with godlike power."[35] After reciting an incantation to gain control of the powers of the sword, Jack is shocked to find that he brought back the spirit of the mighty Hernan Cortes. Jack's Mayan crewmate, Tumen, becomes ill when Cortes's spirit arrives, a recreation of the effects of European diseases on the Aztecs. Tumen informs Jack of Cortes's role in the destruction of the Aztecs and other peoples of Mesoamerica. Jack is sent on a mission to find a precious stone for Cortes and in return is promised to gain full power of the sword. However, Jack learns that Cortes has betrayed him. When Tumen dies, Jack is enraged and releases the forces within the sacred stone. Montezuma's spirit appears and engages Cortes in battle. Arabella, Jack's friend and crewmate, explains that Montezuma "was subordinate to Cortes, thinking the conquistador was the god Quetzalcoatl."[36] Using the myth of the returning god, author Rob Kidd is able to turn the defeat of Montezuma and the Aztecs into a story in which the spirits of the victims in this historically bloody clash are avenged. Mexicans can look to this story as a positive image of the Aztec emperor, no longer the superstitious subordinate of Cortes, but a mighty warrior king and a true symbol of Mexico.

Technology affects the way mythopoetic discourse evolves. Stories can now be retold through film, television, and video games, which appeal to all types and ages of people. The advantage that these forms of mythopoetic discourse have over literature is that they utilize visual images to capture an audience.

In 2006, Dream Works Films released, *The Road to El Dorado,* a story about two Spanish conmen, Miguel and Tulio, who gamble in order to win a map to mythic city of gold. Miguel and Tulio end up on one of Hernan Cortes's ships. Cortes is portrayed as a ruthless and intimidating conquistador bent on the complete takeover of the New World. When Cortes discovers Miguel and Tulio on the ship, they flee and locate El Dorado. The inhabitants of the golden city worship Miguel and Tulio as prophesized gods and the two Spanish friends embrace these roles as they sing "there again they are on their knees, being worshipped is a breeze...If they say that I am a god, then I am."[37]

> These details spark the imagination of people

Miguel and Tulio's original plan is to gather as much gold as possible and to travel back to Spain to live as rich men, but both characters, especially Miguel, become fond of the natives and the admiration they receive from them. Tzekel-Kan is a priest with evil intentions for the people of El Dorado. Seeking revenge against Miguel and Tulio for his banishment, Tzekel-Kan encounters Cortes and believes him to be the real returning god, he leads him to El Dorado. Miguel and Tulio, in defense of the populace of El Dorado, block the entrance to the city saving them from sure destruction. As a cartoon, *The Road to El Dorado,* introduces mainly young children to the history of ancient Mexico. At the same time, it depicts the population of El Dorado as understanding, civilized, colorful, and loyal, qualities, which modern Mexicans want the world to recognize regarding the Aztecs.

[35]Rob Kidd, *Jack Sparrow: The Sword of Cortes* (New York: Disney Press, 2006), 2.

[36]Ibid., 110.

[37]Eric Bergeron, dir., *The Road to El Dorado,* (Universal City, CA: DreamWorks, 2000).

In 1967, a television program titled *The Time Tunnel* aired an episode called the "Idol of Death." Two American scientists are lost in time and are sent to the year 1519 to witness the conquest of Mexico. Cortes is cited by one scientist as one of "the worst butchers in history."[38] He confronts Cortes at one point stating, "You will be responsible for the pillage of this country. Thousands of civilized Indians you call savages will die because of you."[39] The scientists are aided by some Aztecs in thwarting Cortes's plans of stealing an Aztec idol made of pure gold and from conquering Tenochtitlan. Cortes makes an immediate reference to the Aztecs prophetic beliefs when he claims, "these natives are a superstitious lot."[40] Later, the scientists escape the Spaniards with the help of a young Aztec man who asks "why did you not strike them down, are you not gods?"[41] One scientist replies, "we are not gods, and neither are they."[42] In a similar fashion to Gary Jenning's, *Aztec Autumn*, this story line employs a bold Aztec faced to do battle against an overwhelming enemy. The Spanish are depicted as ruthless killers who must be stopped, while the Aztecs are "civilized" and fighting to preserve their country. The Aztecs become the people of reason, a courageous group in the face of destruction. In this manner the discourse becomes a source of encouragement for modern Mexicans, and a source of satisfaction. The interpretive structure preserves the core history of the battle and the myths.

"Thousands of civilized Indians you call savages will die because of you."

In 2001, Microsoft released a PC game titled, *Age of Empires II: The Conquerors*. The game features several missions based on historical events. Players are required to build up armies in order to participate in campaigns to triumph over enemies. A popular mission, and source of mythopoetic discourse, is one in which the player controls the fate of the Aztecs. Every campaign follows important historical events, such as the founding of Tenochtitlan or the battles for control of the valley of Mexico. Each mission reveals an introductory storyline. As the player begins the Aztec campaign the story introduces the myths of Montezuma's omens and the return of Quetzalcoatl. The campaign narrator is the historical figure Cuauhtémoc, nephew of Montezuma and the last Aztec ruler, who "has become a symbol of valor, the cultural hero of Indian Mexico."[43] He asks this question to the one playing the game: "is this bearded stranger Quetzalcoatl" and "what do these prophesies mean?"[44]

The game provides the unique ability of allowing the player to both learn and change history. In the final missions of the game, the player must defend the city of Tenochtitlan against the Spanish invasion of Cortes. One of the most revered stories of the conquest of Mexico is the story of Cuauhtémoc. As the last Aztec ruler he fought valiantly until the Aztecs could no longer fend off the Spanish onslaught. The Aztecs, severely outnumbered, debilitated by starvation ("their only food was grass"),[45] and lacking clean water, continued to fight. It is fitting that those who play are able to take on the role of Cuauhtémoc, but in this story the Spanish can be defeated and the Aztec empire can be preserved. The stories regarding the myths are a captivating part of the battle for Tenochtitlan and have been included to increase the interest of the gamer on the subject. Inevitably the game familiarizes players with the

[38]"Idol of Death," *The Time Tunnel*, writ. Bob and Wanda Duncan, prod. Irwin Allen, Twentieth Century Fox Film Corporation, February 3, 1967

[39]Ibid., 15min:40sec.

[40]Ibid., 12min:14sec.

[41]Ibid., 13min.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Michael C. Meyer et al., *The Course of Mexican History*, 107.

[44]*Age of Empires II: The Conquerors (Expansion)*, computer game (Redmont, WA: Microsoft, 2001).

[45]Evans, *Ancient Mexico & Central America*, 540.

ancient history of Mexico, a history that Mexicans find valuable to their identities. The game in turn becomes a foundation for Mexican national and cultural pride.

Hans Blumenberg once stated that "[myth] is always anxious about what one might call integration; it abhors a vacuum...[its] stories are seldom localized in space, and never in time."[46] This is evidently true in regards to the conquest of Mexico. Retold stories aimed at the battle for Tenochtitlan have continued to include the myths of Montezuma's omens and the return of the god Quetzalcoatl. Why have these myths continued to be a part of the story? The battle for Tenochtitlan and the familiar myth stories that have come about are essential to each other. The tales go hand in hand and cannot be separated. Together, they have fascinated generations of people with Mexico and its pre-Columbian history. Mythopoetic discourse, through all of its variability or the "new and personal means of presenting"[47] myths, accomplishes the following: Continue to interest people in Aztec history, culture, and mythology, Change stories of tragedy into triumph, Convert the conquered into heroes, and Portray the Aztecs and other pre-Columbian groups as civilized, charming, and loyal. For all these specific reasons, mythopoetic discourse has turned the battle for Tenochtitlan into a source of Mexican national and cultural pride.

The Aztecs wrote the first accounts of the prophetic return of the god Quetzalcoatl. These legends became engrained to the tale, and although several variations have been completed, the basis of the story stayed the same. Upon examination of fictional pieces of literature, one can find common themes of heroism and revenge. Tenamaxtli, the brave and zealous Aztec in *Aztec Autumn*, is a clear example of how discourse is used to create epic heroes and characters that represent the greater qualities of the ancient peoples of Mexico. There is also an obvious reverence and new respect for the Aztec civilization in mythopoetic discourse. These themes continue on into the movie of, *El Dorado*, in which Miguel and Tulio come to understand the native culture they encounter in the New World. The two stranded scientists in "The Idol of Death," help the Aztecs defeat the conquistadors, recognizing from their knowledge of history the losses to the once glorious civilization. All of these sources give an optimistic view of the Aztecs; that their legacy has not been forgotten, nor their culture vanquished. Therefore modern Mexicans can look to this mythopoetic discourse with favor.

Jamake Highwater once stated that "[myths] constellate a society's grasp of reality. Whether we adhere to them or not, the myths at the foundation of our societies remain pervasively influential."[48] The same is true regarding the battle for Tenochtitlan. Authors like Joseph Campbell, Hans Blumenberg, Matthew Restall, and Jamake Highwater recognized the importance of mythopoetic discourse in history. However, myth and mythopoetic discourse are neglected topics with plenty of room for expansion. Interested scholars can look into how societies have changed myths over time, especially battle myths, to fit the needs of a people who may, for example need a sense of inspiration in the face of their own immanent modern catastrophe or battle. In the context of the Spanish conquest of Mexico, the myth of Spanish superiority and how it has been portrayed throughout time will be an interesting approach to the subject. As mentioned earlier in this essay, Restall claimed it as a "nexus of racist ideologies that underpinned colonial expansion."[49] It can be concluded that mythopoetic discourse is a much-needed field of research and a fresh topic that will surely gain the interest of many historians.

[46]Blumenberg, *Work on Myth*, 39.

[47]Ibid., 34.

[48]Jamake Highwater, *The Language of Vision: Meditations on Myth and Metaphor* (New York: Grove Press, 1994), 26.

[49]Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest*, xix.

Sendero Norteño: The Flight of an Elite Family from the Violence of Perú

T. Robert Przeklasa, Jr.

Violence often accompanies revolution. Whether in the First or Third Worlds, civil unrest remakes the social order and frequently leaves an excess of bodies in its wake. In Peru, a particularly violent rebellion broke out in the mountainous region of Ayacucho. Utilizing secondary sources and a unique oral history, **T. Robert Przeklasa** provides an insightful account of the violent revolution of *Sendero Luminoso*, the Marxist group that terrorized Peru during an ultimately unsuccessful revolution in the 1980s.



Incarcerated rebels painted this picture on the walls of their prison. Simon Strong, *Shining Path: Terror and Revolution in Peru* (New York: Random House, 1992).

"Someone from Huamanga has disappeared! At what time? About midnight, from her house, at the hour of deepest sleep, they have taken and kidnapped her."[1]

Thus mourns the lyricist Ranulfo Fuentes of the tragedy that rocked Peru during the 1980s and '90s. The 1980s started with promise for Peru; a new constitution restored democracy after decades of military rule, but a storm brewed high in the Andes.[2] In the town of Ayacucho, capital of the province of Huamanga, Professor Abimael Guzman taught his students not only the ABCs, but also of Mao, Lenin, and Stalin. Guzman's millennial war to bring about a communist revolution in Peru soon swept down from the high peaks and valleys and plunged the entire nation into chaos. Guzman and his group, Sendero Luminoso—the Shining Path—affected no other city more than this, his hometown. The people of Ayacucho remain scarred and scared to this day. Many have fled; rural Indians to the city, city peasants to the coast and capital, and upper class elites abroad to places such as Spain and the United States.

Sendero used intimidation, violence, and murder as its main tools for...political change.

This study will examine several secondary sources as well as an interview of an elite citizen of Ayacucho to reveal the level of violence and how it changed the lives of the its people forever. The elite victims of the violence in Peru are a subject that has yet to receive in-depth investigation. There are few, if any writings on this diaspora of the leading families of the Peruvian highlands—those who left centuries of family life behind to escape the Shining Path. In a personal interview, Edgar O. Medina describes his flight with his family to the United States to escape the violence despite a promising career and countless generations of family in the city. Mr. Medina provides a look into the daily lives of the residents of Ayacucho during the terror as well as more specific glimpses into the legal, academic, and governmental arenas. He also shares his outlook for the future of Peru, as well as his own commentary on the current political situation. This oral history offers the world, for the first time, the views and experiences of a leading citizen of the region worst hit by Sendero.

BEGINNINGS

The story of Sendero Luminoso and Mr. Medina both begin in the Andean city of Ayacucho, the town with the inauspicious name that means "corner of the dead"[3] in the native Quechua tongue. Mr. Medina's family had a long history of political involvement in the area and on the national level as well; his father served as mayor of Ayacucho from 1978 to 1980 and his great grandfather acted as the Minister of Agriculture.[4] Mr. Medina, an attorney and a professor at the National University of San Cristobal de Huamanga, also managed a national project involving some two thousand employees.[5] Similarly, Abimael Guzman, also a professor at San Cristobal, taught there at the same time Mr. Medina attended as a student. A radical Marxist, Guzman discovered a way to transmit his message of a peasant revolution along the lines of Mao by teaching it to his students in the College of Education, who took the message to the classrooms in the outlying villages.[6] Guzman found support in the College of Education, not only because of his position there, but also due

[1]Ranulfo Fuentes, "Huamanguino," in Orin Starn et al., eds., *The Peru Reader; History, Culture, Politics* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995), 369. Hereafter: Starn, *The Peru Reader.*

[2]Starn, *The Peru Reader*, 305.

[3]Vanessa Baird, "Return to Ayacucho." *New Internationalist*, 321 http://live.newint.org/ issue321/ keynote.htm.

[4]Edgar O. Medina, interview with the author, Anaheim, CA., 26 October 2006.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Ibid.

to its composition of poorer people left out of the other faculties.[7]

Edgar Medina lived a comfortable life in Ayacucho. "Professionally I was very successful...,"[8] he states. He worked as a professor, an attorney, a legal advisor for several banks, and served as secretary-director of a project for the national government. Mr. Medina went to the prestigious Leoncio Prado Military Academy of Vargas Llosa's Ciudad y los Perros fame and received his doctorate from San Cristobal in Ayacucho. The Medinas lived in a large, colonial house with twenty rooms and two patios in which his grandmother was born. The family also had a farm outside of town, which they maintain to this day, growing grapes to distill into pisco, Peru's national liquor. Ayacucho remained the type of town where generations were born in the same house, and maintained their family's way of life for future generations. "You know in Ayacucho was kind of that your father's born in that house, your grandfather was born in that house, your great grandfather... I don't know who was the first one, but at some point, it was expected that you had to be born there and your son had to be born in that house..."[9]



Military officers inspect the documents of people leaving the contested area. Simon Strong, *Shining Path: Terror and Revolution in Peru* (New York: Random House, 1992).

LA VIOLENCIA

Sendero Luminoso's revolution differed from every other revolution that occurred in Latin America during the 1980s for one main reason: sheer violence. Sendero used intimidation, violence, and murder as its main tools for furthering political change.[10] At some point, the violence reached the level where the Peruvian Government and other nations around the world—including the United States—labeled Sendero a terrorist organization.[11] Sendero's targets included key opposition factions or government 'oppressors,' and often innocent families, wiped out simply to show the ruthlessness and determination of the organization.[12]

The Medina family maintains the dubious distinction of being the first to feel the sting of Sendero. Mr. Medina's uncle, Benedicto Medina, marked the first casualty of Guzman and Sendero in 1980. He owned a farm outside of Ayacucho; Sendero killed him simply because of his landholdings, regardless of how he treated the peasants he employed. It soon came to be "that in these times in Ayacucho, if someone is considered a 'class enemy,' it's not necessary to take it personally,"[13] they were targets. After the funeral arrangements and a mourning period, Benedicto's son-in-law carried on his duties at the family farm until Sendero murdered him for the same reason. Only after the son's death did the local authorities begin to take the matter more seriously.[14] Thus began the vicious cycle of violence that engulfed Ayacucho and Peru for more than a decade, displacing and kill-

[7]Ibid.
[8]Ibid.
[9]Ibid.

[10]*State of Fear*, DVD, dir. by Pamela Yates (New York: Skylight Pictures, 2005).

[11]Division of Homeland Security, "Terrorist Organizations and Organizations Supporting Terrorism" Ohio Department of Public Safety, 20 July 2006, http://www.homelandsecurity.ohio.gov/ dma_terrorist/Terrorist_exclusion_list.pdf.

[12]John Simpson, *In the Forests of the Night* (New York: Random House, 1993), 78.

[13]Gustavo Gorriti, *The Shining Path: A History of the Millenarian War in Peru* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 242.

[14]Medina, interview



The guerillas used communist ideology and recent police actions to encourage membership in Sendero Luminoso. Simon Strong, *Shining Path: Terror and Revolution in Peru* (New York: Random House, 1992).

ing a still unknown number of people.

By 1982, the government in Lima declared the Department of Ayacucho an emergency zone; they suspended many rights and the military ruled with virtual impunity.[15] During the period of the emergency, everyone was in a difficult position; stuck between the military and Sendero, who pursued violent policies throughout the region. The military eventually became a force just as repressive and deadly as Sendero: "Attorneys didn't like to defend, you know, people from Sendero, because the military would disappear you. And, on the other side, if you don't defend, Sendero will target you," explained Mr. Medina. The brutal tactics of the military only added to the violence in the region. Guzman himself even said that the violent repression of a military dictatorship worked to his advantage in order to "irrigate the revolution."[16] As such, the military abuses played right into Sendero's hands and only furthered the violence. The military did not know how to deal with a complex civil rebellion the likes of that put on by Sendero; they were simply "trained to combat, to kill people."[17]

For the military, the situation proved a difficult one. Carlos Sanchez, a Peruvian marine sent to combat Sendero in the southern Sierra near Ayacucho,[18] expressed his confusion over his deployment into the mountains. After all, why send a sailor to the mountains? In the documentary *State of Fear*,[19] Carlos helps to shed some light on the bad position in which the military found themselves: "Even a ten year old child might be a terrorist," he explained. Suspicion surrounded everyone in the Sierra. In Lima, "'to be Ayacuchaño was to be guilty.'"[20] The military often committed brutal crimes during its war with Sendero in the Sierra; husbands killed with no cause, their wives brutally raped.[21] When the military came to Ayacucho, both soldier and campesino, colonel and Ayacuchaño, eyed each other uneasily.

As a professor and attorney, the University called upon Mr. Medina at various times to provide legal defense to students the government accused of being Senderists. These cases proved difficult to defend since the government often produced evidence in the form of propaganda fliers they claimed to have uncovered during raids on the students' houses. While working to build a de-

[15]Cynthia McClintock, *Revolutionary Movements in Latin America: El Salvador's FMLN and Peru's Shining Path* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 1998), 141.

[16]Daniel Masterson, *Militarism and Politics in Latin America* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 287.

[17]Medina, interview

[18]*State of Fear*, Yates.

[19]Ibid.

[20]William P. Mitchell, *Voices from the Global Margin* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006), 205.

[21]Raquel Martin de Mejia, "Women and Terror," in Starn, *The Peru Reader*, 351.

fense, Mr. Medina discovered that the military captured a shipment of propaganda fliers on a bus bound for Ayacucho. Unable to find the culprits behind the contraband, the military decided to keep the fliers, and planted them at will in the houses of people whom they wished to prosecute, regardless of their innocence or guilt.[22]

The violence continued to wreak havoc in Ayacucho and Peru. In 1989 alone, Sendero assassinated more than eighty mayors across the country,[23] including all three mayors of Ayacucho since Mr. Medina's father left office in 1980.[24] Sendero began to murder university professors they opposed. Mr. Medina recounts: "The last year I was in Peru I was professor at the university and there were probably twelve attorneys in the law faculty, and just that semester four professors from the law, four attorneys were killed. So it was that every week I went to the University for the meetings and there was one less, you know... one less."[25] One week he could not attend one of the meetings, only to return the next week to discover his election to dean of the College of Law by a frightened faculty unwilling to take on the high profile assignment themselves.[26]

> "Mr. President, this is not a game...you will be hung in the central plaza..."

Coupled with the dangers of being an attorney and the dean of the College of Law, letters appeared in the newspapers accusing Mr. Medina of being a Senderist. He received death threats. These death threats exhibited similarities to one slipped into the briefcase of a town president, which read: "Mr. President, this is not a game, because if you don't carry out our orders, you will be hung in the central plaza..."[27] Life proved hard and dangerous, with professors and their families killed. Bodies lay in the streets for extended periods due to fears of angering Sendero by removing their "warnings."[28] "Sometimes you don't know who killed, but your kids were leaving the school or somebody was, ba ba, were killed yeah, and just left in the street, got blood, you can't pick it up,"[29] explains Mr. Medina, "it was part of our daily life, we were pretty much accustomed..."[30]

UN SENDERO PARA NOSOTROS

Regardless of their acceptance of the situation, those not alligned with Sendero all knew the reality of their plight: that they could not prosper in this environment, let alone survive. Regardless of how routine it all became, it proved a dangerous place to raise a family. In 1992, when a judge friend informed Mr. Medina that the police had fabricated testimony against him, the noose suddenly felt very tight.[31] The family sought assistance from Amnesty International and fled to the United States for political asylum.[32] Few successfully fled to the United States; many others who tried faced rejection on technicalities or simply did not have the means to flee. One case of a refugee named Luis, who made it to New York, had his request for amnesty denied by a judge who cited a state department memo that went against his claim of persecution because of his political opinions. Sendero's "choice of victims does not appear to be the result of their personal political views. Rather, the Sendero uses force to intimidate and recruit, to coerce financial support and to retaliate against those inside and outside the government who are perceived as opposing its goals or undermining its support,"[33] claimed the memo.

[22]Ibid.

[23]McClintock, *Revolutionary Movements*, 294.

[24]Medina, interview

[25]Ibid.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Anonymous, "Death Threat," in Starn, *The Peru Reader*, 349.

[28]Gorriti, *The Shining Path*, 242.

[29]Medina, interview

[30]Ibid.

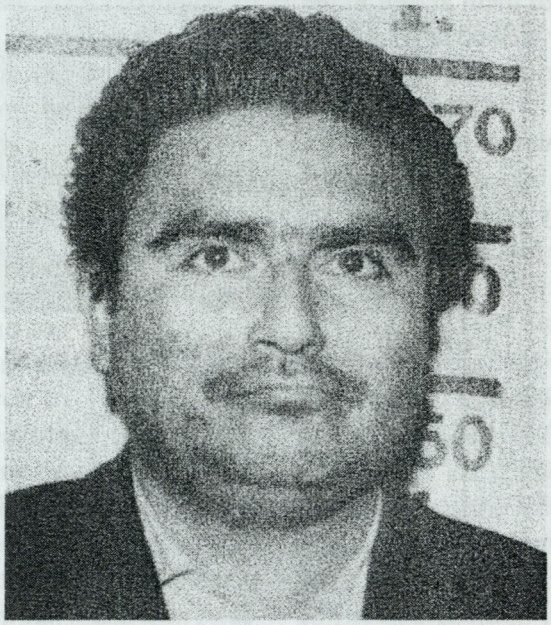
[31]Ibid.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Ted Conover, "The United States of Asylum," in Nicolaus Mills, ed., *Arguing Immigration; Are New Immigrants a Wealth of Diversity... or a Crushing Burden?* (Touchstone, NY: 1994), 188.

As such, Luis faces an uncertain future as appeals drag on, but he had the same goal as the Medinas: "I came here to escape the path."[34]

The Medinas fled alongside many others. According to Mr. Medina, the entirety of the old upper class that called Ayacucho home for nearly half a millennium fled.[35] The entire social structure that prevailed in the so-called 'cradle of liberty'[36] for centuries collapsed and disappeared. With respect to warfare against the upper class, Sendero can claim victory—it chased the elites out of Ayacucho, despite leaving the city with nothing in their stead. Many of the high-ranking military men, with whom Mr. Medina went to school in Lima, also fled the country. He relates that, "they left the country because they cannot endure even seeing people, you know. They killed people..."



Police took this photo of Abimael Guzman, leader of the Sendero Luminoso, shortly after his arrest. Simon Strong, *Shining Path: Terror and Revolution in Peru* (New York: Random House, 1992).

The period is immensely difficult for many to deal with to this very day. According to El Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación—The Truth and Reconciliation Commission instituted by the Peruvian government in June of 2001—the total death count from the war is in the neighborhood of 70,000 people.[37] During its investigation, the Commission contacted Mr. Medina in California to testify and share his experiences of the violence.[38] He declined to provide a statement, claiming that he felt others had more important testimony to contribute. Mr. Medina did have a point because seventy-nine percent of the victims lived in rural areas and seventy-five percent spoke Quechua.[39] "There were a lot of things I would like to say about what I saw during that years, acting my legal practice," he said, "but I didn't like to get involved in that..."

The war not only destroyed thousands of lives, but also devastated the department of Ayacucho and Peru as a whole economically. In the 1980s, the economy fell into ruin, and per capita GDP plunged to levels not seen since the 1950s.[40] Ayacucho also experienced a population explosion; swollen with rural refugees the sleepy town of some 80,000 people surged to a robust city of more than 250,000 today.[41] Ayacucho became a very different place since the war in other ways besides the population boom. Things never seen in the mountains of southern Peru exploded on to the scene in Ayacucho. Drug use and gangs plague the once-quiet city. Peasants traumatized by the two decades of violence fled to the city and gave Ayacucho one of the highest instances of alcoholism in Peru.[42] With the deaths of so many people, thousands of children became orphans

[34]Ibid., 188.

[35]Medina, interview

[36]As the site of the final victory over the Spanish during the wars for independence, Ayacucho is known as the cradle of liberty in Peru.

[37]Barbara J. Fraser, "Report Says 70,000 Dead or Disappeared in Peru," *National Catholic Reporter* 19 September 2003 http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1141/is_40_39/ai_108551868.

[38]Medina, interview

[39]Fraser, "Report Says."

[40]Efrain Gonzalez de Olarte, "Peru's Difficult Road to Economic Development" in Joseph Tulchin and Gary Bland, eds., *Peru in Crisis: Dictatorship or Democracy?* (Lynne Rienner, Boulder, CO: 1994), 157.

[41]Medina, interview

[42]Ibid.

who, now grown, infest the streets of Ayacucho in gangs known as pandillas.[43]

There is hope for Ayacucho, however. Though at the beginning of the war "Ayacucho was in deplorable shape... because the government has never helped there,"[44] investment is coming into the area from private investors as well as the Peruvian government.[45] Mr. Medina himself employs about ten to fifteen people on his farm outside of the city, producing pisco, and plans to turn his old home—which he still owns—into a hotel to help bring employment to some people and entice tourists to visit the historic colonial city.[46]

¿UN FUTURO LUMINOSO?

Despite his efforts, Mr. Medina sees no improvement on the horizon for his homeland. "No! It will not improve," he asserts. Indeed, "the years of terror are over, but the affects are not."[47] Peru has yet to deal with the root causes that pushed many into the arms of Sendero, let alone the decades of horror unleashed upon the country. Despite Guzman's capture in 1992—which effectively stopped Sendero—Peru's new president, Alberto Fujimori, continued to play up the threat of terrorism.[48]

Recently, the dictator Fujimori fled to Japan, and Alan Garcia, president during the late '80s returned to power. "Garcia should be in jail," Mr. Medina stated in no uncertain terms. Allegations of massacres of both Senderist prisoners and innocent peasants orchestrated by Garcia in his first term are still under investigation.[49] Garcia also left the country with staggering hyperinflation and crippling poverty that only leads more into Sendero's pull, yet he earned re-election to the nation's highest post.

"Things will not improve. But, anyway, you always have hope," states Mr. Medina.[50] As for what lies in Peru's path for the future, one cannot be sure. Although some small roaming bands of Sendero still lurk in the mountains of Ayacucho, the capture of Guzman effectively snuffed the movement.[51] The Puka Inti[52]— red sun in Quechua—has set and Peruvians hope for a better tomorrow with the new sunrise, as Ranulfo Fuentes concludes his Huamanguiño: "Soon she will return; she will come back like rain for the crops to make the seeds sprout, like the sun at dawn that makes the flowers bloom."

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[43]Vanessa Baird, "Where Are They Now?" *New Internationalist*, 321 (2000) http://www.newint.org/issue321/where.htm.

[44]'Pancho,' "Vietnam in the Andes," in Starn, *The Peru Reader*, 342.

[45]Medina, interview

[46]Ibid.

[47]*State of Fear*, Yates.

[48]Ibid.

[49]Enrique Obando, "Civil-Military Relations," in Steve J. Stern, ed., *Shining and Other Paths* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998), 390.

[50]Medina, interview

[51]Baird, "Where Are They Now?."

[52]Guzman's followers referred to him as *Puka Inti*, the Red Sun.

The 1953 Coup D' état: The Catalyst of Anti-American Sentiment in Iran

Michael Matini

The U.S. engineered coup in Iran resulted in lasting negative effects. As a product of failed negotiations between Iran and Great Britain over the nationalization of the oil industry, the British Secret Service recruited the CIA to help remove Mohammed Mossadegh from power. **Michael Matini** examines the events surrounding the coup which fostered anti-American sentiment among many Iranians for removing the popular and highly regarded leader. If the U.S. encouraged a more equitable compromise between Iran and Britain, Michael argues for the possibility of stronger U.S.-Iranian relations.



President Harry Truman shaking hands with Mohammed Mossadegh during a 1952 visit to America Stephen Kinzer, *All the Shah's Men: An American Coup and the Roots of Middle East Terror* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley), photographs follow page 114.

In Tehran, Iran, the dog days of summer 1953 resonated in a torrid fashion on 16 August, when the United States sponsored a coup d'état against Iranian Prime Minister Dr. Mohammed Mossadegh. The coup led by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was the culmination of a two-year struggle between Great Britain and Iran over Mossadegh's decision to nationalize the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC) in 1951. It also marked the first time the United States sponsored a coup to overthrow a foreign government and established a precedent for future U.S.-led covert operations, such as the 1954 coup against President Jacabo Arbenz of Guatemala, and the 1973 coup against President Salvadore Alliende of Chile.[1] If the United States encouraged a more equitable compromise between Iran and Great Britain, Iran may have possibly emerged as a stable American ally, rather than resulting in an era of anti-American sentiment.

> [C]onflicting views between Great Britain and Iran helped foster an anti-foreign sentiment.

The coup marked a pivotal moment in the history of U.S.-Iranian relations because the overthrow of Mossadegh revealed a sudden and swift change in the political structure in Iran. Middle Eastern historians Mark J. Gasiorowski and Ervand Abrahamian described how for a few decades the coup against Mossadegh proved effective in promoting stability in Iran; however, this solution proved ephemeral due to an increase in Iranian animosity toward the United States. The roots of Iranian hostility were not only planted by the role the U.S. played in helping to overthrow the beloved and popular prime minister, but also because of the Shah's subsequent policy to Westernize Iran. The rise of the Ayatollah Khomeini in 1963, the 1979 Iranian Revolution, and present U.S.-Iranian tensions are a testament to Iran's disenchantment with the United States.

Mossadegh became the first and only popularly appointed prime minister in Iranian history. Born in 1882 to a wealthy and influential *divani* family, Mossadegh's father, Mirza Hedayat Ashtiani, served in the Qajar government as minister of the budget until his 1895 death.[2] His mother, Malektadj Firouz, maintained influence in her relation to the ruling Qajar dynasty.[3] After earning his doctorate in law, Mossadegh embarked on a life of public service, where he gained a reputation for being a liberal democrat who expressed nationalist sentiment regarding Iran's public policy.[4] His charisma, genuine sense of humanity, and stance on nationalism made him extremely influential; and his speeches helped provoke national demonstrations and marches for Iranian sovereignty.[5] The key to success in Iran, Mossadegh believed, was through modernization and nation building.[6] Modernization, according to him was the vital element to establish and preserve independence and realize Iran's national destiny.[7] Many regarded Mossadegh as a man of profound compassion due to his frequent display of emotion when he reflected on the plight of his fellow Iranians.[8] During public

[1]Mark J. Gasiorowski, "The 1953 Coup D'état in Iran," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 19, no. 3 (August 1987): 261.

[2]Farhad Diba, *Mossadegh: A Political Biography* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), 3.

[3]Ibid., 3. According to Iran historian Dr. Nikki R. Keddie, the Qajar dynasty lasted from 1796 through 1925, and the Qajar period consisted of cultural and artistic contributions, as well as important popular movements. The Qajar era was also "a key transitional period between pre-modern Iranian culture and society and Iran's modern development." Nikki R. Keddie, *Qajar Iran and the Rise of Reza Khan: 1796-1925* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 1999), 1.

[4]Gasiorowski, "The 1953 Coup," 262.

[5]James Defronzo, *Revolutions and Revolutionary Movements*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, MA: Westview, 2007), 283.

[6]James L. Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East: A History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 278.

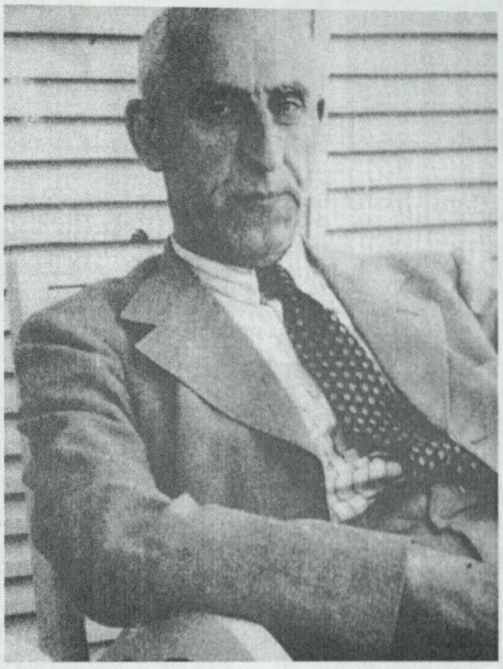
[7]Ibid., 279.

[8]Mary Ann Heiss, "Culture Clash: Gender, Oil, and Iranian Nationalism," in *Major Problems in American Foreign Relations: Since 1914*, vol. II, Dennis Merrill and Thomas G. Paterson, eds. (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2005), 344.

appearances and in private meetings, the prime minister often became "teary eyed" when he felt the "evil" Anglo-Iranian Oil Company brought suffering upon the Iranian people.[9]

BRITISH INFLUENCE IN IRAN

For over a century, Iran experienced foreign intervention in its national affairs. Great Britain exercised influence in Iran since 1890, when Iran provided them a monopoly on the purchase, sale, and export of tobacco in the country.[10] Since the late nineteenth century, Iran suffered through the Tobacco Rebellion of 1891, the Constitutional Revolution of 1905, and the Anglo-Persian Treaty of 1919, which empowered Great Britain to serve as a protectorate of Iran.[11] In 1909, Great Britain formed the AIOC in Abadan, Iran, and in a 1933 agreement, the Shah granted the British exclusive rights to explore and exploit the oil of southern Iran, and allowed Great Britain to control 52 percent of the stock in the AIOC.[12]



Prime Minister Mossadegh in 1951. Farhad Diba, *Mossadegh: A Political Biography* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), front cover.

By the late 1940s, Great Britain's influence in Iran increased due to its control over Iran's oil industry. Their accumulation of power enabled them to help the Shah, and in exchange for British assistance, the Shah agreed to decline any attempts to negotiate or nationalize the AIOC concession.[13] Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi described in his memoirs that nationalism is not equated with sitting on the fence, or "non-alignment"; instead, nationalism meant "we make any agreement which is in our own interest, regardless of the wishes or policies of others."[14] He believed British control of the AIOC benefited Iran's economy because British-Iranian commerce, along with British petrodollars, contributed a large portion of oil revenue for Iran to maintain its affairs of state. The AIOC from 1949 through 1950 not only possessed the largest refinery in the world, but the refinery also ranked second in exporting crude petroleum due to its substantial oil reserves.[15] As Great Britain's influence continued to grow exponentially in Iran, a large Iranian faction emerged advocating nationalizing Iran's oil industry.

More than twenty years after the Anglo-Persian treaty, and with the world embroiled in the Second World War, Iran became a focal point for Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States. Iran's strategic location in the Near East and its seemingly unlimited supply of oil led Great Britain and the Soviet Union to divide Iran into two virtual spheres of influence. The Soviets exercised influence in the Northern region, while the British occupied the South. The British also installed Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, the son of the recently exiled Shah, as the newly appointed Shah to head

[9]Ibid.

[10]Nikki R. Keddie, "Iranian Revolutions in Comparative Perspective," *American Historical Review* 8, (June 1983): 584.

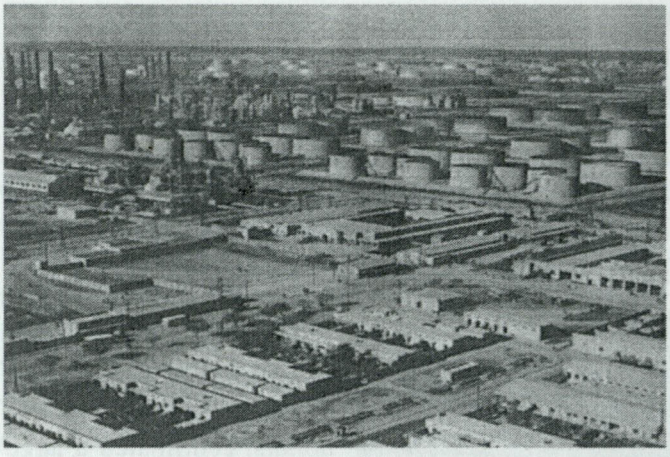
[11]Nikki R. Keddie, "The Iranian Power Structure and Social Change 1800-1969: An Overview," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 2, (January 1971): 9.

[12]Dwight D. Eisenhower, *The White House Years: Mandate For Change 1953-1956* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1963), 159.

[13]Gasiorowski, "The 1953 Coup," 262.

[14]Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlavi, *Mission for My Country* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961), 125.

[15]Ervand Abrahamian, "The Coup in Iran," *Science and Society* 65, (Summer 2001): 185.



The oil refinery complex at Abadan was Great Britain's largest overseas commercial operation at the time. Mark J. Gasiorowski and Malcolm Byrne, *Mohammad Mossaddeq and the 1953 Coup in Iran* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2004), 181.

the new puppet government in Iran.[16] Mohammed Reza Pahlavi rose to power in 1941 and during his thirty-eight year reign, the young Shah not only relied on U.S. assistance and advice, but also became an ardent anti-communist and a staunch American ally.[17] In an effort to protect the Middle East from communist expansion, the United States government in 1946 provided economic and military aid to the Shah. They also warned the Soviet Union that they intended to guarantee Iran's independence by military force if necessary.[18] During the late 1940s, the United States possessed a monopoly on atomic weapons and used its military supremacy to establish American credibility. In view of America's formidable military power, the Soviets acquiesced and withdrew from the Northern region of Iran late in 1946.

In 1949, the AIOC announced a new oil agreement with Iran, and the Shah tried to rig the 16th Majlis parliamentary elections to solidify this agreement.[19] The AIOC considered Iran's new oil agreement favorable, because it required them to pay only 25 to 30 percent of its net profits to the Iranian government.[20] Many Iranians deemed this contract unacceptable and considered the increase in oil revenue insufficient to provide economic growth in Iran. However, the AIOC argued that Iran benefited from the creation of 75,000 jobs, more than 70,000 of which were reserved for Iranians, and the company "provided 'people with such amenities as swimming pools,' and converted 'deserts into flourishing towns.'"[21] These conflicting views between Great Britain and Iran helped foster an anti-foreign sentiment among the leaders of the National Front of Iran. Created on 23 October 1949, the National Front movement comprised representatives from the Bazaar's Committee of the Guilds, the Iran Party, and the Baqa'i's Action Group for the Freedom of Elections.[22] They played an important role in determining foreign policy in Iran.

THE OIL CRISIS 1951-3

In 1951, stability in Iran steadily declined because of Iranian disenchantment with Great Britain's increased influence. In response to Britain's escalation of power in Iran, high-ranking Iranians, such as Prime Minister Ali Razmara, Mohammed Mossadegh, and members of the Majlis called for the nationalization of the AIOC. On 7 March 1951, an assassin's bullet struck and killed

[16]Alexander Moens, "President Carter's Advisors and the Fall of the Shah," *Political Science Quarterly* 106, (Summer 1991): 212.

[17]Thomas G. Paterson, et al., *American Foreign Relations: A History Since 1895*, vol. II (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2005), 409.

[18]Moens, "President Carter's Advisors," 213.

[19]Gasiorowski, "The 1953 Coup," 262.

[20]Eisenhower, *Mandate for Change*, 159.

[21]Abrahamian, "The 1953 Coup," 185.

[22]Homa Katouzian, "Mossadegh's Government in Iranian History: Arbitrary Rule, Democracy, and the 1953 Coup," in *Mohammad Mossaddeq and the 1953 Coup in Iran*, ed Mark J. Gasiorowski and Malcolm Byrne, eds. (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2004), 74.

Razmara after he attended a funeral service at a mosque in Tehran.[23] Razamara's assassination led to increased rioting in Iran. As a means to quell unrest and eliminate British control of Iran's oil industry, the leaders in the Iranian Parliament and the National Front coalition advocated a measure to take control of the AIOC.[24] In March 1951, the Iranian Parliament voted 70 to 12 in favor of nationalization and demanded that the Shah name Mohammed Mossadegh as its new Premier and leader of the National Front.[25]

On 29 April 1951 the Shah, out of concern over a potential nationalist revolt against foreign intervention, appointed Mossadegh as prime minister.[26] Mossadegh, along with the leaders of the Muslim clergy and the Tudeh Party, chose not to ratify the 1949 agreement, and he nationalized Iran's oil industry on 2 May 1951.[27] In the 7 January 1952 edition of *Time* magazine, Mossadegh became "Man of the Year" for 1951; chosen over influential men, such as President Harry S. Truman, Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and General Douglas MacArthur, not only because of his colossal rise to power, but because his nationalization of the Iranian oil industry captured the world's attention.[28] The article labeled Mossadegh as an "appalling caricature of a statesman" prone to cry or faint over issues related to the Iranian people.[29] Despite Mossadegh's "grotesque antics," America's primary concern remained the possibility of war in Iran, which would destroy the opportunity for peace and progress in the Middle East.[30] The oil crisis prompted Truman to send Mossadegh a letter on 1 June 1951, where he expressed concern about the oil dispute in Iran. Truman advocated a peaceful settlement to the conflict and expressed hope that "a solution be found which will satisfy the desires of the Iranian people for nationalization."[31] The president also emphasized that the United States considered both Iran and Great Britain close allies, and stressed the importance of exporting Iranian oil into the economies of all free nations in the world.[32]

> The British... developed a "three-track strategy" to reestablish control

Mossadegh sincerely believed nationalizing the AIOC was a panacea for Iran in its goal to achieve complete oil independence. He advocated that Iranian control of its oil capital provided the best solution to improve the Iranian economy and accomplishing a lasting democratic government in Iran.[33] In response to Truman's letter, Mossadegh responded on 11 June 1951, to defend his policy of nationalizing the AIOC and stressed the Iranian people suffered from "terrible poverty" because of British exploitation of the AIOC, and nationalizing the oil industry would enable Iran to "utilize the natural wealth of their country."[34] Mossadegh also asserted that Iranian control of the AIOC better served the consumer countries of the world since he pledged to continue oil production as a means of helping meet the industrial needs of non-Middle Eastern nations.[35]

[23]Ibid., 83.

[24]Defronzo, *Revolutions and Revolutionary Movements*, 283.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Gary Sick, *All Fall Down: America's Tragic Encounter with Iran* (New York: Random House, 1985), 6.

[27]Eisenhower, *Mandate for Change*, 159.

[28]"Man of the Year Challenge of the East," *Time*, 7 January 1952, 20.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Ibid., 18.

[31]Harry Truman to Prime Minister Mossadegh, Washington, 1 June, 1951, U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States: 1952-1954, X, Iran*, 1951 [hereafter *FRUS*] (Washington, DC: GPO, 1989), 1: 61.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Katouzian, "Mossadegh's Government in Iranian History," 2.

[34]Mohammed Mossadegh to Harry Truman, Tehran, 11 June, 1951, in *Major Problems in American Foreign Relations: Since 1914*, vol. II, Dennis Merrill and Thomas G. Paterson, eds. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2005), 329.

[35]Ibid., 330.

As evidenced in Mossadegh's letter to Truman, the new Prime Minister had two immediate goals for promoting autonomy in Iran. His first goal was to resolve the Anglo-Iranian oil dispute in an effort to promote peace and stability in Iran, and his other goal centered on revitalizing Iran's economy for all Iranians and thus achieving a democratic government.[36] In this spirit, Mossadegh believed removing the British from Iran and declaring national sovereignty the primary method to achieving these goals. The British, angered over the nationalization law, developed a "three-track strategy" to reestablish British control over Iran's oil.[37] The first point of this strategy began by enlisting the International Court of Justice to help negotiate a deal, in which the British proposed a fifty-fifty profit-sharing agreement. In conjunction with the profit-sharing plan, the British agreed to recognize the nationalization of Iran; however, Mossadegh rejected this proposal.[38]

The United States... served as mediator.

A second element in the British strategy imposed an embargo against Iran.[39] Therefore, in October 1951, the British shut down the AIOC, the world's largest refinery during the early 1950s.[40] Their decision facilitated the emergence of the Iranian Oil Crisis since suspending work at the AIOC resulted in an absence of oil flowing through the large southern Iranian pipelines to the Abadan refinery.[41] The subsequent decline in oil production resulted in Iran's inability to transport petroleum to the tankers in the Persian Gulf and ship crude oil to homes and factories in the West.[42] Great Britain also imposed an embargo on iron, steel, sugar, and oil processing equipment, leading to a major economic downturn in Iran.[43] Finally, the third piece in the triangulation of Britain's "three-track strategy" involved removing Mossadegh from power.[44]

DIPLOMATIC ATTEMPTS

In response to the economic embargo, Mossadegh wrote to a British diplomat defending his decision to nationalize the AIOC. Mossadegh's letter asserted, "the British Government established a dictatorial regime in Iran for the sole purpose of safeguarding its illegitimate interests ... while endangering our political integrity and independence."[45] He further stated that "industries are nationalized ... to remove private profiteering and to pass on the proceeds of nationalization ... to the public treasury."[46] The U.S. State Department recognized Mossadegh's concern and tried to persuade the British to give Iran a "better deal" as a means to prevent further turmoil in Iran.[47]

In Mossadegh's 11 June 1951, letter to Truman, he pointed out that Iran, unlike the European nations devastated by the Second World War, did not receive economic aid from the United States. The prime minister defended his view by reminding Truman of the significant contributions Iran made to America and its allies during the Second World War. For example, Iran, according to Mossadegh, played the important roles of providing food to American soldiers and transporting ammunition to the Allied Powers in the European theater of operations.[48] His argument showed Iran's worthiness of monetary assistance, as much as the war

[36]N. Marbury Efimenco, "An Experiment with Civilian Dictatorship in Iran: The Case of Mohammed Mossadegh," *Journal of Politics* 17, (August 1955): 391-2.

[37]Gasiorowski, "The 1953 Coup," 262.

[38]Ibid.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Eisenhower, *Mandate for Change*, 159.

[41]Ibid., 160.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Gasiorowkski, "The 1953 Coup," 263.

[44]Ibid.

[45]Mohammed Mossadegh to British Diplomat, Tehran, November, 1952, in "Muhammad Mossadeq, Nationalizing Iranian Oil (1952)," Marvin Gettleman and Stuart Scharr, eds., *The Middle East and Islamic World Reader* (New York: Grove Press, 2003), 254-5.

[46]Ibid.

[47]"Man of the Year," 20.

[48]Mossadegh to Truman, 11 June 1951, *FRUS: 1951*, I, 329.



From left: John Foster Dulles, Winston Churchill, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and Anthony Eden during a summit meeting in Washington. Mark J. Gasiorowski and Malcolm Byrne, *Mohammad Mossaddeq and the 1953 Coup in Iran* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2004), 159.

torn nations of Western Europe, and American aid would perhaps improve Iran's economy.[49] Mossadegh referred to the European Recovery Program, more commonly known as the Marshall Plan, in which the United States provided thirteen billion in economic aid to rebuild the democratic nations of Western Europe devastated by the war. The Marshall Plan provided the essential economic aid to restore Europe's economy; American assistance also helped end starvation, increased U.S.-European trade, and precluded communist expansion in Western Europe. In a meeting with U.S. ambassador to Iran, Loy Henderson, Mossadegh reflected his sentiment about Iran's need for U.S. monetary assistance. Henderson discussed how Mossadegh claimed that the United States provided Turkey with a "billion dollars" and ignored Iran, which was on the verge of bankruptcy and vulnerable to communist subversion.[50]

Mossadegh, in his conversation with Henderson, alluded to Truman's 1947 call for aid to Greece and Turkey. The U.S. sponsored Greek-Turkish aid program provided $400 billion in economic aid to Greece and Turkey. Truman in his address to Congress stated, "if Greece should fall under the control of an armed minority, the effect upon its neighbor Turkey would be immediate and serious."[51] Truman became very concerned that "confusion and disorder would spread throughout the Middle East."[52] Similar to the Marshall Plan, the Greek-Turkish aid program helped promote economic growth and stability to prevent the spread of communism.

In view of the success of America's economic assistance programs in Europe during the late 1940s, assistance to Iran could perhaps improved Iran's agricultural industry and improved agricultural yields for Iranian farmers. Monetary aid would perhaps provide technological advancement in Iran's oil exploration endeavors, and assist them in tapping into those reserves more efficiently. Moreover, with Iran's economy restored, trade and commerce between the United States and Iran may have also contributed to America's

[49]Ibid., 329.

[50]The Ambassador to Iran (Henderson), to the U.S. Department of State, Telegram, Tehran, 28 July 1952, *FRUS: 1952*, 1, 419.

[51]Special Message to the Congress on Greece and Turkey: The Truman Doctrine, 12 March 1947, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Harry S. Truman, 1947* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1961), 179.

[52]Ibid.



An anti-Shah crowd tore down a statue of Reza Shah between 17 and 18 August 1953. Mark J. Gasiorowski and Malcolm Byrne, *Mohammad Mossaddeq and the 1953 Coup in Iran* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2004), 119.

economic strength, with increased factory orders and revenue for American goods sold to Iran. Similar to Greece, Turkey, and Western Europe, Iran came dangerously close to communist subversion during the early 1950s. Furthermore, the AIOC provided insufficient revenue for the Iranian government which greatly hindered their economy.

The United States during the early period of the oil crisis served as a mediator to help alleviate British-Iranian tensions in two areas. First, the U.S. recognized Iran's desire to nationalize and its desire for more political autonomy. Second, Britain was America's most important ally; however, the U.S. became concerned that Britain's behavior during the oil crisis did not follow the conventional wisdom of the day.[53] For instance, British foreign minister Anthony Eden emphasized the British felt tempted to intervene and reclaim Britain's "stolen property" because the "fate of the largest oil refinery in the world was at stake."[54] Eden attempted to force a resolution to resolve the oil dispute, by deploying ground forces and a naval cruiser in the vicinity of the Abadan refinery.[55] Britain depended on Iranian oil from the Abadan refinery because England lacked petroleum of its own and it served as a vital element in contributing to Great Britain's industrial output and fueled the British Navy. In response to Great Britain's military deployment in Iran, the United States pressured the British to stand down.[56]

Achieving a peaceful resolution to the oil crisis in Iran became the primary goal of the United States. Turmoil in Iran potentially established external Soviet influence or internal strife from the Tudeh Communist Party that concerned the Truman administration. According to a study prepared by the National Security Council (NSC), if Iran succumbed to Soviet domination, the independence of other Middle Eastern nations might be placed in serious jeopardy.[57] They emphasized that Iran needed to remain an independent nation allied with the free world, due to Iran's abundant

[53]George Lenczowski, "United States' Support for Iran's Independence and Integrity: 1945-1959," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 401 (May 1972): 52.

[54]Anthony Eden, *Full Circle: The Memoirs of Anthony Eden* (Cambridge, MA: Riverside Press, 1960), 216.

[55]Ibid.

[56]Ibid., 217.

[57]NSC-107 Series, "Study Prepared by the Staff of the National Security Council," Washington, DC, *FRUS*, 1: 11.

petroleum resources and geographic position in the Middle East.[58]

The NSC also believed the "free world" ran the risk of losing access to Iranian oil, and perhaps all Middle Eastern oil, unless Soviet expansion in the Middle East ceased.[59] However, Great Britain had a different approach. The British opposed Iranian control of the AIOC, because they felt Iran might influence oil prices on the global market by keeping oil underground for future generations, and Iran would sell only the amount of petroleum needed to purchase essential goods.[60] Eden feared if Mossadegh's nationalization policy succeeded, the oil industry in the Middle East would decline to an unacceptable level and prevent any material progress in Iran.

In the final years of the Truman administration, the CIA promoted an anti-communist propaganda campaign in an effort to preclude the spread of Soviet expansion in Iran and to stem the rise of the Tudeh Party.[61] The Tudeh, a pro-Soviet communist party in Iran, composed of twenty thousand members,[62] was outlawed during the late 1940s due to their participation in a failed assassination attempt against the Shah. However, they reorganized and became an effective organization during the period of the oil crisis.[63] During Mossadegh's reign, the CIA implemented a propaganda machine codenamed "BEDAMN" to weaken the National Front by undermining its mass base, which consisted of organizations, such as the Toilers and Pan-Iranist parties.[64] Anti-Mossadegh propaganda vilified the prime minister as a person who epitomized vulgarity, immorality, and corruption.[65] This use of propaganda demonstrates the effective element in how the United States conducted the coup.

> Mossadegh repeatedly rejected offers of a compromise

THE EISENHOWER YEARS

The Iranian oil crisis confronted newly elected U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower early in his administration. During a 5 March 1953 presidential news conference, James B. Reston of the *New York Times* asked the president if he regarded the activities of the Tudeh in Iran as an "internal situation." Eisenhower replied his administration might not consider the activities of the Tudeh as internal, but stressed that "in any country where a Communist Party is recognized, for them it is an internal situation."[66] Eisenhower further elaborated that the U.S. would "greatly resent anyone coming in America from the outside and telling us what we should do about communists; we think we know, or that would be our attitude."[67] His statement seemed contradictory, because the United States government involved itself in Iran's affairs by ordering the CIA to overthrow Mossadegh due to the belief that he worked with the Tudeh Party.

To help alleviate the disastrous effects of the oil crisis, Mossadegh corresponded with Eisenhower in an effort to request American economic assistance for Iran. In a letter dated 28 May 1953, the prime minister stated that the "century-old imperialistic policies" of the British reduced the standard of living for the Iranian people.[68] Mossadegh emphasized the imperativeness of American

[58]NSC-107/2, "Statement of Policy Proposed by the National Security Council," Washington, DC, 27 June 1951, *FRUS*, 1951, 1: 71-72.

[59]Ibid., 72.

[60]Abrahamian, "The Coup in Iran," 188.

[61]Gasiorowski, "The 1953 Coup," 268.

[62]Maziar Behrooz, "Tudeh Factionalism and the 1953 Coup in Iran," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 33, (August 2001): 363-4.

[63]Ibid., 364.

[64]Ibid., 269.

[65]Gasiorowski, "The 1953 Coup," 268.

[66]Eisenhower News Conference, 5 March 1953, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1953*, [Hereafter *PPP:D.D.E.*, Year] (Washington, DC: GPO, 1960), 80-1.

[67]Ibid., 81.

[68]Mohammed Mossadegh to Dwight D. Eisenhower, Tehran, 28 May 1953, *PPP:D.D.E, 1953, 486.*

assistance in providing Iran extensive programs of development and rehabilitation in order to harness their natural resources.[69] Eisenhower replied to Mossadegh's plea by stressing the need for an agreement between Iran and Great Britain. The budget conscious Eisenhower administration did not believe American taxpayers should subsidize economic aid to Iran when Iran had access to funds derived from the sale of its oil and oil products under a reasonable agreement.[70]

Mossadegh repeatedly rejected offers of a compromise with regard to the issue of nationalization, including the proposal to "accept a consortium" of oil companies where oil could be purchased from Iran's nationalized industry.[71] In the midst of Iran's sharp economic downturn, Mossadegh lost support from Iranians in both religious and nationalist groups. He appealed to Eisenhower to convince Great Britain to end the embargo against them and requested monetary assistance to help Iran utilize its non-oil resources. The president again disregarded the prime minister's pleas and insisted that Iran reach an agreement with the British.

The CIA codenamed the covert operation 'AJAX.'

THE 1953 COUP

After two years of the British-Iranian conflict, and Mossadegh's refusal to accept a compromise, the British government believed political and economic instability made Iran vulnerable to communist influence. Mossadegh "warned American officials that unless they aided him, Iran might fall to the Communists," and due to passive leadership, the prime minister allowed the Communist Party to gain strength in Iran.[72] Eisenhower's memoirs echo this same theme as he described how one report stated Mossadegh hoped to receive twenty million dollars from the Soviet Union, and the Tudeh increased its support for the prime minister.[73] In view of these claims, Eisenhower expressed his concern to Churchill that Iran might succumb to Soviet influence. The president confided in Churchill about the "hopeless" situation and they faced the probability that Iran could become a "potential disaster for the Western world."[74] With the British-Iranian conflict in its third year and stability in Iran more precarious, the leaders of Great Britain and the United Sates decided to respond to this crisis in a decisive, if not ill-fated, fashion.

In the weeks that followed Eisenhower's inauguration on 20 January 1953 Eden visited the president in Washington, DC. During a 6 March 1953, White House meeting, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles described the situation in Iran as extremely dangerous and unpredictable.[75] Dulles believed the U.S. needed to possess a considerable measure of discretion to resolve the issue.[76] Eden proposed that the British Secret Service and the CIA overthrow Mossadegh.[77] Eisenhower agreed with Eden's proposal not only because he considered Great Britain an important American ally, but the president wanted to prevent the nations of the underdeveloped world from falling under Soviet control.[78] The Abadan refinery, in conjunction with the AIOC's Iranian operation, served as a symbol of Great Britain's power in the Middle East putting British prestige at stake.[79] The Brit-

[69]Ibid.

[70]Dwight D. Eisenhower to Mohammed Mossadegh, Washington, D.C., 29 June 1953, *PPP:D.D.E. 1953*, 483.

[71]Eisenhower, *Mandate for Change*, 161.

[72]Pahlavi, *Mission for my Country*, 98.

[73]Eisenhower, *Mandate for Change*, 163.

[74]Dwight D. Eisenhower to Winston Churchill, Washington, 8 May, 1953, in *The Churchill-Eisenhower Correspondence, 1953-1955*, ed. Peter G. Boyle (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 53.

[75]Dulles Memorandum, 6 March 1953, U.S. Department of State. *FRUS: 1952-1954, VI Western Europe and Canada,* 1953 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1986), 1: 918.

[76]Ibid.

[77]Stephen E. Ambrose, *Eisenhower Soldier and President* (New York: Touchtone, 1990), 332.

[78]Ibid.

[79]Heiss, "Culture Clash," 341.

ish believed that if they lost control of the AIOC, British holdings, most notably their control of the Suez Canal, ran the risk of being imperiled.[80]

The CIA under the Eisenhower administration became a major instrument of foreign policy.[81] Allen Dulles, John Foster Dulles' brother, became CIA director, and the agency employed "Ivy League" trained attorneys and academians to assemble data on foreign governments and assess the policies, motives, and capabilities of foreign nations.[82] The CIA codenamed the covert operation "AJAX" and Allen Dulles selected Kermit Roosevelt as the leader of the coup.[83] According to Roosevelt, Operation AJAX began as a "cooperative venture" that allied the Shah of Iran with Great Britain and the United States in an effort to remove Mossadegh from power.[84] Eisenhower grew concerned that if the coup against Mossadegh failed, Iran might fall under communist control. His reasoning for the coup helped establish his belief in the domino theory with regard to communist expansion in the Middle East, Latin America, and Asia.



The Shah appointed General Fazlollah Zahedi as Mossadegh's replacement. Stephen Kinzer, *All the Shah's Men: An American Coup and the Roots of Middle East Terror* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley), photographs follow page 114.

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, CIA director Allen Dulles, and Secretary of Defense Charles Wilson prepared the coup. The president and his team believed Mossadegh to be a liability, and they aimed to reinstate the Shah to power.[85] Eisenhower remained very secretive about the coup and CIA operations in general. During the planning, he chose not to participate in any CIA meetings or leave a paper trail, not even in the "privacy of his diary," which could implicate him with the coup.[86] Eisenhower's diary does, however, reveal in a 6 January 1953, entry that "nationalism is on the march and world communism is taking advantage of that spirit of nationalism to cause dissension in the free world."[87] This entry shows Eisenhower understood the importance of containing communism and explains why he believed the U.S. and Britain needed to remove Mossadegh.

One of the central elements in conducting the coup included a massive propaganda campaign against Mossadegh using leaflets insinuating communist ties with the Tudeh. The CIA "quietly" provided Iranian tribes with weapons and bribes to various Iranians.[88] Specifically, "the CIA allocated $1 million to the Tehran, CIA station in April 1953 to be used 'in a way that would bring about the fall of Mossadegh'"[89]

On 15 August 1953, the *firmans* (royal decrees) affirmed by the Shah dismissed Mossadegh as prime minister and appointed General Fazlollah Zahedi as the new Prime Minister.[90] In what began as a peaceful action to remove Mossadegh resulted in a violent outburst of rioting in Tehran. The rioting commenced after the commander of the Imperial Guard, Colonel Nematollah Nassiri

[80]Ibid.

[81]Paterson, *American Foreign Relations*, 276.

[82]Ibid.

[83]Gasiorowski, "The 1953 Coup," 271. Kermit Roosevelt was the grandson of President Theodore Roosevelt.

[84]Kermit Roosevelt, *Countercoup* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1979), 2.

[85]Ambrose, *Eisenhower Soldier and President*, 332.

[86]Ibid., 331, 333.

[87]Dwight D. Eisenhower, *The Eisenhower Diaries*, ed. Robert H. Ferrell (New York: Norton, 1981), 223.

[88]Abrahamian, "The Coup in Iran," 203.

[89]Mark J Gasiorowski, "The CIA Looks Back at the 1953 Coup in Iran," *Middle East Report* no. 216 (Autumn 2000): 4.

[90]Gasiorowski, "The 1953 Coup," 273.

delivered the firman to Mossadegh, who declared it a "forgery" and ordered the colonel arrested.[91] The CIA believed the Tudeh warned Mossadegh of the attempted coup as a means to empower the prime minister to abolish the monarchy.[92] Troops loyal to the prime minister established roadblocks throughout Tehran, and conducted a widespread search for Zahedi. Mossadegh, with the coup imminent, offered "a reward of 100,000 rials for Zahedi's capture," and the Shah fled from the upheaval in Iran to Bagdad and then to Rome.[93] From August 16 through 19, the CIA led coup against Mossadegh did not go as planned. After the Shah's departure, chaos ensued in Tehran, and Mossadegh affirmed his control of the Iranian government.[94]

The 18 August 1953, edition of the *Los Angeles Times* carried the headline, MOSSADEGH'S TRIUMPH ACTUALLY RED VICTORY, because the Communist Tudeh Party provided Mossadegh with the most support during the attempted coup against his government.[95] Faced with this new dilemma, the CIA operatives in Tehran bribed street agents to demonstrate against the monarchy; the demonstrators demanded the establishment of a democratic republic, and pulled down statues of the Shah around Tehran.[96] The CIA agents responded brilliantly in this unexpected turn of events by posing as Tudeh Party members and enticing its members to join them in generating chaos. In reality, these demonstrations actually added to the panic of the nationalist government in Iran, which ordered the military into the streets of Tehran, where the military arrested Tudeh activists, and pro-government supporters withdrew from the demonstrations.[97] The clash between anti-Shah demonstrations and pro-Zahedi bands continued through the following day.

As Iranian unrest increased in Tehran, Henderson pleaded with Mossadegh to end the anti-Shah demonstrations conducted by the Tudeh Party and other factions.[98] In an effort to maintain U.S.-Iranian relations, Mossadegh acquiesced to Henderson's appeal and called in the police to suppress anti-Shah demonstrations led primarily by the Tudeh. Angry at Mossadegh because he suppressed the anti-Shah protest, the Tudeh crowd ended their support for the prime minister, which left the now numerically superior pro-Zahedi bands to demand the reinstatement of the Shah. Meanwhile, Zahedi, who remained hidden in a CIA safe house since the beginning of the first attempt to remove Mossadegh, rejoined anti-Mossadegh forces to remove the prime minister after his rescue by General Guilanshah.[99]

> [P]eaceful action to remove Mossadegh resulted in a violent burst of rioting.

Generals Guilanshah and Zahedi led a column of tanks along with a group of pro-Shah supporters to Mossadegh's palace to apprehend the prime minister. Zahedi and his faction of pro-Shah bands encountered harsh resistance from Mossadegh loyalists in the streets as they traveled to the prime minister's residence. In the midst of the clash between pro-Shah supporters and pro-Mossadegh forces, Mossadegh received word that Zahedi was searching for him, and the prime minister fled from his palace and went into hiding. On 19 August 1953, Zahedi and his forces reached the Mossadegh compound, and a nine-hour battle erupted between the Royalists and Mossadegh's household guards. The final day of the coup culminated with the deaths of three hundred people and the destruction of the prime minister's pal-

[91]Ibid.

[92]Maziar Behrooz, "Tudeh Factionalism and the 1953 Coup in Iran," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 33, no. 3 (August 2001): 369.

[93]Gasiorowski, "The 1953 Coup," 273.

[94]Behrooz, "Tudeh Factionalism," 369.

[95]"Mossadegh's Triumph Actually Red Victory," *Los Angeles Times*, 18 August 1953.

[96]Behrooz, "Tudeh Factionalism," 369.

[97]Ibid.

[98]Gasiorowski, "The 1953 Coup," 274.

[99]Ibid.

ace.[100] Mossadegh surrendered on the following day, and his submission ended not only two years of Iran's nationalization of the AIOC, but the opportunity for democratic rule in Iran.[101] Following the coup against Mossadegh, the Shah appointed Zahedi as the new prime minister, and the Shah received an American economic aid package worth $85 million.[102] The Shah reciprocated by agreeing to a "new charter" that provided American and British oil interests with 40 percent of Iran's oil revenue.[103]

THE DECLINE IN U.S.-IRANIAN RELATIONS

In the fifty-six years since Mossadegh's removal from office, U.S.-Iranian relations have declined to an abysmal level. America's involvement in the ousting of Prime Minister Mossadegh ushered in an era of anti-American sentiment in Iran because many Iranians revered him for his endeavors to foster democracy and economic improvements. Iranians also respected Mossadegh because he had the courage to stand up to the British during the oil crisis. When the prime minister transferred the ownership of the AIOC to the Iranian government, the Iranian people considered his action as a repudiation of British control in Iran. Furthermore, many Iranians viewed the Mossadegh era as a period of "national reassertion" and independence.[104] As a means to maintain Iran's independence, Mossadegh adhered to the policy of "non-alignment," choosing not to side with either the United States or the Soviet Union during the Cold War.[105] After Mossadegh's removal from office, the Shah returned to power and forged a strong alliance with the United States.



Mossadegh's trial for treason resulted in a sentence of house arrest until his death in 1967. Stephen Kinzer, *All the Shah's Men: An American Coup and the Roots of Middle East Terror* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley), photographs follow page 114.

During the pro-Western Shah's twenty-five year reign, he enacted a series of reforms that led Iranians to harbor animosity against the United States. In 1957, the Shah organized a secret police organization, known as SAVAK, to suppress dissent in Iran.[106] SAVAK became well-known for its practice of police brutality and human rights abuse. In 1963, the Shah and the SAVAK violently quashed massive riots led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini in Tehran. Anti-Shah unrest in Tehran abated after the Shah exiled Khomeini to Paris.[107] In 1977, President Jimmy Carter discussed the brutal nature of the Shah's police organization and asked the Shah whether his police force could reform its harsh treatment of dissenters. The Shah replied that there was nothing he could do; "I must enforce the Iranian laws."[108] During the Carter presidency, Iranian jails held 2,500 political prisoners. In order to ensure stability in Iran, the Shah believed the best solution for suppressing opposition to his

[100]"300 Die in Iran Change of Power," *Los Angeles Times*, 20 August 1953.

[101]After Mossadegh surrendered, the prime minister was put on trial and sentenced to house arrest for the remainder of his life in 1953. Mossadegh passed away in 1967 at the age of eighty-five.

[102]James T. Patterson, *Grand Expectations: The United States 1945-1974* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 284-5.

[103]Ibid., 284.

[104]Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East*, 279.

[105]Ibid.

[106]Paterson, *American Foreign Relations*, 409.

[107]Moens, "President Carter's Advisors," 213. The Ayatollah Khomeini remained in Paris until 1978, when he returned to Tehran and orchestrated anti-Shah demonstrations that ultimately led to the Iranian Revolution and the fall of the Shah in 1979.

[108]Jimmy Carter, *Keeping Faith: Memoirs of a President* (Fayetteville, NC: University of Arkansas Press, 1995), 445.

government was the use of his police force.[109] During the Mossadegh era, the prime minister did not advocate brutal police tactics or a secret police organization.

The Shah's policy of supporting the U.S. helped shape anti-American sentiment. He sided with the U.S. during the Cold War and became a "primary bulwark" against the proliferation of Soviet influence in the Near East.[110] His purchase of large quantities of American arms also increased Iranian animosity toward the U.S. and some Iranians viewed the U.S. as a nation that supports tyrants because they helped to overthrow their beloved and popular Mossadegh.[111] Furthermore, many Iranians grew angry at the United States for its "hypocritical posture-proclaiming the virtues of democracy while backing an oppressor."[112] As the powers of the Shah increased after taking firm control of the Iranian government, many Iranians believed American influence now replaced Great Britain's presence.[113] During the 1970s, the Shah's family received a substantial amount of oil revenue, and by 1976, the Shah's family accumulated between "five and twenty billion dollars."[114] The Shah's opulence outraged many Iranians especially because of the wide gap between the wealthy and the impoverished in Iran.

In view of twenty-five years of brutal oppression by the Shah, his pro-Western views, and his unfair distribution of Iran's wealth, the Ayatollah Khomeini, along with his Muslim followers, overthrew the Shah in 1979. Prior to that, Khomeini wrote, "with all the infernal means at his disposal, the Shah has fallen on our oppressed people, turning Iran into one vast graveyard."[115] The Ayatollah believed the Shah was responsible for Iran's economic decline and that the nefarious power, the United States of America, influenced the Shah in his stewardship. After the Shah fled from Iran, and in the midst of the Iranian Revolution, a mob of Iranian students convened at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran and took sixty-six hostages on 4 November 1979.[116] After the release of fourteen hostages, fifty-two Americans remained in captivity in Tehran for 444 days. These students possessed copies of CIA leader Kermit Roosevelt's memoirs of the 1953 coup, entitled *Countercoup*.[117] After the seizure of American hostages, an Iranian militant told a hostage that "we will teach the CIA not to do these things in our country."[118] The Iranian militant's sentiment about the CIA's involvement in the coup against Mossadegh reflected in the hearts of millions of Iranians during the hostage crisis and still continues today.

> "We will teach the CIA not to do things in our country"

At a conference in Washington, DC, on 17 March 2000, U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright declared the 1953 coup as "clearly a setback" for Iran's political development.[119] She used the conference as an opportunity to apologize on behalf of the U.S. to Iran for America's involvement in the coup. Albright also recognized that Iran harbored anger against America because the United States allowed the Shah to return to Iran in 1953, and "preside over a 'brutally repressive' regime

[109]Ibid., 444.

[110]Paterson, *Restless Giant: The United States from Watergate to Bush v. Gore* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 124.

[111]Ibid.

[112]Ibid.

[113]Moens, "President Carter's Advisors," 213.

[114]Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East*, 281.

[115]Ussama Makdisi, "A Clash with U.S. Foreign Policy," in *Major Problems in American Foreign Relations: Since 1914*, vol. II, Dennis Merrill and Thomas G. Paterson, eds. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2005), 580.

[116]Paterson, *Restless Giant*, 125.

[117]Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East*, 280.

[118]Paterson, *American Foreign Relations*, 409.

[119]Robin Wright, "U.S. to Ease Sanctions on Iran, Notes Errors; Diplomacy: Albright Voices Regret for Washington's Policy Mistakes," *Los Angeles Times*, 18 March 2000, Home Section.

for over a quarter of a century."[120] Her apology became the first time a high-ranking U.S. government official expressed regret over America's involvement in the overthrow of Iran's Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh.

The U.S.-led coup meant the loss of opportunity for Iranian independence, as a result of replacing Mossadegh's desire to achieve a stable and democratic government with autocratic rule under the Shah. Presidents Truman and Eisenhower were correct in recognizing the importance of preventing communist expansion in the Middle East, but incorrect about their assessment of Mossadegh and their means to resolve the oil dispute. Eisenhower and Churchill expressed concern of Mossadegh being a communist; however, the prime minister, a "nationalist," turned to the Tudeh Party in an effort to bolster himself and remain in power.[121] Furthermore, Mossadegh only hinted at selling Iranian oil to the Soviet Union in the hope of persuading the United States to provide financial assistance to Iran's "financially strapped government."[122] Historians can argue the Tudeh Party wanted to keep Mossadegh in power in an effort to position themselves to later attempt to overthrow the prime minister and regain power.

The United States did not act prudently by orchestrating the coup against Prime Minister Mossadegh, because his vision for Iran consisted of political autonomy and economic growth. Therefore, if the United States supported his quest to improve Iran's economy, and to establish a democratic government in Iran, this may have changed the course of U.S.-Iranian relations. A strong U.S.-Iranian alliance would perhaps prevented communist expansion in the Middle East, and it is possible Iran may have become, as President Jimmy Carter stated, "an island of stability in one of the more troubled areas of the world."[123]

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[120]Ibid.
[121]Paterson, *Grand Expectations*, 286.
[122]Heiss, "Culture Clash," 342.
[123]Carter, *Keeping Faith*, 445.

Agent Orange

Amy Nguyen

Victims of the Vietnam War continue to live in agony: ranging from cities, to animals, soldiers, and civilians, both within the United States and Vietnam, due to the controversial usage of a relatively unknown defoliant called Agent Orange. **Amy Nguyen** introduces readers to a rarely publicized topic that highlights the significant damage this "ghost" left in the wake of chemical and environmental warfare. From analyzing the structure of this chemical, to studying the side-effects of the chemical upon animals and human nervous systems, she reveals the continued stigmatism this chemical imposes upon those exposed.



Chemical agents of Operation Ranch Hand: a brown swath across a field of green with a Chinese symbol representing purple. Michael Uhl and Tod Ensign, *GI Guinea Pigs* (New York: Playboy Press, 1980), 155.

The Vietnam War remains one of the most controversial wars, noted as the longest fallout in U.S. military history. A divided American population either opposed the war as they saw the reality of war televised for the first time; the other half could not understand America's loss to such a small country. In between the years 1945-75, research and development of new tactics and programs helped American soldiers in Vietnam. One of these programs, Operation Ranch Hand, included the dioxin defoliant Agent Orange (AO), which the U.S. Ambassador to Hanoi remarked as "one significant ghost," currently a lingering effect of the war, today affecting not only the Vietnamese people but American war veterans as well.[1] Due to American troops' limited knowledge of their deployment, Vietnam's geography became their first obstacle.

> [D]ioxin...the most toxic substance ever discovered by mankind

Vietnam's geography, heavily filled with jungles and mangroves, favored the Viet Cong as it gave them a home field advantage over the Americans. In the rear of every U.S. soldier's mind, the constant threat of ambush by the Viet Cong guerillas remained—the network of tunnels, caves, and trenches hidden in the jungles that made it difficult, if not impossible to detect danger from a distance.[2] The jungles hindered American weapons, so they needed to change their strategies in order to gain an advantage.[3] This constant threat to the U.S. military then gave way to the use of herbicides, to defoliate the forest and terrain of Vietnam, resulting in the employment of Agent Orange. This controversial decision ended when the program stopped in 1971 due to rising health problems. With Agent Orange on the American side of the war, the Viet Cong soon found themselves deprived of their initial advantages of knowing how to maneuver through the jungles and tall grasses of their homeland.

AGENT ORANGE HERBICIDE AND ITS EFFECTS

Agent Orange consists of an equal mixture of 2,4-D and 2,4,5-T; since 2,4-5-T derives from trichlorophenol, it contained traces of dioxin.[4] Numerous debates center upon dioxin as the most toxic substance ever discovered by mankind to date.[5] As Agent Orange gets in contact with the plant, it then gets absorbed into the plant's system through the waxy covering of the leaves.[6] This phenoxy compound "affects nucleic acid metabolism, disrupting synthesis of RNA and DNA and suppressing synthesis of gene-regulating enzymes."[7] In brief, the plant will eventually grow itself to its own death because its regular growth process is upset making it grow rapidly with no sense of direction. With a high dose of dioxin in the plant's nervous system, it affects the oil balance, respiration, phosphorus metabolism along with photosynthesis and carbohydrate production.[8]

With the development of this new weapon, the Americans soon established an organization that effectively placed this defoliant in the midst of war. Agent Orange stemmed from an overall operation called, "Operation Hades," a government operation particularly designed to clear the

[1]Fund for Reconciliation and Development, "Agent Orange Consequences of the War, Call of Conscience," http://www.ffrd.org/AO/factsheet.htm (accessed 15 November 2008).

[2]*Disposition of the Air Force Health Study*, (Washington, D.C: National Academies Press, 2006), 23.

[3]Michael Gough, *Dioxin, Agent Orange: The Facts* (New York: Plenum, 1986), 48-9.

[4]Ibid., 52.

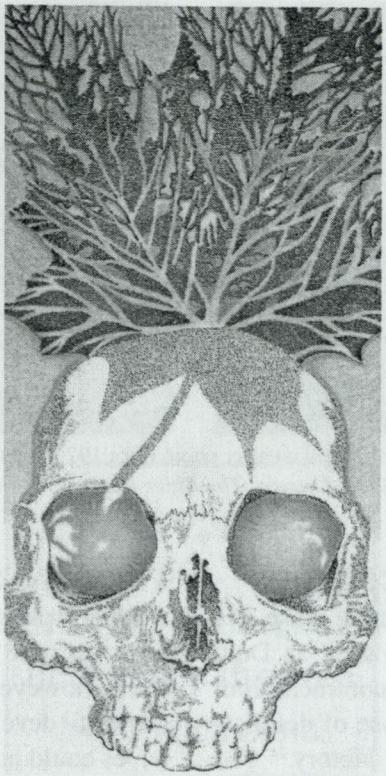
[5]Le Thi Nham Tuyet and Annika Johansson, "Impact of Chemical Warfare with Agent Orange on Women's Reproductive Lives in Vietnam: A Pilot Study," *Reproductive Health Matter* 9, no. 18 (2001): 156.

[6]John Dux and P. J. Young, *Agent Orange: The Bitter Harvest* (Sydney, NY: Hodder and Stoughton, 1980), 13.

[7]Carol Van Strum, *A Bitter Fog* (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1983), 73.

[8]Ibid.

jungles and mangroves that the Viet Cong used as cover.[9] The Pentagon's Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA)[10] administered and developed this defoliant program, later redubbed by the Air Force as, "Operation Ranch Hand."[11] Among other herbicides used in Vietnam, the U.S. employed in the field a variety of other agents such as blue, white, purple, green, and pink.[12] The color coded bands placed around these fifty-five gallon drums identified these covert agents and helped the soldiers distinguish each herbicide from one another.[13] Before the predominant usage of Agent Orange over Vietnam, its suitability for the landscape of Vietnam allowed it to replace Agents Purple, Pink and Green by 1965.[14] Agent White, the second-most used defoliant in Vietnam, is comprised of two main ingredients: 2,4-D and picloram. It worked as well as Agent Orange or even better on certain types of plant species; however, picloram killed the plants slower than its counterpart.[15]



John Dux and P. J. Young, *Agent Orange: The Bitter Harvest* (Sydney, NY: Hodder and Stoughton, 1980). Frontispiece.

The 1,300 Air Force personnel assigned to this operation sprayed these herbicide defoliants from backpacks, trucks, boats, and planes around the perimeters with heavier species of plants.[16] Although crop-dusting aircrafts retained more maneuverability, refitting the C-123s with a gallon of herbicide allowed employment of them for these missions.[17] The C-123s usually flew at about 150 feet at thirty knots due to their weight limit; this meant that they risked more susceptibility to enemy fire as they flew lower to the ground.[18] To increase their odds, the troops flew early in the morning and flew outwards from the sun; done for the advantage of hindering the enemy with sunshine shining directly in their faces.[19] This plan did not enjoy full success because the planes still took some enemy fire. To reduce their vulnerability, Operation Ranch Hand eventually had F-4 fighter planes fly in front of the C-123s.[20] The length of every mission done by a plane averaged seventeen kilometers as it dispersed an estimated 900-1,000 gallons.[21] Between the years of 1961-71, the U.S sprayed about 19.5 million gallons of herbicides through Southeast Asia[22] covering almost one-tenth of the land in South Vietnam.[23] In order for the Americans to obtain such a large quantity of herbicide defoliant, they needed to work with multiple companies.

AGENT ORANGE MANUFACTUR-

[9] Michael Uhl and Tod Ensign, *GI Guinea Pigs*, (New York: Playboy Press, 1980), 133.

[10] Ibid., 113-4.

[11] Gough, *Dioxin*, 49.

[12] Dux and Young, *Bitter Harvest*, 13.

[13] Gough, *Dioxin, 51*.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Dux and Young, *Bitter Harvest*, 16.

[16] Gough, *Dioxin* 59.

[17] Ibid., 49.

[18] *Disposition of the Air Force*, 25.

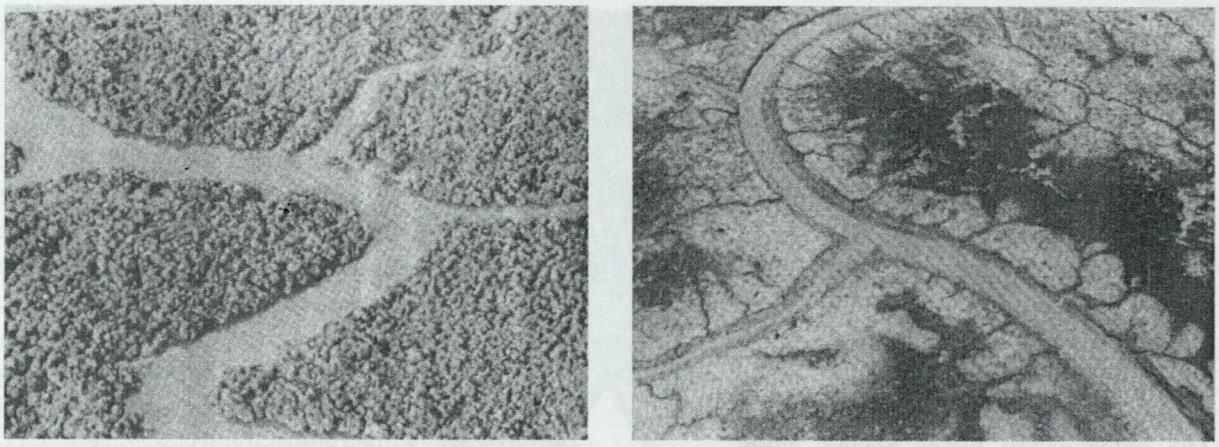
[19] Gough, *Dioxin*, 49.

[20] Ibid., 50-1.

[21] Jeanne Mager Stellman, Steven D. Stellman, Tracy Weber, and Carrie Tomasallo, "A Geographic Information System for Characterizing Exposure to Agent Orange and other Herbicides in Vietnam," *Environmental Health Perspectives* 111, no. 3 (2003): 323.

[22] David J. Tenenbaum, "On the Trail of Agent Orange: Measuring Risk with GIS," *Environmental Health Perspectives* 111, no. 3 (2003): A167.

[23] Gough, *Dioxin*, 49.



A photo taken of Vietnam mangroves in 1968 and an after photo circa 1970 documenting the deforestation due to herbicide usage. John Dux and P. J. Young, *Agent Orange: The Bitter Harvest* (Sydney, NY: Hodder and Stoughton, 1980), 134.

ERS AND HUMAN SIDE-EFFECTS

U.S. based companies manufactured these defoliants; among them, companies such as Dow Chemical and Monsanto received contracts from the U.S. government for the purpose of defoliating Vietnam in hope of American victory.[24] The U.S. government did not know that these defoliants would begin a new problem that only worsened with time. A research discovery involving mice found that the chemical dioxin caused birth defects and spontaneous abortions, which gave way to big bold headlines in the newspaper that stirred up the masses and eventually banned the use of the defoliant itself.[25]

Yet, linking the defoliant to health problems became another case all in its own. Estimates revealed that in South Vietnam alone, the chemical dioxin affected 17 million people and about 1 million in the North.[26] Although these statistics only focus on the people who reside in Vietnam, there remains a need to examine the possibilities of how many American troops suffered these effects.

VETERANS COPING WITH AO

As American soldiers came home after losing the war, they tried to go back to living normal healthy lives; however, it seemed impossible as they started to develop skin rashes and found that their wives could not give birth to healthy children. At first, the veterans struggled to comprehend why they produced unhealthy offspring. In searching their families' medical records, they found no connection to their bad luck. Yet, as the veterans spoke amongst themselves about their similar problems and kept up with the newspaper headlines, they started to piece the puzzle together—a link to Agent Orange. As chloracne became associated with dioxin exposure, the first symptoms of skin rashes reported came from the chemical industry itself. This led to more severe problems to the body such as urinary disturbances, leg cramps, liver damage, intolerance to cold, shortness of breath, loss of sensation in extremities, nervousness, fatigue, insomnia, and irritability.[27]

Reports and health research from Vietnam suggested that men and women directly exposed to Agent Orange retained a higher chance of having miscarriages, premature births, birth defects, low birth-weight, and childhood cancer in their offspring.[28] With the little information that the

[24]"Vietnam Agent Orange Relief & Responsibility Campaign," http://www.vn-agentorange.org (accessed 25 September 2008).

[25]Gough, *Dioxin* 47.

[26]Tuyet and Johansson, "Impact of Chemical Warfare," 156.

[27]Van Strum, *Bitter Fog*, 69.

[28]Tuyet and Johansson, "Impact of Chemical

veterans acquired, they immediately took their case to the Veterans Administration (VA) seeking compensation for their illnesses and health problems. Although the VA could not compensate the veterans due to the lack of information on Agent Orange and the possible health problems that they were speaking of, the veterans' formed an organization called Agent Orange Victims International (AOVI).[29]

VA SETTLEMENTS

AOVI took their case to Congress and demanded compensation from Dow Chemical, Monsanto, and Diamond Shamrock, as well as other chemical companies for illnesses from cancer, skin disorders, and birth defects, believing these conditions related to the defoliant Agent Orange.[30] This case, taken on by two judges at different times, finally ended in 1984 when Judge Weinstein compensated the U.S. veterans with $180 million dollars.[31] This settlement caused a multitude of disagreement within the AOVI because the veterans felt they did not receive adequate compensation. Many felt the Dow chemical company could not be happier as they expended a relatively small out of pocket expense. Other individual cases, apart from the AOVI, filed suit and asked for their share of compensation as well. Presently, U.S. veterans still fight for their compensation. With the formulation and testing of new research studies, the tale of Agent Orange slowly continues to unravel with the attainment of additional information.

> [T]he U.S. sprayed...19.5 million gallons of herbicides through Southeast Asia

CESSATION OF AO USE AND UNDERLYING REASONS

The end of Agent Orange use occurred in 1970 due to the 1969 release of a report that stated that 2,4,5-T caused birth defects in mice, information that stirred up the masses.[32] In the beginning of herbicide defoliant studies, debates argued against the supposition that Agent Orange caused cancer; yet with new studies done, the International Agency for Research on Cancer (IARC) classified Agent Orange as a group one carcinogen, which meant, "carcinogenic to humans."[33] Scrutiny of Agent Orange linked it to two cancers that show up often within veterans affected by the defoliant: soft-tissue sarcomas and non-Hodgkin's lymphomas.[34] Examination of soft tissue sarcomas reveals that they are a group of tumors that affect the muscle and other tissues in the body.[35] On the other hand, non-Hodgkin's lymphomas are the overgrowth and loss of control of the blood-filtering tissues in human bodies that fight against infection and disease.[36] Other cancers associated with Agent Orange are respiratory cancer, prostate cancer, and multiple myeloma.[37]

Tests for the ingredient 2,4-D, which made up Agent White, sought to document whether it aroused premalignant cells previously created by another carcinogen that could potentially develop into a full scale of cancer cells; the test result for

Warfare," 157.

[29]*Disposition of the Air Force*, 31.

[30]Jacki Ochs, *Vietnam: The Secret Agent*, VHS, Green Mountain Post Films & The Human Arts Association, 1983.

[31]Fund for Reconciliation and Development, "Agent Orange Lawsuit filed by Vietnamese Victims," http://www.ffrd.org/Lawsuit/Lawsuit.htm (accessed 15 November 2008).

[32]Gough, *Dioxin*, 56.

[33]Eva Kramarova, et al., "Exposure to Agent Orange and Occurrence of Soft-Tissue Sarcomas or Non-Hodgkin Lymphomas: An Ongoing Study in Vietnam," *Environmental Health Perspectives* 106, (1998): 672.

[34]Michael Gough and John F. Sommer, "Agent Orange Studies," *American Association for the Advancement of Science* 245, no. 4922 (1989): 1031.

[35]Gough, *Dioxin*, 78.

[36]Oncologychannel, "Non-Hodgkin's Lymphoma," http://www.oncologychannel.com/nonhodgkins/index.shtml (accessed 15 November 2008).

[37]Tuyet and Johansson, "Impact of Chemical Warfare," 157.

this theory proved positive.[38] Agent Orange also causes birth defects, lower fertility, an increase of antenatal mortality, and the risk of endometriosis, which causes pelvic pain in women.[39] These women and their families endured a great deal of emotional distress coping with their misfortunes and trying their best to live their lives.

FAMILIES AND CITIES AFFECTED IN VIETNAM AND USA

Agent Orange still currently affects many families and cities heavily exposed to this poison. The most heavily affected province remains Quang Ngai, with Da Nang as the provincial capital.[40] Another highly publicized city, Bien Hoa, where one of the largest U.S. bases is located in South Vietnam, reported an incident of 7,500 gallons of Agent Orange that spilled and contaminated the area.[41]



Malformed Vietnamese fetuses aborted due to Agent Orange. Philip Jones Griffiths, *Agent Orange* (London: Trolley, 2003), 47.

Others affected by the dioxin sometimes could not comprehend how heavily it remained within their body fat, at first only getting the normal symptoms of skin rashes and chloracne. After a couple years, as the fat breaks down, the dioxin then re-releases into the body resulting in the appearance of new and more severe symptoms.[42] Distribution of the defoliant throughout various parts of Vietnam, allowed the absorption of dioxin in the water and soil of the land, giving it a way to enter the food chain within fish, vegetables, and eventually into the tissues of human bodies where it subsequently transfers from mother to baby through breast milk.[43]

AO BIRTH DEFECTS

Researchers noted that once dioxin absorbs into the body of a nursing mother, the percentage of dioxin within breast milk provided to the baby contained as much as 95 percent.[44] With such a high rate of dioxin, the likelihood of the baby's susceptibility to birth defect increases. Parents of children with birth defects hide them in fear, as they do not want to suffer blame for their unfortunate luck of not having a healthy child and being unable to marry them off when they grow to adulthood.[45] This stigmatism hurts families exposed to Agent Orange because within the Vietnamese society, having healthy children—boys in particular—plays a central role in family life. Expectations placed upon the son, consist of carrying on the family name, working the fields, and taking care of the parents in old age. In order to help families affected by Agent Orange, the U.S. government attempted to calculate the volume of defoliant sprayed in each area in order to assess the exposure.

AO TECHONOLOGICAL RESEARCH AND ADVANCEMENTS

As technology grows more advanced, development of new software programs, such as the Geographic Information System (GIS), assist with

[38]Van Strum, *Bitter Fog*, 67.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Ibid.

[41]Fund for Reconciliation and Development, "Agent Orange Consequences of War, Call to Conscience," http://www.ffrd.org/AO/factsheet.htm (accessed 15 November 2008).

[42]Van Strum, *Bitter Fog*, 133.

[43]Tuyet and Johansson, "Impact of Chemical Warfare," 157.

[44]Ibid., 157.

[45]Ibid., 162.

the investigations of Agent Orange cases.[46] The Agent Orange Act of 1991 facilitated the creation of GIS software, contracted under the National Academy of Sciences.[47] The main objective of the program—to incorporate mathematical models that produce an estimated output of exposure—reveal missing details on the spray missions carried out by military personnel.[48] The GIS program divided Vietnam and parts of Laos into a grid; U.S. military units used these divisions—made up of locations of military bases, villages, airfields, roadways, and bridges—to conduct 9,141 spray missions during the war.[49] The GIS serves as an extremely flexible program that provides users relevant exposure data on the volume of herbicide used, the distance of sprays, and assesses factors that come with environmental decay within the land.[50]



American Victims of Agent Orange: Jim Wares holds his son Cameron, born with no fingers on his left hand. John Dux and P. J. Young, *Agent Orange: The Bitter Harvest* (Sydney, NY: Hodder and Stoughton, 1980), 136.

The GIS program also uses the HERBS file, which is data on herbicide applications, non-aircraft and aircraft, as well as unrecorded missions created by the Department of Defense, later released by the U.S Army as the Services HERBS file.[51] This file also included ground missions carried out by backpack and trucks throughout the land,[52] carefully organized and divided by missions that took place. The development of the GIS program provided minute details of the flight paths taken by Ranch Hand troops as well as estimates on when the planes turned on and off the nozzles of the aircraft.[53] Another version of the HERBS file, is the Stellman-NAS version, a data file that consists of all the spray missions done by both the Army and the Air Force.[54] The Stellman-NAS version of the HERBS file revealed more detail-oriented information such as which agents used, the area sprayed, and the purpose of the mission along with the executed date.[55] With these programs showing real results, this data inferred the extent of exposure and damage these toxic defoliants caused.

Looking at Vietnam and the amounts of herbicide sprayed and dumped, one must not forget that Agent Orange also exists in the midst of society in the United States. During the years of 1965-70, when suspension of Agent Orange use in Vietnam took effect, the Forest Service, including ranchers and farmers, sprayed an annual amount of 4 million acres of 2,4,5-T on American soil.[56] The Forest Service disseminated 2,4,5-T on more than 430,000 acres on national forest every year in order to kill the broadleaved plants that could possibly block sunlight from other trees.[57] Ranchers, mostly from Mississippi and Arkansas, sprayed 2,4,5-T in order to kill weeds that could affect their livestock grazing.[58] Chemical accidents within the compa-

[46]Tenenbaum, "On the Trail," A167.

[47]Ibid.

[48]Ibid.

[49]Ibid.

[50]Stellman et al., "Geographic Information System," 321.

[51]Ibid.

[52]Ibid., 323.

[53]Tenenbaum, "On the Trail," A167.

[54]Stellman et al., "Geographic Information System," 321.

[55]Ibid.

[56]Fred A. Wilcox, *Waiting for an Army to Die: The Tragedy of Agent Orange* (Seven Locks, 1989), 148.

[57]Ibid.

[58]Ibid.

nies that manufactured 2,4,5-T, such as the Monsanto Chemical Company in Nitro, West Virginia, also poisoned residents in the United States[59] In 1949, the company suffered an accident which released chemical compounds involved with the production of 2,4,5-T, affecting 280 workers who suffered from chloracne.[60] It may not seem to cause a chain reaction within the ecosystem when used for weeding purposes, but can one risk that chance? The signs of destruction that 2,4,5-T caused proves that people became prisoners of their own land, too scared to step outside of the contaminated earth due to an unresolved problem.

The problems caused by Agent Orange remain a living plague that haunts a majority of people and will not disappear. It started out with the intentions of helping America with the war against the Viet Cong in Vietnam, yet it grew into much more of a nuisance than anyone ever expected, affecting soldiers who fought in the name of freedom against communism.

The initial usage of Agent Orange for the defoliation of Vietnam's jungles to help reverse the Viet Cong's home field advantage, intended to aid U.S forces. From the discovery of birth defects in mice to connections of birth defects in humans, Agent Orange accomplished more than defoliating the land in Vietnam. Agent Orange scarred a nation and the future generations of veterans that served in the war, as the chemical dioxin still proliferates through their blood and is passed down to their offspring. The unforgettable tragedies endured by the victims of Operation Ranch Hand, their experiences with the Vietnam War, highlight the controversial effects of the herbicide defoliant Agent Orange.

[59]Van Strum, *Bitter Fog*, 69.
[60]Ibid.

Reflections of My Childhood: Interview with Marianne Dazzo

Nancy Saucedo

More than sixty years after the Second World War, casualties remain from the Jewish Holocaust. Trials of displaced children who sought refuge in safe-homes not only enrich our knowledge of the war but also provide insight into the long-term effects that endured. In an interview with **Nancy Saucedo**, **Marianne Dazzo** discusses her experience as a child survivor. Disguised as a boy and moved at midnight, Marianne reveals her life before, during, and after the war. With candor and determination, Mrs. Dazzo expresses her feelings of familial detachment, guilt, depression, and fear of abandonment contending that therapy and educational outreach facilitated her rehabilitation to normal life.



Dutch Jewish men detained by German military police, 1941. http://www-lib.usc.edu/~anthonya/frank1/handsbig.htm.

I am Nancy Saucedo and this is an interview with Marianne Dazzo at her home in Fullerton, CA. The interview is for the Central for Oral and Public History at California State University, Fullerton on April 22, 2008.

Nancy Saucedo: Hi. First question. Let's start with the basics. Where were you born?

Marianne Dazzo: Amsterdam, the Netherlands.

NS: What year?

MD: 1935.

NS: How old were you around the time—

MD: The Germans invaded my country in 1940. They really didn't—the effort to pick up the Jews and send to them to Germany—seriously started in 1942.

NS: How old were you at that time?

MD: I was seven.

NS: When did you notice things changing?

MD: 1942 is when I started noticing things were changing. I had to wear a star and it said "Jew" on it; a yellow star. My relatives started to disappear and when I visited my grandparents, I had to sleep there because you couldn't be out after 8 o'clock. So life was changing. My father and mother had built a closet under the stairs when it was bombing or lights out—we used to sit in the little closet under the stairs. And then my father was called up and had to leave.

NS: How did you feel when you had to sit in that little closet?

MD: I loved it. (laughs)

NS: You did?

MD: My father would read books to us and play games with us. It was very cozy in there; just the four of us. They paid attention to my sister and I. I felt no danger.

NS: Was he distracting you guys?

MD: Yeah.

NS: You have a sister—

MD: I have a sister. She is five years younger than I. Her name is Sylvia.

NS: She was how old at that time?

MD: She was two.

NS: How old were your parents?

MD: Oh, let's see. I was seven so my mother was thirty-three and my father was thirty-five.

NS: Were both your parents Jewish?

MD: Yes.

NS: You said you noticed family members starting to disappear. How did that make you feel?

MD: Very confusing; very confusing. I was [the] kind of child that likes to sit and listen to adults. I was very close to both of my grandmothers and when they would be talking to friends and family, I would be right there listening. So I kind of knew the Germans were picking up Jews and people were going to Germany to work. That is the story the Germans told us; they were going to work camps. When my father left, that was the hardest of all because I couldn't picture him and I become very anxious. I thought—you know he was reader—I thought, "Will he remember to go to a shelter when it's bombing? Will he hear it?" I was worried where he was.

NS: Where did he end up going?

MD: He went to a Dutch concentration camp called *Vught*.

NS: You mentioned in Dr. Scheinberg's class that it helped that you father spoke English.

MD: My father and mother had lived in America for three years—I just found her green card of all things. My father had a large family. His mother was one of fourteen and two of her sisters and one brother had immigrated to the United States in the twenties. They came to the U.S. to visit and stayed for three years. Then, my mother really missed her family quite a bit so they went back home.

NS: How was life for you, your mother, and your sister with your dad gone?

MD: Well, of course we missed my father. We stayed in the apartment that we lived in and we lived next to my grandmother. She had a grocery store. They were allowed to keep their grocery store open so my grandmother paid our rent and gave us food. On the other side was my mother's sister who had a beauty parlor and a barbershop. They were allowed to stay open too. So they sort of took care of us.

NS: Were you close to your grandparents?

MD: Very.

NS: Can you describe them a little bit?



German forces arrive in Amsterdam, 1940. http://www-lib.usc.edu/~anthonya/frank1/troopbig.htm

MD: Oh, my grandfather was a little rough -- this is my mother's side that lived next door and they had a grocery store. They had a candy bin (laughs) and grandmother would sneak me some candy. I loved helping her in the grocery store. You know people didn't have bathrooms like we have so she had to take a bath in the tub. I was always with her when she took a bath in the tub. She would give me a bath in her tub and I was the best person that washed her back so, yeah, I slept over a lot. My other grandparents on my father's side lived close. I loved sleeping at their house, too. I had two young uncles; my father was the oldest of eight, and they took me roller-skating, to art classes, and to the theater. I had a wonderful life up to seven years of age. I was surrounded by family—it was wonderful.

NS: What happened? When were you separated from your mother?

MD: Oh, to make a long story short, we ultimately were arrested—my mother, my sister, and I. They came for us in the middle of the night and my mother had to dress us; she had suitcases ready for us. We knew no one and had no money, so we couldn't go into hiding. We were arrested and taken to the *Schouwburg* which is a Jewish theater in Amsterdam. They had removed the seats and that's where they put all the adults. The kids went across the street to a child-care center. It was a real child-care center but the Germans took it over. I was there a couple of days, and then I got scarlet fever. Do you know what scarlet fever is? You get inoculated for it when you're baby—[in] those days they didn't. It's very contagious so they sent me to the local Jewish hospital [and] a man named Walter Susskind—he was a German Jew who was in charge of the Schouwburg. When the Schouwburgs were emptied, the Jews were sent to *Westerbork*—a transit camp up north. Every Tuesday they emptied the camp, and they went to *Auschwitz* or *Sobibor*. I was still in the hospital. There was a man named Joop Woortman who was saving children. He told my mother he had safe addresses for the three of us. She said yes, therefore, saving our lives. I don't know where my mother or my sister had gone. We were separated.

NS: Where did you end up?

MD: The children in the *Creche*, that's what it was called, were allowed to go to the playground everyday. I was at the end of the line; I was holding two children and somebody came and took us out of the line onto a porch and then he took us to the train. I was only seven years old. We were on the train with those two children and it seemed like it was forever but Holland was small, so it maybe took 4 hours—I don't know. I was crying for my mother and he said, "You're going to see you mother." That's how they got me to be quiet.

At the end of the train ride there were three men waiting for us. Each of them had their own bike and they took a child on one bike. That's how I got to my first hiding place.

NS: People were willing to take the children in even though they knew they were risking their own lives.

MD: Well, you know, I just found out I was saved by Joop Woortman. He was in charge of a group of students and nobody knew each other. A pastor would go around asking people if they would take a Jewish child and people said yes. This group called N.V. (*Naamloze Vennootscha*) saved me, my sister, and two of my cousins. They ultimately saved 160 children. Some say 120, some say 160 but in that neighborhood, they saved many Jewish children.



Anti-Semitic messages appeared shortly after the arrival of Nazi occupiers. http://www-lib.usc.edu/~anthonya/frank1/joodbig.htm

NS: When you first arrived at the home they took you to, how did you feel?

MD: They kept saying, "You're going to see your mother!" and every time it was a disappointment —my mother was not there. When I got to this home—it was the middle of night—I thought, "It was dark," and [then] the women put me to bed. Not until the next morning did I see where I was. It was a family with teenage children and the youngest boy was about 12—and he resented me terribly. He was the youngest and here I was, a little girl. They had a quarry and they had bricks everywhere so maybe they were stone makers, I don't know; but it was a large farm.

When there was fighting in the air—the planes fighting-- you saw the bombs going back and forth. They liked to be outside and looked at it like it was fireworks. I was petrified. I couldn't go in by myself because I was scared. I had to stay with them. It was a horrible, horrible experience. They had a horse that hated me; that always dragged me by my hair. [Their] boy was always running after me and trying to beat me or tickle me. It just didn't work out. I mostly was crying, hanging on to the mother. So they moved me. I don't really [know] if they moved me because of that—sometimes they moved you for safety reasons; I don't know. I ultimately had eight hiding addresses.

NS: So they would just come pick you up at some point during the night?

MD: The man with the bike would come and I knew that I was going to a new place.

NS: Did you feel happy when you saw the man with the bike?

MD: That time, yes. I really wanted to leave but there were some other places I really liked.

NS: Like where? Where did you feel most comfortable?

MD: They had bathhouses in those days. There was a young couple [who] owned a bathhouse. They lived upstairs and they both worked in the bathhouse, which was downstairs. I was alone all day. They had no children. I had no toys and I had no books—I could read a little by that time. So, all through the day I would hear the Germans soldiers—they had heavy boots with taps on them. I wasn't allowed near the windows because no one could know I was there but I could hear the boots, and I would be all worried. Or, when a plane would go over—I mainly lived under the

couch. It's sort of a dichotomy because when they came upstairs at night, or the woman would come upstairs and feed me lunch, all of sudden everything would be all right. Because they were a lovely couple, they took very good care of me. I was there for about five, six months. So that was the longest I was anywhere. I was so lonely that I started sneaking downstairs. They couldn't have that—it was too dangerous—so I was moved again.

NS: What were there names? Do you remember?

MD: Tante and Mia. I don't remember their last names. I'm at that age where I have to look everything up. (laughs)

NS: Where did you go next?

MD: Then I went to the Wurth family. W-u-r-t-h they had a young boy. After Rotterdam was bombed, so many buildings were destroyed. The children were sent to live with farmers so that was my story—that I came from Rotterdam. I was allowed out. I didn't go to school, but I was allowed out and it was a nice home. I remember that my finger got caught on the door and I lost my nail. I had toys there and there were other children in the family that I played with. They had animals. They gave me a little chick that was my own pet. That was nice to but, I was ultimately moved from there too.

There was a time when the Germans had gotten wind that there was a lot Jewish children in that area. So in the middle of night, all of us children—I didn't know they were all Jewish, I was little maybe by that time I was eight or nine—and they put us in an abandoned outdoor pool house. There were little cabins for changing and we slept in there the whole night and the next day, I guess when the Germans found no Jewish children, we went back home. That was a scary thing that happened but I don't know why I was moved from there. But, I was.

NS: During this time did you ever hear about your mother or your sister?

MD: I used to worry that I was moving so much that my mother would never find me and my sister. My sister was in a place called *Brunssum* and one time, whoever it was, got us together and I spent one weekend with my sister. She was in a lovely home with Mama Koster. I wanted to stay there so bad but they wouldn't let me stay. So I knew my sister was around somewhere.

NS: These people that moved you, you said they were on bikes?

MD: Yeah.

NS: They were mostly college students.

MD: They were young.

NS: Did you ever talk to them on the ride?

MD: Yeah, sure.

NS: How were they? Did they say anything to you that stuck to you?

MD: Oh, no. I don't remember. They were friendly and always saying, "Oh, we're going to the next place. You're going to be all right." They would tell me about the place beforehand -- where I was going. Yeah, they were always nice. Sometimes they had a lunch for me. Something to eat, like, a piece of fruit.

NS: Now that you think about it, these people risked their lives. How does that make you feel?

MD: They risked their lives to save a Jewish child, and, [they risked] their family's lives, and their children's lives. That's why a lot the children had been moved many times. My sister was two and to her, this was her mother. She was not moved, ever. She stayed with Mama Koster for the duration of the war.

NS: How did the Germans know you were Jewish, aside from wearing the star? Did they keep good records?

MD: Yes, they did. The synagogue was called a church. When you are born you are written in the book of your church. All you, they, had to do is get the Jewish books. Everyone was there with their address. So it wasn't hard for them to find the Jews. The adults had I.D. papers, and all Jewish men were circumcised—so they were

readily identifiable. That's why in Belgium, they didn't want boys. They dressed them up—boys—like girls. They let their hair grow long. It was too dangerous to have a boy.

NS: Going back to your grandparents, when was the last time you saw your grandmother? Was it at the hospital?

MD: My grandmother could visit me at the hospital. She had a certificate that [declared] they couldn't arrest her because she had the grocery store. So, when she came to visit me, she brought me clothes and shoes. I was in my hospital pajamas and she told me that if something happened, to put [my clothes] on and come to the store. I lived in a very small community and we had no cars, we had no bikes, and so I had a lot of relatives who lived in the area. Every Sunday, my father would dress us up and we would go visit relatives. So I knew where mostly everybody lived, and I knew my way around. So I knew where the hospital was.

So when the Germans came to arrest the patients and empty the hospital, I knew what to do. I put on my clothes like my grandmother had told me, and I walked out of the hospital to my grandmother's grocery store. I was in the hospital for six weeks, so I knew I wasn't sick anymore. I knew I was a dead duck, so I got dressed. Afterward, I read in a book that everyone in that hospital was arrested and hardly anyone survived. So, I was a lucky girl to get out of there. I actually saved my own life by doing what my grandmother told me to do. I was probably the only one who walked out of that hospital.

NS: When you say that, how does that make you feel?

MD: Today I am reading—looking something up on the internet—and it tells the story of the Creche. Seventy children were saved out of the Crèche and my sister and I were one of the seventy. When you look at that you go, "Oh my God! How lucky am I. All these eight families put their lives in jeopardy to save a Jewish child."

NS: That was very brave.

MD: It really was. It was wonderful thing to do.

NS: You were around nine after you moved—

MD: I was ten when the war was over.

NS: Is that how old you were when you finally reunited with your family?

MD: Yeah.

NS: You mentioned two other cousins that survived. Can you talk a little bit about them?

MD: Well, my cousin Andy was sent to a woman whose husband had just died and she made [others] believe that she had been pregnant—and this was her child. So Andy lived with her all this time. He was a baby when his mother left him, as a matter of fact. She put a letter in his suitcase when he was nine months old. Can you imagine? Being a mother and giving up your child to strangers? It's got to be the bravest thing to do.

My mother too gave up a two year-old and a seven year-old and hoped for the best; that strangers would take care of her children. The other boy, Jack, he is alive today. Andy died of some heart problems when he was in his thirties. My cousin Jack was taken-in by a very religious family and they had a hard time giving him back to his own parents—my aunt and uncle [who] survived by hiding—and, because that family was so religious, they were worried that he was not going to learn about Jesus. They wanted my aunt to take [Jack] to church. They wouldn't let go of that concept. So you know, once you get a child that is mere months old, you get so attached to them. You have to have a heart of stone not to get attached to a baby. And so, he was with a family that took good care of him.

I had two more cousins that survived but they survived with a different group, with different people. That's all that's left from my family. I had a huge family.

NS: How many members of your family died? Do you know?

MD: Well, I sent in 105 members to *Yad Vashem*, [those] that had been murdered. I couldn't send

in some of the women that had been married because I didn't know their married names. They were mostly from my fathers', mother's-side—and there were quite a few.

NS: Do you know what happened to your parents while you were in hiding?

MD: Yes. My father ended up in *Auschwitz,* and this might sound really dramatic but, he truly lived in a theater of death. He saw death all around him. He survived partly because he was a strong man—he was the right age and he spoke English. He was, like they say in Dutch, *brutal,* which means he was gutsy. He would do things you weren't supposed to do. He did go down to less than 80 pounds and one time, [when] they had a selection, they were going to select him for the gas chamber because he was so thin. He wasn't any use to them anymore. One soldier went by he said, "No, no. Not him. He is teaching me English." So by fluke he saved his life.



Jewish children in hiding on a Dutch farm, 1944. http://www-lib.usc.edu/~anthonya/frank1/farmbig.htm

NS: That's how he survived?

MD: That's how he survived.

NS: And your mother?

MD: My mother was in hiding with a family of adults. She lived with them as a maid and did all the work. They had a panel in the wall. When people came—in Holland, people would just come and visit your family—he could run into it and stay there until the visitors left. They took good care of her. Nobody thought the war was going to last that long. When people took in adults to save them, nobody thought it was going to be for over two years. And, there were rations, so you only got so much food. You got ration cards and there was never enough food to feed another person. Those people who took in adults really did a good deed. Nobody knew it was going to be for years that they were going to have these people, and some gave them up. They couldn't do it anymore. Half the people in hiding were betrayed.

NS: From my research into Amsterdam, they didn't really think the Germans were going to occupy for that long. They thought the Allies were going to come but they couldn't, and I read that the Queen didn't necessarily turn her back on them.

MD: The Queen left as soon as the Germans occupied Holland. Some of her family went to Canada, and she went to England. She broadcasted once a week but nobody was allowed a radio, so what good was it. But, she did say keep a diary. That's why Anne Frank kept a diary. She never said anything to help the Jews like, "They are your country men. Do your best to save them." If she had said something like that, more of us would have survived. From all the Western European countries, the most Jews murdered were [from] Holland.

One hundred four thousand went to *Westerbork.* Westerbork was a transit camp. From there—that was up north—they went to Sobibor or Auschwitz. Mostly, that's where the Dutch Jews went and very few came back; very few.

NS: Do you remember the last town you lived in before you reunited with your family?

MD: Yeah, I was in *Kerkrade.*

NS: Were you happy there? Was that one of the homes you felt comfortable with?

MD: I don't know, I didn't—I was with people for such a short period of time. I was not a loving child. I wanted my mother and I would sit by the window willing my mother to come for me. I thought that my mother had abandoned me—sent me away and kept my sister. But then I found out my sister was also somewhere else, and that made me happy that my sister wasn't with my mother either. And I knew that Germans were looking for Jewish children to kill. I thought of both these things. I was very angry with my mother through[out] my teenage years. It was totally unrealistic because if she hadn't sent me away, I would have died. I said to her, "You sent me away!" and, "What if the Germans had found me? I would have been sent to camps all alone!" I really hurt her by saying that and was being very childish, but that was my emotion at the time. It was not realistic at all. My mother saved my life.

NS: How did you feel when you finally saw her?

MD: I didn't know who she was. She was a very pretty lady. I had sort-of forgotten what she looked like. I was so angry with her that is probably why, but I remembered my father.

NS: How was it to see him again?

MD: I was happy to see my father.

NS: How did that first meeting happen?

MD: With my father?

NS: Yes.

MD: It was delightful. He wouldn't let go of me after he found me. When he found me, he also found out that my mother and sister were alive. He didn't know that. And he was with his brother—my uncle Joe—[when] he found out that his [brother's] wife and daughter had died. So, it was bittersweet.

NS: You were ten, your sister was five. How did you sister react?

MD: Oh, that's an interesting story. You know when you are two and you are in a nice warm home where the woman warms your clothes in the oven—so she wouldn't have cold clothes to put on. She was the grandmotherly type and Sylvia was the world to her and, for Sylvia, this was her mother. And then, this stranger comes when you are five years old and takes you into a new home. That is very disturbing. How it couldn't be?

During the war, people did what they had to do. They were in hiding. My father stayed alive in Auschwitz. It was terrible for my father.

Then, after the war is over, you come back home and everybody is dead. That was much worse than during the war. After the war was when it hit us. There was no way to deal with that but to try get on with life and forget. My mother ended up in the sanitarian. She only had one little niece left among her whole family. Her family was wiped-out, murdered by the Germans. My father had two brothers and a couple cousins; he had a huge family. It was terrible after the war. It was terrible—no grandparents, no aunts or uncles.

NS: What were your parents' names?

MD: My fathers name was Maurits, and my mothers name was Femma. It was very unusual for a family of four—a family—a family of origin to get together. Everybody had somebody missing. [It was] very unusual.

NS: Where did you live after the war?

MD: After the war? My grandparents had really good friends. We went to Mr. Caspari who owned a cigar store. He was also involved with Joop Woortman. I'm trying to find out how—it's too late I can't find his daughter. His daughter is a little older than me and I don't know her married name, so I can't find her. But, that's where we went. We lived a block away from where we used to live. We were given an apartment in that neighborhood. We lived in a neighborhood where we had lived before, where all our family had lived before, and we were living with ghosts. Wherever you walked, "That's where my aunt lived; there my uncle lived; there my grandparents lived. Here, I had a little cousin who lived here." It was horrible place to live and I asked my mother why we lived in the old neighborhood. She said it was the only place we could get an apartment. That's why we lived there. We couldn't wait to get out

of there and go to America. My parents put in to come to America almost right away, and we had to wait four years because there was a quota.

NS: How did you feel living there? How did you move on?

MD: At first, when I came back, I drove my parents crazy. I had to go to everyone's house—where they lived—and see for myself that they weren't really there. I didn't believe that they weren't there anymore. I did that as a ten year old and it was terrible. I would come home destroyed and crying. My parents didn't know how to deal with that. Then I got over it. I went to school and I had friends. Everyone had people missing. I was so lucky to have a mother and father. I didn't think I was lucky. My father was a maniac. I used to call him little Hitler because my father identified with the enemy. He would hit me. He was nervous. He used to be uptight. He was always, always, always a miserable man. I tried to run away a couple of times but that didn't work and I lived in fear that my mother would die. If my mother would die I would be left alone with this crazy man. It wasn't much better.



A Dutch Jewish woman wearing the star. http://www-lib.usc.edu/~anthonya/frank1/womanbig.htm

It was a little better when we came to the United States but not much better. I married at eighteen—did I marry him at eighteen? I married my husband at nineteen to get out of the house. He was going to go to school. My husband hoped that I would live at home and he would go to school. I said, "Ah-ha, (shakes head) I'm not living at home with my mother and father anymore." My mother had been a loving mother [but] because she lost so much her heart had turn to stone. She was really a mean woman. There was no love in her.

NS: Was she like that towards you and Sylvia, or just you?

MS: I thought Sylvia was her favorite but my sister thinks my mother was terrible to her too, so there you go! (laughs) You know, if you don't get any love you think the other one must be getting the love, which wasn't true. My sister didn't get any love either.

NS: Did you come straight to California when you left?

MD: No, we lived in New York. We got sponsors and my father got a job—he was a diamond cutter. When my husband and I got married, we lived in New York. I don't remember how many years I lived there. [My husband] is [an] aeronautical engineer [and] the jobs were good here. My parents too came to California. I couldn't get rid of my parents (laughs). My sister's husband is a pharmacist, so he came too. We came as a family to California.

NS: You said it was hard after the war because you didn't have a lot of family left. How did you deal with that?

MD: The one thing that was a saving grace was my aunt and uncle named Jerry and Celine. They had been in hiding with a young couple, and Jack, my cousin, survived and Andy survived. His parents didn't survive, so Andy and Jack lived with my aunt and uncle. My aunt was very calm. My uncle was a jokester and they could get on with life in a different way than my father did. I used to go there when my father was acting crazy. I used to go there for safety reasons and was always welcome by my aunt. My aunt was very good to me and after the war, I lived with my aunt for six months until my parents got together and found each other. It took a while before we found each other. There was no transportation or anything, and no jobs. The country was devastated.

NS: Do your parents now recognize how they acted?

MD: No, of course not.

NS: They didn't recognize their behavior?

MD: Hey, it took me twelve years of therapy to straighten out my life. They were still the same but because my mother and father they had lost so much, they held on to my sister and me with dear life. An example, we moved here to Orange County—they still lived in Los Angeles because they worked there—they came to visit every Sunday; they never missed a Sunday. When my mother and father went on vacation, my father would call me every day to make sure I was okay. He told me that he missed me, that he was miserable on vacation. It was terrible. I couldn't get rid of the man.

NS: Have you gone back to Holland?

MD: Several times.

NS: How does it feel when you go back there?



Het Joodsche Weekblad

UITGAVE VAN DEN JOODSCHEN RAAD VOOR AMSTERDAM

ONDER VERANTWOORDELIJKHEID VAN A.ASSCHER EN PROF.DR.D.COHEN

EXTRA EDITIE

De Duitsche autoriteiten maken bekend:

1. Alle Joden, die niet onverwijld gevolg geven aan een tot hen gerichten oproep voor de arbeidsverruiming in Duitschland, worden gevangen genomen en naar het concentratiekamp Mauthausen gebracht.

Deze of andere straf wordt niet toegepast op die Joden, die zich nog achteraf voor uiterlijk Zondag 9 Augustus 1942, te 5 ure aanmelden, of verklaren, dat zij bereid zijn, aan de werkverruiming deel te nemen.

2. Alle Joden, die geen jodenster dragen, zullen naar het concentratiekamp Mauthausen gebracht worden.

3. Alle Joden, die zonder toestemming der autoriteiten van woonplaats of woning veranderen - ook indien zij dit slechts tijdelijk doen - worden naar het concentratiekamp Mauthausen gebracht.

A special edition of the *Jewish Weekly* warning of infractions that could lead to deportation to a hard labor camp. http://www-lib.usc.edu/~anthonya/frank1/jw-big.htm

MD: The first time I went back there it felt so good. I had a good life. Seven years—my first seven years with my big family—and after the war, we still made a good life for ourselves. My father worked. He had a nice job. I went to school—things where I was outside, with my friends. I had a lot of friends. I went to a couple of clubs so I was a busy girl. When I went back, I had a very good feeling.

On the other hand, my cousin said that when he is in a grocery store he wants to jump on the counter and say, "Which one of you people betrayed my family?" When you look at people of certain age your thinking, "Did you betray my family? How many Jews did you betray?" So there is that aspect of it too. It's my country; I was just there just two weeks ago. My flight went to Amsterdam. I was there for five hours at the airport and two of my cousins came to say hello and have a cup a coffee, which was really nice. I have family there and I still have school friends.

NS: In Dr. Scheinberg's class you mentioned that only eleven people survived from your family. You mentioned Jack—

MD: Jack, Andy, Sylvia—my sister, Mary—the only one from my mother's side, then Leni. Jack, Andy, Sylvia, Leni, Mary, and me.

NS: Do you know how Leni and Mary managed to survive?

MD: Mary survived with a family. She, and a little girl, were saved by this family. I don't know much about it. Her husband doesn't like for her to talk about the war, so I don't know much.

I only know what happened to Leni. There is a famous farmer Boogart, he saved many Jews. She and her parents found refuge there. They were ultimately betrayed. You know Holland is flat. They could see the German trucks coming for them, so there was no escape. You can't run anywhere because they can see you. They lined up all the Jews and one of the farmers' sister, or whoever it was, came over and said to Leni, "It's lunch time. What are you doing here standing in this line? Come on." She did not say—she was four years old—she did not say anything or hold on to her fathers or mothers hand. She went willingly with this woman. She knew this woman from the farm, and she saved her life. Her mother and father were killed.

There was no food as I mentioned earlier so young men would go to the farms and work only for food, and that's what happened to Leni. One of the workers there said, "I'll take her home. My mother will take care of her." He took her home on the back of his bike. This young man who was just working there to feed his family. That's where she ended up, with his mother taking care of her. She lived with them for the rest of the

war and they were so sweet to her. She said her father smoked cigars so they bought cigars and said, "You keep the cigars right on this table so when your father comes back, he would have these cigars here for him." Of course, he never returned. She still lives in Amsterdam.

NS: She still lives in Amsterdam?

MD: Very troubled woman.

NS: You went to therapy for twelve years—

MD: Get my head together.

NS: You said your cousin is troubled. How is your sister handling it?

MD: My sister? I went back to Holland one time and brought back everyone's birth certificates, and I gave her birth certificate to her and she said, "Oh. So they really are my mother and father." She said, "I'm joking," and I said, "No. You're not joking." She grieves for her hiding mother and is angry with her. I am in touch with that family. She won't keep be in touch with that family because this mother gave her up to some strange woman. You take a five year old out of her environment and into a home where you don't make a nice family for her. You know, my mother was not physiologically aware of things and you can't blame her. This was her child. No one is to blame. Everyone did their best. My mother didn't say, "You know what, [when] I get my kids back, I'm going to be really mean to them."

NS: Did it take you a while to understand that?

MD: Yes, that's why I needed 12 years of therapy (laughs). That was part it.

NS: At the age of seven [you were] taken from your family. How did you react?

MD: I was totally depressed. I cried all the time. I wet my bed and I had lice. They had to shave my hair off. That might be the fashion today for some men and women, but it wasn't then. It was very shameful to get your head shaved. It obvious that you did it because you had lice so I was terribly ashamed of that; and my hair didn't grow back. When I came to my aunt's house, that's who I lived with for six months, she didn't believe what happen to my hair. I had a boy's haircut. I was not a nice child to have and live with.

NS: So that's what kept you going? It was to see your mother?

MD: Yeah, I use to sit by the window and read a book. Or, [I'd] sit by the window and watched if my mother came down the street.

NS: And, when you finally saw your mother?

MD: I didn't know her. I didn't want to know her. She showed me no love. My father's welcome was so different. She didn't take me either, when she found me. She left me.

NS: Where did she go?

MD: She went to get my sister. It made sense that she would leave me, I was already ten. She came with a bike—halfway with a bike, and halfway with thumbing. The bike had wooden wheels—you know they had no rubber so she couldn't put me on the back of the bike. She could put my sister on the bike because she was little; she was only five so it made perfect sense. I was with my aunt and uncle, but nevertheless, I never forgave her for it.

The ten year-old child never forgave, but as an adult of course I forgave her. She wouldn't talk with me. I said, "Lets talk about it and get it out of the way," but she wouldn't do it.

NS: Why do you think she would not talk about the war?

MD: She didn't want to talk about the war. Neither did my father. Things I found out were through other people. I didn't find anything out till 1991. I found out I was saved by the N.V., I didn't know that. I found out there was a Hidden Child Conference in New York in 1991 by someone from Chicago. We didn't even have internet then. We didn't have e-mail. But I found out nevertheless. I went with my sister and my cousins. That's when I found more about us. We found out from a Professor in the University of Groningen—his father was one of the N.V. members. He was saving children and he was

betrayed. The son did a lot of research and wrote a book.

NS: So it was around 1991 when you started to research more in-depth about your family?

MD: Yes, that's when I started finding out things. Before that, my mother never wanted to talk about it. Every time I brought up the subject—since I was in therapy there were questions I had and I needed to find out what happened to me—my mother would always say, "Your father didn't sleep all night. He was dreaming and had nightmares. Look what you did!" the guilt thing. So, for six months I didn't ask. Then I asked again.

NS: How did you start going to therapy?

MD: I had a nervous break[down].

NS: At what age?

MD: In my thirties. Thirty-nine.

NS: Was it your husband who suggested it? Who suggested it?

MD: Well, it's kind of funny. My mother suggested it. My mother always said to my father, "You need to go to a psychiatrist," because he was so crazy. (laughs) So I knew when I was acting crazy, I knew I had to go to a psychiatrist. I called up our local Rabbi. I was not going to Temple but of course I knew the local Rabbi. I called and I said I was having marital problems. I wanted a Jewish therapist because I thought they would be the only ones to understand about the Holocaust. I knew my problems were from the Holocaust because I had been held up by someone; by a black guy when I lived in New York—with a gun he held me up took all the money. I was working and I fainted. I hurt my head and had all kinds of problems. They suggested that I see a psychologist, so I did. He told my mother—my mother was sitting right there—he said, "This girl has a lot of problems that stem back from war." My mother said, "Everybody's got problems from the war, that's nothing." So, you know, all these things together; I finally had a nervous breakdown. I knew I had to see a psychiatrist. I had problems from the war.

NS: Why do you think you have so many vivid recollections?

MD: I don't.

NS: You don't?

MD: No, a lot of things I can't remember. I remember incidents as we go along, and I can put all the eight places in chronological order, but I don't. There is a lot of stuff I don't remember that I wish I did.

NS: You never kept a diary?

MD: No, I didn't hear the Queen. (laughs)

NS: In Dr. Scheinberg's class you talked about a baby that was turned into the police.

MD: That was my cousin, Alida. Her mother was my father's youngest sister. Her name was Beppie. I was a little girl when I was in her wedding. She was one of my favorite aunts and I use to go visit her when she had her baby because she lived right around the corner from us. She found a hiding place. There was a man, I don't know how she found him, he helped her find a hiding place. He was young man. He had a young wife and no children. So he brought the child Alida home for his wife to take care of. She was probably around nine months old. Nobody told anybody what they were doing. He did not tell his wife that he was helping Jewish people go in[to] hiding and maybe doing more.

There was a black market in food stamps. You had to have food stamps if you asked somebody to take a Jewish adult. You had to bring food stamps to them because otherwise there was no food.

Maybe he was doing that also. Anyway, he was absent a lot from the house. In her mind, he was seeing Beppie and having an affair. She was jealous that he was spending so much time away from home. He didn't tell her what he was doing. She was absolutely sure he was having an affair with the baby's mother. So, in a rage, she took the baby to the police and said this was a Jewish baby. When he came home and found out she did that, he went to Beppie. He knew where Beppie was and told her that her baby was in the police

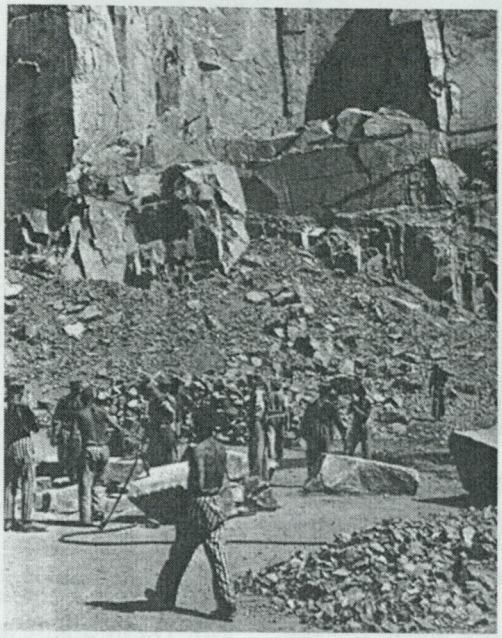
department. She gave herself up and they were sent to Auschwitz where they murdered right off the bat.

NS: Were a lot of your family members sent to Auschwitz?

MD: Half and half; Half were sent to Sobibor. When you were sent to Sobibor—have you heard of Sobibor?

NS: No.

MD: It's a camp on the border of Russia. A lot [of] Dutch people were sent to Sobibor. When you get to Sobibor, you stand in a line. They tell you, "Go to the showers." You've heard of a film called *Escape from Sobibor*? They kept sixty people working for them and the rest immediately were gassed. You stood in line, you took off all your clothes, and walked into the gas chambers. They thought it was a shower. It was busy all day and night. In *Escape from Sobibor*, I think only four Dutch people came out of there. Everybody died in Sobibor. The rest of them went to Auschwitz. At Auschwitz, my father was just young enough to be able to work.



Prisoners engaged in hard labor at the Mauthausen concentration camp in Austria, the destination of some Dutch Jews. http://www-lib.usc.edu/~anthonya/frank1/mauthbig.htm

I had three aunts that went there that were able to work. They went at the same time; three aunts and they had two babies with them. On the train platform—this is what they normally did—they would give the babies to one person because the babies were killed immediately. One aunt took the babies. They were killed immediately. The other two worked about nine months and then they were put in the gas chambers. I don't know what's better. To get killed right away or work. They worked you day and night. It was miserable. There is always hope for survival I guess, but they didn't make it.

NS: Countries like Germany have apologized for what happened during the war. Is that enough? Do you think the message has been lost?

MD: It's an industry now. Poland, you can take the Schindler's tour—(cha-ching-cha-ching) money. You can go to Auschwitz [and] buy books. It's all about money. It's a museum there. You know, I am hateful till the end. I don't forgive. How I can forgive? How can I forgive all my relatives are dead. I can't forgive that they were murdered.

Sure when you see a new generation, when I meet somebody German, "Oh we hid Jews!" I don't believe a word they say. "Yeah, right. You hid Jews." I don't believe it. I don't say anything. I'm a little careful when I talk in schools. Some kids are from German descent, they have German parents or German grandparents, but if they ask me—I just talked in a school and they asked me, "Do you hate the Germans?" I said, "Yes."

They wrote me a letter about that. They were really shocked that I said that, but they understood how I felt. This was junior high school. You should see this letter. I have never got a letter like that before. You usually get a thank you for sharing your story or one card where everybody writes a "Thank you," or "Thank you for sharing your story." This was a whole a big letter it was amazing.

NS: When I was in Junior High, all we learned about was Anne Frank.

MD: Yes, and that's good because you can identify with Anne Frank. It's the right age. I always make part of my speech, "You must never forget that she died a horrible death. She was betrayed and she



Candian troops march past one of the Netherlands' iconic windmills. http://www.archives.gov/research/ww2/photos/images/ww2-114.jpg

died from typhoid; a miserable death at Bergen-Belsen, but she was a special person."

NS: Do you often speak at schools?

MD: Yes, I am speaking tomorrow and next week. Here I am with you, and then I am talking to my Temple for fifteen minutes. I normally don't like to do it around the Remembrance of the Holocaust because everyone wants a Holocaust survivor at that time but this is my own Temple, so how can I say, "No."

NS: Going back to the industry making, I heard that Germany has a lot museums and memorials.

MD: Not a lot. Germany makes amends. The people who lived in Germany that were murdered, they have the family come over to mark the house. They do all kinds of things. They do their best and it is against the law to say it didn't happen. You say it didn't happen, you go to jail.

NS: How do you feel when someone says that? That it didn't happen—

MD: I think its Jew baiting, I'm sorry. I can't believe they would think that unless they were really stupid; deniers are. It's Jew baiting. That's all it is.

NS: I find it hard to believe people would say that when there is a lot of evidence that proves it.

MD: People say a lot of ugly things.

NS: That's true.

MD: How do you feel when they tried to make a law for all Mexican-Americans to send them home? How do you feel? Don't you—by your last name I assume you are Mexican-American, you wrote it down. There is a lot of prejudice against you in California. Let there be a recession in California and its all your fault, right?

NS: Right.

MD: Same thing with the Jews, let there be a recession and guess whose fault that is? You have to have a scapegoat.

NS: That's what they were to Germany, the scapegoats.

MD: Yeah. Lets just blame all—if we are having problems—don't blame me, let's blame them.

NS: Did you ever hear Hitler speak over the radio?

MS: No, we were not allowed to have a radio and my parents were really not politically motivated.

They just wanted to live their lives. They were just working people. They weren't much interested.

NS: Did you ever hear things? Like when you were walking to school, or if people looked at you differently?

MD: No. When I came to America I heard, "What did you Jews do to deserve that?" I heard that. One time I must have said something and somebody said to me, "Too bad Hitler missed you."

When I married my husband—my husband is not Jewish so I've had this Star of David (points to necklace) for a long time. I had to wear this because my name was Dazzo and in New York, everyone is very conscious of what the name means. So, that must mean I'm Italian—which I am not—so feel free to say ugly things about Jews. I wear this star so they don't say ugly things about Jews. They know I might have an Italian name but I am Jewish so shut up. You hear ugly things all the time.

NS: Where you expecting that kind of prejudice here in the United States when you came?

MD: Ah, in Holland too after the war, they weren't happy to see us come back.

NS: They weren't? What did they do?

MD: They said the same thing, "Too bad Hitler missed you," or, you know, other things. Just because the war was over there was [still] a lot of anti-Semitism in Holland. Just because the war was over it didn't mean it went away because now, they had all of our stuff. When we were arrested, we left our apartment. Before that, we had trusted neighbors. My Uncle gave a motorcycle to the neighbor for safe-keeping. The Germans came and took all your stuff, so, before that happens, you give your treasures to your neighbor. When you come back and wanted your treasures back, it was like, "Ha-ha-ha. No." Now, your happy neighbor is like, "I am not giving anything back to you. So you dirty Jew, you go away."

In Poland, a Jew came back they shot him. At least they didn't shoot us; they were a little bit more civilized. Nobody was happy to see us; whole Europe had turned. What about America? They wouldn't let the Jews in.

NS: How did that make you feel when you found out that ships were turned away from here?

MD: It made me feel like I didn't want to be a Jew—that to be a Jew was to die and that was part of my therapy; my twelve years of therapy. I did not want to be a Jew and I felt to be a Jew was to die. I took this off (points to Star of David) as soon I came to California because in California nobody knows what a name means. They didn't know when I moved here, they didn't care. I think California was less prejudice.

I had to get over that because, on the other hand, I am a proud Jew. I'm happy to be a Jew. I think we have wonderful traditions and it's a really great religion to belong to and to get born into. I had to learn not to be afraid. I was mostly afraid -- afraid of everything. I married my husband because he is a really good protector and I needed that. He had lot qualities that I needed to take care of me, to keep me safe. That has always been my first priority, to keep me safe. You come out of a situation like that, everybody -- look at those poor boys coming back from Iraq. They come back damaged. They've seen a lot of things. Nobody comes out of there whole. Everyone comes out of there with baggage.

When I go to a child survivor conference, they always have to have a workshop about baggage.

NS: When you go to these conferences it obviously helps to see these other children, well grown- ups now.

MD: Well, I made a lot of friends that go every year. I go to be with my friends. I always come out of there learning something new, so it's good for me. You are surrounded by all the participants. Last time, I went to Israel. Eight hundred people were there. You are surrounded by people who had the same experience as you; different but the same, and it feels good. You feel odd with other people, like you don't really belong.

We have a survivors group here in Orange County and one in LA that I belong too. I am very much involved.

NS: That sense of not belonging, is that what you feared? While you were in therapy is that what you discussed?

MD: I felt I didn't belong anywhere.

NS: Obviously you've overcome that, or have you? Do you still feel like you don't belong?

MD: I still feel odd and different in situations, like I really don't belong.

NS: Is there anything else you would like to add? Just hearing your story you were seven years old, and you went through a lot. It's something one can say, "One will come out stronger." But it's a long road to get there, to accept things; to forget because it's hard to forgive. How you are still moving pass this? Does the research help?

MD: Well, you know, I am a "zig-zag" person. I feel real grief, but I talk about it. The family I lost, I feel grief-stricken, I feel bereaved. On the other hand, I take great pleasure in my family, my friends, and life. I feel I can do both.

If you feel real grief, then you can feel real happiness and you can count your blessings. I can count many blessings and feel grateful for it. Here I am in my seventies. Who knew I [would] have two great-grandchildren, two little girls that I love dearly, and one that I get to watch every Wednesday. So I am really a very fortunate person and maybe [it's] because of the therapy. I looked at therapy as just getting the cobwebs out and maturing. I wasn't mature, that was part of it.

Arrested development; maybe at seven, maybe at ten, I don't know. Therapy helped a great deal to see the good side of life, and the good side of some people; but also the evil in people. I do recognize that, and I know I can choose who I can be friends with, or who not. What family I want to be close to, or not. I am really happy. (laughs) I have a great marriage. My husband is wonderful even though I married him at nineteen. I was immature and afraid of everything, however, I made the right choice. I've been married for over fifty years with the same man and still madly in love with him. What's better than that? I have the marriage I've always wanted. I made the best of it.

NS: You have a happy life.

MD: Yes, I do.

NS: To end this, at age seven you weren't thinking much of the future. You wanted to see your mother.

MD: Yeah.

NS: And you wanted to be with your family. You missed out on having a normal childhood. How do you -- now that you have grand-children, now that you have a stable life -- when you look back upon that life, how do you feel? I know we just talked about everything you went through and it made you a stronger person.

MD: I don't know if it made me stronger, I look at life different. I am still much of a dependent person. I don't know what you call strong. I live in fear that my husband is going to abandon me. Abandonment is a big issue. We made a pact that I die before him because I can't take it. When I look back on those war years that's when I get very angry. I have a lot grief and the fears just don't go away.

NS: Do you want to stop?

MD: Yes.

NS: Okay, thank you so much for your time.

Oral History of Sharm Leuhmann

Christine Shook

The 1979 Soviet incursion into Afghanistan prompted then U.S. President Jimmy Carter to issue a boycott of the 1980 Summer Olympics held in Moscow. In her interview with Sharm (Gaspar) Leuhmann, **Christine Shook** investigates how the lingering effects of the Cold War affected one US athlete. Culling from her life as a child, former UCLA standout Sharm (Gaspar) Leumann discusses life abroad, competitive swimming, allegations of drug use, and eating disorders.



After the United States' boycott of the Moscow Olympics empowered Sharm to quit competitive swimming, she used the hard work and determination she developed to help her graduate from UCLA in 1984. Photo courtesey of Sharm Leuhmann.

Narrator: Sharm Luehmann
Interviewer: Christine Shook
Date: Saturday 26 April 2008; 3:00 pm
Location: Sharm's office in San Clemente, California

Christine Shook: This is an oral history of Sharm Luehmann conducted by Christine Shook on Saturday, April 26, 2008, at her office in San Clemente, California. This interview is for the guided autobiography class at Cal State Fullerton and for the Center of Oral and Public History. Today we are going to talk a little bit about Sharm's life and specifically about her experiences with the 1980 Olympics boycott.

Christine Shook: Can you please say your name and when and where you were born.

Sharm Luehmann: My name is Sharm Luehmann, and I was born on January 19, 1960 in San Jose, California.

CS: Can you tell me what your parents did for a living?

SL: My dad was the head mission chief director of CARE, and my mom was a stay at home mom/artist. We traveled around the world, and moved back to this country when I was sixteen.

CS: Where did you go?

SL: We lived in Latin America, Central America, [and] India. Then we traveled all throughout Europe and Asia.

CS: What kind of art did your mom do?

SL: She painted predominately with oil and she used a knife. She called herself a "colorist." It was an impressionist slash Gauguin style—kind of a combination of the two—super bright and bold with little knife marks on it. Like specks that when put together formed an overall picture.

CS: What was her focus of the art?

SL: Originally, she was painting things she saw as she traveled. It would be like she was photographing, but she would do it in paint. Like in Greece she would paint the water and everything. And then, after a time period, she did things from memory. When we were no longer in the country she still continued to paint as if we were traveling, but just scenes and things that she remembered. Then, to earn money, she would do portraits.

CS: Would she paint things from the US then?

SL: No, because the things that she painted were from where we lived in. Like she painted camels in Greece, and the reflections of the water. She would—in her mind's eye—see children playing and create this whole tricycle land. So a lot of it was from her own mind, but it was spawned or cued from things that she had seen in her life. Most of her work is actually international in appearance.

CS: What were some of the things that your dad did for CARE?

SL: He would set up feeding programs for people that were starving, make schools, [and] set up nutritional and medical programs. He would come in and work with dignitaries of foreign countries and set up something that economy could sustain once we left the country. It would be something using foreign dollars rather than American dollars. For instance, in the Caribbean he set up the honeybee industry. They had all the natural resources, and it didn't require the United States putting money into someone else's country. It required them tending to their own crops. That way it wouldn't fall apart overtime, and it could be sustained in their own economy. The good news is that the programs he set up over thirty years ago are still in existence and sustaining the economy of the countries we were in. So, it was a good thing.

CS: What was it like moving around all the time?

SL: Oh, I loved it. I have an older brother and he hated it, he always wanted to move to the States where things were stable and secure. And, I loved all the different cultures, and the drama, and not having electricity. Just all of the adventure–it was really fun, and I still love traveling.

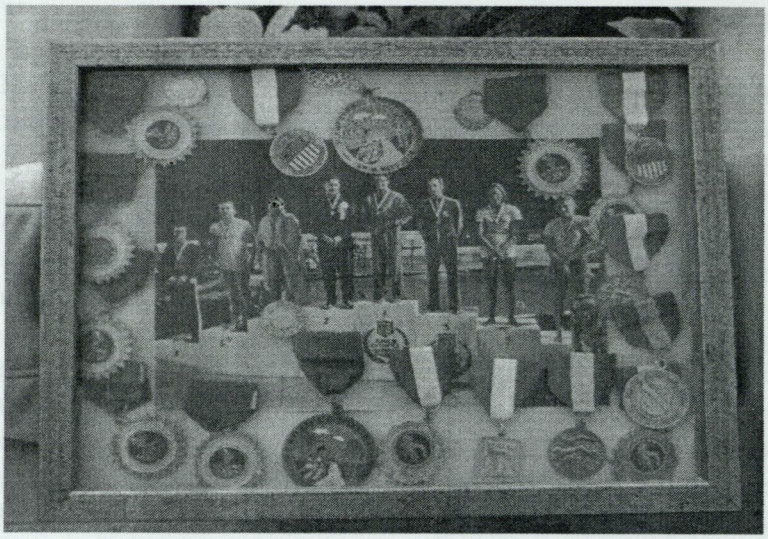
CS: How long would you spend in these places?

SL: The average stay was two years. We would move every two years and before we would go to a country we would have an introduction to the culture and the customs—that we would not offend people. For instance, in India [you] do not touch people with your left hand because the left hand is for potty. We would learn those things otherwise it would be very easy to offend people. One time we were in Japan, and we went into the sulfur baths. It just was my mom, my brother, and I. We knew no men were allowed, but children and mothers were allowed. And every single Japanese woman got out with their children and very quietly left. We realized later on that we had very much offended everybody there. We thought it was like a swimming pool, and it turned out that you are supposed to bathe before you get in. We didn't know that, so we jumped in thinking we are going to bathe in the sulfur pool with everybody else. We contaminated their water. But we tried to learn before we would go to each country what their culture was about [and] the language. We didn't always learn the languages of the countries we lived in because, in almost all third world countries, English is spoken. So, we weren't required to learn the official language of the country.

CS: Can you explain to me what was it like when you went to a place and realized that you had offended them? What would you think?

SL: Well, most of the time it was rare that we would actually offend because the programs that we had to learn from were pretty intricate. We would come in and do our tour of duty and, whoever had been there before us—if something new or different had happened—they would kind of debrief us so that our family would get the information. For instance, within CARE there were others, right in the city that we were in, there was a hierarchy and there were five other families that worked along side with my dad. We didn't work with the same families in other countries—it wasn't just my dad [who worked] for that company—it was a whole bunch of people who were on tour at the same time we were. We would all amass information and pass it on, so that things like that would not happen.

There were situations where the political consistency or the political leadership of that country would change, and all of the rules of that country would change right along with that leader. In third world countries, that is not unusual. So, it was a real volatile thing. If this family is in power, this is what the trend is. If [that] family is in power, then it would be a separate trend and separate things. For instance, in Haiti we had to be very careful because there was a thing called *Tonton Macoutes*, which is secret police, and it could be the principle of your school, or it could be your nanny or the taxi cab driver. You don't know who they are. There was literally secret police in all areas of life. So, you had to be very careful not to offend. Especially in Haiti, because you didn't really know who was hearing what you were saying. You know, we [as Americans] really value freedom—we don't realize *how* beautiful it is that we have freedom of speech. When you live somewhere like that, you realize that everything you say could be heard and reported. It's different. And so your question, I didn't really answer your question about offending people, generally we didn't. When we offended everybody in the pool in Japan, we were sad. We didn't realize it, and, of course, we felt bad. You know, we didn't want to be the ugly American. We wanted to honor, value, and uphold the customs of the countries we were in. That was our general intent. So, the answer is we felt real bad.



Always the proud parents, Sharm's mother collected and framed the medals her daughter won throughout the years. Her dad put this impressive compilation on display at his work. Photo courtesy of Christine Shook.

CS: Tell me about the—you said there was a feeling of volatility. Was that something that you picked up, or was that something that your parents—

SL: Oh no, we had bodyguards. My brother, mom and dad, and I, were all shot at and had to get smuggled out of several countries. As my dad went up in the ranks, he got better positions—like any company. When you start out you get the grunt places, which are the more volatile places [with] no electricity, and no water. Then, as you work your way in the company, you get the real cushy countries where your lifestyle is much better. You live in cities where there is traffic, cars, schools, and things like that. Starting out—I mean, some of the countries [where] some CARE members lived [had] no schools; no electricity. It depended on where you were within each of these countries, because they were third world countries. There was a lot of volatility and political unrest.

CS: Can you tell me what it was like going from the US to a third world country?

SL: Well, I left this country when I was six months old, so my actual culture shock didn't happen until I moved back here. Everything was so fast and so mechanized and so duplicated. For instance, I could drive from Palos Verdes to Huntington Beach and I could pull off the freeway anywhere, and find a Denny's, a car wash, a McDonald's, a grocery store. Like over and over, and the same ones over and over. Each city over and over and the houses would look alike. Over and over, over, over—and, when I first came back, I felt like everything felt like cardboard. It was like things just popped up and were duplicated. Like, "you take this and repeat it here, and repeat it here, and repeat it here"—when you live in third world countries, it's not like that. First of all, you are lucky if you find a bathroom anywhere and you carry toilet paper and water with you at all times. So, super convenience, but super culture shock. I got very depressed. It freaked me out because it didn't feel real. All of the cement, and all of the duplication of—I get upset talking about it now. It is different. It is a different feeling when you are used to the countryside and maybe no lights—just a slower pace of life. Where it is an adventure to find a toilet rather than knowing for sure that you are going to find everything you need at every corner. It is a completely different kind of lifestyle.

The hard things I had [seen] overseas – very hard for me – were people starving. As a child, every night I would dream and pray. Or, my dream was that I could take all of the poor starving people in

the world and put them on this island and have enough food, clothing, and jobs for them. I would dream and dream about it because that is how I could emotionally handle seeing all these people die of malnutrition or disease. It was very hard on me emotionally. So I wanted something like that to happen, and I would pray about it every night. It didn't necessarily help that that was what my dad was trying to do because there was so much poverty. It was overwhelming, and so I had a hard time with that. That was the hard part about living in those countries. When you realize how much poverty and lack of resources there really is. At least, for someone like me it was heartbreaking.

CS: How old were you at that time?

SL: I came back here when I was sixteen, so I felt like that the whole time. Even at church when they show those movies of all those orphanages and stuff, I mean my dad used to take us to those orphanages because he would try and help those kids. I grew up seeing all of that, and I always wanted to adopt all of them. When they show it in church I get sick to my stomach because that is what I grew up—you get to see just a snapshot of in church and that is it, but when you live with it all around you, all the time, it is super overwhelming. It is just like you feel helpless.

CS: Is there any one place you remember that was really meaningful to you, or that you just loved?

SL: One of my favorite places is Cashmere. It is up in the Himalayas over by Pakistan and India. It looked like Switzerland, but it had an Indian Asian twist. It was beautiful and pristine—the air was really clear. Beautiful, just stunning—you open your eyes and the colors [looked] like emerald green, and beautiful blue, and—it is quiet. We stayed on this houseboat on the lake. It was just surrealistically beautiful. That was one of my favorite places. Then people would get in these boats and they would paddle out to sell you beautiful tapestries or food. That was how you would eat. They would come by with fresh fruit, and you would just pick it off of their boats. They would glide up by you and—it was just really quiet and magical. That was really cool. And then there were these castle-looking structures up on the hill. It all looked like fantasy.

I loved Greece. I don't know if it is still like this but, [at] this island named *Skiathos,* you could look down into the water; it was so crystal clear that it looked like you could touch the bottom, but it was really deep. And you could look and look and just see all this beauty. Then you would turn and look back at the island, and the houses were all white and turquoise. It was really just amazing. And I loved my horse in Haiti.

CS: You had a horse?

SL: Yeah, he was my best friend. I would go and hang with him for hours and hours. Just ride and go way back in the back bush.

An interesting thing about Haiti is [Rafael] Trujillo had been the dictator, and he wanted to run with the big boys. He brought in a bunch of Arabian horses and ultimately learned how to ride, but he didn't know how to at first. Trujillo was in the Dominican Republic and—I'll explain what that has to do with Haiti; it is connected, it is the same island. What happened was, when he was overthrown, they set all of his horses free. They meant to kill them, but the horses ran. All over the island there are purebred Arabian horses that run wild, and mine was one of those. You could get up in the hills and see a herd of these beautiful, wild, and full of life—just these gorgeous animals. Mine was pretty wild, so I liked him. He was a stallion and he was very, very spirited. He was really feisty. When I would go riding, all of my friends [would] want to ride him, but I would say, "He is going to buck you off, or run under a tree to try to get you off his back. So, I know he is really pretty but"—and my parents were really cool, they got me another horse so that my friends could ride with me, but he wasn't as pretty. So all my friends always wanted the pretty one, which

was mine. I would tell them, "you don't understand, I'll put you on my horse but guess what? You are going to get bucked off." And, he would. Are we running out of tape?

CS: Oh, no. We're fine. I was just checking.

SL: So, those are some memories. I have tons. Hours of memories.

CS: Tell me about your experience among the people there. You mentioned your friends, were they kids of the other people or—

SL: Well, we went to private schools or we were home schooled. In some countries we lived in it was politically too volatile for my parents to put us in school. So my mom would home school us, and two things happened out of that. I have learning disabilities and my mom didn't know how to deal with that, so she basically gave up on me. When I actually went to formal school, I really didn't have a very solid background. I guess she just didn't know how to deal with learning disabilities.

When we were moving into more civilized places we ended up in private schools. In our schools were diplomat or dignitaries' children from all over the world. It was kind of confusing because we would go to school and there are the families of some maharajah's sons, and we were just these CARE children, but that is what the private schools had. So, they either sent [their children] to boarding schools in England, Switzerland, or to the private schools in countries that we were in. It was kind of an interesting mix of kids that we were with.

In terms of meeting locals, I was very shy as a child. I was shy up until college, like very introverted. I would read a lot of books and ride my horse. I would have one best friend and that was it. I had local friends, but I was just shy. People have a hard time believing that today. People would say, "Does she ever talk?" And my mom would say, "Oh, yeah. Wait until you get her started. You won't be able to shut her up." But it was true, I wouldn't say anything to anybody. I would just look around with these big eyes. But, once I was comfortable—like in India, I was at The Maidan, which is a big, huge field, and my dad was playing baseball while I was running around the perimeter. And they had these trees that were really cool—I think they are called banyan trees, they had all these roots, but they were up in the sky. You could go inside of them and out the other side like doorways. I would pretend that they were castles and—I always had a huge imagination—and I would play like there was royalty and castles, and this and that. I was always doing something in these trees, and the local kids would see me and would come play with me. So I'd have kids come join me, and we would come up with these big elaborate games. I never had any problem or felt separate. I just wasn't extroverted.

CS: Can you tell me about—were you aware of the politics when you were there?

SL: We were aware of the politics. We knew who was in power and what families were in power. What things we could and couldn't say. For sure we knew that. We were probably more aware than most American children are in this country at that age. Not only were we aware of the politics in the country we were living in, we were more internationally aware. Like when we were there we would know what was going on in France, Europe, Japan, and all over the world. We were taught that in school. When I moved back to this country, my grade level that I was [in] overseas [placed] me at senior level in this country.

CS: Wow.

SL: Yeah, the school system was very different.

CS: Tell me, how did you become involved in swimming?

SL: That's actually interesting. We moved from Haiti to the Dominican Republic and I went to [an] American school there where I started making friends. And there was this one little girl there that I would ask her if she could spend the night at my house, and she said that she couldn't because she had swim practice—her name was Katie. Then, about a week later, there was this other little girl named Penzie. I asked Penzie if she could spend the night, and she couldn't because she had swim practice. So I told my mom, "none of these people can ever do anything with me because they all have swim practice." So my mom said, "well, why don't you join the team then and then you'll be doing the same thing that they are doing." And I said, "I don't know. I don't know how to do all the strokes and how to do all that." So, she goes, "it can't be that hard. You have always been a fish. I can never get you out of the water. So lets just put you on the swim team."

There was one girl named Sonja Weiss on the swim team. I told her that I wanted to learn how to swim. She said, "I have a pool at my house and I can show you the strokes. Then you can go tryout that same night." So, I went over to her pool and she swam across the pool, and I copied her. Then she swam across and did another stroke, and I copied her. That night I thought I was all prepared and I went to the American Ambassador Hotel. I went there and jumped in the pool and the coach asked me to do all of these things. I did them and they put me on the team. What I didn't know was—for instance, I became a butter-flyer later on. I learned the butterfly by watching it—not knowing that people don't normally do that and I just did it. If I had known it was hard then it would have been really hard for me to do, but nobody told me so I just went ahead and did it. Like, "Oh, you watch and then go do it. Ok, I'll do that." So, when the coach saw that I could do [the] butterfly, he got really excited and said, "You're now my butter-flyer!" And that's how I became a butter-flyer.

I got fast very quickly. All of my friends got jealous of me because I was faster than all of them. It became really sad, because I didn't join the team to be fast. I joined it to be with people and have friends. But, I got fast so quickly that I immediately got separated out. My coach immediately went and told me parents, "she is Olympic quality and you have to start thinking about these things." So swimming immediately took a different turn for me. There was always a lot of pressure for me to perform right off the bat, whereas my friends were doing it because it was more social. That was the sad part about swimming. The good news is that it kept me out of a lot of trouble. Some of my friends now started to get into Quaaludes and [other] drugs – things like that. Those drugs are very rampant and easy to get in third world countries. So, it kept me out of trouble. By the time I got to college, I had never done drugs, never dated—never dated anybody—never kissed anybody, and never had a social life. Swimming went from wanting it to be a social life, to it became my life! By the time I got to college I was super naïve and unprepared to meet boys or anything else. So, that is how swimming started for me.

The reason that we moved back to this country—two reasons: one, my dad had some things politically happen with his career; we had family in California. The third reason actually was my mom was going to put me on the Mission Viejo Matadors because they were a famous swim team, even in the Caribbean. And, anybody who wanted to go to the Olympics, or had potential, that was the team that people were trying to get their kids on. In fact, when I moved back here a lot of my friends from Puerto Rico were on that team. So, I knew kids on that team. I ended up swimming with Jim Montrella, who was known to be an Olympic coach for swimming, later on. At that time, I had started out really fast, and then I hit a bad slump. I had been a big fish in a tiny pond and then all of a sudden I'm in the ocean, and there are all these fast swimmers. While my times were the same as theirs, I was psyched-out. I wasn't used to that many good people around

me. I didn't know how to handle it and I didn't know how to handle all of the bigness of everything. I had complete culture shock. Everything just seemed so big and so massive, including the amount of swimmers there were. So, I got very psyched-out and gained a ton of weight and told my parents that I didn't want to swim anymore. I was told that that wasn't an option and that I needed to continue to swim.

So, then I swam for men's CIF and made the finals for men's swimming because they didn't have women's CIF yet, back in the day. I made it to finals and they wouldn't let me swim because they didn't know what to do with a female that made it into men's finals. I then got discouraged again because I did well and—you know, it was a smaller pond and I did better that way. Then, the next year I joined the women's swim team in high school and AAUS swimming. I swam in the morning for my swim team, in the afternoon and lunch for my school team, and then at night with my swim team. So, I had like zero time, and grades were really important for my family. What time I had left I studied. I did not have much of a social life and by the time I was graduating from high school, I did not want to swim anymore. I had been recruited by very good universities to swim and I didn't want to go to them on a scholarship because I knew in my heart that I was going to quit swimming. And, I didn't want to go to Stanford and [have] my parents foot the bill knowing that I was going to quit. So, what happened was, I went to UCLA because they were one of the only ones that wouldn't give me a full ride. I thought, "That's good! My parents already know what they are going to pay and I can do this." My swim coach got wind of it from the Caribbean, flew out here, and told my parents, "You can't let her quit. You cannot let her quit."

So I had decided to swim for UCLA and they gave me a partial—that is where they pay for your apartment and for part of your books – they gave me some kind of partial thing at UCLA. I did that my first year and I was rooming with another athlete; she was on crew. It was funny because I was short and introverted, and she was tall and extroverted. Her name was Jane and she would—she would do the splits; like she'd put her foot up and like stick to the ceiling, you know what I mean?

CS: Um-hum—

SL: Yeah, she was super funny. She had short hair and big blue eyes, and just made me laugh all of the time. She'd go to crew practice, and I'd go to swim practice, and, but, she—her whole life was like, I remember feeling like, "She has boyfriends and she has a life, and I just swim." Do you know what I mean?

Basically, I started swimming for UCLA and then 1980 rolled around and I started getting fast again. I had friends on the swim team at UCLA. Most of them were all seniors and they all graduated – it's weird how all that works, but they were really sweet. The one thing they did that wasn't so sweet was they invited me to a party after swim practice, and there was this big plate of brownies on the table. It was actually pot. I didn't know that and I ended up eating the whole plate. I got really high and it really scared me. That was a really bad experience, and that was my introduction to drugs. I had never—remember, I had never had sex—I had never done drugs. But nobody believed that. You know they thought, "You've traveled around the world. You've had all of these experiences." And I'm like, "I've seen a lot of things; I've just never done any of that." So, I got really introverted, really shy, and really inexperienced in terms of those things. Not in terms of seeing the world and not in terms of – just an unusual combination. I think their plan was to make me feel less introverted. I think they wanted me to be more social. And, one of the reasons that I didn't talk about my life was that it always felt like it was bragging or something. I just felt like —you know it was an experience that I had but it wasn't of my own making. It was because it was what my dad did, and I was just a kid who got drug around. I didn't do anything to make that



In only her second international competition, Sharm earned second place in the butterfly, but missed out going to Disneyworld with the rest of her team because her success kept her busy in the pool. Photo courtesy of Christine Shook.

happen, so I couldn't even really talk about it. I was kind of modest about [it] because, really, that was the truth. I didn't create any of that and so I didn't like to talk about that. But their mission was to get me to open up, so it was sweet, but I was just—I wasn't there. So the whole thing terrified me. Being that high and—I called home in tears and said, "Mom, all the people on the swim team, and all the athletes at UCLA are drug addicts. I don't know what to do. And, all of the guys on the football team are on steroids." And my mom said, "Yeah, that's what goes on. I'm sorry you had to find out that way." I'm like, "All these American athletes I have always looked at in magazines and things, they are all a mess." She was all like, "Yes." Up until that point I still thought differently. I didn't know. I still thought they were all-American—clean, Apple pie—and I didn't know what to do with that.

Anyway, I had a love-hate relationship with swimming. I love the way water feels. I loved working out and my most fierce competitor was always the clock. It wasn't another swimmer I was going after; it was always that time on the clock. The times I did best was when I would lighten up, and, just let my body feel how much I loved the water. Those were always my best races. My worse races were when I would just get all wound-up inside, and just have to perform. I found out that the power of the mind is phenomenal. It can make or break you; whether you are in shape or not. Meaning, if I got sick and was puking or whatever, I could still go in and make an amazing time because my mind would, I could—mind over matter.

Two things happened at that point. I had had an eating disorder from age thirteen until college. I became very inconsistent in my swimming because I was malnourished at times—abusing laxatives—eating, not eating. The coach pulled me aside and asked, "What's with you? Are you on drugs?" and I said, "No. I don't do drugs." And they asked, "Why are you so inconsistent?" I didn't want to admit that I had an eating disorder because—it was too shameful—and you don't talk about things like that. You really don't, or—we didn't.

End of tape 1, side A; beginning of side B

CS: This is side two of an interview with Sharm Luehman. We were talking about an eating disorder that you were going through—

SL: I wanted to get kicked off the swim team rather than admit to my swim coach that I had an eating disorder. That's how embarrassing it was. I'd rather get kicked off than have everybody know. A couple of things happened. At UCLA, if you had good grades, which I had good grades, and you were a good athlete then there was this unwritten law that and you can get little poster things—like the one over there [points to a frame sitting on a dresser next to her desk that contains a picture of her swim team and metals]—that labels you as a scholar athlete where you help other athletes. You tutor them and help them get through the programs because some of the athletes were very talented athletically, but not scholastically inclined. So that was something that was sort of like a "give back" thing. The athletic department knew me and they knew because, not because I was inconsistent—I had become inconsistent—but because my times were good and my grades were good. And, even knowing that the athletic department knew me, I still wanted to get kicked off the swim team rather than admit I had an eating problem. The long and the short of it is, I think it kind of scared me. I started eating more again and getting more sleep, so my times started getting better again.

So UCLA said, "Ok, we are going to take those athletes that are here in this school and are at this level, and we are going to start teaching you Russian because the Olympics are in Russia."

CS: When was this?

SL: That was in 1980. So we all got into Russian classes and started learning about Russian culture. It was a group of us from UCLA, a very small group. And there would be all these people from different sports that were contenders. We had all of these classes together, and it was like we were on this separate—like this was the general thing going on, and all of a sudden we were pulled over here to be groomed and pruned to go. We were told—gosh, we had all already taken Russian and we had all already gone through a series of training-physical training—all of that. Then, I don't know what the other team's coaches did, but the swim team coach pulled us aside and said, "You know it is going to be more like a nationals. We are not going to the Olympics." In my mind I was relieved. Everybody goes, "How did you deal with that?" but what happened was, I didn't know how to quit swimming and I already had all of these other emotional things going on; I had no real skills socially. I had been kind of hidden in swimming and scholastics, and I kind of had missed out on high school proms; all that stuff. I went to high school proms, but I had to leave early because I had practice in the morning. And, everybody else was drinking and stuff, but I didn't. So, at that point, I realized I need to have a life and swimming is keeping me from it.

At first it was bittersweet, because there was a part of me thinking, "Gosh, could I have completely made it? Were they seeing something in me that I wasn't seeing in myself?" I went through a lot of questioning, but, in the end, I felt like maybe it was one of the best things that could have happened. I needed to know how not to swim. I needed to have a life that didn't involve swimming. It was [time] consuming. So what happened was, I wound up with six to eight hours in my day, which is a lot of time that I wasn't used to having and I wasn't sure what to do with it. I didn't know how to have free time. I had to be doing something. I did not know how to relax, and I did not know how to sit still – unless I was studying or reading a book. I mean, I just couldn't have free time. That took me about seven years to learn how to have free time, but it took me a long time. In terms of being social, I kind of came out of my shell at that point, I was kind of forced to. I ended up getting a few jobs on campus. One was for Ackerman Union, which was the main store. We would book the bands coming on campus. The other job I had was a switchboard operator. I found out that I could push the mute button and listen to all of these calls coming in. So, I listened on all of these calls and knew everything that was going on on-campus. You know, all the scoop. So

I got myself right in the hub of things and learned how to be social. And how to start—did I start dating? Not really. I wasn't sure about boys. I wasn't sure about how to do that piece yet. I liked boys, but they scared me. I was deathly afraid that they would want me to kiss them or something, and I knew that I did not know how. So I was afraid of that, but I was finally at a place where I thought I could learn all of those things. So the end of my swimming meant me starting to grow up emotionally, socially, and not feeling separate. Like, [whispers] "Oh, she's that swimmer." You know, because I had wound up being put into the newspaper more than I would have liked, and interviewed more than—really I was not trying to be a star. I was just trying to be with my friends. So, that's how it started. I have no regrets. I still love swimming. I will tell you that it kept me out of a lot of trouble. If I could change anything about it, I wouldn't. I really am very, very grateful that I learned the discipline from it, and I learned how important it is to put your mind into something [and] make it really happen. If your mind is there, then the rest will come together. It probably kept my eating disorder more in abeyance because when you are around people, and you have to eat, then you actually eat. And, it kept me involved with a lot of other athletes, which was good. What ultimately did happen though was that I did get into a little bit of modeling. And, again, there was that notoriety kind of thing that I didn't really want. I don't really know if you want this on this tape now, but that took me into a whole other world; a whole completely different world from swimming.

CS: Can we just go back a little bit, you said that you were separated in the UCLA group, and groomed to go to the Russian Olympics. Can you tell me about that process? Was it just UCLA people, or was it people from all over the country too?

SL: At that point it was just UCLA.

CS: Do you know how they were going to pick the Olympic team?

SL: They were going to have the tryouts and they did have the tryouts, but prior to the tryouts there were people getting groomed. Even for the tryouts. It's like coaches—I don't know if you have ever watched athletes, but you can start seeing people start pulling apart naturally. Like a herd of horses running, some of them just start separating themselves naturally and I think coaches can see stuff like that.

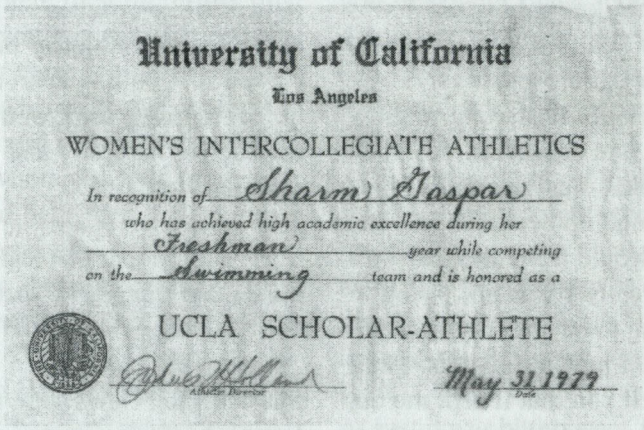
CS: You said that you had a lot of discussion with media and things like that, can you tell me about that?

SL: The interviews were more like—right before I moved to this country and I would go swim in the Florida from the Caribbean and there again, it was like I came up out of no where. Like, "there's this girl. She just started swimming and then a day later she is setting records." It was weird like that.
So, they would interview us. We would be getting our ribbons, or our trophies, or whatever, and they would put up the microphone and ask us a couple of questions. Like, "How did that race feel? Were you prepared? Were you psyched up? Did you think you would win?" You know, and the answer is, "Yes, yes, yes." (laughs)

In terms of UCLA, it was almost like, everytime—and, it feels weird saying this now in hindsight, I hadn't really thought about this—but it's like one of those things where you turn around and you are there. You know, you don't realize that it is happening and you are there. Like people who act, [and] all of a sudden become famous and then don't know really know how that happened. You are working, working really hard, and then all of a sudden you are like, "Wow, I'm still the same person. It is so weird that all of this is going on." You know what I mean?

CS: Um-hum

SL: Maybe another parallel feeling is—like, when I think about my age. Like when I feel the way I feel right now; I don't feel my age. Then I look in the mirror and I'm actually forty-eight years old. But if I'm just sitting here thinking then I could be any age. It's almost like that with swimming. You are in the pool doing your workouts and then, all of a sudden, because you are making some kind of time, there is something different about you according to everybody else. But you don't feel any different and you are still the same person. It is really a weird sensation when all these people start making a big deal around you and you're like, "Is this really me they are making this big deal about?" You kind of want to take a look around. It's like when someone is waving and you take a look behind you, and it is actually you that they are waiving at. It was kind of weird, but I feel like the whole thing was kind of like that for me. The whole swimming – and that is why I started it by saying that I never really started it for any kind of anything other than being with my friends. You know, that was the big goal. The fact that I ended up being fast was just like, "Who knew?" Me? I didn't know.


University of California
Los Angeles
WOMEN'S INTERCOLLEGIATE ATHLETICS
In recognition of Sharm Gaspar
who has achieved high academic excellence during her
Freshman year while competing
on the Swimming team and is honored as a
UCLA SCHOLAR-ATHLETE
Athletic Director
May 31 1979
Date

UCLA awarded Sharm this certificate and the designation as a "Scholar Athlete" because of her ability to maintain a 4.0 while attending all swim practices and meets. Courtesy of Sharm Leuhmann.

CS: Did you ever see any of the articles that were printed about you? Can you tell me how you thought you were portrayed?

SL: One article printed, when I was in Palm Springs, they wanted to test me for steroids because they were sure that the reason my stroke was so strong was that I was on some kind of drugs. So, this whole article was about all that and it connected me with steroids. The truth in the matter is that I never did any drugs. I think that's when they just started testing swimmers. I think they had already been testing other athletes. But they tested me only to find out that I just had a very strong stroke. I remember feeling really angry. I didn't do anything, and here I'm getting accused of something. Then, [at] that same swim meet, they decided to film me underwater so they could use my stroke as a training stroke for other people. So it was this sort of weird, "Wow, that's phenomenal; are you on drugs?" kind of thing. So that was an interesting article.

We had another article written when the UCLA swim team went to Hawaii for training camp. It was pretty much like how most sports articles are with your age; what you did during that meet, your times – that was pretty much it. There wasn't that much about your history; where you had been, or anything like that. If you look at a column about someone who plays baseball it is about how many hits and how many runs. It's almost like that. "She swam five races, won three and came in second in two." It wasn't like a personality profile, well except for the steroid one where they said, "There is a person here and we are checking her."

I know one. I went to my high school prom and the next day all of us that went to this swim meet were supposed to be in *Seventeen* magazine – they were sponsoring this swim meet. What happened was I actually stayed up past curfew and went to this prom. I begged my mom. I'm like, "*Please?*" and she said, "Well, you have a big meet in the morning." And I'm like, "I have *never* done this. Please let me." So we rented a limo and stayed

out late, late, late, had breakfast at Denny's. My two hundred butterfly was the second event at the Mission Viejo Matadors pool. I got in there and they wrote about how I bombed because I was so tired. They seat you in lanes, and if you are supposed to be the fast one they put you in the middle in the pool in the last heat. So, all these people are going and obviously I was scheduled to be the fastest one in the race. Everybody passed me, I fully came in last and I was dead. So that was an embarrassment and my coach asked me to scratch the rest of the swim meet because – I'm sure I could have pulled off a one hundred, just not a two hundred (laughs). So that was really bad and that was written up, too. Like, "What happened to her?" and all that was [because] I wanted to go to my prom. I wanted to have that experience. I tried to tell my coach, [but] he didn't understand. I tried to explain to him, "I have missed everything. I have not even gone roller-skating this year because you don't want me to break bones. I don't go skiing with my family; I don't do any of those things. I wanted to do this." And he goes, "Well, this is the consequence. This is why you don't do any of these things because you just humiliated the entire swim team." And I'm like, "There you have it. I wanted the experience." He said, "Was it worth it?" and I'm like, "Yeah! First school dance I've ever been to. It is senior year and I wanted to go." So yeah, that was written up. I think that there were a lot of us that were really good. And, in the eighties, who knew who was actually going to make it in that moment, the last minute? There were a lot of us that were really good, and we were consistently beating each other. One time one would win, then another, and then another. There were like five of us and you just didn't know what was going to pan out. But, as it turned out, none of us ever found out because none of us went.

CS: How aware were you at that time of what was happening internationally?

SL: Less aware than when I was lived over seas. Mainly, because I all I did was swim. I lived in Palos Verdes and I commuted to Long Beach—Lakewood—which was where my swim team was. We left at about a quarter to five in the morning and then there was no traffic, but coming back there was always traffic. I would just barely make it to high school on time; go into class; do school; do my homework in the car on the way to swim practice in the evening; hit traffic on the way to swim practice; and then come home late at night. So really, for those years of my life, that is all I did. We would get one week off in the summer. When I stopped swimming, I didn't go near a pool for two years. No pool parties, nothing. I completely boycotted and wouldn't go near a pool. Done.

So, [I'm] not as aware as when I was younger. I was more aware of Russian politics when I was younger, and what was going on. I just don't think it is the trend in this country for American children to really be aware of other countries. I mean right now, with the wars and everything going on in the Middle East, I think people are more aware because it has been in the news. But, for the most part, it is not really something that is encouraged or talked that much about in this country.

CS: You said that when you found out you were not going to the Olympics it was kind of like a relief—

SL: Bittersweet. It was bittersweet. There was part of me that wanted to go to Russia to see it because I liked traveling, and I had a feeling that maybe I would do really well. But the other part of me said, "Wow. Maybe this is a way for me to finally stop swimming because I am not allowed to quit" You know, quitters are losers. There is all that propaganda. Like, "When the going gets tough, the tough get going." And then there was a part of me that didn't know what I was going to do when I didn't swim. I wasn't prepared. So I was like, "Well, this might be a Godsend."

CS: Did you go on to swim nationals?

SL: No. I stopped. I just—boom, I'm done.

CS: Can you tell me about your family's reaction to your decision to quit?

SL: My mom wanted me to quit swimming for a long time. She felt like I didn't have a life, and I was missing out on a lot of things. My dad was *really* upset and disappointed. He felt like I had made the wrong decision. That's probably why I had the eating disorder because they had diametrically opposed things. I was trying so hard to please both of them and they wanted such different things for me. One of the reasons that I swam for so long was that I wanted my dad to be proud of me, and this was a way for me to stop and say, "Hey, there is nothing I can do about this." And he couldn't dispute that.

Swimming was—it was not fun anymore. It was pressure. It was always pressure to perform. I had to beat my own time and I couldn't always beat my own time that I had set. I couldn't beat myself, and it became a big head game. If I went into it loose and looked at it with just love and excitement rather than "I *gotta* do this," then I would do well. But it was hard to get myself in that place. I just had so much pressure from everywhere.

CS: Was there a specific point where that happened?

SL: Of where I would just loosen up, swim, and love it?

CS: Well of both. Where it stopped being about fun and—

SL: Yeah, when I moved to this country. In the Caribbean, it was fun because everything around me was so much more relaxed. When I got here, everything was so intense that I felt like everything I did was stressful. Everything was so stressful all the time and I just could never relax. I was trying to do all that and get straight A's. I would get home from swim practice and do homework until one in the morning, and then wake up at a quarter to four. It was just so much work and not enough sleep. A lot of work, a lot of work; it wasn't fun. It was a *job*. And, I couldn't go to dances—I couldn't do things. I just felt like it wasn't fun anymore.

CS: Can you tell me about the times when you would be able to relax and just have fun?

SL: Yeah. I remember the race, but I don't remember where I was. Katie, that girl that I met in the Caribbean—it must have been back-east somewhere because her family moved back east from the Caribbean. Her little sister was on deck right before my race, and she came up to me and was like, "Sharm! Oh my Gosh!" and I was just like, "Oh my gosh!" I remember just being so happy to see her and – it just connected me with something from the Caribbean. That race is my favorite race of my life. I swam prelims and I knew I was just way ahead of everybody. My race was two hundred butterfly and I just felt like I was on a cloud. I finished with so much energy I felt like I could go faster. It's just how good I felt. My timing was really good; my stroke was really strong; my breathing was solid; my turns were dead on. That whole race was just so effortless in both prelims and finals. It just felt beautiful. It was my favorite race of my life. I did an amazing time, but it wasn't even about the time. I came in and knew I did well; it was just like the flow was all there. One other time we were in Seattle…the Husky's pool. That was a great race, too. They piped in *Rocky* music underwater, and all of us were just kicking butt dude! We were all flying. That music motivated us, so we were just, like, pumped! That was a good time. Those are my two favorite races in this country.

The rest were very stressful emotionally. I would have to sit in a corner and pray to God, and get centered. Weird things would happen, too. Like, one time I was at Belmont Plaza—it was in-between prelims and finals—and my race suit was in there drying. I went to put it on for finals, and

I went like this [makes motion like pulling up a swim suit] somebody had cut the crotch out. Things like that was just bad sportsmanship. Or, people on my own swim team would try to give me licorice sticks and, being naïve, I didn't realize that I would get diarrhea. You know what I mean? Trying to psyche you out by making your stomach sick. So, I had some experiences like that and it made me think, "Why am I doing this? People on my own team are trying to sabotage me." So I didn't really bond with that many people on my team. It was just like, "I'm here to workout and that is it." It wasn't like a social thing for me.

CS: Can you tell me about your teammates' reaction to the Olympic boycott?

SL: A lot of sadness, a lot of frustration and confusion. They acted like, "Why do politics have to be involved in sports anyway?" and "This is bullshit." I was probably the only one that didn't [express] outrage, but I had my own agenda. They didn't. Maybe they were more confident in the way they felt they would perform, but I felt like I would have performed well because I liked traveling. I have always had this thing where anytime I travel I do well. For example, I lose weight and I feel well and content. It is just one of those things, and you know in sports, if you feel you are going to do well then that is a big part of it.

CS: Did you ever make it Russia?

SL: Not yet, but I will. This year I am going to Bali. I have never been to Bali, so I am excited about that. It is not that close to Russia, but I'll get there! There are a lot of places in the world that I still want to see.

CS: How do you feel about the idea of mixing politics with the Olympics?

SL: Oh, it is inevitable but I wish it weren't necessarily the case. I mean, it is a time when you can feel proud to be representing the United States. It is a cool thing and kind of a big deal. When I swam in the Caribbean—and I went all over, even though I was from the Dominican team—everybody made sure to tell everybody, "She's American. She is not Dominican. She is an American swimmer." You feel proud to represent this country, in its goodness. I think that is a privilege. So that is political even though it is a different aspect of politics.

It is sad that in some countries we have to worry about being shot. Just like where I grew up. Our athletes are in danger of that. Especially right now. We are not the most loved country in the world.

CS: [checking list of questions] You covered a lot of my questions on your own. Can you tell me, when the Olympics came here in 1984, did you think about going there?

SL: They were in Los Angeles and I did watch. My times from the years before would have placed me. My two hundred meter butterfly time would have placed me in the finals of that Olympics. So, it was interesting—four years later.

CS: You said that after the 1980 boycott you stopped swimming for two years. That means that you would have been swimming again by 1982. Did you ever think –

SL: They are every four years? Yeah. No, I did not want to do it again. It is a lot of work and a lot of dedication. It is a mindset. I will tell you one thing. I still swim to workout, and I know people that – old swimmers – still go to [swim] meets and still do not know how to quit. It is a very hard sport to get out of. I do not know if all sports are that way, but I know that old swimmers never want to die. They go to "Masters Meets" and do all these things. I still get pressured in the pool. People say, "You are so fast. Why don't you come and compete with us?" And I just say, "I'm just working out. You don't get it, I don't ever want to do that again." I still get pressure. I do… but I don't want to compete anymore.

CS: What was it like when you first came back to the pool?

SL: It was like an old friend. I realized that the pool itself was neutral, and that all the pressure in my head was my own making. Had I just stayed within myself, deep inside, and [had] been true to myself, then I would have had a different feeling with it—instead of trying to please my dad, my coach, my team, and make sure to place and be on the relay. All that self-abandoning stuff. If I had just learned to swim for me, it would have been a whole different experience. When I came back, I was just swimming for me, and, it was nice.

CS: I'm going to stop and switch tapes.

End of tape 1, side B; Beginning of tape 2, side A

CS: This is tape two of an interview with Sharm Luehman on April 26, 2008. You said that you went to Miami and competed there a few months after you first started swimming. What was that like? Was that your first time in the US?

SL: We lived in the Caribbean [and] would fly to Florida to get underwear and things like that. You know, the staples. I flew with the swim team and I knew it was a big deal. I had all of my friends on the plane. It was really exciting. We stayed with local families from Florida, [and] I got to watch TV and actually have boxed cereal! Then we went to the swim meet, and I did really well. The bummer about that was [because] I did really well, I would have to swim in the morning and at night. A lot of people on my team had not done really well. They got to go off and play while I had to swim different races. So right off the bat I realized that there was a penalty for winning, because you don't get to play when you go to all these different places. All you get to see is the pool. So, while they were are all seeing Disney World and doing all these different things, I was swimming. It was good, but it was surprising to me. I didn't expect what happened. I didn't expect what happened—ever. I didn't know how to recreate it happening either. It just seemed to happen. I knew I worked hard in the pool. I knew I worked out harder and I didn't cheat. I didn't do a flip turn in the middle of the pool when the coach's back was to me. I knew I always worked out really hard. I knew that I would pass people on my own swim team and I was aware of that happening. But I just didn't realize that there were a lot of fast swimmers on my own team so passing them was a big deal, I didn't know that. And I wanted to be fast. I liked it. I liked the way that it felt.

CS: You said that when you came to Mission Viejo it was like coming out of a small pond into the ocean. How did you feel you were received by the team?

SL: Well, I didn't end up swimming for the Mission Viejo Matadors. My parents ended up settling in Palos Verdes because my uncle lived there. That was our plan. The next best team was the Lakewood Aquatic Club in Long Beach. I would have felt better swimming for the Matadors because I would have known some of the swimmers. For the swimmers on my own swim team—it was a bad experience—they did not like me. The coach did not like me from the day I walked on deck, and it was his mission to "toughen me up," as he would say. He proceeded to physically abuse me the whole time I swam for him. He would make me do duck walks backward all the way around the pool until my bathing suit would rip my skin and my shoulders would be bloody. He would make me swim without a cap because I had long hair and he wanted me to cut my hair. What he didn't understand was that my dad forbade me to cut my hair. So every night we would have to comb the tangles out – and my hair was down to here [shows hair was long enough to reach her lower back]. He was extremely abusive. He quit to coach for Ohio State or something, but he was absolutely horrifically abusive to me. Horrible! Other swimmers on the team kept say-

ing, "Why is he treating you that way? Why is he treating you that way?" and I have no idea to this day. He did apologize to me. But, I know one of the reasons that swimming became so horrible to me was because of how mean he was to me. I told my mom and she tried to talk to him, but he said, "She is a princess and I am trying to toughen her up." He just tried to beat me down and beat me down; but I didn't quit. Of course, I wasn't allowed to quit.



Today Sharm looks past the bad experiences and embraces the positive effects of her swimming career. Visitors to her office in San Clemente, California, can now see the framed display that once adorned the walls of her father's work, on a bookshelf in her own office. Photo courtesy of Christine Shook.

Going to swim practice was grueling. One time I went into the bathroom and I had a really bad period but I didn't have a tampax. I waited for someone to come in and give me a tampax so I could get back out on deck. When I got back out on deck he made me bend over, and he hit me on the butt with a kickboard in front of the entire swim team. He beat me on the butt while I was in a nylon suit. I couldn't explain to him that "Look, I'm on my period. I didn't have a tampax because I wasn't supposed to get it." I was mortified. So instead, I just got hit on the butt in front of the entire swim team. I'm really sad that that was the team that I got put on. My dad just thought it was like military camp and they would just toughen you up. He didn't get how bad it was, but my mom did and that's another reason why she didn't want me to swim anymore. It was a really bad experience.

He knew he had done wrong because he apologized when he finally left the team. When he saw me…he said, "I know I did wrong by you." I thought (exhales), four years of that – it is fortunate that I have any confidence in myself at all at this point. He put me in the lane with other swimmers because he knew that I would make them swim faster. Then he would pull me out and say, "Well, you don't get to go to that [swim]meet." He just did really weird things. I wish I had had enough self-confidence to tell my mom to put me on a different team, but I felt like I would be a quitter if I did that. I felt like I had no options but to finish where I started.

CS: With everything that is happening with the Bejing Olympics now, do you look back and compare the two events?

SL: No. I mean the way that I look at the Bejing Olympics is that I think it will be one of the most phenomenal opening ceremonies we have ever seen. I think that our athletes will be safe and judging will be pretty fair. I think that, if we understand Asian culture, the way things look and being a good host is really important. I think that if we understood Asian culture, we wouldn't be afraid to go there. If Americans studied more about that culture they would be very excited about these Olympics.

CS: I just want to go back and talk about one more thing that I just remembered. You said that there was an article about you and steroids, how do you feel about what is going on now in baseball? With players being accused?

SL: I learned quickly that athletes at UCLA were doing all sorts of things. Like speed and steroids

and – I was just anti-drugs. There were swimmers doing steroids. I just wasn't one of them. Yes, I am sure that athletes are abusing steroids. All of the above starting in high school…going all the way through to the pros. It is a big problem. It makes sportsmanship…completely unfair. It is unfair that people take substances to enhance themselves. It is like beauty queens being able to do plastic surgery. What are we actually judging here, a doctor's work or God given beauty? It's the same thing with sports; yet another entirely controversial issue.

CS: I know I'm full of them (both laugh). I'm sorry. I'm kind of jumping around here, but when your coach left Long Beach did you stay with that team, or go to another team?

SL: I did. I did and that is the race that I did so beautifully in. After he left my slump disappeared interestingly enough. My performance got much more consistent and that race was at the end of the summer. That's when I decided to quit because I was gong to go out with a bang. That is when my coach flew in from the Caribbean and told them, "You can't let her quit." Because, all of a sudden it looked like I was "on" again. And, I was. I was definitely "on" again. And, [when] I quit between my first and second year at UCLA, he flew out again and said, "You need to continue to swim another year." If he had continued to be my coach, with his belief in me and in the way I new that he loved and respected me as a person, I'm sure there would have been some differences. Because he just had a way of making me feel very gifted as an athlete, as opposed to a spoiled brat from a rich family who needed to be knocked down a couple of pegs, like the other coach. Jim Montrella left and a guy named Mike Judd was the [new] coach. He had worked with my dad in the Peace Corps years before—just a small world. [Jim] would write the workout on the board, and then go into his office and do whatever. So, he wasn't even on deck with us—we worked ourselves out. That was perfect for me because I was very self motivated and happy. The truth is, I would have done better without a coach period.

CS: Can you tell me what you thought when your former coach came out here to try and keep you from stopping?

SL: It was mixed because at that point I knew I had talent. I felt like I should give it a fair shot. I realized that what [had happened between] Jim Montrella and I was not a true measure of what I am capable of. There was a part of me that – if I could fall back in love with swimming, and fall back in love with everything again, then I felt I could do really well. But, I could never really [swim] again. Like I said, it became too much pressure. Having a really abusive coach really tainted what [swimming] was about for me. And then having a whole swim team of people that really didn't like me – part of that was the way the coach treated me. They didn't want to ally with me because it was clear that he didn't like me. All the swimmers knew it. I had a few friends on the swim team, but it was people who were courageous. You know, [those] that didn't care what the coach thought. Parents even said stuff to him like, "Why do you do that to her?" Other parents became concerned. [Then] he wouldn't allow parents on deck anymore. Did it toughen me up? No, it made me pissed. He didn't make me a tougher or better competitor. It just made me mad. So, it didn't work.

CS: Do you think that he ever really got that?

SL: Well, interestingly enough a friend of mine —you know I told you people still want me to go to swim meets and compete – so, a friend of mine was swimming with the Mission Viejo Matadors and I went on deck. Someone said, "Oh, you know who you probably know is Bev Montrella,"—that's his wife—"she works out here and swims." So, they are around. I almost thought, "I'm going to let him know what he did to me." Like, "Why the hell did you do that to me?" Then

I realized, he knows. What he did wasn't personal, but it felt like it at the time.

But here is the other thing, when I was studying to become a therapist I couldn't pass the second test. And, one of the things that I learned was that if you keep persisting, even if it seems horrible or like it is not going to happen, keep persisting. It worked; I got my license. So, maybe I did get something out of it.

CS: After you stopped swimming competitively, what made you come back to the pool?

SL: Hmm, let see—boys. Boys! By then I knew that there were cute boys hanging out at the UCLA Recreation Center. My girlfriends said, "Let's go hang out at the pool. You know there are cute guys out there." I was so self-conscious of my body that I didn't want to put on a bathing suit, but I knew if I was hanging with them in the water, it would better than lying around and having them look at me. So then I got back in the pool, and I couldn't help working out. I started swimming back and forth, and it felt good. And then, of course, I didn't want to lie out in the sun in front of all of the boys have them see my body, so I stayed in the water. So, that is what happened —[I was] too shy.

I used to laugh when my girlfriends would say, "Here, I'm going to put on this skirt, or this thing, to show the guys my body." I would say, "You don't understand, I am the last person in the world to put anything on [where] you can see [what] I have on under my…" You know what I mean? Oh, that's so funny. I was very modest up until my thirties. I never really wanted to show anything. The thought just horrified me. I'm like, "I'm just not one of those girls." Other girls could do it, I just couldn't.

CS: Is there anything else that you wanted to add?

SL: I feel like God has a design and a plan for everything, and His hand has been in all of this, too. That He refined me by all of this, and taught me these amazing lessons. That He knew He could keep me out of trouble by having me swim, and keep me focused on something. I did have unresolved emotional issues—clearly, as evidenced from my eating disorder and things like that—so He, in His kind and gracious way, helped me get through some things that otherwise would have been way more painful, and more detrimental. So I feel like His hand was in this, too. I feel like this was all a perfect plan, and I'm grateful for all of it.

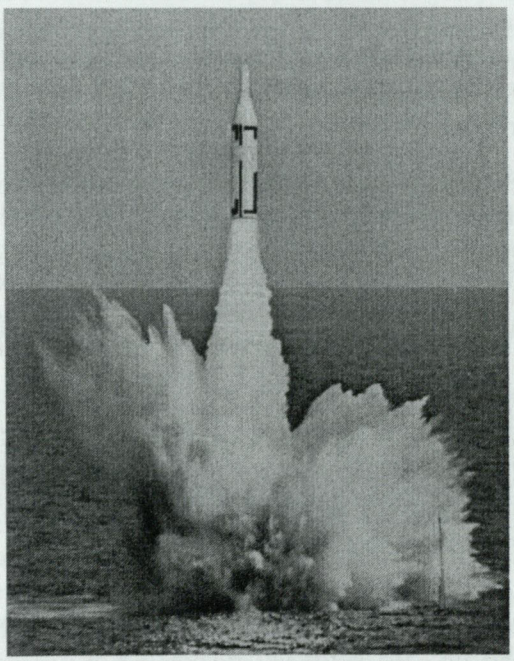
CS: Well, I just wanted to thank you so much for talking with me today. I really, really appreciate it.

SL: It was a pleasure.

Oral History of Leonard Leventhal

Neal Lynch

The lunar landing is one of the greatest achievements in United States history. **Neal Lynch** interviews **Leonard Leventhal** who worked on numerous scientific projects, including the Saturn V Rocket and a submarine rescue vehicle. His is one of innumerable previously unrecorded stories that exist of those who toiled in the background of such monumental undertakings. This fascinating interview provides a rare glimpse behind the scenes of America's early space program.



U.S. Navy Polaris A1 launched from a submarine at sea. Polaris, "Lockheed Martin/U.S. Navy Polaris A1 Launch," Lockheed Martin, http://www.lockheedmartin.com/products/Polaris/.

My name is Neal Lynch, I am conducting an interview with Mr. Leonard Leventhal to be archived in the Center for Oral and Public History located on the campus of California State University, Fullerton. Today is Saturday morning, 12 April 2008, and we are at the Osher Lifelong Learning Institute at Cal State Fullerton. Our topic this morning is Mr. Leventhal's work with North American Aviation and his role in the United States Space Program.

NL: Len, how are you doing today?

LL: Doing great.

NL: Len, tell me about your early education goals and how they influenced your choice of career.

LL: [I majored] in economics, [starting] in my junior year. Actually, I first thought I'd be a physicist, but found out I was no Einstein. [As I said,] I did major in economics, but I had a minor in math including statistics courses, which eventually led to my first career.

NL: An interesting choice of career being a finance manager; what first attracted you to working in the aerospace industry and specifically with North American?

LL: Well, it goes back to [my graduate work at the University of Oklahoma]. I took a break [from my graduate studies and] managed to get a job as the quality control inspector at Tinker Air Force Base in Oklahoma City, which was my home. So when I did leave [college] to [start my professional career,] I applied for a job as statistician. I [accepted an offer from the Army to work] at the Yuma Test Station in Arizona as a ballistician: it was my [goal to go] to Los Angeles [and work in the aerospace industry,] so this was a step [in that direction].

[The following year I was offered a position as a statistician in reliability engineering at North American's Rocketdyne Division in Los Angeles. Because of a layoff after the loss of a contract, I went to work for the Northrop Corporation for five years. But I could not resist the offer from North American to work on the Space Program when I received it].

NL: How do you define your job function at North American?

LL: Well, my job function at North American was to help set up reliability [apportionments] for the [Saturn S-II stage] system and its components and then work on a test program to demonstrate these reliability goals.

NL: So it is fair to say it was based on statistical study and evaluation?

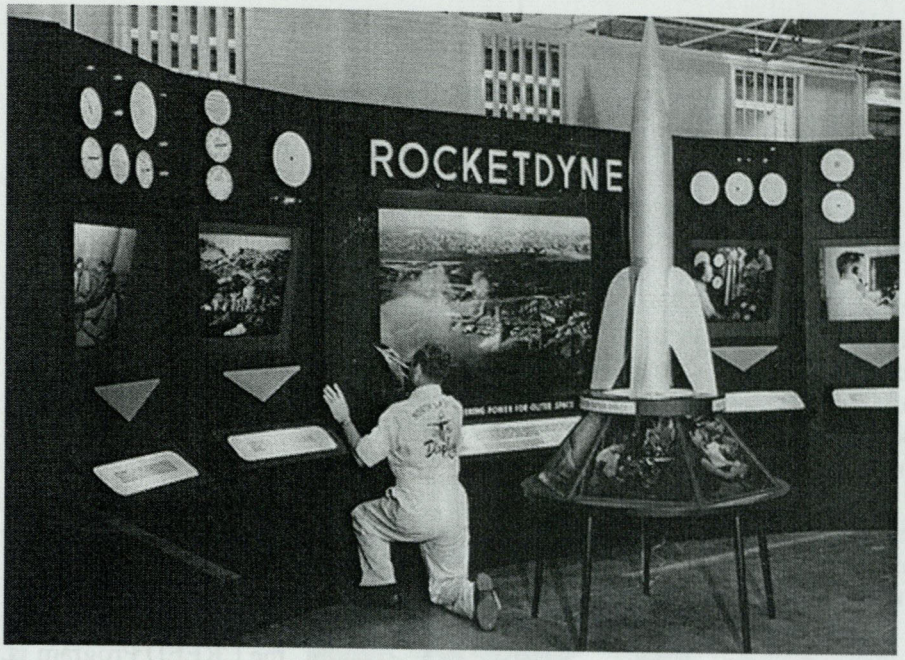
LL: That's correct. [When we started to analyze the method of demonstrating the apportioned reliabilities for the components,] we realized we had to come up with new [statistical] approaches that were unconventional because of the extreme cost of the components and the time constraints.

NL: Give me an example.

LL: Well, the standard approach had been what they called an "exponential reliability" test which requires you to run cycles of the item for thousands of times, but [there was] no way could we do that. So instead we assumed that we'll use the engineering tests in such a way that they'll demonstrate that they will reach the [end of its] life, the wear-out area [of the assumed statistical distribution,] which puts [the component] in a statistical [region] that requires a small amount of hours of [test] time. But the [catch is that the] tests were quite severe.

NL: Tell me about your first assignment.

LL: My first assignment was to help, with other members of my group, to set up the reliability goal for the second stage Saturn [rocket and its components]. And in order to do this we used a statistical technique [that had been used in the psychology field. We used the evaluations of engineers to help us determine which of the system's components] were the most critical [to obtain weighting factors] for our reliability [equation]. The way we tested [the method] was I guess [using an approach] that would be considered sexual harassment in a sense, [to evaluate our] secretaries.



North American Aviation (Rocketdyne) employee builds trade show display. Rocketdyne Archives, "North American Aviation Employee (Rocketdyne) Builds Trade Show Display," Rocketdyne Archives, http://rocketdynearchives.com/home.html.

NL: [Laughter] Did they ever catch on?

LL: Not that I was aware of, [so] I don't think [there was any] embarrassment.

NL: Explain to me what GSE Reliability Testing is.

LL: GSE is Ground Support Equipment. We decided that the [components were not as] critical [as the S-II stage components] because the GSE could fail the test without causing any damage to the Saturn itself, so we helped set up the apportionment [of the GSE] as a dependability equation which is the ratio of the [time test data is being received] compared to the total time [the GSE is operating] – total operational time plus the down-time. And because of [using that concept] we were able to greatly reduce the reliability requirements in comparison to the Saturn components themselves.

NL: In looking through some of your materials, I see a lot of words like "apportionment," "MTBF." What do these represent in your work?

LL: Well, apportionment is the distribution of the reliability requirements of the systems and components. So, once you set up a reliability goal for a whole system, for example at ninety-five percent, then you [need to] have the components apportionments higher. How high depends on the criticality [of the components] and weather, there is any redundancy and back up for these components. MTBF is [a] measure of reliability, the Mean Time Between Failures. [It is a value that states] how long you expect [a system or component] to [operate before you experience a] failure.

NL: Describe a typical analysis. Pick one item that you worked on and go through a scenario.

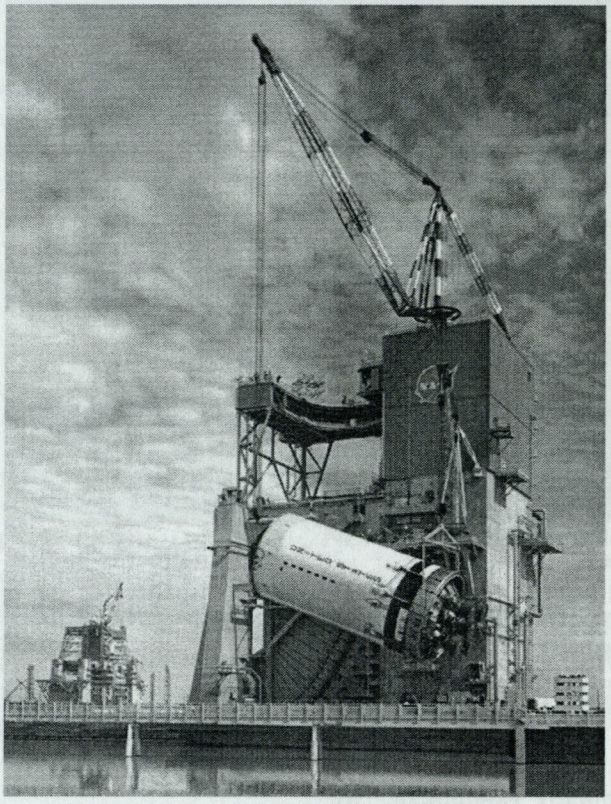
LL: Well, [suppose we want to test] a component of the [S-II's fuel system, such as a valve]. The sub-contractor is required to do an acceptance test to see weather the item worked. [In addition to] the acceptance test, we set up requirements for [a given number of] cycles [of testing] the component under various environmental conditions, such as high and low temperatures, [certain] vibration [levels,] and so forth, depends on [the stresses that the component will experience before and during its operation]. On the Saturn [rocket], we had extremes of temperatures from [those] close to absolute zero [because of] the [use of] liquid oxygen and [liquid] hydrogen to the tremendous heat generated by the engines. [In addition,] the system has to go though [high levels of] vibration [after launch. So we [would have the component] tests [run through] enough cycles [of high and low

temperatures plus vibration] to demonstrate the reliability of the item. If the component passed these tests, then we would have a high level of confidence that the component would not fail during its operation time when used on an actual mission].

NL: The vibration you refer to, I think that is what is, what was commonly referred to as POGO?

LL: POGO, I was reading in the report, is a certain condition caused by the Saturn, but in the beginning when I was involved we hadn't had any systems so weren't aware of what was coming up ahead at that time. The engineers hadn't predicted it, so we could only go by what the engineers had predicted would be the problems we would face.

NL: How much of your analysis was directed at the mechanical factors versus human factors?



Workers hoisted the S-II stage of the Saturn V rocket onto the A-2 test stand in 1967. Image of the Day, "Lifted into the Test Stand," National Aeronautics and Space Administration, http://www.nasa.gov/multimedia/imagegallery/image_feature_695.html.

LL: We use only mechanical factors. In a sense, the human factors were apparent because by far majority of tests, I'd say over eighty percent of the tests, the items either failed the acceptance testing with [minimal] stress, or they [complete the entire reliability test. This was] an indication that the sub-contractors either weren't aware of [the design requirements so they] didn't design the item to face the stresses [they encountered], or they [did know] what was [expected of their components]. So it was rare that we had something fail [after the] acceptance tests [but during] the more critical reliability tests.

NL: Did you ever have the presence of the astronauts that were going to fly the craft or any of the technicians from Marshall Flight evaluate any of your work, or did they observe anything, or were they involved in any part of the process?

LL: [Not in my unit. The astronauts were more involved with the Apollo command module and the lunar landing module]. But I was only in the program in the very early stages, from April 1962 to October 1965.

NL: Explain to me what the CREED Program is.

LL: [The CREED Program was an attempt to evaluate the reliability of the Ground Support Equipment (GSE). The equipment can be considered to have four functions: auxiliary, service, handling, and checkout in respect to the S-II stage. As we see here] (referring to notes) "C" stood for Cause of the potential failure; "R" the Result of the failure on GSE systems; the "E" part of the CREED is Effect of failure on use of GSE systems; "E", the second "E," is Evaluation of failure probability; and finally, "D" is Detection criteria for failure sensing in GSE system. [This gave us a way to prioritize the efforts expended to evaluate the reliability of the GSE equipment systems and their components].

NL: What would happen if your predictions of success did not meet North American or NASA expectations?

LL: Well, if there was a failure, and we definitely had some, [then] the sub-contractor [either had]

to revise their design and test it successfully, or we would use a] different sub-contractor. [NASA supported us when the reliability testing program discovered] failures [of components].

NL: Did your group detect significant failures with any of your sub-contractors, any of your projects?

LL: Yes we did. As I said, there were failures [of components] even [during the] acceptance [phase of the reliability] testing program.

NL: Can you cite any one of those failures?

LL: No, I don't remember specific [components that] failed. Eventually they were all re-designed and then re-tested and passed. I'm not aware of any parts or components that we got from sub-contractors that actually failed when it came to the actual system tests [several] years later.

NL: As a statistician dealing with number and probabilities and considering the scope of your project, what was you confidence level?

LL: Are you talking about my (inaudible) which type of confidence do you mean [personal or statistical]?

NL: Well, both. I'm interested in what personally you were thinking about the project you were dealing with knowing that the craft you were working on was going tot send men to the moon.

LL: Actually, I felt a great deal of personal confidence because I'd been [involved with military] reliability programs and we never received the freedom to set up test requirements as we did in this [NASA] program. [I believe that the reason is] that NASA knows that failures in this program would be very public, and that the public reaction would be very important [concerning] their funding. So compared to military programs which were much more secretive [about failure, there was much pressure to meet the reliability requirements]. So the NASA program, as I said, being a much more open and public program, and depending on public confidence, we were given freedom to really do our thing. And I [believed] we knew what we were doing and were doing it correctly. [Therefore] I was quite confident that things would work as they're supposed to and as it turned out, they did.

NL: Personal confidence aside how was your confidence in the system?

LL: Well, as I said, I left just when the system tests were beginning, so, it was still a mystery as to how the system would do. As it turned out, there were some problems, mainly with the structure, but overall with the parts that required testing by the sub-contractor, as far as I know, they did fine. [I did do one reliability study of the liquid hydrogen tank and it showed that there was a high probability of failure. But] our overall confidence level [for the system] was about ninety-five percent. And once [S-II stage was used for manned missions, there was never any] failure or a problem that caused any danger to the astronauts.

NL: After you left North American, from a project that was obviously still on going, did you ever have any doubts in your mind about how it would end up?

LL: Well, I thought that at least our system would eventually work. As I found out later, it turned out that there were structure problems, but [the results of] our test program [indicated] it would work, and it eventually did.

NL: In reading through your papers, I see phrases such as "eliminate or minimize 1st order failure modes" and "may cause personnel hazard." How was the stress level?

LL: You mean stress level regarding what these…

NL – I want to get back to the human factor. I mean ultimately, there are going to be human beings on the top of this monster, and so much of what you are doing is geared towards management of failure.

LL: Well, one design approach [we used] was to have [as much] redundancy [as possible]. For instance, there were five [rocket] engines, and it turned out, there was no danger to the program or the astronauts if one of these engines went out. [And that was true for many components. But for those components for which there was

no redundancy, we required more testing. I was concerned after I left that many systems tests were not done, and eventually the entire Saturn was tested before each of the stages were tested separately].

NL: What was the atmosphere at North American? Was there a sense of history in the making?

LL: Yes, there definitely was. There definitely was a lot of excitement because this was the dream of so many engineers and personnel involved in the program: [to go out into] space. Most of the [personnel had only] worked on military programs, [and military programs have a negative affect on your attitude because you are working on a system you hope is never used as missiles]. So in a sense it sort of had a negative affect. This [program had a] positive [affect. Almost all of us were readers of science fiction, and we all wanted to be the people who helped get man to the moon]. We were lucky to be able to work on this project.

NL: Was there a Cold War mentality, so to speak, a Cold War thinking like "Let's beat the Russians?"

LL: Well, that was part of it, certainly. [There was a national] Cold War mentality, because the Cuban Missile Crisis came along about then. So we certainly were aware of the problems. But on a day-by-day basis our thoughts were concentrated on getting the job done and trying to do the best we could.

NL: The S-II stage of the Saturn V rocket was the most problematic of the varied booster segments. Much has been written on the many challenges in design and manufacture. What was your biggest challenge?

LL: Well, at the time I was working [the] biggest challenge [of our group was to develop the] tests that we felt would demonstrate the [required] reliability [of the components] and yet be affordable. [That was, we had to use statistical approaches] that were used in areas outside of engineering [and to develop new approaches as well]. We had to use common sense when designing our tests. We wanted to demonstrate reliability, certainly, but yet we knew it had to be practical. We couldn't spend millions of dollars [and thousands of hours testing] individual parts. So that was our challenge, and I think we were able to overcome these challenges and have a good test program.

NL: Did you feel a lot of heat from management as far as cost over-runs? I ask that question because that was one of the items brought up historically that was a big problem with the S-II development. North American was running significantly over budget. How much heat did you feel from the accountants?

LL: Well, at my particular level that wasn't a concern. I mean we were getting pressure to get things done and come up with tests that were realistic and could be afforded, but I never felt pressure in a sense or monetary pressure. We had the budget to do what we needed to do for our group and went ahead and did it.

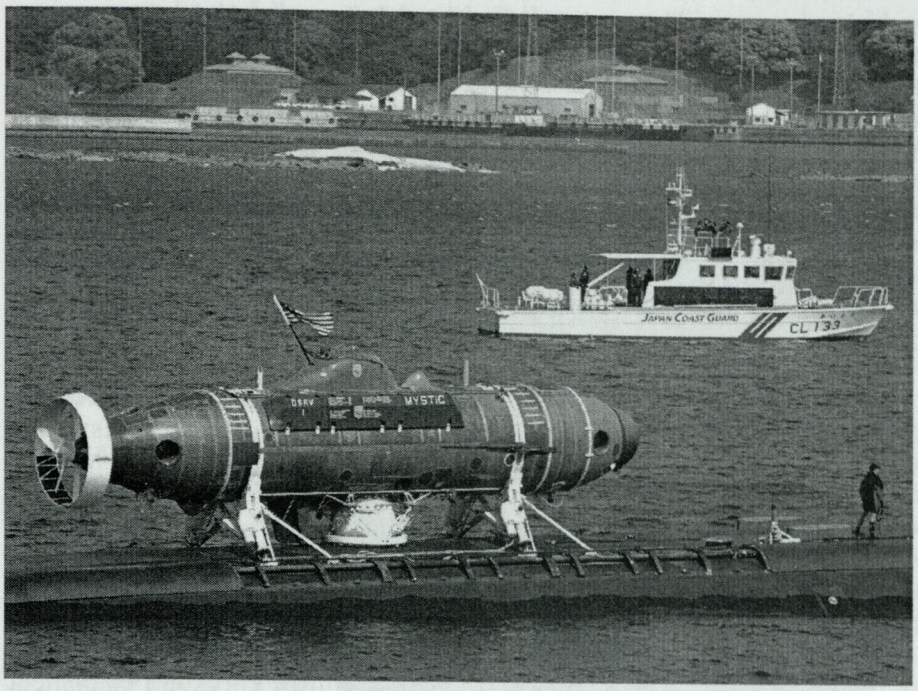
NL: In the later part of 1964 and again in the later part of 1965, the S-II suffered what was termed as catastrophic failures during testing procedures where, in one instance, significant damage was done to the stage. How were you involved in the analysis?

LL: I guess you'll be disappointed that I was not involved in the analysis of those tests. We were still very engrossed in our component-testing program, and those tests and evaluations were being handled by other groups in the chain. [But in June 1965, I did run an analysis of the liquid hydrogen dewar (container) facility. It indicated some of the problems that the S-II stage had, as it was basically a hydrogen and oxygen tank].

NL: Was your group ever called in after a problem occurred to troubleshoot in any way?

LL: Not directly. As I said [before] we were going ahead with our component test program and there hadn't been any complaints about us not doing that correctly. So, I wasn't, and the people I know weren't directly involved in the beginning systems tests at that stage.

NL: Man on the moon is arguably the most significant scientific and engineering achievement of the twentieth century. What were your personal



Deep submergence rescue vehicle Mystic atop the *USS La Jolla*. Navy NewsStand – Eye on the Fleet, "DSRV-1 Mystic aboard *USS La Jolla*," U.S. Navy, http://www.navy.mil/management/photodb/photos/020425-N-0401E-003.jpg.

thoughts when Apollo 11 landed?

LL: Well I was extremely thrilled. I was looking forward to [seeing men landing on the moon and now it had happened. And I was part of it]. Of course, years since people say that it was all staged; it was all on a movie lot somewhere. But I think [those of us who worked on the project] know that it was the real thing. [So many significant events of the 20th Century were catastrophic events, but this event was one the human race could be proud of, particularly Americans.

NL: What memories came to mind when you toured the Kennedy Space Center and saw the Saturn V on display in the Rocket Garden?

LL: Well, [seeing the complete Saturn V system together as one unit was a thrill because at our facility in Downey,] we had our stage [assembled, but] in two parts. [It is difficult to realize the length of the Saturn V until you see it as one unit. At the Space Center, I was in the room where simulated testing was done and saw the Vertical Assembly Building. To sum it up, it was a great experience I will always cherish].

NL: Did any of your children follow you in your line of business?

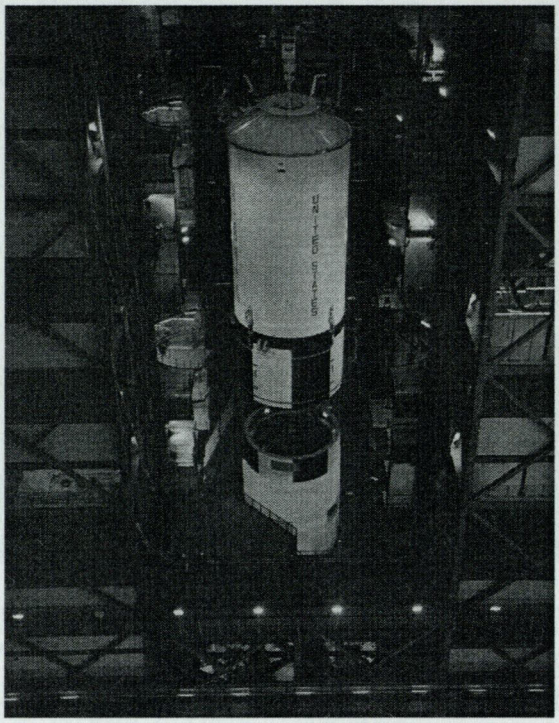
LL: Well, my children never followed me in engineering. [I do have a son who is a computer technician. But I have another son who does work similar to the work I did for the Los Angeles Unified School District, but he works for the Los Angeles County Office of Schools. And my daughter is a high school math teacher. Another son is a kindergarten teacher, and I have a teaching credential. So my children have my interests even though they did not follow my specific career path].

NL: What did you do after you left North American in 1965?

LL: Well, after I left North American I went to work [for Northrop] on another exciting [engineering] project: [the Navy's] Deep Submergence Rescue Vehicle [DSRV]. Its [purpose is to] rescue the crews of [disabled] submarines that [cannot resurface and may be on the ocean floor at great depths]. There had been some disasters of submarines and no way to rescue the crews. So, this was a project that I got in from the beginning. [Another engineer] and I [developed a] simulated mission [for the DSRV] because before we could [establish] reliability [goals,] we had to know how long a mission would be. [From the simulated mission, we were able to establish operating

times for each subsystem and component. They we were able to establish reliability goals for the total system and each of its components].

NL: Working for the Navy, did you have as much freedom as you did? You mentioned earlier that the freedom that you had to get man on the moon, how was it working for the Navy at that time?



The S-II second stage is moved into position for mating with the S-IC first stage, 21 March 1969. Apollo 11 Image Gallery, "69-HC-340," National Aeronautics and Space Administration, http://history.nasa.gov/ap11ann/kippsphotos/saturn5.html.

LL: In this particular project [we had a great deal of freedom because] we didn't have a contract to build anything. We were just designing and setting up the system requirements. [This is a contrast to an earlier Navy project I was involved with where the Navy brought in Northrop as a subcontractor, which angered the prime contactor]. There were fights going on between various contractors under the Navy, and I understand there were some in the program later on. So, we ran into that type of interference by the companies with the Navy having to be the umpire. But, overall, the Navy was pretty good. These were things, which I worked on many years ago, and I understand one is still operating. So I guess the requirements were pretty good that we set up.

NL: Do you know the details of any specific missions that were carried out with these, or is that a Navy secret?

LL: Well, they never had to use a rescue, but I found out later that [it was being used for] underwater research because [the DSRV could descend to] about 20,000 feet as I recall. They were used on espionage missions [according to] some magazine articles [I have read] such as tapping underwater cable wires that the Russians used. [laughter] I guess it had another purpose other than what we designed it for that proved to be very useful. [By checking on the internet, I found out that one DSRV is still operating. So I guess the reliability requirements that we established were even better than we thought].

NL: Well, we've covered man on the moon; we've covered deep-sea submarine rescues; what other interesting projects have you worked on in your career?

LL: [The] project [that I was involved with] before the Space Program was [the checkout] equipment [for] the Polaris missile [that is carried] on the submarines. I was able to do something very unique, at least at that time, and that is we set up an accelerated life test. [The test specimens (the most used components of the checkout system) were subjected to simulated system usage for a 720-hour (30-day) period. Each of the specimens were grouped in four different blocks: (1) operation during vibration, controlled temperature, and relative humidity; (2) no vibration but controlled temperature and relative humidity; (3) operation during vibration with temperature cycling and controlled relative humidity; and (4) no vibration, temperature cycling, and controlled relative humidity]. The way we evaluated this information was to use an older version of the checkout equipment by using its computer. We obtained thousands of voltage outputs [during this test]. Although many failures were obvious due to certain environments, we did have some intermittent type failures, which wouldn't have shown up if we hadn't of run the type of test program we had run. [This procedure enabled]

engineers to detect failures that were have been very subtle and hard to find. So I was proud of [the personnel in my unit that I supervised]. I was very glad that the Navy allowed us to run [the test program in spite of objections by the prime contractor]. It proved quite successful.

NL: Well, so many interesting things you've worked on from a scientific aspect, a technical aspect, a statistical aspect, and now you find yourself in 1970 completely changing gears and going to work as a financial analyst for the school district. What kind of a paradigm shift was that?

LL: [Laughter] Well, I was still working with numbers, although they were monetary numbers. [During] the first several years of [my new employment, I audited the use of federal funds by the schools]. I was involved in a federal program that gave money to schools whose [pupils were mostly] of a lower economic status, [a program that is continuing]. What was unique about this program, [was that] we had to get the parents involved and sign off the plans for [their] individual schools. And that required parents to understand something about the budget approach we were using. In some cases, I actually had to have translators because many of the people just knew Spanish. So it was quite a challenge to work with not only [the school staff], but parents as well. It was quite interesting. Later I [was more] involved more with [district] offices, behind the scenes work, but it was always quite interesting. [There was] always [a major] crises [occurring] in the school district, so we always had to find ways to achieve our goals even though there was quite often a lack of funds. Overall, I found it interesting, and I [usually] found the people I worked with were very dedicated and really anxious to help the schools as much as they could.

NL: I'm guessing that working with parents was a lot tougher than working with NASA and the Navy combined.

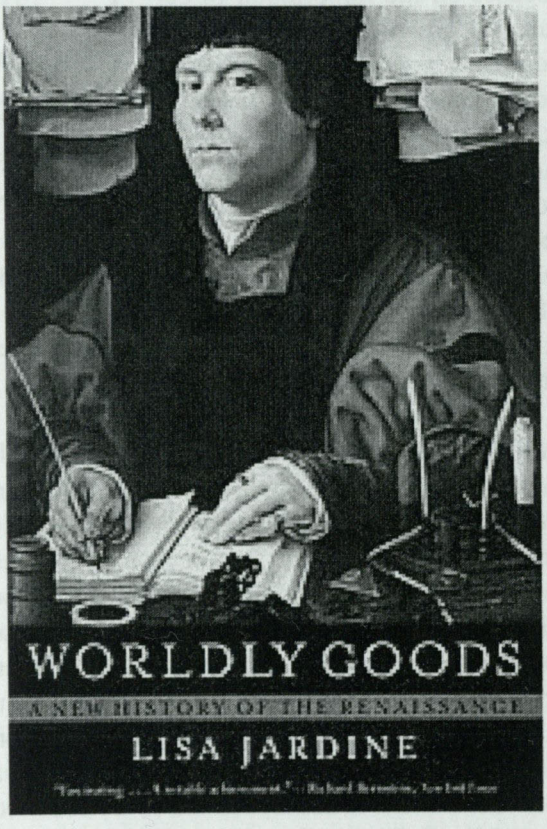
LL: [Laughter] It could be at times, and I found out the best way to help with parents who gave problems were other parents. For example, [during a budget discussion at a school] one [of the] parents was making quite a fuss. [He was] complaining about [the way the school district was using the federal funds. After his continuing disruption of the program, the other parents got upset because they wanted the discussion to continue, so they persuaded the disrupting parent to stop].

NL: Well, you've led a very broad and varied career, and I thank you very much for sitting with me today and talking about it.

LL: You're welcome. I'm glad you gave me this opportunity.

Worldy Goods: A New History of the Renaissance

A book review
by Albert D. Ybarra



Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (New York: Doubleday, 1996).

To characterize the Renaissance simply as a return to the art and style of antiquity undermines recent efforts to unearth the hidden motivation that propelled the cultural boom of the fifteenth century. Lisa Jardine's *Worldly Goods* explores the cultural underpinning that drove Western civilization to indulge itself with items and artifacts that bordered on exotic and unique. Her assessment of the material culture, *en vogue* during the fifteenth century, focuses on the importation of culture via art, the pursuit of knowledge and technology, and the economic motivation that propelled it. Her approach to the Europe's Renaissance is both thought provoking and insightful. Throughout the study, Jardine provides ample evidence congruent to her thesis that "the seeds of our own exuberant multicultural and bravura consumerism were planted in the European Renaissance" (34).

> [M]any collectors flocked to obtain exotic treasures of the world...

Jardine opens with an introduction into the cultural landscape of fifteenth century Western Europe. In chapter one, she asserts that economic prosperity, not religious homogeny, proved the most important factor in society at the time. The Catholic Church and Western Europe's refusal to address the continued expansion of Ottoman power into Constantinople exemplified this in many ways. Most notably during the transition of power, trade continued without interruption as the lamentations of the Byzantine church decried the "fall of Constantinople...a disaster for the Christian world."(49) The demise of Byzantium bolstered the Catholic Church and European traders. No longer a political, religious, and economic threat, Catholic Europe relieved itself of an adversary that consistently challenged its authority. The notion that military might begat economic success proved true for the Ottomans, the Roman Catholic Church, and western entrepreneurs who established themselves as leaders of commerce and trade.

Entrepreneurial successes afforded wealthy European patrons to partake in the cultural exchange. The rise of a new aristocracy – merchant bankers – in the commercial world developed an elaborate collection of financial arrangements stimulated by growth in the exchange of goods and services. "Bills of exchange," newer methods of accounting – such as double entry bookkeeping – and investments into better communications and maps, advanced economic agenda. As trade continued to flourish, however, interest in exotic goods representing high culture or success manifested itself in various ways.

Chapters three, four, and five discuss the items of interest to fifteenth century captains of industry. These included books – originals and copies – as well as specially designed art pieces including sculptures, personalized portraits, and frescoes. Additionally, increased interest in book collecting aided the advancement of technologies that supported its production. The newly established printers began to specialize in bookbinding which became "lavish, as a reflection of the perceived value of the texts they protected" (140). *Worldly Goods* suggests that while many regard the Renaissance of the fifteenth century as a return to a classical standard, in reality it marked a wholesale attempt by Western Europe to purchase its culture. A collector of fine or exotic objects became synonymous with a respected, civilized, and educated man. In many cases, Jardine notes that this proved untrue. Collectors of antiquities too often lacked many of the necessary ingredients to accurately appreciate the items they pursued, such as language acquisition. Yet, the acquisition of the item obtained continued to provide the owner with status – ultimately, his aim.

The cultural exchange enhanced both an individual's, and country's, social and economic position. The acquisition of newer maps and information such as unchartered trade routes provided further financial incentive to determined entrepreneurs. The printed public debate between the church and Martin Luther ultimately, and inadvertently, provided a path for English entrepreneurs. No longer bound to the Roman Catholic Church's doctrine on international trade, English businessmen quickly established and nurtured new economic policy with foreign Islamic traders. From this vantage point, Jardine's argument that Europe's cultural renaissance was economically driven is cemented.

Consistently viewed as an innocent reflection of the classical style of art, science, and literature, Lisa Jardine introduces a new interpretation of the European Renaissance, economic determination. Her writing reflects a sophisticated level of research and incorporates a multitude of evidence to support her thesis. Jardine utilizes economic, social, and cultural methodology via personal correspondence, cultural artifacts, and transaction records. Although her study incorporates the work of 217 sources, footnotes remain absent. Additionally, Lisa Jardine fails to outline her thesis clearly at the onset of each chapter, forcing the reader to decipher a myriad of evidence with no direction until the end where her thesis delicately resides. *Worldly Goods* dutifully finds success in the application of contemporary economic interpretation to a historical cultural/intellectual phenomenon providing a new interpretation of the European Renaissance to a wide audience.

Negotiating Conquest: Gender and Power in California, 1770s to 1880s

A book review by Nguyen Tran



Miroslava Chavez-Garcia, *Negotiating Conquest: Gender and Power in California, 1770s to 1880s* (Tuscon: University of Arizona, 2004).

Through this work, Chavez-Garcia attempts to refute the portrayal of women as passive individuals and challenges this view by highlighting their successes in negotiating rights in spite of patriarchal institutions and ideologies. During the transitions from Spanish, Mexican, and American rule, these women altered traditional roles and practices in correlation with their new evolving social climates. This publication serves to give students of Chicana and women's studies the chance to enrich their understanding of nineteenth century women and their precarious role in societies that imposed limitations on gender, class, race, and ethnicity. These women suffered from lower social status, needed to protect their independent sexuality, and their property rights via social and judicial means. Reflection upon the topics presented permits the reader to perceive the varying roles of women in each society centered on both race and gender relations.

"[Y]ou are a woman and the justice will not believe you."

The author discerns, via topic selection, a new perspective in identifying the adapting role of women as facilitators of Spanish colonization, righteous defendants in divorce suits against immoral patriarchs, and highlights their right to happiness via independence. Examination of individual cases in relation to each topic, allows readers to distinguish women's contribution to society as well as provide a glimpse of their plight. Readings of predatory brutality upon neophyte (newly Baptized) Indian women at the hands of Spanish soldiers enables the reader to understand the importance of critical reforms women brought society; previously women found themselves assaulted, violated, and raped. The increased settlement of Spanish and arrival of women in Alta California recreated stability by maintaining social, ideological, and matrimonial institutions (23). In addition, readers can comprehend the reasons why women attempted to seek redress against atrocious husbands who cheated or ignored their spousal duties. The author's topic selection allows readers to understand objectively the historical context of women in relation to the ways women defended themselves within their harsh social climate. However, the reader must question the author's choice of selection and validate the points she raises.

The author formats each section with an introduction providing background to the differing stories of women, providing the reader a feel of the times in relation to the concepts evaluated. Her commentary tends to be informative yet intermingled with personal nuances that that reveal her contempt towards policies that favored men. For example, the author delineates the duties women and men must honor towards themselves and their families in maintaining their homes; the former are to be commended for "contest[ing]... patriarchs and their authority...to improve their lives and the lives of their children" (51). The author reveals her contempt when she condemns the latter's "typical" failure and society's acceptance of the "sexual double standard that reinforced their authority" (27). The reader's awareness to evaluate the author's insinuations, in the form of commentaries within each informative piece, contributes to a better understanding of the concepts presented. Moreover, illumination on the author's bias in focusing only on the periods before and after American control of California needs acknowledgement.

In her expanded analysis of women from the prior works of Antonia I. Castaneda and Virginia Mayo Bouvier, the author showed tremendous bias in devoting an entire three chapters to women in American California. Examination of the

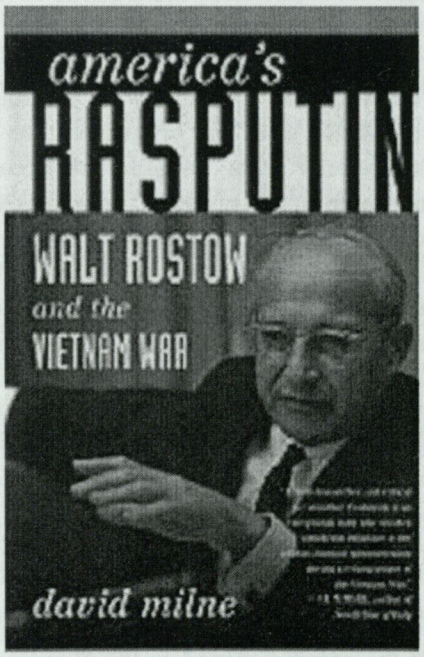
contents page reveals her choice to represent the Spanish and Mexican plight of women thereby hindering her analysis of women in each period due to scant resources available. Furthermore, the author offers a more detailed analysis of women in dealing with imposed American institutions, which ultimately shaped their society's values reflected in law, family, and economy. The author states women benefited in exercising their right to divorce and had to rely on charity to survive as they ultimately became victims of Americanization resulting in "losing their personal wealth and real estate" (147). In a work that professes to provide new emphasis on gender and power relations in decades of conquest, the author made the blatant omission of expanding her analysis to encompass the meaningfulness of women's victory in achieving independence beyond the nineteenth century. In light of the aforementioned biases, assessment of the author's integration of primary and secondary works within the book makes considerable contributions to the little explored genre of Chicana and women's studies.

The author provides a modern study of the courage women mustered in acclimating themselves to situations threatening their livelihood and is an updated resource to students of Chicana and women's studies. The author sets her arguments in rich detail and uses 118 endnotes, integrating primary and secondary sources. The myriad of sources range from archived manuscripts, legal court cases, personal correspondence, and newspaper accounts, these benefit the readers with a thought-provoking analysis of the topics covered. Furthermore, the reader receives the opportunity to understand the problems pervading women in each society and feel their personal humiliation and defeat in repressive societies. This work deserves praises for imprinting upon readers the awareness of the marginalization of women in all societies and the author's presentation and style stimulates the reader's thoughts and emotions in response to the reading. The historian's presentation and style contributes to bringing attention to the nuances of class, race, and ethnicity within enthralling accounts. Chavez-Garcia's use of court cases while providing background on the individuals involved emotionally engages the reader to side with the women's dilemma in obtaining equality. The reader is able to fathom the mixed emotions of the personal testimonies and question the morality of certain villainous individuals in statements such as, "I have all of the authority in my favor...you are a woman and the justice will not believe you" (114). In retrospect, the reader can recognize the unabashed male superiority complex which still permeates the society of today. The question arises whether historical and future conquests will inevitably encourage freedom and equality of genders and races or possibly enable the restriction and denigration of rights or happiness. Her presentation of information and style of posing these type of questions, adds new dimension to the reader's experience of enjoying women's studies.

Chavez-Garcia substantiates her thesis based upon primary and secondary sources and validates women's struggles in adapting to unfamiliar societies, which seek to marginalize them. The author is an accomplished associate professor of Chicana history at the University of California, Davis, and published articles dealing with gender, patriarchy, and law in nineteenth century California. This book successfully allows the reader to understand the problems that pervaded women through each successive regime and enables the formulation of moral judgments on the justification of women's actions in response.

America's Rasputin: Walt Rostow and the Vietnam War

A book review by David Moreno



David Milne, *America's Rasputin: Walt Rostow and the Vietnam War* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2008).

"'According to your logic this rock keeps tigers away.' Intrigued, Homer asks how it works. 'It doesn't,' Lisa replies. 'How so?' her father inquires, undeterred. 'It's just a rock,' Lisa replies, 'but I don't see a tiger anywhere.' 'Lisa,' concludes Homer, 'I want to buy your rock'" (253).

David Milne uses this dialogue from *The Simpsons* to compare Walt W. Rostow's argument that the United States' war with Northern Vietnam did not increase the number of communist states during 1975 to the present. It is irrational arguments that author David Milne is clinical and steadfast in deconstructing. Milne is meticulous in finding reasons for Rostow's involvement in the war with Vietnam. To be involved with *America's Rasputin: Walt Rostow and the Vietnam War*, basic knowledge of the Vietnam War is needed to understand how powerful the work is to historians and the general public.

A professor at the University of Nottingham, England, Milne does an impressive job using valuable sources from government documents to private memoirs to produce the argument that Walt Rostow caused some loss of reliability in the Democratic Party during the mid-twentieth century. He shows how Rostow's aggressive view toward communism and high confidence narrowed his, and the serving presidents', analysis of the Vietnam War. Great went depth went into find the follies of Rostow's character and his drive to keep South Vietnam a free country. The purpose is to analyze the events and the economic development that Milne talks about Walt Rostow's viewpoint.

Milne searches for clues to the character of Rostow and the role he played in the Vietnam War; for this he acquired countless documents in order to gain a better understanding of the man. He searched for the government transcripts, memoirs of people who knew and worked with Rostow, a personal interview, and an analysis of books written by Rostow. Relentless in his assertions, Milne uses countless government documents provided by the John F. Kennedy Library in Boston, Massachusetts, and Lyndon Baines Johnson Library in Austin, Texas. Primary sources used included *Public Papers of the President: John F. Kennedy*, *Public Papers of the President: Lyndon B. Johnson*, and others. He studied the memoirs of an advisor of the Vietnam War such as Undersecretary to Dean Rusk, George Ball; Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara; McNamara's successor, Clark Clifford; director of the policy planning staff at the State Department George F. Kennan; and member of the national security team Robert Komer; and Secretary of State Dean Rusk.

Milne shows how one of America's finest minds turned from a peaceful man devoted to capitalistic economic development in Third World Nations to one who became violently hostile toward a communistic ideology. He describes the process of how this Ivy League graduate turned into an irrational war hawk figure in Washington's "Wise Men," consisting of "the glittering array of intellectual talent from military academies, the business world, and elite universities" (78). Although the author lays out eight chapters in a sound manner, three chapters are essential to understanding Rostow's determination and ideology, his change of view, connections, and how he influenced the war from Washington. Milne outlines his work as:

> In his eight years of service as a foreign policy adviser to Kennedy and Johnson, Rostow dispensed advice that sought to crush Third World Communism not just intellectually, but through the overwhelming force of America's military power. The passion with which Rostow pursued his academic lifework made him impervious to the force of countervailing reason. He was a zealot on the Vietnam War and the story that follows is on that will be familiar to any student of history of international relations. Individuals who

> hold absolute confidence in the efficacy of their ideas-who fail to account for real world contingencies invariably lead American foreign policy down blind alleys (8)

Milne embarks on this journey by first establishing Rostow's gains, his drive, and ideology. At first, the author produces a vivid image of a man of humble background. He describes the father, Victor Rostow, an Eastern European immigrant who learned English and through hard work became a chemist. With the superb model of the meritocracy of the United States, he pushed his sons through a robust education. Prestigious Yale University accepted Walt Rostow along with his older brother, Eugene. Rostow continued his dynamic career and while a sophomore at Yale, decided to take on a huge task of working on two problems. "[O]ne was economic history and the other Karl Marx. Marx raised some interesting questions but gave some bloody bad answers. I would do an answer one day to Marx's theory of History" (25).

> Rostow dispensed advice that sought to crush Third World Communism

Rostow later received a Rhodes Scholarship to attend Balliol College, Oxford, from 1936 to 1938 (26). His unstoppable drive to disprove one of the world's most respected historical economists, Karl Marx, resurfaced later. He seemed convinced that capitalism, not communism as Marx predicted, ended the economic cycles and mass consumption then became the highest level in human development, which he later outlined in *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*.

With such academic prowess and high self-esteem, the United States government called upon the moderately young scholar to assist in planning bombing strategies of important economic points in Germany. These endeavors eventually resulted in the defeat of the Nazi war machine. He provided great work that added to his confidence, which soon led to his destruction during the war in Vietnam.

Milne explains how Rostow's connections through work in the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) during World War II helped him gain a future voice on the Vietnam War and how the events of the Korean War changed the peaceful, egalitarian Rostow into a ruthless anti-communist. Of course, Rostow helped bring down the Nazi war machine; he made a name for himself as a problem solver in both the theoretical and practical sense. He became a consultant when it came time to destroy or rebuild a nation's economy.

After World War II, communism began to rise. Rostow did not consider war necessary as foreign aid given to the underdeveloped nations seemed the best way to deter rising communism. However, the war with Korea, as detailed in "The Making of an Anticommunist Zealot, 1950-1960," changed his view of human nature. Seeing the bloodbath the communists rendered, Rostow feared that communist supporters would stop at nothing to spread the communist ideology. He soon determined that it needed U.S military power to stop those pushing Marx-Lenin ideology

Milne provides evidence that Rostow became one of Washington's most influential advisors in the war against North Vietnam. He provides accounts of Rostow's plethora of memorandums of military force to protect South Vietnam from its communist neighbors. Through advising John F. Kennedy about Vietnam in his role as deputy special assistant for national security affairs, he became National Security Advisor for President Lyndon B. Johnson, and Rostow urged the presidents to use military force to hold back the communist north. He utilized his intellect to persuade the democratic presidents and intervene to defeat the communist take-over of Southeast Asia, and in a sense, Karl Marx. Between 1960 and 1968, Ros-

tow had a strong voice in the decisions on how to handle the pending situations in Asia. Within the Johnson administration, Rostow had a more powerful voice after gaining the trust and confidence of the president.

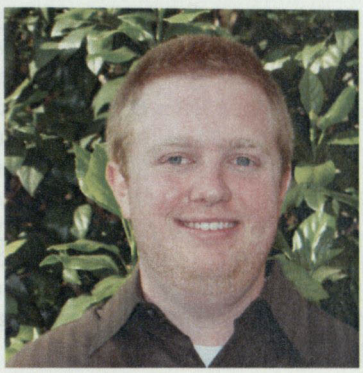
The author's work is profound, regaling its reader about one of Washington's most influential intellectuals. He claims that Rostow contributed to the demise of the legacy that Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy bestowed: a democratic legacy that shows compassion and competence. Rostow—a lesser-known figure in Washington—recieved blame for the result of the Vietnam War and Milne proved that. Milne dug through the Presidents' libraries and government documents, and showed how Rostow acquired his detest for communism, became the National Security Advisor, and showed how narrow-minded the Nazi destroyer became.

The author does an impressive job using valuable sources from government records, such as Presidential Tape Recording Series, and memoirs of Robert S. McNamara and George W. Ball to produce the argument that Walt Rostow may have caused the fall of the Democratic dynasty during the mid-twentieth century. Milne presented how Rostow's dismal view of communism and over confidence narrowed this intellectual's critical thinking of the Vietnam War. *America's Rasputin: Walt Rostow and the Vietnam War* is an excellent work on one of the most important events of the 1960s and 1970s. It is a valuable asset to the general public to see how the mistakes and biases of leaders and advisors are to any nation. All the knowledge Rostow gained during his years at Yale and Oxford proved his downfall. His success at accomplishing the highest prizes and honors left him overly confident in battling indigenous nationalism. Milne shows how Rostow greatly overestimated a nation's unity and how costly it can be.

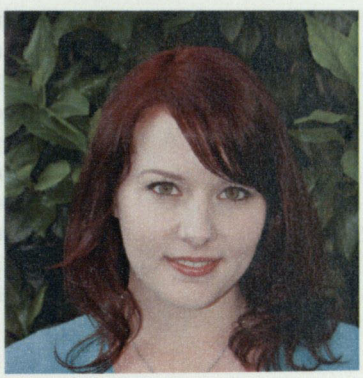
Contributors



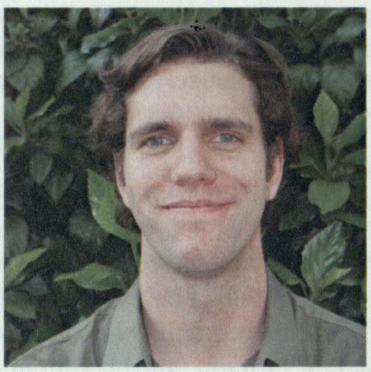
Born and raised in Rexburg, Idaho, **Zachary Briggs**' music teacher and history-buff parents introduced him to history and entertainment. After serving a two-year mission for his church, Zachary relocated to Southern California to pursue an acting career and be near his in-laws. He hopes to teach college-level courses in Theatre and American/Western European History. Along with many community theater roles and performances on Scottish bagpipe, guitar, and blues harmonica, he enjoys the outdoors and spending time with his wife and three-year-old son, Ian.



Warren Duke enrolled at California State University, Fullerton, immediately after high school and plans to graduate in fall 2009 with a BA in history. His experiences with quality educators exposed him to the many interesting facets of history beyond the boring memorization of facts. In his free time, he enjoys playing the guitar and is an avid home brewer. He received recognition on the Dean's Honors List on several occasions and intends to obtain his MA and a teaching credential with the ultimate goal of teaching high school history.



Nickoal Lyn Eichmann earned her BA in history at the University of California, Riverside, in 2006 where she specialized in Early Modern England and Religious Studies. She is currently working toward her MA in history at California State University, Fullerton. Nickoal is particularly interested in cultural attitudes about corporeality in Early Modern Europe, the rise of the "Neurocentric Age," and twentieth-century United States consumer culture. After completing her graduate studies, Nickoal plans to pursue single-subject teaching credentials as well as a PhD in history.



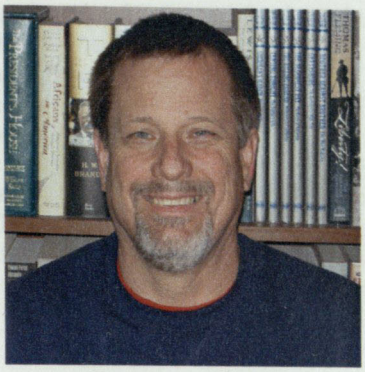
Preston Geer is a former student of Santiago Canyon Community College. After receiving his AA in spring 2006, he transferred to California State University, Fullerton. He is currently a senior and will graduate in spring 2009. He is a double major in Radio-TV-Film and history. His true passions include filmmaking and studying history. Preston is primarily interested in twentieth-century military history. His repeated appearance on the Dean's Honor list is complemented by his first publication in this year's *Welebaethan*.



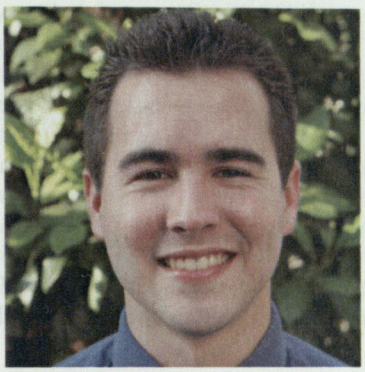
Blythe Gipple is a senior pursuing her BA in history with a minor in geography at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). She earned her AA in liberal studies at Fullerton College before transferring to CSUF as a junior. Her academic interests include American cultural and public history. During 2008, Blythe interned at the Center for Oral and Public History as a research assistant for the CSUF fiftieth-anniversary book, *The Fullerton Way*. She plans to obtain an MLS at California State University, San Jose, and pursue a career in historical archiving. She enjoys reading, working on ephemeral arts and crafts, and traveling.



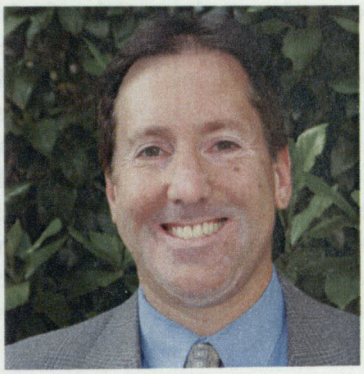
Lara Kolinchak graduates May 2009 with a BA in history. Afterwards, she plans to continue her education in United States history, focusing on women's studies. She seeks to attend graduate school for a PhD and professorship. Overcoming some notable learning disabilities, Lara is an active student and a leader in class. She devours social history, writes on varied topics, enjoys music, dance, and fine art, and is an activist interested in social and political reform. Lara hopes to educate her future students using historical and social evidence to produce future leaders.



A life-long student of American history, **Neil Lynch**'s fascination with the American Space Program began in the early 1960s. Graduating with a degree in Business Administration in 1975, Neal returned to college to pursue his interest in America's past. He volunteers at the Brea Community Center teaching United States Citizenship classes and is a regular guest lecturer on the American Civil War at California State University, Fullerton, as well as local schools and colleges. In addition, he performs "Songs by Old Guys (and Some by Dead Guys)" at local venues throughout the Orange County area.



Raymond Anthony Martin grew up in Santa Ana, California, and attended Mater Dei High School where he participated on both the Water Polo and the Swim team for four years. Upon completion of his AA in liberal arts at Orange Coast College, he transferred to California State University, Fullerton, where he is currently a student in the Single Subject Credential Program. Raymond aspires to teach history and mentor to at-risk Hispanic students. When not in school he enjoys traveling, being outdoors, reading, and spending time with his family and friends.



Michael Matini received his AA from El Camino College and transferred to California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), in 2007. Mike will graduate in 2009 with his BA in history and continue at CSUF in the fall to work toward his MA in history. He hopes for a career in a non-profit enterprise such as a Center for Public Affairs. Mike is a member of Phi Alpha Theta, Alpha Gamma Sigma, and Golden Key Honor Societies. His area of historical interest is U.S. history during the twentieth century. When not occupied with his studies, he enjoys woodworking, reading, and working out.



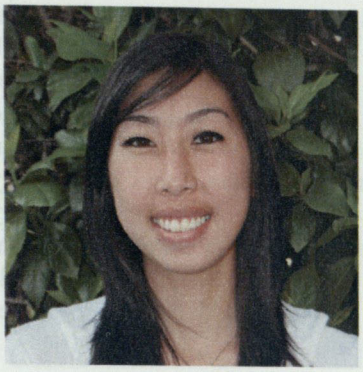
Eric McGee graduated from California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) *summa cum laude* with a BA in history in 2007. He is currently working on his MA thesis entitled, "'In God We Trust': Religion and the Eisenhower Presidency." Eric recently traveled to the Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library in Abilene, Kansas, to conduct research for his thesis. After completing his MA, he plans on earning his PhD and becoming a professor. His main academic interests are twentieth-century U.S. history and the Cold War.



Blake McWhorter ends his three years of dedicated work on the *Welebaethan,* as Editor-in-Chief. A graduate student with plans to finish his thesis in 2010, he studies nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries military history. He earned his BA in history from California State University, Fullerton, in 2007. The *Welebaethan* Review Board accepted two of his papers for publication. Blake moderated a panel presentation at the Southwestern Social Science History Association Conference in Denver, Colorado, in April 2008. He intends to earn a PhD and teach at the university level.



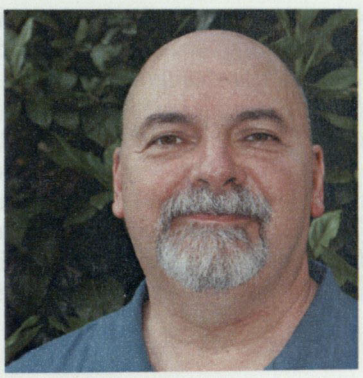
David Moreno is currently a junior studying for his BA in history at California State University, Fullerton. His love for history originated during his eighth grade year when he read biographies of Malcolm X, Ulysses S. Grant, and Robert E. Lee. David enjoyed learning about important historical figures and their impact. He plans to apply to the Teaching Credential Program after graduation. He aspires to teach at the high school he attended, Bassett Senior High School. David's hobbies include reading, eating, listening to music, playing the guitar, and his favorite sport is soccer.



Amy Nguyen grew up in Orange County and transferred from Goldenwest Community College to California State University, Fullerton, as a junior in 2008. She studies history in pursuit of a BA and intends to graduate in spring 2010. Her goal is to continue working toward her MA in history, so that she can teach at a community college. This is Amy's first publication in the *Welebaethan*. In her spare time, she loves snowboarding and fishing at the beach. She also likes to play with different computer software, such as Adobe Photoshop and Premiere, to edit her favorite pictures and videos.



Terence Robert Przeklasa Jr. received his AA degree in 2004 from Santiago Canyon College and a BA in history at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), in 2007. He obtained his teaching credential in Social Sciences the following year and later returned to CSUF for a MA in history. Bob still desires to return to the secondary classroom, though he may continue on to a PhD in order to teach history at the collegiate level. In his free time, he enjoys the company of friends, watching independent and foreign films, reading, and traveling.



Motivated by a passion for history, **Mark Hartmann Ruffalo** returned to college after twenty-nine years to earn his BA in history from California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), in 2006. Mark is currently working on his MA in history at CSUF. His work on the Fourth Crusade appears in the 2006 edition of the *Welebaethan,* and he is a member of Phi Alpha Theta. Mark is the president of Morning Star Services, Inc., which he runs with his wife. His hobbies consist of reading non-fiction, listening to music, attending antique car shows, and watching his favorite baseball team.



Nancy Saucedo, born and raised in Santa Ana, California, currently majors in European Studies with a minor in history. She plans to enroll in the Credential Program after graduation. Her plan is to teach world history. She intends to earn a MA in international relations with an emphasis in education. She currently serves as vice-president of European Studies Society Club. She enjoys the World War II era and its political influence on the rest of the world. She frequently travels abroad and plans to participate in the London semester program in 2009.



Christine Shook received her BA in history from California State University, Fullerton, (CSUF) in January 2007. She returned to CSUF to pursue her MA in history with an emphasis in oral and public history. Growing up in San Juan Capistrano, her interests revolve around history and community. Christine focused on oral histories after learning the technique through Dr. Gary Shumway. She conducted interviews for a paper on the government's role in policing Vietnam War protests. Once finished with graduate school, Christine hopes to preserve family and local history using guided autobiographies.

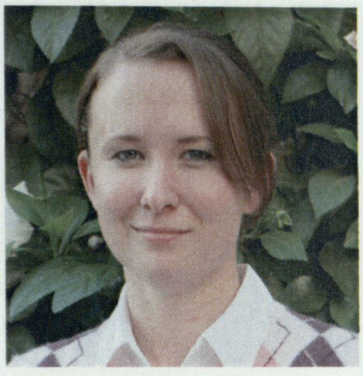


Born and raised in Nebraska, **Ryan Tickle** received his BA in history from the University of Nebraska in 2005. He moved to California shortly thereafter to pursue a MA degree at California State University, Fullerton, focusing on U.S. and African-American history. He is currently writing his graduate thesis on the various avenues of African-American protest to Belgian imperialism in the Congo. After graduation, he plans to enter a history PhD program in southern California to continue examining the scramble for Africa and U.S. history.

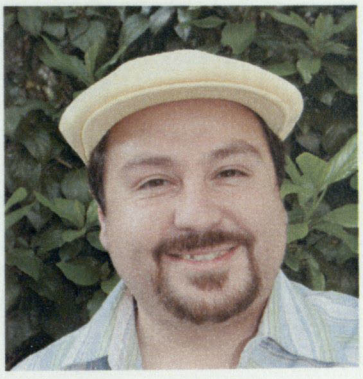
Editors



Nguyen Tran grew up in Los Angeles County and moved to Orange County in 2000. He is finishing his last year at California State University, Fullerton, to complete his BA in history. Discovering that he preferred to pursue a career in technology, he enrolled at Orange Coast College to expand his computer knowledge and increase his corporate marketability. He enjoys World War II history and ancient martial arts. Nguyen is a returning editor, and this edition of the *Welebaethan* includes his research paper and book review.



Jennifer Yaeger graduated from California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) in 2007 with a BA in history. She is currently pursuing her MA in history at CSUF and plans to develop her thesis into a doctoral dissertation. Enthusiasm for history drives her desire for further education and impels her to argue its ascendancy over all other majors. In the next ten years, Jennifer hopes to have earned a PhD, visited at least one country on each (habitable) continent, and become fluent in Spanish and Italian.

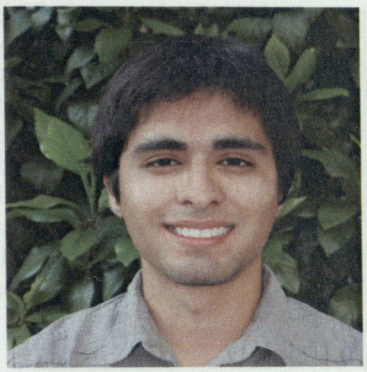


Upon receiving his AA in history from Cerritos College, **Albert D. Ybarra** transferred to California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), in fall 2002. After completing his BA in 2006, he returned to CSUF to attain his MA in history. Following graduation, he intends to leave California and enroll in a PhD program as a medievalist. Aside from research, Albert works as a substitute teacher and enjoys traveling in Canada, particularly the province of Quebec.

Editors



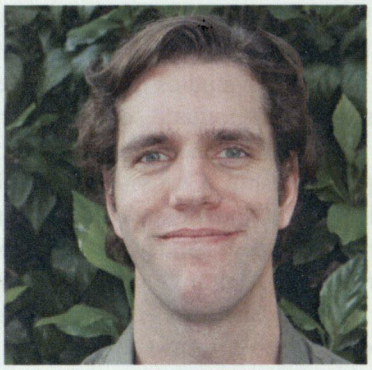
Annora Borden achieved junior status in her second year at California State University, Fullerton and will graduate with a BA in women's studies in 2010. After graduation she plans to attend graduate school to earn an MA in women's studies, with the eventual goal of attaining a PhD and professorship. Currently, Annora is both an Honors student and a student leader. She is the Campus Liaison for the Resident Student Association and sits on the Titan Student Union Governing Board and ASI Executive Senate. She also enjoys reading, writing, and grassroots women's rights activism.



Rolando V. Duran received his AA at Golden West College in spring 2007. He then enrolled at California State University, Fullerton, working through undergraduate classes to receive his BA in history, slated for fall 2009. His area of historical interest is American social and ethnic history, particularly the nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries. After graduation, he plans to travel abroad. Rolando currently works as an instructional aide for special education at his alma mater, La Quinta High School. His hobbies include playing video games, reading educational and religious material, watching movies, and playing kickball.



Michelle Gardner is a graduate student at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF); her BA is in history with a minor in Spanish from CSUF. In 2007-08 she obtained a secondary education teaching credential in Social Studies. Michelle specializes in modern European history, the study of genocide and ethnic cleansings, and is currently developing her thesis on Jewish resistance during the Holocaust and collective memory. In the future Michelle hopes to teach at the secondary level and eventually get her PhD in history. Her enjoyment of traveling led her to live in Guadalajara, Mexico, and Madrid, Spain.



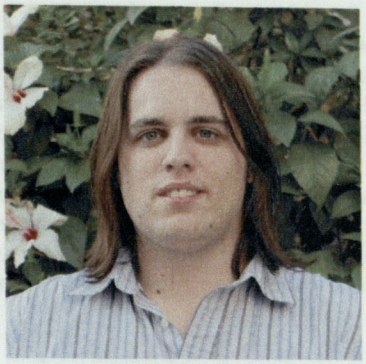
Preston Geer transferred from Santiago Canyon Community college after receiving his AA in spring 2006. He is currently a senior at California State University, Fullerton, and will graduate in May 2009. He is a double major, studying Radio-TV-Film and history. Preston's true passion is film, in which he intends to become a screenwriter and director in the future. He enjoys filming, editing, writing, directing, and acting in short films and comedy sketches. He plans to complete an internship with a television studio or film company.



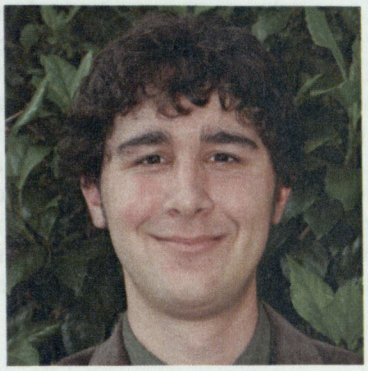
Christina Hornsby, a transfer from Cypress College, is in her senior year at California State University, Fullerton, for a BA in history, studying the affects on society and culture through art, fashion, film, and literature. Her family's past is well enmeshed in the culture of California as far back as the Spanish settlements. Christina is currently a script intern with the intention to become a screenwriter herself. When not hitting the books, she designs furniture, paints animation cels, and creates trivia games for training purposes.



Esther Huh is currently a senior studying for her BA in history at California State University, Fullerton. Originally born and raised in Garden Grove, she currently resides in Fountain Valley, California. With intense interests in World History, Ancient Civilization, Asian cultures, and mythology, Esther plans to apply to the Teaching Credential Program. She aspires to teach World History. She would also like to work in a museum or become a tour guide. Her hobbies include sleeping, listening to music, and watching historical dramas. Her favorite sports are basketball and tennis.



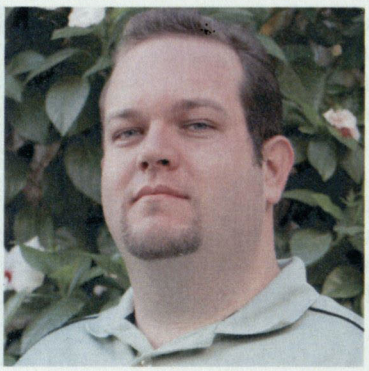
Adam Kelly entered the Coast Community College District in 2002. After earning an AA degree, he transferred to California State University, Fullerton, where he obtained a BA in history in 2006. Following graduation, he enrolled in Fullerton's graduate history program to study American history and to explore post-bellum cultural groups and movements. After completing his MA at Fullerton he plans to move on to a doctoral program. Beyond the field of history, Adam is interested in photography and video game development.



Michael Kubasek, now in his final semester as an undergraduate at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), plans on applying to the Teaching Credential program at CSUF for a multiple subject credential. Currently, he serves on the Child and Adolescent Studies Student Association board; he helps create and edit their newsletters. Michael's hobbies include reading historical law studies, swimming, pontificating, and spending an unfathomable amount of time on the Internet.



Blake McWhorter ends his three years of dedicated work on the *Welebaethan,* as Editor-in-Chief. A graduate student with plans to finish his thesis in 2010, he studies nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries military history. He earned his BA in history from California State University, Fullerton, in 2007. The *Welebaethan* Review Board accepted two of his papers for publication. Blake presented a paper at the Southwestern Social Science History Association Conference in Las Vegas, Nevada, in March 2008. He intends to earn a PhD and teach at the university level.



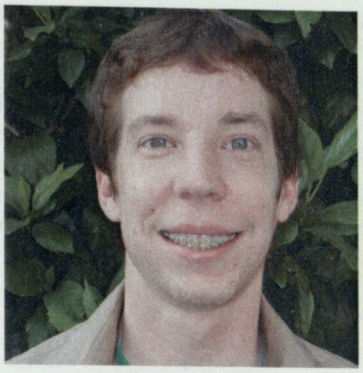
Terence Robert Przeklasa Jr. received his AA degree in 2004 from Santiago Canyon College and a BA in history at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), in 2007. He obtained his teaching credential in Social Sciences the following year and later returned to CSUF for a MA in history. Bob still desires to return to the secondary classroom, though he may continue on to a PhD in order to teach history at the collegiate level. In his free time, he enjoys the company of friends, watching independent and foreign films, reading, and traveling.



Tiffany Robinson currently teaches and is the head coach for women's varsity volleyball at Troy High School, Fullerton, California. For the past five years she held her current position, teaching Advanced Placement history courses, a post which she accepted upon the completion of the Teaching Credential Program at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). After graduating *cum laude* with a BA in history from the University of California, Riverside, in 2003, Tiffany enrolled at CSUF to earn a MA degree in United States history.



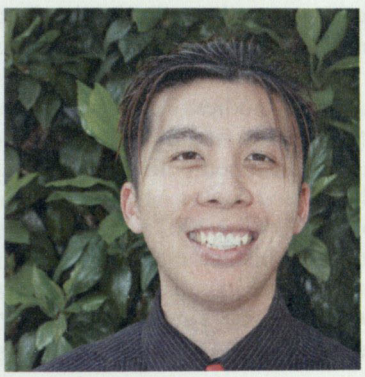
Christopher Sanchez began his higher education at Rancho Santiago Community College and later transferred with an AA in history to California State University, Fullerton. He is currently majoring in history with a minor in sociology. Born and raised in Santa Ana, California, he attended Saddleback High School where he saw much success as captain of the wrestling team his senior year in 2002. He now works part time at his former high school coaching wrestling and later hopes to get a job teaching history. A resident, Christopher takes full advantage of his surroundings—finding time to surf, snowboard, and ride his dirt bike.



Stephen Takacs is a senior at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). He plans on graduating fall 2009 with a BA in history and minors in anthropology and radio-TV-film. His areas of historical interest include European history from the nineteenth-century through the post-World War I era and the American colonial period. After graduation, he intends to pursue an MA in history at CSUF. When not working on his studies, he frequently watches movies to relax. Stephen also films and edits weddings and musical performances.



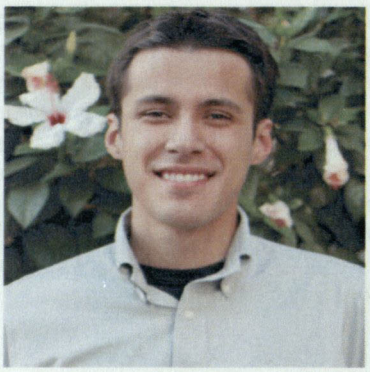
In 2005, **Ryan Tew** began attending California State University, Fullerton. He plans to graduate in 2009 with a BA in history and an emphasis in ancient history. Ryan is a member of the President's Guardian scholars program, which provided him the opportunity to get an education. He plans to earn a teaching credential and become a high school history teacher. He currently serves as a first-year editor on the *Welebaethan* staff. His hobbies consist of watching movies, reading, and spending time with his friends and family.



Nguyen Tran grew up in Los Angeles County where he attended Pasadena City College. He moved to Orange County in 2000 and enrolled at Orange Coast College, graduating with an AA in fall 2005. He serves as a full-time Operations Analyst on Microsoft Access applications for the corporate receivables department of the Automobile Club of Southern California. He also moonlights as a part-time student working to obtain a BA in history and a certificate in business applications after nearly a decade.



Babbette Tyler transferred to California State University, Fullerton, in fall 2007 upon completing her AA at Fullerton Junior College. She is currently working towards her BA in history and plans to enroll in a Single Subject Credential program. Her hobbies include quilting, sewing purses and aprons. Babbette and her husband Frank enjoy exploring the country in their recreational vehicle with Timothy, the youngest of their four children, and Max the family dog.



A Southern California native, **Saul Ulloa** currently attends California State University, Fullerton, studying for a BA in history. He enrolled in fall 2004, changing majors several times. From his broad interest in various scientific fields, he discovered modern American and world history as his passion. Currently employed by Placentia Public Library, he is determined to enroll in the library science program for a MLS at California State Universtiy, San Jose. He expects to graduate from CSUF in spring 2009 and move to the Bay Area.



Adan Vazquez began attending California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), right out of high school in fall 2004, where he planned to pursue a career in jazz theory and saxophone studies. After he realized music held no promise for his future, he switched to business, but became disillusioned with the university and opted to join the United States Marines in June 2006. He returned to CSUF spring 2007 with the proper motivation and excels as a history major and student editor for the *Welebaethan*. He intends to receive a BA in May 2009. Afterwards, he starts active duty as a 2nd Lieutenant of Marines and plans to remain in the Corps.



Jennifer Yaeger graduated from California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), *magna cum laude* with a BA in history in 2007. With the intention of teaching high school history, she remained at CSUF and earned a teaching credential in 2008. Currently she is enrolled in the MA program and plans to pursue a PhD. Gilded Age America piqued her interest in an undergraduate class and will be the focus of her future studies. Despite her interest in higher education, she plans to continue teaching secondary school. In the next ten years, Jennifer hopes to earn a PhD and visit at least one country on each (habitable) continent.



Albert D. Ybarra graduated from California State University, Fullerton, with a BA in history in 2004. He returned to Fullerton to pursue an MA in medieval history, studying the relationship between political fragmentation and cultural expansion during the high Middle Ages. Currently, he is President of Phi Alpha Theta, Theta-Pi chapter. His future plans include attaining a PhD in history, gaining a tenured position at a university, and becoming a published author. Albert's personal interests include learning to read Latin, creating digital archives, and collecting an eclectic variety of music.

Faculty Advisors



Wendy Elliott-Scheinberg, PhD, is a professor of history at California State University, Fullerton, where she teaches a variety of courses such as U.S. History surveys, Oral History, California and Orange County History, Public History, and the department's required Historical Thinking and Writing courses. She is the instructor and faculty advisor for the history students' national award-winning publication, the *Welebaethan Journal of History*, and has served as the faculty advisor for the Native American student association on campus. Among her many other accomplishments, she has served as president and board member for the Federation of Genealogical Societies (FGS). She is an internatinoally recognized genealogy teacher and speaker and has lectured at national conferences throughout the United States since 1984. An accomplished writer and speaker, Dr. Wendy contributed two articles to the 2006 *Encyclopedia of Immigration and Migration in the American West* (Sage Publications), five chapters in the 2005 revision of *Ancestry's Redbook: American State, Town, & County Sources*, and two chapters in *Printed Sources* (1998).



Gordon Morris Bakken earned his degrees at the University of Wisconsin (BS '66, MS '67, PhD '70, JD '73) and joined the faculty at California State University, Fullerton, in 1969. He teaches American Legal and Constitutional History, Westward Movement, American Military History, Women of the American West, Women and American Law, as well as Historical Thiking and Historical Writing. He is the author of over eighteen books, forty-three articles and law reveiews, nineteen book chapters and encyclopedia entries, and has written numerous book reveiws. Dr. Bakken is past president of Phi Alpha Theta, the National Honorary Society in History, Founding Vice President and Director of the California Supreme Court Historical Society, and has served as a member of the editorial board of *Western Legal History*, *The Journal of the West*, and *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*. He served as Parlimentarian of the Organization of American Historians (1990-2001) and as a member of the California Judicial Council Advisory Commitee on Court Records Management (1991-7).













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