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

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

Cover Photo by Raquel Holguin, 2017.

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Introduction

Welcome to the tenth edition of California State University, San Bernardino's annual history journal, *History in the Making*. Every year, CSUSB students compose, edit, and produce a volume of *History in the Making.* The editorial board strives to produce a journal that is both intriguing and relevant by incorporating unique, versatile, and significant topics in history. Our hope is that the journal will spark a curiosity in readers, and ignite passions and interests in the pursuit of historical knowledge. This year's board is honored to present to our readers five full-length articles, one report on student travels, one in memoriam piece, two papers on contemporary social activism, two unique student papers regarding primary sources in academic study, and five reviews.

In our first article, "Chinese Mexicans," Rocio Gomez examines the Chinese contributions to the Mexican term *mestizo,* as well as the repercussions of Chinese economic ascension in early twentieth century Mexico. The ensuing anti-Chinese campaign drove the development of exclusionary measures toward the Chinese in Mexico and the illegitimacy of Chinese Mexicans – the biracial children resulting from intermarriage.

The second article, "Yemen and the Houthi Rebellion in the Context of the Global War on Terror," discusses the origins of the socio-political Houthi movement in Yemen. With the recent horrific terrorist attacks throughout the world, this paper explains the history of the conflict in Yemen, and it provides the reader with a better understanding of the War on Terror.

"Africa Finds its Voice in the Halls of Manchester" examines decolonization and the Pan-African movement. This paper studies the history of the movement, its goals, and its successes and failures over seventy years later. In particular, this article discusses the often overlooked conference in Manchester, England in 1945 and its significance to the Pan-African movement.

In "Virtuous Life, Honored Afterlife," Jasmyn Murrell analyzes the notions of the afterlife and the evolution of Confucianism. Through examining rituals and Confucian teachings, this paper illustrates the correlations between life and the afterlife through

Confucian perspectives. It also illustrates the progression of Confucianism throughout China's history and its comparisons to other prominent religions within the country.

The final article, "Dark Apostles," argues that the Nazi Party and the Third Reich were not simply conceived, constructed, and ruled by one man – Adolf Hitler – but were governed by a Nazi oligarchy. This article challenges the notions of a homogenous Third Reich by exploring the differing agendas of Hitler's Nazi leaders. Thus, the Third Reich was a revolutionary totalitarian oligarchy rather than simply a dictatorship.

Our "Travels through History" section explores the beauty and the history students discover in unique locations. Martin Votruba tells of his travels to the historical landmarks in Prague and other towns in the Czech Republic. He reveals how the nation has actively reinvented itself after its Velvet Revolution, and the rejection of its communist past, while exploring the nation's history and the revival of its rich culture.

The "In Memoriam" section observes the legacy of Fidel Castro. The socialist revolutionary was respected and loved by some, and hated by others. Nonetheless, Fidel Castro served as the epitome of the resistance against the hegemony, his legacy is undeniable, and he has altered history for Cuba, Africa, and the rest of the world.

This year's journal features a new section, "History in the Making," in light of the contemporary social unrest prevalent throughout the world. This section includes papers discussing two instances of social activism – one in South Africa, and the other, throughout the globe. "Rhodes Fallen" discusses the Rhodes Must Fall student movement in South Africa in which students protest the reminders – in the form of statues, building names, etc. – of oppressive Apartheid leaders. "The Women on the Frontlines of the Revolution" provides the historical background, contemporary controversy, and the first-hand experience of participants in the Women's March and its aftermath. Social movements are becoming more prevalent amidst the social unrest and the ambiguous nature of today's globalizing world. The editorial board felt it pertinent to include this section to address the circumstances of our tumultuous present.

The "Sources of History" section regards the importance of primary sources to historical analysis and the process of documenting history. Amy Stewart's paper illustrates the process by which the dissemination and the adoption of Christianity grew prominent throughout the Roman Empire, and Amelia Sullivan examines sources regarding the life and the reign of Charlemagne. The examination, discussion, and analysis of historical sources comprises the foundation of history as an academic discipline, and therefore, the analysis of sources is crucial within a history journal.

Rounding out this year's journal are three book reviews, one comparative film review, and a museum review. First, Tomi Pulkkinen reviews Shaykh Muhammad al-Yaqoubi's *Refuting ISIS,* which argues that the radical and violent practices of ISIS stray from the nature of Islam. Brittany Kelley reviews Gary Y. Okihiro's retelling of American history through the participation and the perspectives of Asians and Pacific Islanders in *American History Unbound.* Lark Winner reviews Ruth Goodman's *How to be a Tudor,* which details the daily lives of those living in Tudor England. Hector Lopez and Brittany Kelley's film review compares the original (1915) and contemporary (2017) versions of the controversial film *The Birth of a Nation.* Finally, Sarah Bliss' review of the Temecula Valley Museum reveals a local and historical hidden gem of California's Inland Empire.

We hope that you find these articles as interesting and informative as we do, and we sincerely thank you for reading the 2017 edition of *History in the Making*.

Heather K. Garrett,
Chief Editor

History in the Making

Acknowledgements

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Articles

Chinese Mexicans: Mexico's Forgotten and Overlooked *Mestizos*

By Rocio Gomez

Abstract: *This paper examines the Chinese community's significant cultural and economic contributions in early twentieth-century Mexico and its impact on the ever-evolving term "mestizo." After years of growing financial success in northern Mexico, Mexicans grew resentful of the Chinese community not only for harnessing wealth in their country, but for intermarrying with Mexicans and raising children, Chinese Mexicans, who were seen as illegitimate. The Chinese community later became the target of an oppressive anti-Chinese campaign that resulted in their expulsion from the country. At the crux of the campaign was the general disapproval of the matrimonial unions between Chinese men and Mexican women, which stems from the resentment at the financial success within the Chinese community, which was perceived by Mexicans as subhuman, much like the indigenous population. In the aftermath of the expulsion from Mexico, and later, repatriation, Chinese Mexicans were left to grapple with the pressure to embrace one side of their identity and erase the other to appease their families and society, never being regarded as "mestizos". Providing daunting accounts of violence against the Chinese community and fascinating testimonials from Chinese Mexicans, this paper attempts to bring awareness to this community's struggles and triumphs in early modern Mexico and acknowledges that the Chinese Mexicans' claim to the notion "mestizo" is a legitimate and merited one.*

The term *mestizo* embodies a very rich and complex history in Mexico. *Mestizaje*, or best translated using the historically loaded English word, miscegenation, resulted from years of ethnic mixing

between the indigenous people of pre-colonial Mexico, Spanish immigrants, and African slaves. Once considered a racial slur in colonial Mexico, the term *mestizo* currently represents a celebration of fusing cultures and a banner of inclusion under which Mexico acknowledges its citizens with a diverse heritage. This recognition extends to a growing variety of foreign cultures in Mexico, but Chinese Mexicans find themselves unperceived as such despite their significant economic and cultural influence. Chinese-Mexicans, predominantly the offspring of Chinese fathers and Mexican mothers, fall into the category of *mestizaje*, but Mexico's modern cultural climate fails to widely acknowledge them as *mestizos*. The Chinese-Mexican experience in China and Mexico is one of struggle, racial prejudice, and remarkable economic success. In the early twentieth century, the Mexican government perceived their prosperity as a threat and actively campaigned against them using Sinophobia and citing financial corruption as reasons to expel Chinese-Mexicans from the country. Chinese influence in Mexico is significant, but a severe lack of awareness of their history and presence in the country diminishes both their claim as *mestizos* and a merited role in Mexico's proud notion of *mestizaje*.

Chinese Immigration

Chinese immigration to Mexico, which began in the seventeenth century in small numbers, increased significantly when the United States denied them entry after enacting the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882.[1] After helping complete the transcontinental railroad, the Chinese, who provided a steady and fairly cheap source of labor during construction, continued immigrating to America's western coast at a high rate. The Exclusion Act may have prohibited Chinese immigrants from directly entering the country, but they sought ways to make their entry into the United States through its southern neighbor; Mexico. As a result, smuggling Chinese into the United States attracted many Americans looking to make a profit, and the city of Ensenada, Mexico, was a prime destination for Chinese immigrants seeking passage up north.

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[1] Julia María Schiavone Camacho, "Crossing Boundaries, Claiming a Homeland: The Mexican Chinese Transpacific Journey to becoming Mexican, 1930s-1960s," *Pacific Historical Review* 78, no. 4 (2009): 549.

Nationwide coverage in the United States concerning this smuggling practice demonstrates just how profitable it was. Chicago's short-lived publication, *The Day Book*, provided a detailed account of the nature of smuggling Chinese immigrants. The article reports that many Chinese immigrants, or "Chinks," as they were commonly referred to even in ostensibly reputable publications, were, "willing to pay as high as $500 each to get into this country."[2] A heavy concentration of Chinese immigrants arrived in Baja California, enabling a lucrative business in organized smuggling and an accompanying hierarchical factor.[3] Alternatively known as "Queen of the Smugglers," a woman named Ethel Hall was arrested in Los Angeles for illegally transporting Chinese immigrants from Mexico into the U.S in 1912. The same article contends that one could earn $15,000 for smuggling thirty Chinese immigrants in a boat from Mexico to the U.S. and claimed that business continued to flourish, as Mexico had no standing law prohibiting Chinese immigration. [4]

Without the Mexican government mandating an official order to object Chinese immigration, the finance minister, Matías Romero, advocated for Chinese laborers to replace indigenous workers even several years prior to the Exclusion Act in the U.S. Author Grace Delgado states that in 1875, Romero, then senator of the Mexican state of Chiapas, vehemently expressed his ideas for bringing in Chinese laborers to work in Mexico's tropical landscapes, or *tierra caliente*, which rested along the border with Guatemala and Belize. The plan was to grow coffee beans in these territories and later export them to the United States.[5] In his essays, Romero expressed his belief that the most qualified laborers to work in these regions were, "…Asians, primarily from climates similar to ours, primarily China…," and emphasized their skills as agriculturalists to support his argument.[6] Romero's advocacy for Chinese labor was finally welcomed twenty-four years after his essays were published in 1875. Mexico and the Qing empire

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[2] "Smuggling Chinks a Risky Business but Profitable Game," The Day Book, October 29, 1908, accessed February 29, 2016.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Grace Delgado, *Making the Chinese Mexican: Global Migration, Localism, and Exclusion in the U.S. Mexico Borderlands* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), 13.
[6] "Inmigración China en México," *Revista Universal*, August 20, 1875, 1, quoted in Delgado, *Making the Chinese Mexican,* 14.

(rulers of China from 1644-1911) signed "The Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation" in 1899, allowing Chinese immigrants to travel to Mexico under official protection. The treaty was nurtured by an amicable correspondence and the exchange of goods between Romero and Qing Dynasty officials.[7]

This economic move satisfied Mexican capitalists who oversaw business in the *tierra caliente*. They could now look forward to an influx of people who provided fairly cheap labor and not worry about increasing wages for their Mexican workers. Historian Robert Chao Romero claims that Matías Romero's stance on Chinese emigration was particularly appealing to large capitalists, saying they believed, "Chinese laborers were perceived to be skillful and persevering," while arguing that the, "high cost of subsistence and rising worker salaries threatened to stymie Mexican national economic development."[8] Within the same year of the treaty in 1899, publications in Mexico resonated Romero's enthusiasm and rhetoric regarding Chinese laborers. *El Tráfico*, a prominent newspaper from the state of Sonora, remarked on the Chinese immigrants' ability of conditional adjustment, claiming that they displayed, "marvelous qualities of strength, resilience and adaptability" (author's translation).[9]

These publications aimed to validate the Mexican government's exploitation of Chinese laborers, but the pseudoscientific reasoning used to make their case was later arranged to express unfavorable sentiment towards them. *El Tráfico* published a piece reflecting a highly antagonistic opinion on the Chinese presence in Mexico, collectively referring to them as "Mongol". It further explained that, despite their inferior race, Chinese certainly had the potential to be true world players if only they adjusted to the likes of Western civilization:

> The Mongol is the ant of the human family: it does not know idleness, it eats frugally and has the cumulative power of the insect aforementioned. For

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[7] Delgado, *Making the Chinese Mexican*, 15.

[8] Robert Chao Romero, *The Chinese in Mexico, 1882-1940* (University of Arizona Press), 176.

[9] *El Tráfico*, Guaymas, October 8, 1899, 2, quoted in Humberto Monteon Gonzalez, *Chinos y Antichinos en Mexico: Documentos para sus Estudiso* (Guadalajara: Gobierno De Jalisco, Secretaría General, Unidad Editorial, 1988), 37.

the Chinese people idleness is a crime and wastefulness an offense…The commercial talent of the children of the celestial empire is superior to that of the Jews, for where Israelites succumb in the struggle for existence, the Mongol flourishes and becomes enriched. If the Chinese were more sociable, and if the Chinese, instead of adapting to climate, assimilate to Western ways, wear a frock and remove their queue, they would be a financial power in Europe and America today (author's translation).[10]

The article reiterates that the Chinese presence is a necessary evil and an indispensable source of productive labor that enhances Mexico's development, stating that without them, "the mining operations would be suspended in critical periods, [and] without [the Chinese] the State's horticultural and agricultural products would be relatively insignificant" (author's translation).[11] The arrival of Chinese immigration concentrated in northern Mexico, and by 1923 their numbers reached over 3000 in the state of Sonora. Mexicali, situated in northern Baja California, drew in many Chinese laborers, especially after the introduction of cotton in 1902.[12] Historian Phillip A. Dennis states that in the same year, a group of fifty Chinese laborers set out for the city of Mexicali after finding little to no work in the city of Mazatlán. They arrived in San Felipe, which lies on the eastern coast of Baja California, and aimed to reach Mexicali after crossing the desert just beyond the city. Alas, most of the men met an ill fate, and Dennis affirms that due to, "an incompetent Mexican guide and their own ignorance of the country, all but seven died on the trip."[13] Thereafter, the desert situated between the city of San Felipe and Mexicali became known as "Desierto de los Chinos" (The Desert of the Chinese).[14] Despite such unfortunate circumstances, the Chinese in Mexico continued to seek fruitful opportunities in

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[10] *El Tráfico*, Guaymas, October 8, 1899, 2, quoted in Gonzalez, *Chinos y Antichinos en Mexico,* 37.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Philip A. Dennis, "The Anti-Chinese Campaigns in Sonora, Mexico," *Ethnohistory* 26, no. 1 (1979): 67.
[13] Dennis, "The Anti-Chinese Campaigns in Sonora, Mexico," 67.
[14] Ibid.

Mexico, eventually hosting more than 5,000 Chinese immigrants in just a few years' time.

A growing economy in northern Mexico motivated Chinese migrants to settle in the region and encouraged entrepreneurship. They began establishing their own shops, restaurants and other businesses, but growing success in their endeavors were soon met with resentment from the Mexican population that they were joining. Economic prosperity in the Chinese community presented competition for Mexican businessmen, and it seemed that this was the catalyst for several years of official campaigning against Chinese immigrants and their families.

Anti-Chinese Sentiment

The city of Torreón, in the state of Coahuila, was home to a population of 35,000 and a thriving Chinese community in 1911, and its financial success had been influenced in part by a visit in 1906 from Kang Youwei, a scholar and leader of a reform movement in China that was intended to help restore the Guangxu Emperor to the throne. After he was exiled from China, Kang visited Chinese communities around the world seeking funds for the China Reform Association. He personally invested in a plot of land in Torreón and sold it back to the, "Chinese and other foreigners for a substantial profit."[15] The Chinese were indeed influential and prosperous, but Mexican citizens grew bitter toward their economic success. A man by the name of Jesús C. Flores was one of Torreón's most vocal opponents on the Chinese presence. On May 5, 1911, he gave a speech condemning the Chinese, blaming them for any "economic troubles."[16] As this occurred during the Mexican Revolution, a circular, published on May 12th by the Chinese Merchants and Laborers' Society of Torreón, warned the community of an "impending attack and the probability of mob violence," after "Maderista revolutionary forces in the cities of Gómez Palacio and Ciudad Lerdo prepared for an attack upon Torreón."[17] What followed on May 13th was a three-day battle that resulted in hundreds of deaths.

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[15] Leo M. Dambourges Jacques, "The Chinese Massacre in Torreón (Coahuila) in 1911," *Arizona and the West* 16, no. 3 (1974): 235.
[16] Chao Romero, *The Chinese in Mexico*, 150.
[17] Ibid., 151.

The Torreón massacre, as the event was subsequently known, proved to be an unforgettable incident of unfathomable cruelty and violence towards the Chinese immigrant community in Mexico. Chao Romero deems it the, "worst act of violence committed against any Chinese diasporic community of the Americas during the twentieth century."[18] 4,000 rebels, led by Francisco I. Madero, arrived in Torreón on May 15th after General Lojero's federal army of 670 retreated and unleashed a brutal, racially motivated attack on the Chinese community. Chao Romero cites a witness account in the aftermath of the murder of over 300 Chinese immigrants, including men, women and children:

> The town was searched for Chinese and all who could be found were murdered in the most brutal and horrifying manner. In one instance the head of a Chinaman was severed from his body and thrown from the window into the street. In another instance a soldier took a little boy by the heels and battered his brains out against a lamp post…In another instance a Chinaman was pulled to pieces in the street by horses hitched to his arms and legs…No language can adequately depict the revolting scenes which attended this carnival of human slaughter…The mind recoils in horror from the contemplation of such an atrocity.[19]

Sources recounting the massacre suggest a general lack of knowledge of the event in Mexico. Scholars like Javier Treviño Ragel and Pablo Hammeken state that, "up until recently, few academics have addressed the issue of the murder of the Chinese in Mexico: and when it has, it has been done in a rather tangential manner" (author's translation).[20] Ragel and Hammeken claim that the reason as to why the massacre is not closely studied lies in the belief that any, "antipathy towards the Chinese communities was a 'natural' consequence of normal economic problems brought on by

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[18] Chao Romero, *The Chinese in Mexico*, 149.

[19] Wilfely and Bassett, *Memorandum on the Law and the Facts*, 6, quoted in Chao Romero, *The Chinese in Mexico,* 152.

[20] Javier Treviño Ragel and Pablo Hammeken, "Racismo y Nación: Comunidades Imaginadas en México," *Estudios Sociológicos* 26, no. 78 (2008): 669.

immigration."[21] The actions of people who spoke out against the Chinese community in Torreón, such as Jesús C. Flores, (who also lost his life during the massacre), supports the argument. However, a near genocidal massacre of this magnitude seems to have stemmed from something much more complex.

In the regions of northern Mexico, the Chinese community flourished with remarkable economic success in the first three decades of the twentieth century. In cities like Torreón, Chinese immigrants made up only two percent of the population. The Mexican residents of these regions (chiefly Sonora, Coahuila and Baja California) grew spiteful of their prosperity. It clashed with their concept of power, which was deeply rooted in a model of success that hierarchically places indigenous Mexicans and other non-European immigrants at the bottom. Ragel and Hammeken say it is worth considering how, "race has conditioned the behavior of the State and society and how it helped construct the idea of nation" (author's translation).[22] Mexico's notion of success throughout its early development as a nation was fundamentally based on European superiority and racial hierarchy, taking precedence over the argument that economic competition with foreigners was the catalyst for antipathy towards minorities:

> The elite of independent Mexico did not always aspire to establish or create a postcolonial identity, but chose to imitate a European model. In reality, the ruling class has made a considerable effort importing institutions, rules, and power mechanisms that originated in Europe[23]…the state controlled and designed the terms of racial expressions, as well as the racist marginalization and exclusion: that is, it came to be, in determined moments, a racist State" (author's translation).[24]

Sinophobia and Chinese communities in Mexico have yet to be examined thoroughly, and, "they remain visibly ignored issues because their analysis remains partially or tangentially

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[21] Ragel and Hammeken, "Racismo y Nación," 672.
[22] Ibid., 674.
[23] Ibid., 681.
[24] Ibid., 691.

developed."[25] Given the nature of the attack, and the high number of casualties, it is no surprise that discourse over what occurred in Torreón has been intentionally desensitized. Nonetheless, what transpired that day stands as a testament to the fierce animosity Mexicans felt towards the prosperity of the Chinese community. In Sonora, however, we find the most extreme case and execution of anti-Chinese sentiments.

In 1895, the state of Sonora was home to over 1,000 Chinese immigrants, and by the mid-1920s it hosted more than 24,000.[26] The population grew concurrently with the Mexican government's concern of keeping Chinese men away from Mexican women. Their unions, along with economic competition, were at the center of anti-Chinese campaigns. They put in motion legislations throughout the 1920s attempting to suppress the Chinese community in a variety of ways. The year 1916 marks the first official stance Mexican businessmen took against the Chinese merchants of Sonora.

In February of 1916, a small group of Sonoran businessmen convened in the city of Magdalena and, according to Chao Romero, "evaluated the impact of the Chinese mercantile presence in Sonora and established a Mexican business organization called the *Junta Comercial y de Hombres de Negocios* (Council of Commerce and Businessmen)."[27] A written declaration resulted from this and the council members expressed their concerns over the Chinese. They stated their goal to promote "the interest of the Mexican businessman through all possible means," and, unsurprisingly, to utilize "all measures allowed by law to bring about the extinction of the Asian merchant."[28] This rhetoric, as Chao Romero explains, latched onto the coattails of the "nationalist fervor sparked by the Mexican Revolution, [and] they couched their complaints against the Chinese within a framework of patriotic nationalism."[29] The Chinese decided it was not in their best interest to stand idly by and sought help from the government to ensure their protection.

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[25] Ragel and Hammeken, "Racismo y Nación," 692.
[26] Kif Agustine-Adams, "Marriage and Mestizaje, Chinese and Mexican: Constitutional Interpretation and Resistance in Sonora, 1921-1935," *Law and History Review* 29, no. 2 (2011): 420.
[27] Chao Romero, *The Chinese in Mexico*, 157.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid., 158.

A month after the council's manifesto, the Chinese community in the city of Cocorit wrote to the Mayor and Governor of Sonora. The earnest nature of their concerns reflects the extent to which the government disregarded the well-being of their community. Their letter states:

> We, perhaps more so than other foreigners, have suffered the consequences of the fratricidal war that has bloodstained the country…We have patiently suffered these unfortunate events, without complaint or protest. As good friends to the Mexicans, we regret everything [that happened], and all we have left is the latent spirit to work…We, as foreigners within the country, believe that we comply with all the laws; we work honestly and pay our contributions in a timely manner; we don't bring harm to anyone, yet we have been innocent victims of war; for such a reason and without intention to claim compensation, we believe that we have the right to be considered with justice to the same degree as everyone else (author's translation).[30]

Through a series of letters and telegrams to the government, members of the Mexican community advocated for the removal of Chinese immigrants from Sonora, and members of the Chinese community appealed for recognition as law-abiding citizens. The ongoing conflict between the two was genuinely palpable, and the persistence with which the Chinese immigrants lay claim to their citizenship offers a telling insight into the government's negligence.

In 1922, members of the Chinese community in Cananea, Sonora, sent a telegram to the president, Alvaro Obregón, stating that they reserve the right to respectfully oppose and protest the state's decision to expel Chinese immigrants for deeming them, "pernicious foreigners."[31] Law 31, an anti-miscegenation law, was passed in 1923, prohibiting the marriage between Mexican women and individuals of the Chinese race, even if they had become

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[30] Archivo General de la Nación, fondo Gonzáles Ramirez, caja 8, volumen, 100., as cited in CYA, 60.
[31] Archivo General de la Nación, fondo Obregón-Calles, 104-ch-1., as cited in CYA, 78.

naturalized Mexican citizens. Couples chose to marry despite this law, and several had to pay a fine of $100 to $500 for doing so. Failure to pay the fine resulted in incarceration.

Mexican women and Chinese men who wished to be united in matrimony would challenge the law seeking *amparo*, or judicial relief, against its enforcement and petitioned to "resist the discrimination that the State of Sonora legally sanctioned."[32] Chinese-Mexican families were not legally recognized by the state, and since the civil codes instituted in 1870 only recognized civil marriages, those in free unions had to register their children as illegitimate. Despite extensive assimilation efforts on the Chinese men's part, families like that of Gim Pon and his wife Julia Delgado, who claimed "Mexican nationality, Spanish literacy, and property ownership – [they] lacked formal recognition."[33] Records state that free union couples, like Gim Pon and Julia Delgado, continued to bring "*amparo* cases against discrimination in Sonora between 1924 – shortly after the passage of Law 31 – and the end of 1932, when Chinese were violently expelled from the state."[34] Before their expulsion, however, the question of *mestizaje*, or miscegenation, dominated much of the anti-Chinese propaganda in Sonora.

Chinese Mexican Unions

Chao Romero asserts that many believed that the only reasonable explanation for such unions was that, "wealthy Chinese merchants lured native Mexican women into marriage by promising them lives of material comfort and prosperity."[35] The driving force that fueled this discrimination with great effectiveness was José Angel Espinoza's 1932 book *El Ejemplo de Sonora*, or *The Example of Sonora*.

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[32] Augustine-Adams, "Marriage and Mestizaje," 423.
[33] Ibid., 421.
[34] Ibid., 425.
[35] Chao Romero, *The Chinese in Mexico*, 77.

La noche de bodas.....

y cinco años después
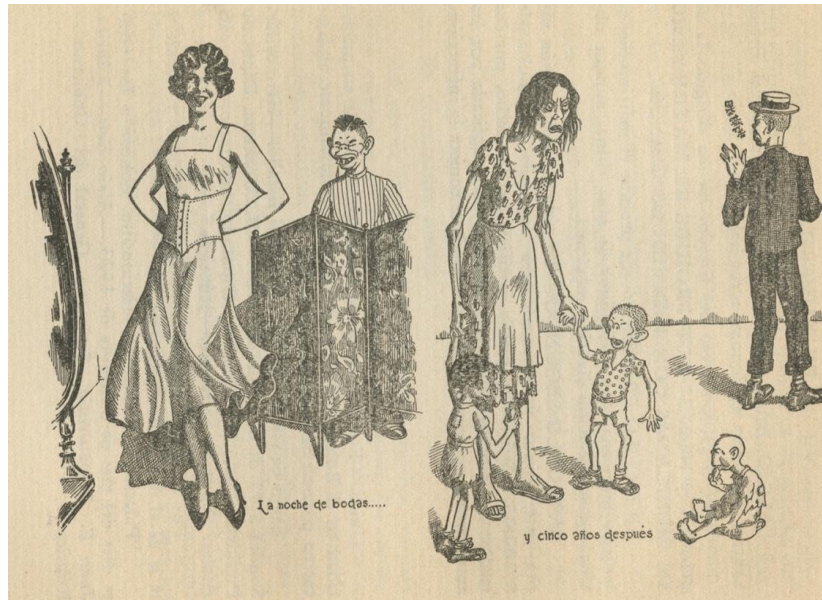
José Angel Espinoza, *El Ejemplo de Sonora* (Mexico, D.F.: n.p., 1932), 36.[36]

  Espinoza's illustrations demonized Chinese men and criticized the Mexican women who had chosen a Chinese man as their mate. His works also accused Mexican women of betraying their nation and race by marrying a Chinese man. The illustration above reads, "The wedding night…and five years later," and depicts a Mexican woman on the left, beaming with happiness and radiant with health, perhaps at the prospect of all the luxuries in life her Chinese husband promised her. On the right we see the same woman five years later, now emaciated and fragile, forced to care for three strange ape-like creatures who seem to be her children. Her Chinese husband, who now dons a new suit, seems to be walking away, abandoning his family. Espinoza's illustration clearly aims to suggest that Mexican women would come to regret their decision to marry a Chinese man, as they only entice them with material luxuries and will leave them soon after. It articulates, quite blatantly, the unsuitability of Chinese men as marital partners.

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[36] Quoted in *The Chinese in Mexico*, 88.

¡Ah infeliz!. . . . Creíste disfrutar de una vida barata al entregarte a un chino y eres una esclava y el fruto de tu error es un escupitajo de la naturaleza . . . .
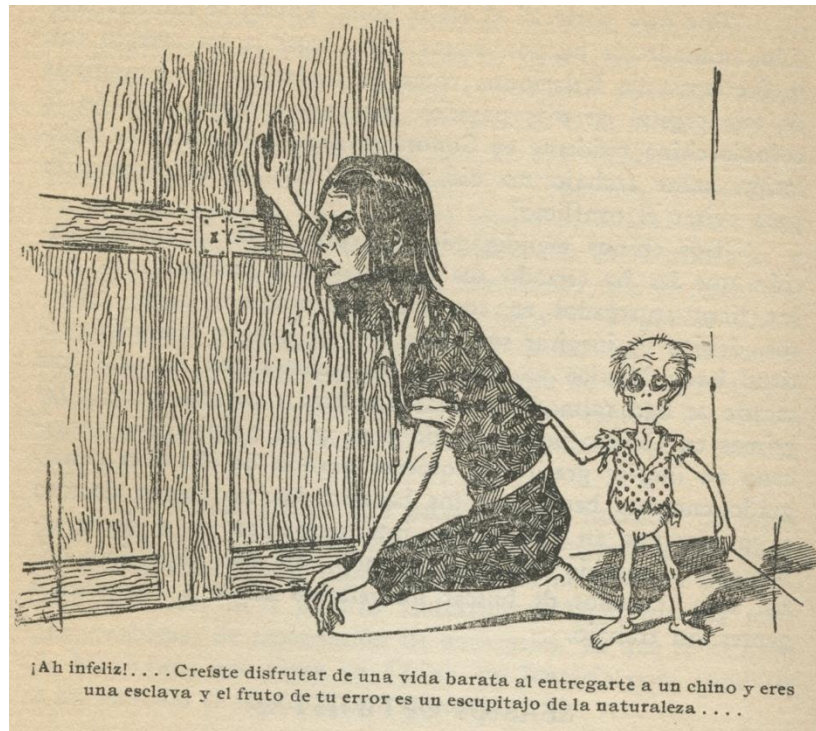
José Angel Espinoza*, El ejemplo de Sonora* (Mexico, D.F.: n.p., 1932), 36.

The illustration above takes anti-Chinese sentimentality one step further. The caption reads, "Oh wretched woman! . . . You thought you would enjoy an easy life by giving yourself to a Chinese man, and instead you are a slave and the fruit of your mistake is a freak of nature."[37] The nature of these paintings suggest that women were willing to overlook the flaws of their Chinese husbands for the sake of material wealth and financial stability. However, it must also be noted that not all relationships formed between Mexican women and Chinese men were frowned upon. In fact, evidence suggests that the unions were, at times, encouraged. Historian Julia María Schiavone Camacho claims that, "Mexican and indigenous fathers who worked for Chinese landowners sometimes encouraged their daughters to marry their Chinese bosses for economic stability."[38] Despite this, there were still efforts in condemning the union between Mexican women and Chinese men, and race came into play as the key factor.

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[37] Quoted in *The Chinese in Mexico*, 79.
[38] Camacho, "Crossing Boundaries," 550.

During the time of steady economic growth in northern Mexico, when Matías Romero promoted Chinese immigration, *El Tráfico*'s publications alluded to an ethnic preference for what was deemed proper miscegenation. It promoted the immigration of "the French, the Saxon and the British," as Europeans were considered racially superior, to come and work in northern Mexico for this very reason (author's translation). According to a publication in 1899, this had to be done to prevent the gradual degeneration of the Mexican race from evolving into, "a nation of dwarves, as are the natives of Tibet and how the Chinese will become" (author's translation).[39] However, European immigrants found Mexico's hot northern climate intolerable, and many did not stay despite the growing number of jobs. After the Treaty of Amity granted Chinese immigrants safe passage to Mexico, and once they started populating the north, *El Tráfico* adopted a new perspective regarding the ethnic mixing occurring there. It stated:

> The idea that the indigenous race will degenerate when crossed with the Chinese should not concern us, because the time has come to confess, without shame, that since the death of Friar Bartolomé de las Casas, there are very few Mexicans, both within the government and outside of it, who care about the future of the aborigines (author's translation).[40]

The idea of *mestizaje* became much more complex in Mexico, and apart from facing constant discrimination, the Chinese also found themselves excluded from that idea "even in a country defined by a *mestizo* ideal where interracial relationships were commonplace," as historian Kif Agustine-Adams states.[41] *El Tráfico* was careful not to include the Chinese in their definition of *mestizaje* by making certain that the term, "focused heavily on mixing among indigenous peoples, Spanish, and, nominally, blacks to the virtual exclusion of Chinese and other Asian."[42] It is also apparent that Espinoza's illustrative attacks did not spare Chinese-Mexican children.

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[39] "Raza e Inmigración," *El Tráfico*, June 1, 1899, in *Chinos y Antichinos en Mexico,* 2.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Agustine-Adams, "Marriage and Mestizaje," 427.

[42] Ibid.
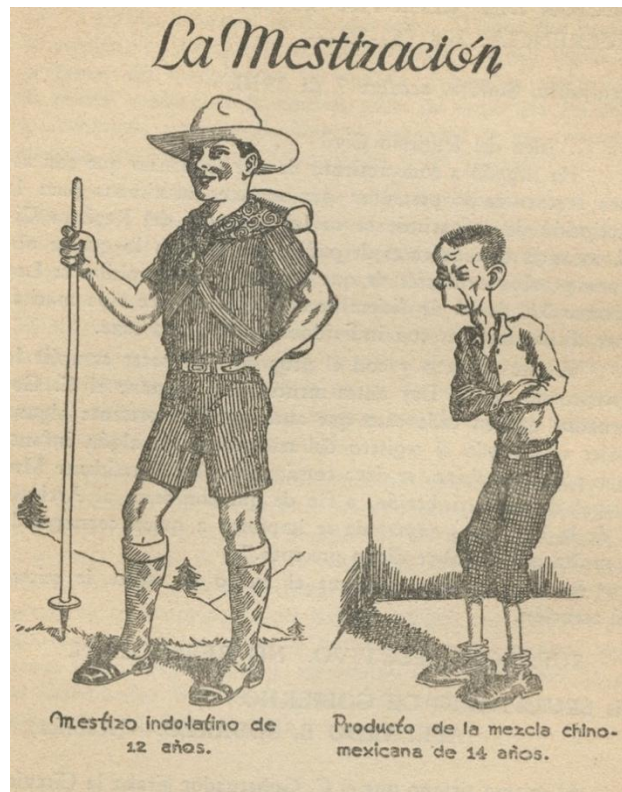
"La Mestización" (Race Mixing), Jose Angel Espinosa*, El Ejemplo de Sonora* (Mexico, D.F.; n.p. 1932), 56.[43]

The image above expresses what Espinoza, and other Mexicans, considers an ideal *mestizo*. It compares two children who are the product of at least one Mexican parent. The caption for the child on the left reads, "12 year-old Indo-Latino mestizo," while the caption beneath the child on the right reads, "14 year-old product of a Chinese-Mexican mixing."[44] It is clear that the prevailing standard for *mestizos* in Mexico did not include the Chinese. The term *mestizo* became almost exclusively associated to the fusing of indigenous peoples and Spaniards. By the 1930s, the "rhetoric of *mestizaje* in Mexico idealized Spanish/indigenous miscegenation, acknowledged black, and ignored Chinese."[45] They could not be officially recognized by the Mexican government as

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[43] As cited in "Marriage and Mestizaje," 430.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Agustine-Adams, "Marriage and Mestizaje," 427.

mestizos, but they certainly made a great impression with their financial success.

Economic competition fueled tensions between the Chinese and Mexicans in Sonora and maintained its reign as the underlying factor in the campaigns against the Chinese. It was estimated that by 1923, Sonora boasted "twenty large industries, thirty tailor shops, fifty bakeries, seventy-two restaurants, thirty-six hotels, eighty laundries, fifty meat markets, fourteen sweet shops, and thirteen cantinas run by the Chinese."[46] In 1929, after the Great Depression hit, many Mexican workers who were trying their luck in the United States returned home, and the sight of economically prosperous Chinese did not sit well with them.

Dennis affirms that upon arriving, these Mexican sojourners "found Chinese everywhere, prosperous and controlling jobs and wealth they themselves wanted."[47] As a result, the anti-Chinese campaigns escalated and began implementing laws that required all businesses and establishments in Sonora to have eighty percent of their workforce consist of Mexican employees.[48] This attempt at regulating the expansion of the Chinese community in Sonora exhibits a fear that sought to justify their prosperity and contributions to Mexico as a genuine threat. Sequentially, these laws implemented to suppress Chinese commercial expansion, and marriages between Chinese men and Mexican women, proved too difficult for many Chinese to endure. At its zenith in the summer of 1931, the anti-Chinese campaign in northern Mexico was successful, and many Chinese Mexican families were left with no choice but to leave Mexico. While some Chinese emigrated to different parts of Mexico, most returned to China with their families, which in turn lead to another significant development in the Chinese-Mexican identity.

The Chinese-Mexican Identity

A significant portion of the Chinese community returned to southern China, to the Guangdong province, during the time of repatriation, and the prejudice Chinese-Mexican families experienced in Mexico for challenging the fixed notion of

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[46] Dennis, "The Anti-Chinese Campaign in Sonora," 67.
[47] Ibid., 69.
[48] Chao Romero, *The Chinese in Mexico*, 166.

mestizaje followed them. Many Chinese-Mexican families landed in southern China before relocating to a more permanent residence in the former Portuguese colony, Macau, situated just west of Hong Kong. It is estimated that some 500 families from Mexico reached Macau during the time of repatriation, which in total was estimated to be about 2,000 people.[49] One of the immediate problems these families encountered upon their arrival was the realization that some of the men already had wives there in China. This was problematic because not only did the husbands not tell their Mexican wives, but some expected them to accept the arrangement.

In the case of Rosa Murillo de Chan, she was told by her husband, Felipe Chan, that he was never married, but recognized otherwise when her family reached Guangdong province in 1930.[50] Refusing to live next door to her husband's first wife, Rosa made an appeal to Mexican officials asking to return to Mexico, but she was not permitted to come back because she had given up her Mexican citizenship upon marrying Felipe Chan. Other Mexican women encountered the same fate as Rosa Murillo de Chan upon arriving in China with their husbands and children. They were either expected to accept their husbands' Chinese wives' children or leave with their own children, but they would have to relocate to another part in China since their Mexican citizenships were revoked. While Mexican women, along with their Chinese husbands, had difficulty adjusting to life in China, their children, who were products of the new *mestizaje*, had trouble seeking channels through which to express their identity as children of two cultures. Despite their efforts to appease both sides of their family, these Chinese Mexicans chose to associate with one cultural identity over the other, which at times was largely affected by their location.

Macau, a city on the southern coast of China, was a Portuguese territory with Catholic foundations and Iberian influences that made it possible for Mexican women and their children to get a sense of belonging. Many languages, such as Portuguese, Cantonese and Spanish, were spoken there and as result, and Chinese Mexican children grew up learning several languages. The exposure to their cultural Iberian roots enabled many Chinese Mexicans to channel strong feelings about their

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[49] Camacho, "Crossing Boundaries," 558.
[50] Ibid.

pride as Mexicans, which in turn made them the driving force in the efforts to repatriate back to Mexico

Ramón Lay Mazo, who arrived in Macau from the Mexican state of Sinaloa with his family when he was four, worked as a scribe for Macau's Ecclesiastical Chamber. He led the repatriation movement in Macau, and in his letter to Mexican president López Mateos in 1959 he stated that the Mexican community in Macau, despite residing in China for an extended period of time, did not understand the "exotic practices and customs of these people whose mentality is so opposite ours."[51] It became apparent that Ramón, along with others like Alfonso Wong Campoy, wholly associated with their Mexican identities. This may have been the result of hearing Mexico being referred to as their true homeland by family members, especially the mothers, who were Mexican. Julia María Schiavone Camacho closely examined the manifestation of the Mexican identity in China and explained the way Chinese Mexicans might have been nurtured into associating with their Mexican identity. Here she uses Alfonso Wong Campoy as an example of such an upbringing:

> Mexican women and some Chinese men were at the center of Macau's Chinese Mexican community. They taught their children the Spanish language, passed on Mexican cultural traditions, and kept alive memories of community life in Mexico, which many of the children had left when they were very young. These parents taught their children that there was more to Mexico than the anti-Chinese campaigns that orchestrated their expulsion. Wong Campoy recalled that both his mother and father taught him to love Mexico and that [his father], like other Chinese Mexicans, believed that the Mexican government rather than the Mexican people had expelled the family.[52]

Camacho explains that a "romanticized notion" of Mexico is what people like Wong Campoy and Lay Mazo most strongly

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[51] Camacho, "Crossing Boundaries," 565.
[52] Julia María Schiavone Camacho, *Chinese Mexicans: Transpacific Migration and the Search for a Homeland, 1910-1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 137-138.

identified with, growing up with the sense that their family belonged in Mexico.[53] What strengthened that identity was the opposition Chinese Mexicans faced from the Chinese community because of their Mexican heritage. Ramon Lay Mazo dissociated himself from China, as he knew that many of the ideas in the west formed an unfavorable opinion concerning the People's Republic of China. He used the fear of communism in an attempt to sway Mexican officials to help rescue Chinese Mexican families in China. An interesting case in which Lay Mazo's anti-communist rhetoric rings true is that his nephew, Antonio León Sosa Mazo, a reputable classical Chinese dancer in Guangdong province, was rejected from a university where he planned to study medicine for being of mixed-race. His mother was referred to as "Mexican devil."[54] Shortly after his rejection, he wrote *El invierno de otoño* (The winter in fall) a book which "described a student's experience of the sudden changes in government as well as private and public life and how texts, materials, professors, and discipline at the university had been transformed."[55] The book was published during the time when the Communist party was censoring books, but he was later persecuted for it because it contained material that promoted capitalist ideologies. After a failed attempt in obtaining permission to return to Mexico in 1959, communist authorities found him in Macau and executed him.

Chinese Mexicans in Macau and Hong Kong continued to voice their feelings of oppression, and from this came the expression "being like a Mexican" which was associated with "being poor and stateless."[56] In part due to Lay Mazo's incessant pleas to the Mexican government for repatriation to Mexico in the late 1950s, efforts began in bringing back Chinese Mexicans to Mexico. An organization known as the Lion's Club took on the task of initiating a national campaign for this, beginning with the chapter in Tampico, Tamaulipas, by applying three strategies. The first was in appealing Mexican patriotism in their supplication to President López Mateos on behalf of Mexican families abroad in China by using clauses in the Mexican constitution from 1917 claiming that Mexican women and their children had to be protected by their government while on foreign lands. Secondly,

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[53] Camacho, *Chinese Mexicans,* 136.
[54] Ibid., 143.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.

and perhaps the most contradictory claim, was the issue of protecting "abandoned Mexican women who live in China alone." This was the very demographic the anti-Chinese campaign spared no expense in slandering for marrying Chinese men.[57] The third tactic used was to shed light on the poor conditions Mexicans might face in China as well as the fear of communism spreading into their community.

  The efforts of the Lions Club in Mexico and diplomatic communication proved successful, and Mexico would begin to repatriate its citizens in China by May 1960. Sonora, however, which maintained its anti-Chinese sentiment, responded to the repatriation process by opposing the idea. In the end, the fear of communism, which was underscored as the most alarming offense to Mexicans abroad, won out the anti-Chinese rhetoric. As a result, many families were reunited in Mexico, but they face challenges reintegrating themselves, as it became very difficult for some to find employment. Alfonso Wong Campoy's mother, Dolores Campoy Wong Fang, told President López Mateos that her sons were having a hard time finding a stable job, even after the officials said they would help in this regard. The process of assimilation for Chinese Mexicans was another complex layer added to their identity.

  The strategies used to bring Chinese Mexicans back into Mexico were controversial in the sense that they were the very reasons also used to exclude them from the notion of *mestizaje* and from Mexico itself. The Lions Club members intended to bring back Chinese Mexicans for possessing qualities many of them clearly possessed before a mass expulsion was prompted in the early 1930s. In their supplication to the government, members of Chinese communities in Mexico expressed their allegiance to the country in which they resided, worked, and formed families. Mexico was reclaiming Chinese Mexican children that it previously had not thought twice to regard as illegitimate. Could it be that their partial, or whole-hearted, claim to their Mexican identity as adults made a difference? If so, Ramon Lay Mazo's case certainly points to that. What about the Mexican women who were vilified by Espinoza's illustrative attacks? They were praised for their commitment to their families while in China, but scorned for the exact same reason while in Mexico. It is true that time tends

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[57] Camacho, *Chinese Mexicans*, 143.

to foster progressive ideas, and perhaps this was the case for bringing Chinese Mexicans back. However, there seemed to be no acknowledgement of the legislations that were implemented to constrain the Chinese community in Mexico prior to the expulsions. This aspect is interesting to look at when considering the community in present-day Mexico. Today, much of what defines the dynamic between Mexico and China is their economic relationship.

One study suggests that much of what has been written about China in Mexico and Latin America in social media reflects a lack of awareness of Chinese history in their countries. The comments surrounding China as an economic power are based on the quality of products imported into their countries. Many commentaries associated China with low quality consumer goods and suggested that this was true for the majority of Chinese products.[58] There also seems to be fundamental misunderstanding of Chinese culture in Latin America and most of the negative comments are directed at their cultural differences. Meanwhile, most of the positive comments on social media regard the social activities within the Chinese communities, such as the New Year celebrations.[59] One such celebration of Chinese culture was recently orchestrated in Mexico City. The three-day event called "Chinese Cultural Week: A meeting with the Silk Road," where the Chinese ambassador to Mexico Qiu Xiaoqi spoke of the importance of their economic relationship, was programed to highlight very important aspects of the Chinese culture. He stated that, "The number of Chinese companies in Mexico is very small, compared to the full potential China can find here. We must seek to formalize a commercial agreement to help our economies advance."[60] It is clear that this commercial advancement is the underlying factor for China and Mexico's relationship, but it disregards the very complex history of their economic relationship from the early twentieth century.

Mónica Cinco reflected on her experiences growing up as a Chinese Mexican and what her identity means to her now. As an

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[58] Ariel C. Armony and Nicolás Velasquez, "Percepciones Antichinas en las Comunidadaes Virtuales Latinoamericanas," *Nueva Sociedad*, no. 259 (2015): 135.

[59] Ibid., 138.

[60] "Chinese Cultural Week Kicks off in Mexico," *New China*, March 16, 2016, http://news.xinhuanet.com/.

adult, she expresses her sentiments regarding her dual identity and the experiences of her father (who left with his family to China during the repatriation period in the 1930s) and his influence on her:

> Being Mexican moves me and excites me, but my father has passed onto me the nostalgia he feels for China. Today, I do not feel completely Chinese and perhaps I will never feel that way. I often experience the rejection of the Chinese, like my cousins, who have come to Mexico in recent years. They reject me because I am not from China and because my mother is Mexican. These relatives, who are my age, do not see me and my father as completely Chinese.[61]

Monica's father, who endured one unfortunate circumstance after another as a child of a Chinese father and Mexican mother, shares a similar sentiment to that of Mónica's. He expressed his dual identity by embracing both Chinese and Mexican cultures. Of a particular note, is the way he defines himself as *mestizo*:

> I've worked in many things, but I'm a restaurant owner now. I love China very much. I was educated there. I spent most of my lifetime in that country. But I would not like to return to live in [Gunagzhou]. I've spent the other half of my life here, in Mexico. My wife is Mexican and I have Mexican children. I have no reason to return to China.
>
> I enjoy talking with the Mexicans more than I do with the Chinese. Many of the Chinese here are envious of each other and don't like to live amongst Mexicans. We speak the same language, but they seldom talk with me because I am *mestizo*. I have more Mexican friends than I have Chinese friends and we get along very well. People see me as Chinese and I like to be seen as that. But I am Mexican.[62]

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[61] Monica Cinco, "China en Mexico: Encuentros de Ayer, Descubrimientos de Hoy," *Antropologicas* 17 (2000): 69.

[62] Cinco, "China en Mexico," 70.

Chinese Mexicans like Mónica Cinco's father and Ramón Lay Mazo acknowledged their dual identity and did not think it necessary to defend one part of it more so than the other. It is unfortunate that such an experience as that of Chinese Mexicans has gone virtually neglected in Mexico, and as the relationship between Mexico and China continues to be rooted in economics, it would be a careless act to continue ignoring the historical economic impact of the Chinese community in Mexico. And although Chinese Mexicans today no longer face the same vitriol and government oppression their families did in in the early twentieth century, they still encounter prejudice and are generally associated with harmful, residual stereotypes from the anti-Chinese campaigns. Mónica's father self-identified as *mestizo*, but this claim may seem illegitimate to Mexicans who know little to nothing about the history of the Chinese presence in Mexico because it is not widely taught. If the history of the Chinese in Mexico was more widely lectured and Chinese efforts in Mexico's early economic growth were acknowledged, there would be no question as to whether or not Chinese Mexicans are *mestizos*.

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Author Bio

Rocio Gomez graduated from California State University San Bernardino in June 2016. She earned her Bachelor's degree in History with a concentration in Chinese History. She developed an interest in the Chinese experience in Mexico after noticing similarities between her own experience as a Chicana and that of Chinese Mexicans. She is currently working as a Paraeducator in Lake Elsinore, but she hopes to someday work for the National Park Service and plans on returning to school to get a Master's in Journalism.

Yemen and the Houthi Rebellion in the Context of the Global War on Terror

By Tomi Pulkkinen

Abstract: *The group Ansar Allah, commonly known as the Houthis, took over the Yemeni capital Sana'a in the Fall of 2014, and have been engaged in a conflict with the exiled government President Abdu Rabbu Mansour Hadi and a Saudi-led coalition of mostly Arab countries since March 2015. The Houthis originate from the north-western region of Saada, and represent a faction of Yemen's Zaydi minority, but neither the group nor the conflict in Yemen are primarily sectarian. The situation in Yemen is complicated by various regional, political, and tribal factions that form alliances of convenience for political purposes. The situation is further complicated by the U.S. led War on Terror and its local variations, and the Houthis, a socio-political movement, is a sworn enemy of al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula which has been the target of U.S. and Yemeni counter-terrorism efforts in the country. This paper seeks to shed light on the origins and nature of the Houthi movement as well as the realities of the War on Terror in Yemen for a better understanding of the conflict in light of history.*

Houthi fighters took over the Yemeni capital Sana'a and much of northwestern Yemen in September 2014, in the midst of demonstrations against the ruling Hadi regime,[1] as the moral guidance department of the Yemeni armed forces threw its support behind the "people's revolution,"[2] leaving the capital city unprotected. Meanwhile, President Abdu Rabbu Mansour Hadi and his allies proved incapable of containing the growing crisis. Houthi

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[1] Ian Black, "Yemen: Understanding Houthi Motives is Complicated but Essential," *The Guardian*, January 19, 2015, accessed December 10, 2015, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jan/19/understanding-houthi-motives-complicated-essential-yemen-future.

[2] 26 September Net, "منتسبوا التوجيه المعنوي يعلنون تأييدهم لثورة الشعب" September 21, 2014, accessed March 24, 2017, http://www.26sep.net/news_details.php?sid= 107024.

forces subsequently seized the critical southern port of Aden as well, though they later lost it to pro-government forces in July 2015.[3] According to the United Nations, the Houthis have agreed to a resolution to stop fighting, but a Saudi led coalition of Gulf and Arab countries has continued its bombing of Yemen, which has caused enormous loss of life in the region, including an unacceptable number of civilian casualties.[4] The conflict between the Houthis and the government in Yemen has been ongoing for more than ten years, but there is no end in sight to the fighting that has devastated the country that ranks among the poorest in the world. The Houthis enjoy widespread popular support and continue to control large swaths of territory in western Yemen, despite the fact that the movement originated among the Zaydi religious minority from the northern provinces. April Longley Alley[5] has observed that:

> supporters of the movement see the Houthis as correcting the wrongs of the country's 2011 transition agreement, which preserved the power and corruption of old regime elites. They praise the movement's willingness to confront corruption, combat al-Qaʻida, and fill a security vacuum left by a feckless government.[6]

Despite their overtly anti-American and anti-Israeli rhetoric, the Houthi movement is a sworn enemy of al-Qaeda and other extremist Sunni groups in Yemen. Its operations are restricted to Yemen, as opposed to international terrorist groups that seek to extend the theater of war to other countries,

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[3] "Yemen's Houthis 'pushed from last Aden stronghold,'"*Al-Jazeera*, July 23, 2015, accessed December 10, 2015, http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/07/yemen-houthis-pushed-aden-stronghold-150723002942312.html.
[4] Associated Press in Sana'a, "Second Yemen Wedding Bombed as UN Says Houthi Rebels Accept Ceasefire," *The Guardian*, October 7, 2015, accessed December 10, 2015, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/08/second-yemen-wedding-bombed-as-un-says-houthi-rebels-accept-ceasefire.
[5] April Longley Alley is a senior analyst for the International Crisis Group, who has "conducted fieldwork in Yemen since 2004." "April Longley-Alley," *International Crisis Group*, accessed March 24, 2017, https://www.crisisgroup.org/who-we-are/people/april-longley-alley.
[6] April Longley Alley, "Yemen's Houthi Takeover," *Middle East Institute*, December 22, 2014, accessed March 24, 2017, http://www.mei.edu/content/article/yemens-houthi-takeover.

particularly in the West. In order to see past the inflammatory slogans of the Houthi movement and to understand the nature of the group and its success in controlling territory in Yemen, one must consider various phenomena; such as the history of Yemen as a country, its social structure, the nature and roots of Zaydism, the origins of the Houthi movement, the concept of the Global War on Terror, the involvement of the United States in Yemen and in the Middle East in general, as well as the domestic politics of Yemen. The Houthi movement has not been designated as a terrorist organization by the United States, and it may, in fact, be a potential ally in the fight against al-Qaeda as it has vowed to destroy the group.[7] This may sound counterintuitive but the dearth of effective local allies, as well as the complex political and tribal environment of Yemen makes for strange alliances. Given the popularity of the group in parts of Yemen and its leadership role in the fight against an unresponsive and oppressive regime, as well as the local resistance to foreign interference in Yemeni politics, the prospect of defeating it by providing weapons and material support to the exiled president Hadi and the Saudi led coalition seems unlikely. The Saudi government's ideological opposition to the Zaydis is intimately connected to politics in the Arabian Peninsula, as the Zaydi religious ideology challenges the legitimacy of the al-Saud family. Zaydi presence and control of territory in northern Yemen, however, has roots that reach to a time thousand years before the establishment of Saudi Arabia - roots that are essential to understanding the underlying realities of the current crisis.

Historical Background

The Zaydi Shia presence in Yemen dates back to at least the late ninth century CE. A Zaydi Imamate independent of the Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad was founded in Yemen as early as 893 CE, and it ruled over territory of varying size in northern Yemen until 1962.[8] The first Zaydi state in the region was founded by an Islamic scholar and a descendant of Prophet Muhammad by the

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[7] Khalil Harb, "Ansar Allah Vows to Defeat Al-Qaeda in Yemen," *Al-Monitor*, October 22, 2014, accessed December 10, 2015, http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/politics/2014/10/yemen-ansar-allah-clashes-al-qaeda.html#.
[8] Ira M. Lapidus, *Islamic Societies to the Nineteenth Century: A Global History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 487.

name of Yahya ibn Husayn (d. 911 CE). According to his biography, Yahya was invited to mediate between warring tribes of the Sa'ada region in the rugged highlands of northern Yemen. After settling the dispute between local tribes, Yahya proclaimed himself to be the *imam* (leader) of the Zaydi community, and adopted the honorific title *al-Hadi ila al-Haqq* (the guide to the truth) as their spiritual leader and head of state. With the military support of allied tribes, Yahya defeated other tribes in the area who opposed him, and established the rule of a Zaydi *dawlah* (state).[9] The Ottoman Empire, which occupied southern Yemen from 1539 to 1636, was expelled from the area by the Qasimi branch of the Zaydi dynasty, but it re-established its suzerainty over Yemen in the nineteenth century. Ottoman suzerainty over Yemen was confirmed in 1911, by a treaty that granted administrative control of the highlands to the Zaydi *imam* and the control of the coastal areas to the Ottomans.[10] In 1839, the delicate political balance in Yemen was complicated further by British occupation of the critical southern port of Aden, which was formally made a crown colony in 1937.[11] The control of different parts of the area by the British and the Ottomans ultimately resulted in the division of the country into North and South Yemen.

After the First World War, as the defeated Ottoman forces withdrew from northern Yemen, the area controlled by the Zaydi *imamate* was expanded by Imam Yahya Hamid al-Din (r. 1904 - 1948). The *imamate* would rule northern Yemen until 1962, when a revolution resulted in the overthrow of the *imam* and the new Yemen Arab Republic (YAR) was established. A civil war ensued, between Egyptian-backed republican forces and pro-imamate royalists backed by Saudi Arabia. The civil war in northern Yemen concluded in 1967, and the rival republican and royalist factions were subsequently reconciled. That same year, the British were driven out from the south of the country and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY), a Marxist regime, was established there with its capital in Aden.[12] The YAR (North Yemen) and the PDRY (South Yemen) were unified in 1990, and

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[9] Shelagh Weir, *A Tribal Order* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), 229.
[10] Lapidus, *Islamic Societies*, 487.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Mark Gasiorowski, David E. Long, and Bernard Reich, *Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2013), 198-199.

the Republic of Yemen (ROY) was formed. President Ali Abdullah Saleh, who had ruled the north with his General People's Congress (GPC) party, became the president of unified Yemen and Sana'a became its capital. The secretary-general of the Yemeni Socialist Party (YSP) Ali Salim al-Baydh became the vice president, and the parliaments of the north and south were merged into a new parliamentary body called the Council of Deputies. The moderate Islamist Islah party was established by tribal *shaykhs* (elders) opposed to the YSP, and the leader of Islah, Shaykh Abdullah ibn Hussayn al-Ahmar, became the speaker of the new parliament.[13]

In 1994, a War of Secession erupted, which pitted the southern forces of the YSP against the forces of president Saleh and some militant Islamists, among them Afghani Arabs, who returned home to Yemen from Afghanistan after the fall of the Soviet Union. That same year, Saleh was reelected as president and a southern general named Abdu Rabbu Mansour Hadi became the vice president. Saleh was reelected as president again in 1999.[14] These same individuals have dominated the politics of the ROY since then.

Social Structure in Yemen

Yemeni society is tribal in nature and kinship groups play an important role in the lives of most Yemenis. Most tribes in Yemen are populations of settled farmers, not nomadic or transhumant, and most of Yemen is inhabited by sedentary tribes. The areas around Ibb and Ta'izz in Lower Yemen are the only major regions in the country that were never organized tribally. Although they do share a similar political culture, tribes "vary regionally in size, forms of identity, and modes of organization.[15] The location of the different tribes and their relationship to the environment they inhabit varies depending on whether the area is arid or fertile, inaccessible or along well-established routes. In addition to these factors, its distance from major towns and trade routes affect the size and organization of the tribe and its relationship with central powers, be they local or colonial states.[16] The southern and coastal

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[13] Gasiorowski, *Government and Politics*, 201.

[14] Ibid., 202.

[15] Shelagh Weir, *A Tribal Order* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), 2.

[16] Ibid., 3.

areas of the country are inhabited mostly by Sunni Muslims who follow the Shafi'i *madhab* (school of Islamic law) as a result of Rasulid rule in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Zaydi Shi'a constitute little over 20 percent of the total population, and they live mostly in the mountainous regions of the north known as the Upper Yemen. They have historically been over-represented in the government and the armed forces. The people of the northern highlands are known for their especially strong tribal ties, which continue to function as a basis of identity, solidarity, and social organization more than in other areas, according to Khaled Fattah,[17] in Yemen:

> Tribes…make up the central nervous system of politics, and tribal sheikhs are the most influential pressure group in the political arena. This is because, in the pursuit of regime survival, all the modernizing agents—namely state institutions, political parties and the military—have been tribalized.[18]

Zaydism

The Zaydi Hadawi *madhab*, named after the founder of the first Zaydi state in Yemen Imam al-Hadi (d. 911 CE), is especially tolerant of '*urf* (customary tribal law), which, together with *shari'ah* (Islamic religious law), has always comprised "a composite system for solving problems and ordering relations." In addition to the religious accommodation of tribal customs and law, cooperation between Zaydi state officials and tribal leaders has also been facilitated by the fact that they share, to a great extent, "the same cultural assumptions and values, and employ similar symbols and rituals of enforcement."[19] The basis of the Hadawi

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[17] Khaled Fattah has been "a nonresident scholar at the Carnegie Middle East Center, where his research focused on the political, economic, security, and cultural sectors in Yemen, and state-tribe relations in the Arab Middle East." He is currently a guest lecturer at the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Lund University in Sweden. "Khaled Fattah," *Carnegie Middle East Center*, accessed March 24, 2017, http://carnegie-mec.org/experts/810.
[18] Khaled Fattah, "Yemen: A Social Intifada in a Republic of Sheikhs," *Middle East Policy* 18, no. 3 (2011) 79-85.
[19] Weir, *A Tribal Order*, 146.

madhab, followed by the Zaydis of northern Yemen, is formed by the theological and legal writings of Imam al-Hadi. That "the spiritual leader of the Muslim community should also be supreme ruler (*imam*) of the Muslim state," is a central tenet of Hadawi Zaydism. The Hadawi doctrine also "upholds the principle of hereditary rule," but without requiring an automatic succession from father to son. Instead, the head of the Zaydi state may be selected, based on merit, from among the descendants of Prophet Muhammad through either one of his two grandsons Hasan and Husayn. "The ideal imam, epitomized by al-Hadi, was both a warrior (*mujahid*) and an expert legal interpreter (*mujtahid*), ready and able to wield sword as well as pen."[20] In Zaydi tradition, *imams* came to power by disseminating a written manifesto claiming the *imamate*, which had to be accepted by the prominent *sayyids* (descendants of the Prophet Muhammad) and *qadis* (judges) of the community, who would legitimize the claim by swearing allegiance to the *imam* in written form. This represented a "profound moral, religious, and political commitment." Each northern Yemeni Zaydi *dawlah* "was constituted by the superimposition of this small ruling clique onto a broad base of largely self-governing tribes whose leaders also solemnly pledged their allegiance in written pacts." This process provided the Zaydi states with legitimacy at the grassroots level.[21] Understanding this process is important in that it can help elucidate the mechanisms that have allowed the Houthis to gain ground in Yemen despite the efforts on behalf of the regime to suppress them. Today the Houthis participate in national dialogue with other centers of power in Yemen, but remain in control of their territory and refuse to lay down their weapons. They have publicly rejected the legitimacy of the transitional government because they see it as betraying the revolution. The name "Houthis" refers to the family of the founder of the movement, but they prefer to call themselves *Ansar Allah* (Supporters of God). Due to their "opposition to Islah and the old regime, as well as their reputation for rejecting corruption and transparently administering justice, they have made inroads into traditionally Sunni areas of Yemen."[22]

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[20] Weir, *A Tribal Order*, 230.

[21] Ibid., 231.

[22] April Longley Alley, "Yemen Changes Everything…and Nothing," *Journal of Democracy* 24, no. 4 (2013) 74-85.

Roots of the Houthi Rebellion

In 1993, Husayn al-Houthi, a Zaydi *sayyid* and the son of a respected Zaydi scholar Badr al-Din al-Houthi, was elected to the Council of Deputies and served as a member of the Yemeni parliament until 1997. He initially enjoyed the support of president Saleh, who had previously allied himself also with Salafis to fight the YSP, but later Saleh withdrew his support and ordered the governor of Sa'ada to take action against Husayn al-Houthi's supporters. Saleh's crack down provoked a rebellion in the district which is a stronghold of the Houthi movement and part of the traditional homeland of the Zaydis.[23] In January 2003, president Saleh visited Sa'ada on his way to Mecca, Saudi Arabia, and while visiting the city's mosque during Friday prayers, he attempted to give a speech but was greeted with chants of what has become the Houthi slogan: "God is Great. Death to America. Death to Israel. Curse the Jews. Victory to Islam." More than 600 people were subsequently arrested as the Yemeni government cracked down on those chanting the slogan. Attacks on government installations in the region that were attributed to the Believing Youth (BY) organization of the Zaydis exacerbated the situation, and some members of the Zaydi community felt that they were being unfairly targeted by the government. The chanting of the Houthi slogan subsequently spread to other parts of northern Yemen as well.

Husayn al-Houthi, who was the leader of the BY, was summoned to appear before the president but failed to comply.[24] On June 18, 2004, 604 people were arrested by Yemeni security forces for chanting the slogan after Friday prayers outside of the Grand Mosque of the capital city Sana'a. An arrest warrant was issued for Husayn al-Houthi, and government troops were dispatched to Sa'ada to capture him. Following the deaths of three Yemeni government soldiers in the outskirts of Sa'ada city, the regime launched a military campaign that included aerial bombardment of the region. Husayn al-Houthi sent an open letter to president Saleh in which he stated: "I do not work against you, I appreciate you and what you do tremendously, but what I do is my solemn national duty against the enemy of Islam and the community: America and Israel. I am by your side, so do not listen

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[23] Gasiorowski, *Government and Politics*, 216.
[24] Lucas Winter, "Conflict in Yemen: Simple People, Complicated Circumstances," *Middle East Policy* 18, no. 1 (2011) 102-120.

to hypocrites and provocateurs, and trust that I am more sincere and honest to you than they are." But al-Houthi refused to turn himself in to the authorities. Fighting ensued between government forces and supporters of al-Houthi in Sa'ada City and the mountains of Marran in the Haydan district of the western Sa'ada governorate. Husayn al-Houthi was killed in September, which brought the fighting to a temporary halt.[25]

Husayn al-Houthi was succeeded by his brother Abd al-Malik,[26] and clashes, said to have been led by Badr al-Din al-Houthi, broke out again a few months later. According to Lucas Winter,[27] "Government heavy-handedness had likely increased support for the Houthis, and their followers began carrying out attacks in some of Sa'ada province's more populated areas, eliciting an even harsher military response." The second round of the so-called Sa'ada Wars came to an end in April 2005, as the government claimed it had secured most of the rebel positions; but clashes continued until February 2006, after which the government released prisoners and appointed a new governor who would work to improve the relations between the Houthis and the regime.[28] In 2006, president Saleh was re-elected once more and demonstrations against the regime started in the south in 2007 – to which the regime responded with increasing violence.[29]

New clashes with the Houthis broke out in early 2007 in the bloodiest round of fighting that the conflict had seen since its beginning, and the fighting persisted until February 2008, when a Qatari brokered peace agreement brought the struggle to a temporary halt. Both sides claimed that the other had failed to deliver on its promises, and the fighting resumed a few months later in the fifth round of the Sa'ada Wars, this time the fighting reached Bani Hushaysh, a mere 20 kilometers from the capital of Sana'a. Another inconclusive truce was declared, but in August 2009 the fighting resumed once more in what came to be known as

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[25] Winter, "Conflict in Yemen."

[26] Barak A. Salmoni, Bryce Loidolt, and Madeleine Wells, *Regime and Periphery in Northern Yemen: The Huthi Phenomenon* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2010), 1.

[27] "Lucas Winter is an analyst on the Middle East for the Foreign Military Studies Office (FMSO) at Fort Leavenworth, KS." "Lucas Winter," *Small Wars Journal*, accessed March 24, 2017, http://smallwarsjournal.com/author/lucas-winter.

[28] Winter, "Conflict in Yemen."

[29] Gasiorowski, *Government and Politics*, 203.

the sixth round of the war. Yet another truce was agreed to in February 2010, but the conflict has not subsided, and the fighting continues.[30] Saudi Arabia also began airstrikes and ground operations against the Houthis in 2009, reportedly provoked by military actions across its southern border with Yemen.[31] In a speech given on September 27, 2009, president Saleh stated that the "war against the Houthi rebels would continue until uprooting them even if it lasted ages."[32] As the fighting continues to escalate with no end in sight, despite the fact that Saleh has stepped down and president Hadi has been exiled to Riyadh in Saudi Arabia, the implications of Saleh's proclamation and the mind frame that generated it are becoming painfully clear to the people of Yemen.

The Yemeni government has portrayed the conflict in ideological and political terms, claiming that the Houthis are intent on seizing power and imposing their extreme and atavistic religio-political program on the whole country, while the Houthis claim to be fighting in self-defense against oppression on the part of the regime. As the "Arab Spring" swept through the region in 2011, and protests and demonstrations erupted throughout the country, the regime responded with escalating violence. But when part of the armed forces turned against president Saleh, in addition to tribal forces opposed to the regime, the president agreed to step down on November 23, and vice president Hadi assumed the presidency.[33] By signing the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) initiative and agreeing to a series of UN-backed implementation mechanisms, Saleh agreed to the transfer of executive power to the vice president in exchange for domestic immunity from prosecution.[34]

Iran's Role in Yemen

The role of Iran in the Yemeni Civil War has been fiercely contested during the conflict, and assessments of Iran's links to the Houthis have often been hindered by decades of enmity and

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[30] Winter, "Conflict in Yemen."
[31] Gasiorowski, *Government and Politics*, 205.
[32] Winter, "Conflict in Yemen."
[33] Gasiorowski, *Government and Politics*, 205.
[34] April Longley Alley, "Assessing (In)security After the Arab Spring: The Case of Yemen," *PS-Political Science & Politics* 46, no. 4 (2013) 721-726.

distrust between Tehran and the West. Respected Canadian strategic analyst, Thomas Juneau argued in 2016 that the Houthis, despite receiving aid from Iran, "are not Iranian proxies," and that "Tehran's influence in Yemen is marginal." According to Juneau, "the civil war in Yemen is driven first and foremost by local and political factors, and is neither an international proxy war nor a sectarian confrontation."[35] Although there have been reports of Iranian weapons being imported to Yemen since at least 2009, the influx of military equipment from Iran has reportedly increased since the Saudi-led coalition commenced operations against the Houthis in March of 2015. Attacks across the border into Saudi Arabia by the Houthis and forces loyal to Saleh also started after the beginning of the offensive. In a sense, Saudi warnings about a proxy war have become self-fulfilling prophesies, but on a much smaller scale than suggested.

The sectarian dimension of the conflict has also been exaggerated. As Juneau points out, "Iran does not choose its partners on the basis of a common adherence to Shi'i Islam." Rather, "it seeks to gain access to geographic areas that it can use as launching pads to protect its influence, to confront its main regional rivals, Israel and Saudi Arabia, and to oppose the regional US presence."[36] The accusation that the Houthis are an Iranian proxy was often used by Saleh when he was the president, a claim that has been perpetuated by the exiled president Hadi and his allies in Saudi Arabia. In reality, the Houthis constitute an indigenous socio-political movement that has its roots in the Zaydi heartland of north-western Yemen. The movement has also been able to forge alliances across sectarian lines, thus disproving the proposition that the conflict is essentially sectarian in nature.

Iran may have been supporting the Houthis in some capacity for many years, but the war in Yemen is not a priority for Iran. Juneau points out that the "high levels of instability in Yemen imply that a major commitment of resources would be required for Iran to gain the ability to shape events more than marginally," and it is unlikely that such commitment is forthcoming since "Iran's interests in Yemen are limited." Moreover, given Yemen's immediate proximity to Saudi Arabia and Iran's extensive investments elsewhere, especially in Iraq and Syria, "stronger and

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[35] Thomas Juneau, "Iran's Policy Towards the Houthis in Yemen: A Limited Return on a Modest Investment," *International Affairs* 92, no. 3 (2016): 647.
[36] Ibid., 649.

more overt Iranian involvement would risk an uncontrolled escalation of tensions with Riyadh."[37] An outcome Iran can ill afford. Juneau's assertion that the Houthis are independent actors, supported by Iran but motivated by their own objectives is in line with statements made by representatives of the US government. As the spokesperson for the National Security Council Bernadette Meehan told *Huffington Post* in April 2015, "It remains our assessment that Iran does not exert command and control over the Houthis in Yemen," and according to another U.S. intelligence official, "It is wrong to think of the Houthis as a proxy force for Iran." However, the U.S. Navy increased its presence in the Gulf of Aden and the Arabian Sea due to reports that Iranian ships might be carrying weapons for the Houthis.[38]

The Houthi takeover of much of the country was made possible by their own network of alliances amongst tribal groups and political power brokers in Yemen, including former president Saleh, who aligned himself with the Houthi revolution in 2014 despite his previous efforts to suppress them. This unlikely alliance with former president Saleh was brought about by common opposition to the Islah Party and his former ally General Ali Mohsen. Their network of alliances gave the Houthis the military power they needed to challenge the central government.

In light of the complexities of Yemeni politics, the conditions that created the Houthi revolution and Iran's comparatively distant role in the Yemeni Civil War, Juneau concludes that the conflict in Yemen "is at its root a civil war, driven by local competition for power, and not a regional, sectarian or proxy war. The Iran-Saudi Arabia rivalry has superimposed itself over this domestic conflict and has inflamed it but it does not drive it."[39]

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[37] Juneau, "Iran's Policy Towards the Houthis in Yemen," 659.

[38] Ali Watkins, Ryan Grim, and Akbar Shahid Ahmed, "Iran Warned Houthis Against Yemen Takeover," *The Huffington Post*, April 20, 2015, accessed March 24, 2017, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/04/20/iran-houthis-yemen_n_7101456.html.

[39] Juneau, "Iran's Policy Towards the Houthis in Yemen," 659.

Global War on Terror

The rules of international politics were altered after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on multiple targets in the United States as the federal government adopted security policies that were unprecedented and likely illegal at the time, although they were retroactively legalized and enshrined into United States law with the passing of the Patriot Act. The president at the time made it clear to the world that in the so-called War on Terror, there would be no possibility to stay neutral or unaligned as he declared that every person, organization, and government would either be with the United States, or against it.

This ultimatum to the world presented many problems both morally and legally. First, it is not the responsibility of the President of the United States to declare war, which is an act that should be approved by the Congress. Second, wars have conventionally been declared against nation states, not tactics of asymmetric warfare. Even in the case of civil wars and insurgencies, the enemy is usually clearly defined as a faction or an organization that may, at least in theory, be defeated and the war can therefore come to a definitive end at some point in the future. Third, for the "leader of the free world" to issue an ultimatum to the whole world to render the United States, which had at this point become the lone superpower, its unquestioning cooperation in a global campaign against an ill-defined and elusive enemy, is not only unprecedented but morally dubious as well. Fourth, the intentionally ambiguous or nonexistent definitions of "terrorism" and "terrorist" gave the United States government practically free reign in choosing the targets of its global counterterrorism activities and provided it with a loophole that enabled it to ignore international law and rules of war. Many governments that jumped on the "War on Terror" bandwagon were quick to capitalize on this point and declare their own local rivals as terrorists to justify violent and repressive measures against political dissidents, as well as other potential foes.

Furthermore, by reacting to an act of terror by rolling back the rights and liberties of its citizens, the United States and the West in general recklessly jeopardized the very aspect of western democratic societies that set them apart from more authoritarian regimes, thus not only giving the terrorists exactly what they wanted to achieve by their actions, but also surrendering the moral

high ground that stems from maintaining a free and open society. This has resulted in stifling of dissenting voices and creation of an atmosphere of fear and self-censorship. The world is seen increasingly in black-and-white terms within an "us-versus-them" paradigm that is reminiscent of the Cold War era. Unfortunately, 16 years after the 9/11 attacks, government surveillance of its own citizens, indefinite detention of terror suspects, and assassinations that are extra-judicial or authorized by secret military courts continue as we supposedly fight those who hate our freedom and liberties, if we are to believe in the assessment of enemy motives made by president George W. Bush after the attacks. It is clearly a contradiction to defend freedom and liberty by compromising them, and this contradiction is not easily explained away. And herein lies the problem: repressive regimes the world over, including those of presidents Saleh and Hadi in Yemen, are taking advantage of the new rules of international politics to clamp down on their enemies domestically as well as internationally, to neutralize dissent and political opposition, and to move decisively toward an openly authoritarian model of government. These actions in themselves engender public resistance and compromise the legitimacy of the government. In the context of Yemen, these developments play in the hands of al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), Ansar al-Shari'ah, the southern separatist Hirak movement, and the Houthis as the discontented and often desperate masses look for alternatives to the regime that has become increasingly unresponsive to their needs. In many ways, fighting terrorism with aggressive and repressive methods only creates more resistance, and by stooping to new lows in their disregard for the well-being of their own citizens, regimes that resort to violence and oppression are effectively turning the tables against themselves – while making terrorists into martyrs and providing them with the false aura of freedom fighters.

The United States Involvement in Yemen

In 2000, an American guided missile destroyer *USS Cole* was bombed off the coast of Yemen, killing seventeen American sailors, in response to which the CIA conducted its first drone strike in Yemen on November 3, 2002, killing six al-Qaeda militants. Although the Yemeni government claimed that the

explosion was caused by a gas canister, the United States Deputy Secretary of State, Paul Wolfowitz, told CNN that the CIA strike in Yemen was "a very successful tactical operation," thus effectively claiming the strike on behalf of the United States government. The Deputy Secretary-General of Yemen, General Yahya M. al-Mutawakel remarked in response to the statement that "This is why it is so difficult to make deals with the United States. This is why we are reluctant to work closely with them. They don't consider the internal circumstances in Yemen. In security matters, you don't want to alert the enemy." Overt U.S. strikes would not take place in Yemen until 2010.[40]

In 2008 and 2009, AQAP conducted a series of terrorist attacks in Yemen and declared war on the regime.[41] In December 2009, according to Amnesty International, a US cruise missile killed 41 civilians in al-Ma'jalah in southern Yemen in an attack against al-Qaeda militants, enraging tribal leaders.[42] The United States did not take responsibility for the attack. However, as the Pentagon spokesman Bryan Whitman said in a statement that "I would refer you to the Yemeni government for any information on operations against al Qaeda in their country. . . . We strongly support actions against al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula and cooperate closely with Yemen and other countries on counterterrorism initiatives."[43] In January 2010, president Saleh told CENTCOM Commander General Petraeus, according to diplomatic cables released by WikiLeaks, that the Yemenis would "continue saying the bombs are ours, not yours."[44]

In 2011, Ansar al-Shari'ah took control of territory in Abyan and Shabwa provinces,[45] and on September 30, 2011, Anwar al-Awlaki, a U.S. citizen, was killed by a drone strike in

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[40] Peter L. Bergen and Jennifer Rowland, "Decade of the Drone: Analyzing CIA Drone Attacks, Casualties, and Policy," in *Drone Wars: Transforming Conflict, Law, and Policy,* ed. Peter L. Bergen and Daniel Rothenberg. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 25.

[41] Gasiorowski, *Government and Politics*, 203.

[42] Christopher Swift, "The Boundaries of War? Assessing the Impact of Drone Strikes in Yemen," in *Drone Wars: Transforming Conflict, Law, and Policy*, ed. Peter L. Bergen and Daniel Rothenberg. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 78.

[43] CNN Wire Staff, "U.S. Missiles Killed Civilians in Yemen, Rights Group Says," June 7, 2010, accessed December 10, 2015, http://www.cnn.com/2010/ WORLD/meast/06/07/yemen.missiles/.

[44] Bergen, "Decade of the Drone," 27.

[45] Gasiorowski, *Government and Politics*, 205.

Yemen. According to William C. Banks, a professor of law at Syracuse University, "Yemen's president Saleh secretly granted the United States permission for the mission…Two weeks later, al-Awlaki's sixteen-year-old son was killed unintentionally when he was within a strike area where a suspected Egyptian terrorist was hit by a JSOC-fired drone."[46] President Hadi was officially elected on February 21, 2012, and in April, he launched a campaign against Ansar al-Shari'ah recovering most of the lost territory, but suicide attacks in other parts of the country followed.[47] Between March and May of 2012, according to Peter Bergen,[48] "the United States launched an estimated thirty-one air and drone strikes in Yemen, as compared with just sixteen attacks in the previous two years."[49] In April 2012, president Obama authorized "signature strikes" in Yemen that were given the name Terrorist Attack Disruption Strikes (TADS), reportedly governed by stricter rules than those authorized in Pakistan the previous year, according to Sarah Holewinski,[50]

> these strikes are especially significant in Yemen. In signature strikes, attacks are not directed against specific individuals identified as threats to US national security, but rather are based on a set of observed actions and indicators understood to be significant enough to warrant lethal action. The United States does not disclose what behaviors

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[46] William C. Banks, "Regulating Drones: Are Targeted Killings by Drones Outside Traditional Battlefields Legal?" in *Drone Wars: Transforming Conflict, Law, and Policy*, ed. Peter L. Bergen and Daniel Rothenberg. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 134.

[47] Gasiorowski, *Government and Politics*, 206.

[48] "Peter Bergen is a print and television journalist, author, documentary producer and vice president at New America where he directs the International Security and Fellows programs; a professor of practice at Arizona State University; a fellow at Fordham University's Center on National Security and CNN's national security analyst. He has held teaching positions at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University and at the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University." *Peter Bergen*, accessed March 24, 2017, http://peterbergen.com/.

[49] Bergen, "Decade of the Drone," 27.

[50] Sarah Holewinski is Executive Director at the Center for Civilians in Conflict. "Sarah Holewinski," *The Huffington Post*, accessed March 24, 2017, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/author/sarah-holewinski.

justify a signature strike, nor does it provide any guidance on this issue.[51]

September 28, 2012, president Hadi told the UN General Assembly that "We invite our international partners in combating terrorism to provide more logistical and technical support to [Yemen's] security forces and counter-terrorism units." Two days later, at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington DC, he acknowledged publicly that the United States was using drones against terrorist targets in Yemen.[52] President Hadi told the Washington Post that "Every operation, before taking place, they take permission from the president."[53]

Blowback

The reluctance of the Saleh regime to admit that it cooperated with the United States in its War on Terror in Yemen is understandable as most Yemenis do not easily accept foreign intervention and knowledge of such cooperation is likely to generate resistance against the regime. The perceived and often very real anti-Americanism that is so ubiquitous in Yemen, perhaps best exemplified by the Houthi slogan, does not necessarily stem from any profound and principled hatred toward the United States, the West, or democracy *per se*, however. It can often be a simple byproduct of the United States' involvement in the region, the most visible dimension of which are Hellfire missiles fired from U.S. unmanned aircraft and other types of weapons made in the United States, whether used by the U.S. or its regional allies. Yemenis resent U.S. drone strikes for many reasons, but the most common reason is the fact that an outside power is seen to be interfering with the internal politics of the country. According to a

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[51] Sarah Holewinski, "Just Trust Us: The Need to Know More About the Civilian Impact of US Drone Strikes," in *Drone Wars: Transforming Conflict, Law, and Policy*, ed. Peter L. Bergen and Daniel Rothenberg. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 46.

[52] Swift, "The Boundaries of War?" 71.

[53] Greg Miller, "Yemeni President Acknowledges Approving U.S. Drone Strikes," *The Washington Post*, September 29, 2012, accessed December 10, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/yemeni-president-acknowledges-approving-us-drone-strikes/2012/09/29/09bec2ae-0a56-11e2-afff-d6c7f20a83bf_story.html.

member of the Yemeni Socialist Party, "Drones remind us that we don't have the ability to solve our problems by ourselves. If these were Yemeni drones, rather than American drones, there would be no issue at all." This statement is corroborated by a member of the Muslim Brotherhood who, in 2012, observed that "No one resents a drone strike if the target was a terrorist…What we resent is the fact that outsiders are involved."[54]

While the counterterrorism campaign of the Obama administration may have been well intentioned and proportional to the threat posed by AQAP and similar organizations to the United States, it undeniably continued to inflame an already tenuous situation in the region and across the globe. On the local level, terrorist organizations thrive when there are masses of desperate people whose only contact with the United States has been in the form of fire from the sky. In fact, organizations like AQAP do not find much support among the local population for ideological or religious reasons. The main reasons for joining extreme militant groups are almost always material. According to a local Salafi with ties to AQAP, "Those who fight do so because of the [economic] injustice in this country…A few in the north are driven by ideology, but in the south it is mostly about poverty and corruption."[55] As April Longley Alley observes: "The organization is capitalizing on domestic grievances and instability for operations and recruitment" while "a U.S.-supported military approach to combating AQ is producing complications for the regime, as Yemenis resent civilian casualties and the violation of Yemeni sovereignty."[56]

Politics in Yemen

While the United States welcomes the participation of the Yemeni government in the Global War on Terror, its trust in the Saleh/Hadi regime may be misplaced. According to a former US intelligence official, "There were times when we were intentionally misled, presumably by [former president] Saleh, to get rid of people he

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[54] Swift, "The Boundaries of War?," 81.

[55] Ibid., 80.

[56] April Longley Alley, "Yemen's Multiple Crises," *Journal of Democracy* 21, no. 4 (2010): 72-86.

wanted to get rid of."[57] For example, in May 2010, a US aircraft killed a local deputy governor who was a political rival of president Saleh, identified as a high-value target by the Yemeni security forces.[58] According to Nabeel Khoury,[59] "Yemen's collaboration against terrorism was also tinged from the start with former president Saleh's personal agenda." The Deputy Governor of Maarib, Jabir al-Shabwani, had been given the task by Yemeni government to negotiate with AQAP militants for their surrender when he was killed alongside the militants in 2009. The AQAP militants targeted by the strike had visited local government offices without being captured earlier the same day, raising the question of who was the intended target of the strike. In 2010 it was reported that "Large numbers of civilians also died during Saudi air strikes against Houthi rebels in late 2009, apparently because the Yemenites, by all appearances, had purposely provided false target information."[60] In another case in August of 2012, Selim Jaber, a religious scholar who had denounced al-Qaeda in his sermons at a local mosque, and his cousin Walid, were killed while meeting with three strangers, not known in the community, whom Yemen's ministry of defense had described as AQAP militants.[61] According to Stephen Day,[62] "President Saleh likes to portray his local opposition as a foreign-inspired threat to national security. This is the regime's standard playing card … labeling political opponents as traitors and placing his confrontation with them in the same category as the U.S.-sponsored war on terrorism."[63] Another example of misuse of United States material support for the regime is the case of Hisham Bashraheel, whose family owned the daily

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[57] Alley, "Yemen's Multiple Crises."

[58] Braun, "Predator Effect," 274.

[59] Nabeel Khoury is a nonresident Senior Fellow at the Rafik Hariri Center for the Middle East at the Atlantic Council. "Nabeel Khoury," *Atlantic Council*, accessed March 24, 2017, http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/about/experts/list/nabeel-khoury.

[60] Juliane von Mittelstaedt, "Operation Scorthed Earth: A US Hand in Yemen's Civil War," *Spiegel Online*, December 3, 2010, accessed March 24, 2017, http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/operation-scorched-earth-a-us-hand-in-yemen-s-civil-war-a-732734.html.

[61] Nabeel A. Khoury, "Yemen: In Search of a Coherent U.S. Policy," *Middle East Policy* 21, no. 2 (2014): 100-110.

[62] Stephen Day is an adjunct professor at Rollins College. "Stephen W Day," *Al-Jazeera*, accessed March 24, 2017, http://www.aljazeera.com/profile/stephen-w-day.html.

[63] Khoury, "Yemen."

newspaper *al-Ayam*. Bashraheel was arrested by a U.S. trained Counter Terrorism Unit on charges of aiding terrorists, after having simply published columns that were critical of the president's policies in south Yemen.[64] Fortunately, the question of potentially erroneous tactics in the War on Terror in Yemen has been raised in the United States by politicians at the highest level. Regarding the case of AQAP leader al-Qadhi who was killed on November 7, 2012, in a drone strike on his house, Gregory Johnsen[65] reported that "Senator McCain asks in a committee hearing, why, given that al-Qadhi was living openly in his house, did the U.S. not seek to capture him?"[66]

Conclusion

The Houthi phenomenon in Yemen has its roots in popular resistance to the policies and corruption of the Yemeni government, to which the Zaydi Shi'ism of the al-Houthi family led movement gives a politico-religious dimension. Despite the religious rhetoric and the amalgamation of political and religious themes that drives the Houthi movement, history attests to the possibility of peaceful and civic incorporation of the Zaydis within a republican framework, provided that they are afforded some degree of autonomy and heard at the national level. To paint the Houthis with the same brush as al-Qaeda and other militant extremists involved in asymmetric warfare against the West would be a gross generalization and inaccurate in that the Houthis, like Zaydis in general, are not interested in a long-term battle for global domination but are instead locally oriented and see their struggle as one of self-defense and justice in a Yemeni political context. The attempts to portray the Houthis as terrorists by the Yemeni regime are, in fact, a deliberate campaign of misinformation conducted by the regime in order to justify increasingly oppressive and undemocratic domestic policies. The political elite of Yemen does whatever it can to hold on to power while the Yemeni society

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[64] Khoury, "Yemen."
[65] "Gregory D. Johnsen, a former Fulbright Fellow in Yemen, is currently a Ph.D. candidate in Near Eastern Studies at Princeton University." "Gregory D. Johnsen," *The Jamestown Foundation*, accessed March 24, 2017, https://jamestown.org/analyst/gregory-d-johnsen/.
[66] Khoury, "Yemen."

disintegrates into its constituent components, which have historically been tribes, clans, and other kinship groups.

The support for the regime by the Saudi led coalition and the United States as the sole source of stability needs to be reevaluated in the face of untold suffering inflicted upon the civilian population. The current situation in the country is simply untenable, and to continue to prop up a corrupt, ineffective regime will only result in further destruction of a nation that is already among the poorest in the world. The fact that the government of Yemen also operates chiefly on the basis of tribalism, and patronage is enough reason to question the degree of stability it will be able to provide if it were ever to overcome the deep-seated resistance of the population. Also, the methods employed by the militarily much stronger coalition backing president Hadi, and their humanitarian consequences must be taken into account while formulating foreign policies in the region. It is highly unlikely that devastating violence meted out on an innocent civilian population will increase the popularity of the United States in the region, and it can be argued that such actions can only create more desperation and hatred among the people bearing the brunt of suffering under the U.S. manufactured bombs. Even if those bombs are dropped by Saudi Arabia or other Muslim countries, the United States will be considered guilty by association as long as shrapnel of grenades, missiles, and unexploded cluster bombs are clearly "made in the U.S.A." While the scorched-earth policy of the government and its foreign backers may be expedient in the eyes of the regime, it is unlikely to solve any problems in the region. According to a report by the UN Office of the High Commissioner for human Rights (OHCHR), at least 4,773 civilians have been killed and another 8,272 have been injured in Yemen since March 26, 2015 (including only those casualties that have been confirmed as civilians). In addition, approximately 21 million Yemenis (representing 82 percent of the population) "are in urgent need of humanitarian assistance."[67]Continued bombing and other forms of military intervention are likely to produce more dead bodies, devastation, and ultimately, resistance. The resistance will be

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[67] "Over 100 Civilians Killed in a Month, Including Fishermen, Refugees, as Yemen Conflict Reaches Two-Year Mark," *United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights*, March 24, 2017, accessed March 24, 2017, http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=21444&LangID=E.

directed at both the Hadi regime as well as its international supporters. Yemen burns, and the failure to re-evaluate US foreign policy and arms deals in the light of the reality on the ground makes a mockery of our democratic ideals of freedom and justice.

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Author Bio

Tomi Pulkkinen is an undergraduate student at California State University, San Bernardino, with two majors in Middle Eastern History and the Arabic language, as well as a minor in Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies. Tomi is a Finnish national, and has resided in the United States since 2010. Tomi wants to pursue a career in academia, and is preparing for graduate studies in the field of history – with an emphasis in Islam and the Middle East.

History in the Making

Africa Finds its Voice in the Halls of Manchester

By Chris Varela

Abstract: *When thinking of African independence, one will think of the wave of decolonization that swept the African continent beginning in the 1960s. Little attention is paid to what events led up to decolonization, and where the efforts for independence stemmed from, particularly a little-known meeting that took place in the fall of 1945. Pan-Africanism is central to this paper, as it was a movement which sought to unify all of Africa or African people including diaspora. Definitions differ as to the true extent, which is explained in the paper. This paper will look at the creation and history of the Pan-African movement from the late 19th century leading up to 1945. The pivotal role the Pan-African conference in Manchester, England, in October of 1945, played in Africa's future will be explained. Finally, the importance the Manchester conference played in relation to the independence movement throughout Africa, the impact the Manchester attendees had in Africa, and how and why this conference has been overlooked for the role it played will also be looked at.*

"Our fathers fought bravely. But do you know the biggest weapon unleashed by the enemy against them? It was not the Maxim gun. It was division among them. Why? Because a people united in faith are stronger than the bomb" – Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, *A Grain of Wheat* (1967)[1]

Pan-Africanism is an important concept within the theory of nationalism that was conceived at the end of the 19th century, and remains a vital component in a variety of ways pertaining to Africa. Pan-Africanism was a tool in the struggle against colonialism, initially utilized by members of the African Diaspora, and later by people and groups who struggled for independence within Africa. The ability of the African people to unify was seen

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[1] Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, *A Grain of Wheat* (Oxford: Heinemann, 1967, 1986), 191.

as integral in their efforts to resist European domination and reflected a desire to attain self-rule. There are a variety of views and definitions of Pan-Africanism, but most scholars agree that some degree of unification, whether political, social, cultural, or economical, was needed in the pursuit of freedom. An important part of the movement was the Pan-African Congress of 1945,[2] held in Manchester, England, which became a seminal event in the movement's history – as well as nationalism in Africa. The Congress resulted in a unified Pan-African movement, and provided the driving force behind decolonization of Africa.

Nationalism is a difficult concept within political theory due to its fluid definition and intangible qualities. In Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*, he theorized that nationality, with regard to Africa, was created through the educational and administrative systems that were forced on the natives by the European overseers, typically picking one ethnic group, educating them, teaching them the colonial powers' language, and placing them in some level of administration. This was done in an attempt to bring some unity and shared commonalities when ruling over a very diverse group of peoples in a bid to build a cohesive administrative unit while maintaining social and ethnic divisions, and reducing the burden of rule on the European country.[3]

This practice laid the groundwork for the map of modern Africa, which A. Adu Boahen[4] attributes as a positive outcome of colonialism in his book *African Perspectives of Colonialism*, as it created "most of them (countries) with clearly defined boundaries" in comparison to the often arbitrary boundaries of tribal pre-colonial Africa.[5] Boahen is almost singularly alone in this

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[2] There are differences as to the sequential numbering of Pan-African Congresses/Conferences among scholars. Some scholars consider the 1900 London meeting as the first congress, while others refer to it as a conference, making the assertion that the congresses did not start until 1919. For the purposes of this paper, the Manchester Congress will be referred to as the Fifth Pan-African Congress, in line with most of the reference material.

[3] Benedict R. Anderson *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 37.

[4] Dr. A. Abu Boahen, born in the Gold Coast of Africa in 1932, was a Ghanaian professor and political activist. He was a one-time presidential candidate against Ghanaian dictator Jerry Rawlings. Boahen died in 2006, having written nine books and numerous articles.

[5] Tajudeen Abdul-Raheem, *Pan-Africanism: Politics, Economy, and Social Change in the Twenty-first Century* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 95.

statement about the positivity of the European creation of modern borders in Africa, as most scholars see this as a major source of the problems within Africa today. Anderson states that once independence was gained, colonies simply supplanted the previous imperial authority with the local educated elite and retained many of the colonial legacies, such as governing apparatuses and social hierarchies. The arbitrary formation of nations is an issue reflected in the development of Pan-Africanism. P. Olisanwuche Esedebe[6] summarizes that "Pan-Africanism is a political and cultural phenomenon which regards Africa, Africans and African descendants abroad as a unit."[7] Very little connects all, besides race. Anderson's idea of nations as "imagined communities" allows this grouping to transcend cultural and societal differences, and become something that people wish to strive for.

The strength of Pan-Africanism can be seen in the connection, by race, of peoples separated by vast distances. As Africans and African-Americans would travel the world, they would see that people of color the world over were subject to varying levels of discrimination. This was especially true for the black race, which would lead to what John St. Clair Drake[8] refers to as racial Pan-Africanism.[9] Adekunle Ajala believes that this idea of a common struggle gained traction as people from Africa, West Indies, as well as North and South America, would become linked for a variety of reasons and exchange their shared experiences of racism and discrimination.[10] The common struggle to find a place to live one's life without interference or prejudice led to the development of the precursors of the Pan-African movement, such as Marcus

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[6] P. Olisanwuche Esedebe is a former Senior Fulbright Fellow and currently a professor of history at University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

[7] P. Olisanwuche Esedebe *Pan-Africanism: The Idea and Movement 1776-1963* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1982), 3.

[8] John St. Clair Drake was an American sociologist and anthropologist. St. Clair Drake became an early advocate of Pan-Africanism during his stay at Hampton University in the United Kingdom, where he met other activists like George Padmore and Kwame Nkrumah. St. Clair Drake focused his research and writing on the African diaspora.

[9] George Shepperson and St. Clair Drake. "The Fifth Pan-African Conference, 1945 and the All African Peoples Congress, 1958." *Contributions in Black Studies* 8, no. 5 (2008): 25.

[10] Adekunle Ajala, *Pan-Africanism: Evolution, Progress and Prospects* (Thetford: Lowe and Brydone, 1973), 3-4.

Garvey's[11] Back to Africa movement,[12] Harvey Sylvester Williams'[13] African Association, or Joseph Booth's[14] African Christian Union.[15] These early groups would become fundamental in the formation of the Pan-African movement of the twentieth century.

This paper will look into the history and formation of the Pan-African movement, and the forces at play in the transition from a Diaspora-centered movement to the African-centered movement which eventually culminated at the Fifth Pan-African Congress. The Congress itself will be analyzed to understand how the leaders viewed the movement and what role it played, what was the discourse which took place during the conference, and how that discourse affected the resolutions that came out of the conference. The resolutions themselves will be examined for their importance in the Pan-African movement and how they helped move Africa towards decolonization. The legacy and impact of the Fifth Pan-African Congress will also be examined in relation to other Congresses, such as the Bandung Conference. However, some background into the formation of Pan-Africanism is needed to understand why the 1945 Manchester Conference was so significant.

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[11] Marcus Garvey (1887-1940), was known for advocating black nationalism. He did not attend any Pan-African conferences, but he advocated for African unity.

[12] Marcus Garvey's Back to Africa movement advocated that the only way African-Americans could gain equality was to remove themselves from American society and emigrate to Africa, which gained popularity in the 1920s. Colin Legum, *Pan-Africanism: A Short Political Guide* (New York: F.A. Praeger, 1965), 26.

[13] Henry Sylvester-Williams was born in 1869 in Trinidad and Tabago. He took the lead in organizing the first meeting in 1900 known as the first Pan-African Conference, which took place in London. He became the first black man to be admitted to the bar in South Africa, which was known as the Cape Colony at the time. He returned to Trinidad to practice law and died there in 1911. Esedebe, *Pan-Africanism,* 47.

[14] Joseph Booth (1851-1932) was an English missionary. He worked primarily in Africa to spread Christianity to the African people. After seeing the treatment of Africans by the Europeans, Booth began to advocate for Africa being returned to the Africans, and for the Europeans to leave.

[15] The African Christian Union sought to spread Christianity to the African people, with funding raised in Great Britain. The organization was established in 1896 and based in Natal, part of present-day South Africa. Legum, *Pan-Africanism,* 22.

History of Pan-Africanism

Pan-Africanism is a large and overarching term that is used in a variety of ways, often leading to confusion over its meaning. Imanuel Geiss[16] wrote at the conclusion of his lengthy book, which details in length the Pan-African movement from the beginning to 1968, that "[t]he entire movement is too vague, too ill-defined, too unclear in its purposes."[17] Merriam-Webster simply defines the term as the political unity of all African states;[18] while Encyclopedia Britannica develops the concept further to include all members of African descent and elaborates more about the celebration of Africans' shared history,[19] just to highlight a few examples among the vast spectrum of defitions for Pan-Africanism. Some scholars such as Adekunle Ajala in *Pan-Africanism: Evolution, Progress and Prospects*, fail to provide a definition of Pan-Africanism for their readers altogether. Others, like J. Ayodele Langley,[20] clearly define Pan-Africanism and even differentiate between two forms: New-World Pan-Africanism and West Indies/West African Pan-Africanism. There are also numerous definitions with geographical, societal, and ethnical dimensions, which will be discussed later.

The idea of Pan-Africanism is a relatively recent invention and its origins are in dispute, along with who should be credited with creating the concept. Henry Sylvester Williams, having organized the first Pan-African Congress in London in 1900, is given credit for a great deal of the organizational set up of the Pan-African movement. However, Williams' biographer Owen Charles Mathurin, credits Edward Wilmot Blyden[21] with having heavily

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[16] Imanuel Geiss (1931-2012) was a German historian. He taught at the University of Bremen and wrote numerous books, primarily about German history.

[17] Imanuel Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement: A History of Pan-Africanism in America, Europe and Africa*, translated by Ann Keep (New York: Africana Publishing Co., 1968), 413.

[18] "Pan–Africanism." *Merriam-Webster*. Accessed May 8, 2016. http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/Pan–Africanism.

[19] "Pan-Africanism," *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, accessed May 08, 2016, http://www.britannica.com/topic/Pan-Africanism.

[20] J. Ayodele Langley (1943-2007) was a Gambian politician, diplomat, and academic.

[21] Edward Wilmot Blyden (1832-1912) was a Liberian politician, serving as Liberian Secretary of State and Interior. Blyden believed that Zionism could be modeled to the plight of the African diaspora, favoring a return to Africa.

influenced his views.[22] Blyden was an advocate for unity among the British West African colonies, wishing to form a United West African state. A biographer of Blyden, Hollis Lynch, also viewed him and his work as "the most important progenitor of Pan-Africanism."[23]

Rifts appeared early on in the Pan-African movement as to who should be included within the movement, what types of efforts should be put forth, and where. Blyden primarily focused on his region of Africa, and mainly on the plight of Africans. Williams sought change for all people of African descent, primarily for those within the British Empire. Issues of contention included whether the movement should focus solely on Africans from Africa or include people of African descent throughout the world, and whether to include people of mixed ancestry.[24] Hollis Lynch believes that these differences were such a major point of contention for Blyden that they were the probable reason for Blyden's refusal to attend the 1900 Pan-African Congress in London. W.E.B. Du Bois[25] was chosen to preside over the London conference, but Blyden took offense to the decision because Du Bois was a person of mixed heritage, being half-Caucasian and half African-American. Blyden also felt that holding the conference in Europe, the source of imperialism, was counterproductive to the cause. The meeting being the first of its kind for Pan-Africanism, Blyden advocated that it should be held in Africa, possibly in Monrovia. These types of divergent ideologies within the Pan-African movement made for a fractious period that led to very few tangible results.

Similar splits developed among the next generation of Pan-Africanist leaders, such as Marcus Garvey, W.E.B. Du Bois, George Padmore and Kwame Nkrumah. Adolph Reed Jr.[26] details

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[22] Owen Charles Mathurin, *Henry Sylvester Williams and the Origins of the Pan-African Movement, 1869-1911* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1976), 161.
[23] Hollis Lynch Ralph, *Edward Wilmot Blyden: Pan-Negro Patriot 1832-1912* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 248-250.
[24] Mathurin, *Henry Sylvester Williams and the Origins of the Pan-African Movement, 1869-1911*, 161.
[25] W.E.B. Du Bois (1868-1963) was a prominent Civil Rights activist in the United States and heavily involved in the Pan-African movement. He attended and chaired several Pan-African conferences, and was seen as the leader of the Pan-African movement prior to 1945.
[26] Adolph Reed Jr., born in the United States in 1947, is a professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania.

the split between Garvey and Du Bois, which was symptomatic of this period in Pan-African history from the movement's founding in 1900 to 1945.[27] Reed details the conflict between Garvey and Du Bois, which concentrated on whether African-Americans should remain a part of American society or return to Africa. Garvey saw the only avenue to peaceful coexistence with whites was to remove African-Americans through his "Back to Africa" movement. Du Bois sought to reduce racism and discrimination while remaining a part of American society.[28]

In conjunction with the racial disagreements early in the movement's history, some scholars attempt to limit Pan-Africanism to a specific geographic area on the form of Sub-Saharan, Trans-Saharan, Trans-Atlantic, West Hemispheric, or Global Pan-Africanism.[29] Racial and geographic topics are often connected within questions relating to Pan-Africanism, mainly whether to include the sizeable Arab population of North Africa in Pan-Africanist efforts. The Manchester Congress sought to bridge any perceived racial gaps amongst the colonized peoples of the world by including in the final resolution the phrasing "that before long the people of Asia and Africa would have broken their centuries-old chains of colonialism."[30] There were also efforts to highlight the plight of other groups struggling against European domination in such places as Palestine, Ethiopia, Eritrea, India, and Indochina.[31] Colin Legum[32] details how the Bandung Conference of 1955 would continue this theme of a struggle people of color share. The Bandung Conference would represent the first time formal ties were established between the nationalist movements of Africa and Asia, with both sides expressing support for the others strive for freedom.

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[27] Adolph Reed Jr., *W.E.B. Du Bois and American Political Thought: Fabianism and the Color Line* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 156.

[28] W. Ofuatey-Kodjoe, ed. *Pan-Africanism: New Directions in Strategy* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1986), 49-50.

[29] Kwame Nantambu, "Pan-Africanism Versus Pan-African Nationalism: An Afrocentric Analysis." *Journal of Black Studies* (1998): 562.

[30] Legum, *Pan-Africanism,* 41

[31] Pan-African Congress and George Padmore, *History of the Pan-African Congress: Colonial and Coloured Unity, A Programme of Action* (London: Hammersmith Bookshop, 1963), 67.

[32] Colin Legum (1919-2003) was a South African activist who fought against apartheid and was exiled because of his work, being able to return to South Africa in 1991 after the end of apartheid.

Numerous authors, such as A. Adu Boahen, Tajudeen Abdul-Raheem, Colin Legum, Ogba Adejoh Sylvester, and Okpanachi Idoko Anthony all agree that the 1945 Pan-African Congress in Manchester was a turning point in the Pan-African movement, but very few delve into why it is important. Boahen describes the conference as "leading to the eventual demise of the colonial system."[33] Abdul-Raheem devotes a few paragraphs to the Congress, stating that "[f]or Africans on the continent it remains the most important Congress ever."[34] Legum likewise offers some reflection on the meeting, writing about a "new spirit awakened by Pan-Africanism –a farewell to patience and to the acceptance of suffering."[35] Esdebe dedicates the most space to the subject of the Manchester Congress, a whole chapter of thirty-four pages.

The 1945 Congress is seen as a turning point for the Pan-African movement transforming it from a diaspora centered movement to one in which a large amount of influence was held among individuals and groups based on the African continent. The Congress saw a sizeable portion of attendees come from Africa. A large number of vocal Pan-African leaders, representatives from political and independence groups as well as trade unions, were among those in attendance.[36] In fact, although the reasons for their absence are not clear, there were no United States based groups in attendance. The only African-American attending was Du Bois, and he did so only as a private citizen.[37] The increase in representation from the African continent brought about a fundamental change in the Pan-African movement, as evidenced by a marked change in the topics discussed, as well as in the tenor of the resolutions that came out of the Congress. These resolutions called for a more forceful demand for self-rule, and for the first time mentioned violence as a tool to gain self-rule.[38]

An additional indication of the importance of the Manchester conference is that some scholars use this Congress as a dividing point in the history of the Pan-African movement. The American Society of African Culture divides Pan-African history

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[33] A. Adu Boahen, *African Perspectives on Colonialism* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1987), 92.
[34] Abdul-Raheem, *Pan-Africanism,* 4.
[35] Legum, *Pan-Africanism*, 31-32.
[36] Abdul-Raheem, *Pan-Africanism*, 4.
[37] Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement*, 398.
[38] Legum, *Pan-Africanism*, 137.

into two eras: 1900-1945 and post-1945.[39] Esedebe also follows this outline, using the 1945 Congress as a demarcation point between two eras of Pan-Africanism.[40] However, although Legum understands the importance of Manchester, he chose to emphasize the 1958 Conference of Independent African States held in Accra, Ghana (previously known as the Gold Coast) as a defining moment in the movement.[41] The Pan-African movement being able to hold a congress on the African continent is important, symbolically displaying that Pan-Africansm had finally returned home and that Africans were in control.

Pan-Africanism from 1900-1945

The Pan-African organization came into existence with the first conference held in London in 1900. The conferences later became known as Pan-African Congresses.[42] Subsequent congresses were held in Paris in 1919,[43] London in 1921[44] and 1923,[45] and New York in 1927.[46] These Congresses, though under the loose umbrella of Pan-Africanism, did little to further the cause of African independence, focusing mainly on the condition of people of African descent throughout the rest of the world. The London conference of 1900 mentioned nothing of independence for Africa, but merely sought better treatment for Africans.[47] These meetings requested that Africans be allowed to participate in local governments, that labor laws be improved to protect Africans, and that Africans be given the right to receive an education.[48] All subsequent Congresses prior to Manchester declared similar sentiments. None of them, however, called for outright independence of Africa, but only for better treatment and living conditions for Africans in the diaspora.

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[39] American Society of African Culture, *Pan-Africanism Reconsidered* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), Table of Contents.
[40] Esedebe, *Pan-Africanism,* 161.
[41] Legum, *Pan-Africanism*, 41.
[42] Ibid, 24.
[43] Ibid, 28.
[44] Ibid, 29.
[45] Ibid, 29.
[46] Ibid, 30.
[47] Ibid, 24-25.
[48] Ibid, 28, 134.

The delegates and attendees of these early meetings were composed of people from the United States or Europe, with minimal representation from African groups.[49] Delegates from the Western world primarily focused on addressing the plight of the African diaspora, and the resolutions sought to call attention to the prejudice and discrimination faced by blacks. These meetings garnered little response from the European imperial powers or the United States; while the 1900 conference received a letter from Queen Victoria, stating, "Her Majesty's Government will not overlook the interests and welfare of the native races," this was seen as more of a platitude and was not perceived by the conference to carry any substance.[50]

As the Congresses continued and the movement became widespread, many countries began to view these meetings as radical. The United States, United Kingdom, and France, for example, went as far as to deny passports and visas to certain delegates, and hindered some delegations' ability to attain transportation to, or lodging during, the Congresses.[51] This form of discrimination became more overt as the Pan-African movement became dominated by leaders such as George Padmore and Kwame Nkrumah, who had socialistic ideas and close ties to the Soviet Union, and espoused more racial concepts regarding African independence. Although Padmore eventually severed official ties with the Communist Party due to its lackluster support of the independence movement in Africa, his ideology remained socialist-centered throughout his life.[52] Padmore's ideology influenced the resolutions that came out of Manchester, and although Nkrumah considered himself to be a socialist, he was a more ardent believer in African nationalism.

The Pan-African Congresses prior to 1945 focused heavily on matters concerning the African Diaspora and were restrained on the issue of African independence. With the entrance of Padmore and Nkrumah into the leadership of the Pan-African movement, the prior influence of the intelligentsia was replaced by a more vocal firebrand rhetoric. Padmore, Nkrumah, and others desired to hold a

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[49] Esedebe, *Pan-Africanism*, 171.

[50] Legum, *Pan-Africanism*, 25.

[51] H.F. Worley and C.G. Contee, "The Worley Report on the Pan-African Congress of 1919." *The Journal of Negro History*, Association for the Study of African American Life and History 55, no. 2 (April 1970): 140.

[52] Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement,* 338.

different type of congress than those held previously. These organizers sought to include more Africans, and not just in the form of individuals. They invited to Manchester political groups and trade unions, involving the masses of African society, rather than just the upper rungs of the Diaspora.[53] Du Bois only learned of the Congress from newspaper reports and wrote to Padmore in an effort to assume control of organizing the next Congress. Padmore was successful in retaining control of the Congress, but felt obligated to invite Du Bois to Manchester, although his role was largely ceremonial.[54] This also led to a diplomatic game between Du Bois and Padmore, who both jockeyed to hold the Congress on their respective sides of the Atlantic Ocean.[55] He who could hold the conference would be able to set its agenda.

Several important events and meetings occurred in the year prior to Manchester that would precipitate the need for the Congress as well as set its tone. The World Federation of Trade Unions had held a conference in Paris just two weeks prior to Manchester and brought together a number of delegations that represented African and African Diaspora trade unions.[56] Over the summer, the British colony of Nigeria experienced a general strike involving up to 150,000 workers striking over pay.[57] In June 1945, London was the site of the All Colonial Peoples' Conference – also known as the "Subject Peoples' Conference" – which brought together groups from British colonies in an effort to have some impact on the outcome of the United Nations Organization meetings taking place at the same time in San Francisco.[58] The predecessor to the World Federation of Trade Unions met in London in February 1945 as the World Trade Union Conference. The Pan-African Federation had formed in Manchester in 1944, which united several diverse "British-based Black organizations" along with some political and trade organizations from Africa.[59]

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[53] Esedebe, *Pan-Africanism*, 171.

[54] Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement*, 392.

[55] Ibid, 392-398.

[56] Legum, *Pan-Africanism*, 161.

[57] First Cut, "Pan African Congress 1945 by Hakim Adi, Garvey by Cecil Gutzmore, Science by Geoff Palmer WEBCAST," *Youtube*, October 17, 2015, accessed May 18, 2016, http://www.youtube.com.

[58] Hakim Adi and Marika Sherwood, *The 1945 Manchester Pan-African Congress Revisited* (London: New Beacon Books, 1995), 19.

[59] Adi and Sherwood, *The 1945 Manchester Pan-African Congress Revisited,* 13.

The Pan-African Federation played a key role in organizing Pan-Africanist efforts in Britain, which had become the epicenter of the Pan-African movement.

These numerous meetings and conferences in the run-up to Manchester laid a critical foundation for the change that was coming to the Pan-African movement. The previous meetings brought together people of African descent from a widespread geographic area and a wide cross-section of society, bringing a plethora of ideas into one arena. The presence of such a diverse group of representatives created an atmosphere of hope and a renewed sense that change could be brought about and the current status quo in Africa brought to an end. These feelings were carried on to the Manchester Congress with a zeal as yet unseen in the movement.

Similar to the independence movement in India, the drive for African independence was sidestepped with the outbreak of World War II in favor of the war effort. Although there was still plenty of activity in the form of speeches and conferences, it was not until the end of the war that the idea of another congress took hold. Pan-African leaders wanted to hold the Allies accountable for what had been said during the course of the war, specifically for article 3 of the Atlantic Charter which called for the right of self-determination for all peoples.[60] Pan-African groups were pressing the British government for answers regarding if and when this would be applied to Africa, especially in light of the contributions made by Africans in the fight against Germany and Japan.

The Fifth Pan-African Congress at Manchester

Manchester was chosen to hold the Fifth Congress due to it being a hub for Pan-Africanist activities as well as for its liberal racial relations and large African population relative to the rest of Britain. Manchester had not been the first or even second choice for the congressional planning committees. Paris was the first choice as the organizers thought Paris would be the site of any potential peace negotiations, as had been the case at the end of World War I. As it became apparent that the end of World War II

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[60] Esedebe, *Pan-Africanism*, 145.

would not be negotiated, coupled with shortages of basic supplies throughout, it was decided to move the congress to London. However, a few months prior to October, last minute changes were made and Manchester was selected as the final location.[61]

The Congress began on October 15 in Chorlton Town Hall in Manchester and covered a wide-range of topics over the course of the week, but primarily addressed issues of race and colonialism.[62] W.E.B. Du Bois was elected president of the Congress due to his stature and his work in organizing the previous congresses. The numerous delegations and organizations would take turns informing the assembly of the current state of affairs in their country or region as it pertained to the current topic of the session. The week of the Congress was also peppered with several social functions, such as dances and dinners, in an effort to build camaraderie and relationships amongst the attendees.[63]

The discussion on race centered on the treatment of Africans and people of African ancestry within Britain. The problems people faced with employment, housing, and discrimination were detailed for the attendees. Resolutions pertaining to the issue called for Great Britain to remove any "discrimination on the account of race" and for local support groups to be empowered to help the minority population.[64] Regarding the issue of race, the Congress delegates also denounced the race laws that were being enforced in South Africa, as well as the attempted land grab South Africa was pursuing against South-West Africa (present day Namibia). They also called for an end to both the white-dominated government of South Africa and the exclusion of natives from participating in government.[65]

The issue of colonialism brought heated discussions to the floor of the Congress, and Great Britain provided a lightning rod for much of the rhetoric. The hypocrisy of the Allies, preaching about freedom and democracy during the world war yet not providing those same freedoms to most of the world which was under their control, was not lost on the speakers at the Congress.

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[61] Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement*, 397.

[62] Ibid., 36.

[63] Hilde Marchant, "Africa Speaks in Manchester," *Picture Post*, November 10, 1945, 19.

[64] Pan-African Congress and George Padmore, *History of the Pan-African Congress,* 64.

[65] Pan-African Congress and George Padmore, *History of the Pan-African Congress* 64-65.

As part of the resolutions that came out of the Congress, many messages were directed towards the United Nations Organization in an attempt to influence positive outcomes for African issues in its deliberations as to how to proceed with decisions regarding post-World War II territories held by the Axis powers.[66]

An interesting characteristic of the Congress is those who were absent. One group from which there was no representation was the large Arab population of northern Africa. Also, no one from the French colonies was present.[67] The absence of the Arab countries speaks to the difficulty the movement experienced in defining what was Pan-Africanism and who it covered. This glaring absence from the movement was not addressed until the 1958 Conference of Independent African States held in Ghana, which saw a majority of the states represented hail from North Africa.[68] French colonial policies of "assimilation and integration" helped reduce, at least in the 1940s, the rise of nationalistic feelings in their colonies. This had changed greatly, however, by the 1950s, and French colonies succeeded in sending representation to the 1958 conference. From then forward, a united Africa was present at such meetings.[69]

The resolutions adopted by the Fifth Congress contain some of the most powerful language that had been heard from the Pan-African movement up to that point. This is the milestone that divided the Pan-African movement into two eras, pre-1945 and post-1945. The language was direct and forceful, while the commentary primarily pertained to African issues and drew wide-ranging support. The two most important sections of the resolutions are the "Declaration to the Colonial Powers" and the "Declaration to the Colonial Peoples," as they both deal directly with colonialism and the aspirations of the African people.

The first of these resolutions, the "Declaration to the Colonial Powers," was co-written by Padmore, Nkrumah, and De Bois. The resolution was a compromise between the radicals Padmore and Nkrumah, and the more cautious Du Bois.[70] In the following passage, the Congress signals a turning point in the relations between the colonizer and the colonized,

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[66] Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement*, 391.

[67] Esedebe, *Pan-Africanism*, 164.

[68] Legum, *Pan-Africanism*, 41.

[69] Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement*, 402.

[70] Ibid., 407.

> The delegates believe in peace. How could it be otherwise, when for centuries the African peoples have been the victims of violence and slavery? Yet if the Western world is still determined to rule mankind by force, then Africans, as a last resort, may have to appeal to force in the effort to achieve freedom, even if force destroys them and the world.[71]

This is the first example of Africans threatening to use violence against European imperialism. The commission to paper of those words, threatening the use of force to achieve an end, symbolically changed the relationship between Africa and Europe.

George Padmore and Kwame Nkrumah wrote the "Declaration to the Colonial Peoples," a call to action for the people of Africa. This declaration was heavily influenced by communist ideology, appealing to the masses, with workers seen as an important group vital to any independence effort:

> The object of imperialist Powers is to exploit. By granting the right to colonial peoples to govern themselves that object is defeated. Therefore, the struggle for political power by colonial and subject peoples is the first step towards, and the necessary prerequisite to, complete social, economic and political emancipation. The Fifth Pan-African Congress therefore calls on the workers and farmers of the Colonies to organize effectively. Colonial workers must be in the front of the battle against imperialism. Your weapons-the strike and the boycott- are invincible.[72]

"Your weapons- the strike and the boycott- are invincible" is an important phrase, empowering those at the bottom of society with a chance to have an impact on the future of Africa. Padmore utilized his communist background to internationalize the struggle and draw more support at the end of his section by writing,

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[71] Pan-African Congress and George Padmore, *History of the Pan-African Congress*, 5.
[72] Legum, *Pan-Africanism*, 137.

"Colonial and subject peoples of the world, Unite!"[73] This mobilizing call for Africans to unite and resist against European imperialism was seen as paramount to this period of Pan-Africanism.

Regarding the Atlantic Charter, section three of the Manchester resolutions asked that, "The principles of the Four Freedoms[74] and the Atlantic Charter be put into practice at once."[75] This provided a direct challenge to the imperial powers themselves to abide by the doctrines they expected the international community to abide by. The hypocrisy of an empire continuing to embrace imperial holdings after World War II was blatant, and seen as a flagrant violation in the eyes of colonial peoples. Britain, France, and the United States fought for six years at the cost of eleven million military fatalities[76]and unprecedented destruction throughout Europe and Asia, purportedly to ensure the "freedom of the free world," only to continue to subjugate more than half of the world's population. Justification to hold on to such a large swath of the Earth became tenuous at best during the post-war era.

Another issue that the Fifth Pan-African Congress chose to target was the original justification Europeans used for colonizing Africa. The "White Man's Burden" and bringing civilization to the Dark continent of Africa were used as moral justification for

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[73] Legum, *Pan-Africanism*, 137. The communist influence is clearly seen in this quote when compared to the ending line of the *Communist Manifesto*, "Working men of all countries, unite!" Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx, *Communist Manifesto*, (1848).

[74] The Four Freedoms refers to the 1941 State of the Union address given by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in which he called for "a world founded upon four essential human freedoms. The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world. The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world. The third is freedom from want—which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world. The fourth is freedom from fear—which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world." "Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1941 State of the Union Address 'The Four Freedoms,'" *Voices of Democracy: The U.S. Oratory Project*, January 6, 1941, accessed May 21, 2016, http://voicesofdemocracy.umd.edu/.

[75] Legum, *Pan-Africanism*, 136.

[76] "World War II Fast Facts," *CNN,* May 10, 2016, accessed May 18, 2016, http://www.cnn.com.

annexation of large areas of land.[77] The Congress challenged this notion, and instead exposed the true intentions of Europeans:

> That since the advent of British, French, Belgian and other Europeans in West Africa, there has been regression instead of progress as a result of systematic exploitation by these alien imperialist Powers. The claims of 'partnership', 'Trusteeship', 'guardianship', and the 'mandate system', do not serve the political wishes of the people of West Africa.[78]

Exposing the true intention of European imperialism and framing it against the original context was an important challenge thrown at Europe which removed any altruistic notions. It was stated "[t]hat there has been a systematic exploitation of the economic resources of the West African territories by imperialist Powers to the detriment of the inhabitants…with the result that the standard of living has fallen below subsistence level."[79] The Congress succeeded in removing what little moral justification Europe had for holding on to African colonies, and exposed their true reasoning, which was pure economic greed.

Notable Attendees at Manchester

The Fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester brought together many of the leading figures of the Pan-African movement. With this conference being the first to see the inclusion of a large number of organizations and people from Africa, this allowed many of the preeminent men within African political groups to gather, many of whom would be the next generation of African leaders. Numbers vary as to how many people actually attended

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[77] The "White Man's Burden," synonymous to *Mission Civilisatrice*, sought to bring Western civilization to people considered uncivilized, "backward," or barbaric by Western standards. This was used by Western countries as justification for colonizing Africa and Asia, and the methods that were used upon native peoples.
[78] Legum, *Pan-Africanism*, 135.
[79] Ibid.

the Congress – one hundred[80] to two hundred[81] attendees were present at Manchester – but regardless of the turnout, many of those in attendance would later have profound effects in many ways across the continent. For many of these figures the Congress represented their emergence on to the world stage, and into the arenas of Pan-Africanism and African nationalism.

Kwame Nkrumah would return to the Gold Coast (Ghana) and help organize and participate in the first election for the colony. He would eventually lead the colony in attaining independence, and became its first prime minister in 1951.[82] His rule, however, took on dictatorial characteristics, and he was overthrown in 1966.[83] George Padmore would continue his involvement in the Pan-Africanist effort and later became an adviser to Nkrumah. Jomo Kenyatta was working in various parts of England prior to the 1945 congress and joined the effort to organize the Manchester congress. The following year he returned to Kenya to begin his political work to gain independence for Kenya. After being arrested and jailed for almost eight years by the colonial authorities for his political activities, Kenyatta was eventually released and went on to become Kenya's first president in 1964.[84]

Jaja Wachuku was a student from the University of Dublin who attended the Congress and delivered its closing remarks.[85] He returned to his home country of Nigeria, and eventually became the first Nigerian Speaker of the House of Representatives. Later he attained several other high-level ministerial positions.[86] Dr. Hastings Banda represented Nyasaland (present day Malawi) at the Manchester Congress while he was a practicing doctor in England. Banda returned to Nyasaland within a few years of the Manchester Congress, entering into politics due to his opposition to a proposed federation between Rhodesia and Nyasaland. After a self-imposed

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[80] J. Ayodele Langley, *Pan-Africanism and Nationalism in West Africa* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 353.

[81] Ajala, *Pan-Africanism*, 10.

[82] David Rooney, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Political Kingdom in the Third World* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 92.

[83] Ibid., 361.

[84] Adi and Sherwood, *The 1945 Manchester Pan-African Congress Revisited*, 139.

[85] American Society of African Culture, *Pan-Africanism Reconstructed*, 361.

[86] Adi and Sherwood, *The 1945 Manchester Pan-African Congress Revisited,* 148.

exile, a return to Nyasaland, and subsequent imprisonment, Banda was freed in 1960 and became the *de facto* ruler of the renamed Malawi from 1961 until 1994, having ruled as an authoritarian for three decades.[87]

  I.T.A. Wallace-Johnson was similar to Padmore and Nkrumah, having an affinity for the communist ideology. Johnson was considered very radical and influential in his work to organize workers and trade unions in Sierra Leone in the 1930s and 1940s. He helped found the West African National Secretariat, which came directly out of Manchester. He entered into politics in the 1950s and helped with the drafting of Sierra Leone's constitution.[88]

Pan-Africanism after Manchester

There was an energy as Manchester concluded and its participants returned home. Immediately following the Congress, there was an attempt to cement the connections forged in Manchester and "publicise the resolutions" from the Congress.[89] However, an overarching organization was not formed. Instead, Kwame Nkrumah created the West African National Secretariat in December 1945, which, as the name suggests, focused primarily on West Africa. He saw this as a way to promote the creation of a federation in West Africa, leading to a United States of Africa.[90] This emphasis on West Africa created some tension among other groups within the Pan-Africanism movement, notably from the West Indies. Nkrumah, however, believed that due to the dominance of British rule in West Africa, their shared traditions and similar style of governments, formation of a federal state that could one day bring the aspirations of Pan-Africanism to fruition in the continent had the best chance in West Africa.

  There was a noticeable downturn in the efforts of Pan-Africanism immediately after Manchester. It appears as if, after Manchester, the representatives scattered back to their respective colonies to focus on enabling change from within the colony. Kwame Nkrumah returned to the Gold Coast in 1947 where he

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[87] Adi and Sherwood, *The 1945 Manchester Pan-African Congress Revisited,* 129.
[88] Ibid., 137.
[89] Legum, *Pan-Africanism*, 173.
[90] Ajala, *Pan-Africanism*, 12.

entered into local politics. This left a vacuum at the West African National Secretariat, which collapsed shortly after his departure.[91] Jomo Kenyatta had also returned to Kenya in 1946, becoming head of the Kenyan independence party in 1947.[92] As part of the shift in Pan-Africanism from the United States towards Africa, the influence of Du Bois was reduced, and his power within the movement was no longer the same. George Padmore was one of the few influential figures within Pan-Africanism to have stayed in London for any length of time after Manchester, and he was one of the primary conduits for communication between Africa, Europe, and America.[93]

     For a period of a little over a decade following Manchester, nationalistic efforts trumped any coordinated Pan-Africanist efforts. Concerted political efforts began in the Gold Coast, Kenya, Sierra Leone, and Nigeria to move those colonies towards independence. At best, regionalism, most prevalent in West Africa, took its place. Pan-Africanism would be evoked when confronting European imperialism, but if one African country wanted another African country's territory, Pan-Africanism was easily forgotten. This period in African history is a sadly contradictory time for Pan-Africanism. Its ultimate goal of freedom and independence was being attained across the continent at a dizzying speed, but at the same time, the ever-present legacies of imperialism, poorly defined borders, European treaties that ignored long standing tradition and ownership of land, and an imbalance of natural resources, led to conflicts among Africans that would linger for decades.

Legacy of the Fifth Pan-African Congress and of Pan-Africanism

Manchester had a lasting effect on the Pan-African movement, principally by focusing the effort on Africa and away from the diaspora. For many Africans, this Pan-African Congress was the first time they would have a say in their own future. The connections made and relationships built encouraged those in

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[91] Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement,* 414.

[92] Adi and Sherwood, *The 1945 Manchester Pan-African Congress Revisited*, 139.

[93] Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement,* 418.

attendance to return home and affect change from within. This contributed to a diluted form of Pan-African nationalism, advocating for unity among Africans, but minimizing calls for an overarching federal state. While this represented a setback to larger scale Pan-African goals, it did succeed it achieving independence for nearly half of Africa by 1960.[94]

Nkrumah led early efforts to foster community and unity among these newly independent states as early as 1958 with the All-African People's Conference in Ghana, with subsequent conferences held in 1960 in Tunis and 1961 in Cairo. These conferences, and all succeeding Pan-African Congresses, were modeled off Manchester. They were diverse African-led representative assemblies that included as many constituencies as possible, and displayed unity against imperialism where it remained in Africa. The Bandung Conference of 1955 also brought an aspect of solidarity to the colonial peoples of Africa and Asia, including the Middle East, declaring their joint assertion that they had the right to be free from foreign interference.[95]

The Pan-African movement became so African-centered, that Pan-African groups from Europe, the United States, and the West Indies became observers within the Pan-African movement at best, or were completely marginalized. This drastic change in such a short time demonstrates the speed with which Africa was able to develop politically and socially, and to take the reins of the movement. This unexpected event forced those groups that were pushed out to develop their own Pan-African structure, which has now taken on a more cultural tone, reconnecting with one's roots and embracing one's heritage as with the Black Power or Rastafarian movements, rather than to politically or physically unify with Africa.[96]

The relative success of decolonization brought about a renewed interest in the idea of a politically unified Africa. After the death of George Padmore, efforts for unity were spearheaded by Kwame Nkrumah, who succeeded with the creation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Nkrumah envisioned a United States of Africa, with all African countries following one

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[94] Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement,* 421.
[95] Legum, *Pan-Africanism,* 138.
[96] Esdebe, *Pan-Africanism,* 233.

leader, with Nkrumah himself filling this role.[97] This, however, was a mixed success due to ideological differences among the countries involved. There were two sides at odds over the creation of the OAU: the more radical Casablanca group headed by Ghana, with Egypt, Algeria, and Libya, which sought a strong union; and the Monrovian group, led by Senegal, Liberia, Nigeria, and Ethiopia, seen as the more moderate group, which believed a union was a far-off prospect. Compromise was needed to achieve anything concrete, and in this instance, the Monrovian group prevailed, producing a watered-down Organization of African Unity which saw a weak central organization and no ability to enforce its mandates or decisions.[98] As more and more of Africa became independent, with these newly formed countries unlikely to cede control over to a "foreign power," the idea of a United States of Africa became increasingly remote. The idea all but died as the political union failed after only a few years, and Nkrumah was becoming increasingly unpopular in his native Ghana.[99]

Conclusion

The ideas of Edward Wilmot Blyden, Henry Sylvester Williams, W.E.B. Du Bois, and many other pioneers of Pan-Africanism brought about some of the greatest change the world has ever seen. The idea that one group should not rule over another without consent was not a new concept, as seen with the American Revolution. Nevertheless, the idea that people were not better than others simply because of the color of their skin, and that one's skin color did not automatically allow domination of another, was slowly gaining traction as a concept. Haile Selassie, ruler of Ethiopia from 1916 to 1974, spoke to this idea with great power at the 1963 United Nations General Assembly in:

> On the question of racial discrimination, the Addis Ababa Conference taught, to those who will learn, this further lesson: that until the philosophy which holds one race superior and another inferior is finally

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[97] David Rooney, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Political Kingdom in the Third World* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 205.
[98] Ibid., 223.
[99] Ibid., 231.

and permanently discredited and abandoned; that
until there are no longer first class and second class
citizens of any nation; that until the color of a man's
skin is of no more significance than the color of his
eyes; that until the basic human rights are equally
guaranteed to all without regard to race; that until
that day, the dream of lasting peace and world
citizenship and the rule of international morality will
remain but a fleeting illusion, to be pursued but never
attained.[100]

Although Pan-Africanism has failed to achieve its goal of a united
Africa, the empowerment of Africans through the efforts of pan-
Africanism has moved the power from European hands into the
hands of Africans themselves. The idea of Pan-Africanism
eventually reversed the status quo with regards to Africans, and
instead introduced the concept that there was strength to be had in
the one thing that unified them – their skin color – and to use that
commonality to unify and rise up as a people.

Pan-Africanism has had a rocky road during its relatively
short existence. Its definition is vague, its aim have been fluid, and
its audience questionable at times. This uncertainty surrounding
the concept has produced some invariably similar results; such as
lackluster commitments and proposals, unrealistic goals, and
myriad of leaders, sometimes with divergent foci. Perhaps the most
encompassing definition created is from Jack Woddis, author of
Africa: the Way Ahead, in which he sums up Pan-Africanism, thus:
"In short, Pan-Africanism is African independence, African unity,
'African personality,' and radical social change – and all four
conceptions are closely linked."[101]

Applying that definition of Pan-Africanism to Manchester,
it can be seen that the Congress fulfills said requirements. The
removal of the Europeans and the right to govern themselves was
proclaimed in almost every section of the resolutions to come out
of the congress. African unity was seen as the primary tool to
attain freedom, primarily through the uniting of the lower working

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[100] Halie Selassie, "Speech at United Nations General Assembly," Speech, New
York City, October 4,1963, *United Nations*, accessed May 18, 2016,
http://www.un.org/ga/search/ view_doc.asp?symbol=A/PV.1229.
[101] Jack Woddis, *Africa: The Way Ahead* (New York: International Publishers,
1963), 117.

classes. Manchester began to foster an "African personality," as it was the first congress where Africans had a voice, were given equal standing with their African cousins from Europe and America, and were given a chance to explain how they saw things and what they would like to see happen. Radical social change evidently took place as well, although in this earlier period, it occurred by small increments. The workers' call to arms, exhorting them to use their "invincible weapons" and declaring that force could be used as a last resort, were essential changes to a society that had not previously considered – or had the ability of, employing such tactics.

Manchester did not wipe clean the stain of imperialism from the face of Africa the day after the Congress concluded, nor has Pan-Africanism succeeded in doing so in the seventy-one years since that week in October 1945. The people who organized the congress knew that their work in Manchester would not bring about immediate change, and yet strove to at least begin the process of bringing change they hoped for to Africa. They conducted this campaign in a very logical, thoughtful, and relatively peaceful manner. They were clear in one regard: that freedom and independence were going to happen, one way or another, and their resiliency eventually won out against the European powers. Although Manchester was not the end of the problem, it was definitely the beginning on a road to a robust Pan-African movement.

Today's Pan-Africanism is a culmination of the conferences and congresses held in London, New York, Paris, Manchester, Bandung, Accra, Addis Ababa, Tunis, Cairo, and Lagos. Pan-Africanism has changed, evolved, and molded to fit the times and needs of a diverse African continent. Leaders have come and gone, but Pan-Africanism has lingered and endured. There is no right and no wrong form of Pan-Africanism. While there is a general starting point to the movement in the late 19th century, it is doubtful that there will ever be an end date to this idea, as it will continue to morph through the people it affects the most, and even through those it does not.

Pan-Africanism has left an indelible legacy on world history. Today the African Union, the spiritual successor to the early efforts of Pan-Africanism, is a strong union encompassing fifty-four nations of Africa. There are talks underway within the African Union about forming a union government, with models

ranging from the European Union to a federal structure like the United States. It is unknown where these talks will take the African Union, and there are many obstacles standing in its way, but a look back on the history of Africa and the Pan-African movement shows the possibility of rapid change.

Manchester holds a significance in world history similar to the First Continental Congress during the American Revolution, the Tennis Court Oath of the French Revolution, and the Haitian Revolution. This Pan-African Congress resulted in a change in the world order that shook the status quo. These events are hailed collectively as a courageous stand by oppressed peoples seeking freedom and standing up for their natural rights. Manchester was no different and, as such, it deserves all the respect and importance accorded to other pivotal hallmarks of world history.

The photographs are captioned as follows:

The Abyssinian Delegate
Jomo Kenyatta asked for an Act of Parliament making discrimination by race or colour a criminal offence.

The Nigerian Trade Unionist
Chief A. S. Coker, represents unions with a membership of half a million workers. He demands full franchise for the negro worker.

The Liverpool Welfare Worker
Mr. E. J. Du Plau, is responsible for hostels and centres for negro seamen. "Negroes are social exiles in Britain," he maintains.

The American Red Cross Worker
He comes from Washington and cares for his own people in Britain. He suffers no colour humiliation.

The Barrister from Lagos
Mrs. Renner urges the need for a great raising of the standard of education and knowledge among African women.

The Founder of Pan Africanism
Dr. Du Bois is the head of the American Negro Association. He opposed the extremist idea of a new "nationalism of colour."

Some of the delegates attending the Fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester, Oct. 1945. Courtesy of *Post Picture*, Nov. 1945.

A picture of inside the Chorlton Town Hall during one of the session of the congress. Oct. 1945. Courtesy of *Post Picture*, Nov. 1945.

Colored Congress Demands Freedom

LONDON. — Mrs. Amy Ashwood-Garvey, Jamaican writer, told the Pan-African Congress in Manchester: "We are here to tell the world that the black people, supported by the sim-colonial colored people of America and others, are determined to emancipate themselves."

Congress demanded independence for African and other subject races, equality, civil rights and abolition of race discrimination.

Congress sent greetings to the Javanese and Indo-Chinese people in their fight against Dutch and French imperialism.

A news article detailing the proceeding in Manchester. This was typical coverage of the event outside of local Manchester news and black newspapers. Courtesy of *Sydney Tribune*, Oct. 30, 1945.

DECLARATION TO THE COLONIAL WORKERS, FARMERS AND INTELLECTUALS.

The delegates of the Fifth Pan-African Congress believe in the right of all peoples to govern themselves. We affirm the right of all Colonial peoples to control their own destiny. All Colonies must be free from foreign imperialist control, whether political or economic. The peoples of the Colonies must have the right to elect their own governments, without restrictions from foreign powers. We say to the peoples of the Colonies that they must fight for these ends by all the means at their disposal.

The object of imperialist powers is to exploit. By granting the right to Colonial peoples to govern themselves that object is defeated. Therefore, the struggle for political power by Colonial and subject peoples is the first step towards, and the necessary prerequisite to, complete social, economic and political emancipation.

The Fifth Pan-African Congress therefore calls on the workers and farmers of the Colonies to organise effectively. Colonial workers must be in the front of the battle against Imperialism. Your weapons—the Strike and the Boycott—are invincible.

THE CHALLENGE TO THE COLONIAL POWERS.

The delegates to the Fifth Pan-African Congress believe in peace. How could it be otherwise when for centuries the African peoples have been victims of violence and slavery. Yet if the Western world is still determined to rule mankind by force, then Africans, as a last resort, may have to appeal to force in the effort to achieve Freedom, even if force destroys them and the world.

We are determined to be free. We want education. We want the right to earn a decent living; the right to express our thoughts and emotions, to adopt and create forms of beauty. We demand for Black Africa autonomy and independence, so far and no further than it is possible in this "One World" for groups and peoples to rule themselves subject to inevitable world unity and federation.

We are not ashamed to have been an age-long patient people. We continue willingly to sacrifice and strive. But we are unwilling to starve any longer while doing the world's drudgery, in order to support by our poverty and ignorance a false aristocracy and a discredited Imperialism.

We condemn the monopoly of capital and the rule of private wealth and industry for private profit alone. We welcome economic democracy as the only real democracy. Therefore, we shall complain, appeal and arraign. We will make the world listen to the facts of our condition. We will fight in every way we can for freedom, democracy and social betterment.

We also call upon the intellectuals and professional classes of the Colonies to awaken to their responsibilities. By fighting for trade union rights, the right to form co-operatives, freedom of the press, assembly, demonstration and strike, freedom to print and read the literature which is necessary for the education of the masses, you will be using the only means by which your liberties will be won and maintained. Today there is only one road to effective action—the organisation of the masses. And in that organisation the educated Colonials must join.

Colonial and Subject Peoples of the World—Unite!

Sections of the resolutions to come out of the Fifth Pan-African Congress. Pan-African Congress and George Padmore. *History of the Pan-African Congress: Colonial and Coloured Unity, A Programme of Action.* London. The Hammersmith Bookshop Ltd., 1963.

September 14, 1945

Mr. Metz Lochard, Editor
Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Mr. Lochard:

The Board of Directors of the National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People has asked me to attend the Pan
African Congress which has been called from October 15th to
21st in London. There are going to be difficulties in
getting transportation both going and especially for return
and also in getting the consent of the State and War
Departments and a British visa. I am beginning to work on
these. If you see any way of helping, I should be glad to
have you do so. Perhaps, the Chicago Congressman might
help.

Secondly, there is the question of reporting the Congress.
Prattis of the "Pittsburgh Courier" has a passport but has
not yet gotten the British visa and he, I think, is planning
to go to the Paris meeting of trade unions; whether he will
be in London or not, I do not know. There ought, of course,
to be special reports and I have thought of several possi-
bilities: First, special letters to the Defender; second,
letters to the Associated Negro Press and third, some
special arrangement with one or more of the New York papers.
Think this matter over and advise me.

I shall probably be in Chicago September 20th and will look
you up.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WD:jd

A letter written by W.E.B. Du Bois to the editor of the *Chicago Defender*, a
black newspaper, regarding the uncertainty surrounding travel to Europe for the
Fifth Pan-African Congress. W.E.B. Du Bois, *Letter to Mr. Metz Lochard,
Editor.* 1946.

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Author Bio

Chris Varela graduated from CSUSB in December of 2016 with a B.A. in History. He plans on pursuing his teacher credential through CSUSB in the Fall of 2017. After completing his credential, Chris will be moving to rural Northern California to teach social sciences at the high school level. He has a passion for educating future generations and hopes to make a positive impact on his community through teaching. Any free moment Chris has, he can be found traveling the Western U.S. in his travel trailer with his husband Josh, and their Australian Shepherds, Patxi (pronounced pah-chee) and Jackson.

Virtuous Life, Honored Afterlife and the Evolution of Confucianism

By Jasmyn Murrell

Abstract: *Confucius states that we must not focus on the afterlife, because we know so little of it, and we must focus on everyday life. However, Confucianism holds a philosophy of afterlife, even if it is not outright said or depicted. This paper will aim to prove just that. First, through Confucian ideals of being a dutiful person, to grant yourself an honored afterlife, and second, through how Confucianism influenced other religions such as Buddhism and Daoism, which will show a clear depiction of afterlife by considering death rituals, festivals, commune with ancestors, prayers, tomb decor, and the ideology of Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism – you will begin to see the depiction of afterlife within Confucianism. But also, you will get to see how Confucianism has evolved and took on traits of both Daoism and Buddhism, which in turn is called Neo-Confucianism. Furthermore, the paper also taps into the history of Confucianism within Modern China. When communism took power, it obliterated Confucianism within society, culture, and government. This left the Chinese people without an identity and there was a revival of Confucianism within China.*

Confucius stated the following when asked about death, "While you do not know life, how can you know death?"[1] Today, many believe that Confucianism does not hold a clear depiction of the afterlife. However, this impression is not true. Confucius envisioned the afterlife as one in which an individual reached sage-hood and was worshiped by their descendants and families. Confucianism, contrary to popular belief, does in fact have a clear depiction of the afterlife. This is evident through Confucius' tentative portrayal of an afterlife in his explicit teachings on what

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[1] Confucius, *The Analects of Confucius*, trans. Simon Leys (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997).

type of person one should strive to be and what actions one should take to earn an honored afterlife. Furthermore, Confucianism has grown alongside, and influenced or been influenced by, other major religions. Specifically, Buddhism and Daoism share a similar appreciation of an ultimate afterlife, though their instructions on how to earn an honored afterlife vary. Due to these religious and philosophical influences, Confucianism itself demonstrates the continued presence of a clear depiction of an afterlife in Confucian thought.

Confucius and the Afterlife

Confucius was born in 551 BCE, during the reign of the Zhou Dynasty. The Zhou dynasty emerged before Confucius' birth, in 1045-1040 BCE, after the fall and overthrow of the Shang Dynasty. It has been said that the Zhou were able to overthrow the Shang because the Shang had lost the Mandate of Heaven, which refers to the right to rule by way of the Heavens and by way of virtue. Confucius grew up in poverty, raised by his mother in the Lu state, under the teaching of the Mandate of Heaven. The philosopher Mencius, who would become a student of Confucianism a century after Confucius's death, held "that heaven oversees a kind of overwhelming moral order in which it is given to rulers to rule for the sake of the common people."[2] In ancient China, Mencius highlighted how a ruler was tasked with upholding a certain stature amongst the people he governed to keep the Mandate of Heaven. Otherwise, a state or dynasty in distress served as an absolute measure indicating that a ruler no longer had the right to rule. Thus, such events as natural disasters, illness, famine, poverty, etc., were treated as signs that the Heavens no longer approved the leader as fit to rule. The consequences of this were clear and expansive as the people lost faith in their dishonored leaders.

Confucius was also raised amongst teachings on the ways to ensure stability in one's leadership and within a kingdom. One way was by being a dutiful person. Leaders of Zhou lineage

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[2] Irene Bloom, "The Evolution of the Confucian Tradition In Antiquity," in *Sources of Chinese Tradition: From Earliest Times to 1600*, composer William Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 115.

believed "heaven...charged certain good men with rulership over the lineage of the world, and the heir of these men might continue to exercise the Heaven-sanctioned power for as long as they carried out their religious and administrative duties with piety, rightness, and wisdom."[3] In Confucianism, and during the Zhou Dynasty, everyday manner and ritual are vital to interpersonal relationships and the affairs of society. These manners and rituals can be as simple as bowing, shaking hands, or motioning for others to go first. "Confucius attributed great power to ritual, once stating that "The whole world would respond to the true goodness of [a ruler] who could for one day restrain himself and return to ritual."[4]

A second way to ensure the Mandate of Heaven was through *Li,* or ritual, Confucius explained in the *Analects,* "When practicing the ritual, what matters most is harmony."[5] In ancient China, *Li* was believed to be necessary for the happiness, harmony, and prosperity of the state, the land, and the people. Professor Yao Xinzhong, Dean of the School of Philosophy at Renmin University of China in Beijing, wrote *An Introduction to Confucianism*, which highlights the importance of sacrifices by individuals that are needed for a person to remain observant of ritual, and thus bring about its products such as harmony. Yao wrote, "Li is a character portraying a sacred ritual vessel… Hence serving gods and praying for good fortune."[6] There were three characters or elements to be used in sacrifice. First, was *ji*, the holding of a piece of meat and offering of it to spirits at the altar; second was *si*, a combination of a sacred altar and a human embryo; and the third was *xiang*, which included the spirits of ancestors. All three of these elements are needed in the observance of *Li*. Such ideas of ritual and sacrifice were crucial to the prosperity of an individual. According to the institution of the sage kings, sacrifices should be performed by a man who governed fairly, discharged his duties to his utmost potential, strengthened his state in times of turmoil, and who successfully prevented great calamities and warded off evil. In the Zhou period:

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[3] Bloom, "The Evolution of the Confucian Tradition In Antiquity," 27.

[4] Patricia Buckley Ebrey, ed., *Chinese Civilization: A Sourcebook* (New York: The Free Press, 1993), 42.

[5] Confucius, *The Analects*, Chapter 1.

[6] Xinzhong Yao, *An Introduction to Confucianism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), Chapter 4.

> A belief in supreme deity or moral force ruled the world and took interest in the affairs of mankind; a belief in the existence and power of ancestral spirits who had to be served and placated with sacrifice; and a belief in the celestial sanction of the political order and the grave responsibility of the ruler to fulfil his moral duties to Heaven and to his people.[7]

One who did not uphold these concepts was said to lose the mandate, which was manifested in the troubles that were inflicted on the land and the people.

The concept of how to govern by way of Heaven was problematic to many Chinese thinkers of the time, including Confucius. For that reason, Confucius began to redefine how an individual could become a virtuous person, and, through dutiful behavior, bring honor to themselves and their family. This virtuous living was doubly rewarding because the achievement of such conduct and personal honor extended to the ancestors and the Heavens. Confucius's understanding of honor led to an important concept in his philosophy, which was the deep appreciation of filial piety (*Xiao*) on the path to being a virtuous person. Filial piety encapsulated the appreciation and act of family reverence, or one's respect for parents, elders, and ancestors. In this way, *Xiao* was the base of moral conduct and social harmony. *Xiao* involved tasks such as taking care of one's parents, burying them properly after they died, bringing honor to family based on one's actions, and having a male heir to carry out the family name. Internally, individuals also strived to never offend their parents, to never speak badly of their parents alive or dead, to never travel far away without purpose, to be conscious of their age and aging, and to protect them whenever necessary, in order to be a filial child and attain virtue. It is important to note that such conduct of a filial pious child continued to be extended to the parents after they died. In the *Analects,* Confucius stated, "When a father is alive, watch the son's aspirations. When a father is dead, watch the son's actions. If three years later, the son has not veered from the father's way, he may be called a dutiful son indeed."[8] Filial piety was driven by the fundamental human bond of parent and child; and this remains the number one relationship that Confucianism holds

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[7] Watson, Nivision, and Bloom, "Classical Sources," 28.

[8] Confucius, *The Analects*, 5.

sacred. For example, a popular instruction under Confucian beliefs was that a child should mourn their parents for three years. The underlying principle being that parents gave you life, fed you, clothed you, bathed you, and much more in your first three year of living; in turn, the child has an eternal obligation to the parents. Ultimately, one's virtue was nonexistent without filial piety.

Ma Hezhi, *Illustrations of the Classic of Filial Piety*. A son kneeling to his parents.[9]

Filial piety is a value based on the strict principles of hierarchy, obligation, and obedience. To perform it properly, individuals of ancient China were instructed to put their parents above themselves. In the *Book of Odes,* it is stated, "When early dawn unseals my eyes, before my mind, my parents rise."[10] After one's parent dies, one must take necessary and proper steps to honor them and their journey to the afterlife. Proper burial is one aspect of this. Burning one with items of significant meaning, such

[9] Ma Hezhi, *Illustrations of the Classic of Filial Piety*, 1995, accessed March 2016, http://depts. washington.edu/chinaciv/painting/4courpo.htm. This image depicts filial piety: a boy is kneeling to his parents, and by doing so he helps ensure his future as an honorable man and honors them as a son.
[10] Robert N. Bellah, *Beyond Belief: Essays on Religion in a Post-Traditionalist World* (University of California Press, 1991), 89.

as jewelry, silk, etc. is needed. Also, the offering of food and gifts to one's deceased parents should be on-going. The one who died should be added to the family inscription that is kept at a home altar. In addition, during the burial process, a child should be in a state of mourning for their parents, and the child should not stray off the path of mourning for three years. For instance, taking a job or being in a relationship can be considered going off the path of mourning one's parents. During a period of three years after a parent's death, one must honor them in the afterlife, as they were honored while living. Furthermore, through filial piety one gains virtue, and by having this virtue, one is able to mourn their parent in the correct way. Ancestor veneration is another important aspect of the afterlife depicted by Confucius in both culture and statecraft.

Ancestor veneration is a ritual practice in honor of deceased family members in accordance with the belief of continued existence after death. The goal of ancestral worship is to ensure their continued well-being in the afterlife, which is used for assistance and advisement of the living. The ritual for ancestral worship includes offerings to ensure welfare in the afterlife. At the funeral of the deceased, items are placed in the coffin or burned as a sacrifice to the dead. These items can range from a toothbrush to a computer, or any household or personal item of the deceased. This ensures a smooth transition to the afterlife, and offerings to the dead should be made on a daily basis. After the funeral, a home altar should be set for worship. On this altar, one should have a portrait of the deceased and a commemorative plaque for offering. "The Master said: If I do not sacrifice with my whole heart I might as well not sacrifice."[11]

The altar of the deceased should contain food (mainly vegetables and fruits because meat symbolizes killing), wine, and sums of money (known as spirit money) to be burned or placed in bowls.

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[11] Confucius, *The Analects*, 12.

Vmenkov, Burning of Spirit Money at a funeral.[12]

After the deceased's name is added to the ancestral tablet alongside the rest of the ancestors, which should have the names of all ancestors and the dates of death, it should be kept at a small shrine in the home. Incense should be lit before them and offerings of food and prostration should be presented twice a month. "The first month after death, mourning, and ritual is considered important because it is believed that in the first forty-nine days after death, the deceased's journey for judgement in the afterlife is completed. One could then take down the home altar of the individual, but not the ancestral shrine."[13] However, Confucianism is not the only philosophy to tie in afterlife and human action into way of culture and state harmony.

Daoism

Both Daoism and Confucianism emerged during the Han period (206 BCE–220 CE). They developed from the same source of

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[12] Vmenkov, 2008, accessed March 2016, https://commons.wikimedia.org/ wiki/File:Burning-money-and-yuanbao-at-the-cemetery-3249.JPG. This image depicts the burning of spirit money on a public altar to honor a loved one in death and to flourish in afterlife. This is one of many ritual carried out by love ones after death.

[13] Myron L. Cohen and Stephanie F. Teiser, "Settling the Dead: Funerals, Memorials, and Beliefs Concerning the Afterlife," *Living in the Chinese Cosmos: Understanding Religion in Late Imperial China (1647-1911).* 2007, accessed March 13, 2017, http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/cosmos/index.html.

Shang-Zhou culture, and yet had their own foci. Confucius focuses on how to present oneself individually and societally to others, and "viewed education as central to achieving proper conduct both within Society and in Government."[14] Daoism focuses on mysterious and spiritual dimensions, known as the ways of *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*. Both were established as schools during the Spring and Autumn period (771 to 476 BCE) and during the Warring States period (475-221 BCE), and focus on the unity of heaven and humanity. Daoism teaches one to obtain unity through natural law while Confucianism achieves unity by self-cultivation and instruction of the sages. Both doctrines also oppose and complement each other.

"The Way" is the Daoist belief that people can relate to cosmic forces that form part of a metaphysical world. Consequently, one who becomes attuned with "The Way" has the chance to manifest in body, mind, society, nature, and the universe. A poem depicts this idea. Irene Bloom, Professor of Asian and Middle Eastern cultures at Columbia University, writes in *Sources of Chinese Tradition;*

> The way is empty, It may be used without ever
> being exhausted.
> Fathomless, it seems to be the ancestor of all things.
> Blunting the sharpness, untying the tangles,
> subduing the light.
> Merging with the dust. Profound, it appears to exist
> forever.
> Whose child is it I do not know. It seems to have
> existed before the Lord.[15]

In achieving this, one will achieve health and immortality.

In the Han Dynasty (221-206 BCE) Daoist religion developed two aspect: long life and immortality. Both are important to Chinese thought and hold a vital position in Daoism. To achieve these, one consumed a plant based diet, conducted breathing exercises and meditation, and communed with

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[14] "Teachings of Confucius," October 10, 2010, accessed January 5, 2017, http://www.confucius-1.com/.

[15] Laozi, "Daodejing," translated by Irene Bloom, in *Sources of Chinese Tradition: From Earliest Times to 1600*, comps. WM. Theodore De Bary and Irene Bloom (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 81.

nature. One's ability to succeed in gymnastics with grace were known as *Fangshi*, or "masters of techniques." Many people who practiced Daoism were herbalists, dream interpreters, or fortune tellers by profession. "They did so believing their body would become, "light and feathery, their mind clear, and that they could ascend to the paradises of the immortals," states Livia Kohn, author of *Long Life and Immortality: The Beginnings of Religious Daoism*. Kohn continues to say, "immortality meant the belief that there were beings made from pure breath and light."[16] It was believed that these beings were outside of the normal human form and need and had the ability to appear as they pleased. In turn, immortality soon became an important goal of the Daoist religion, the paradises became major celestial palaces, and the methods to achieve immortality became highly elaborate techniques for Daoist.

Chen Ruyan, Mountain of Immortals[17]

But immortality was also seen in other ways. For instance, in Daoist religion and philosophy the afterlife is another form of life. It is believed that by living a good life, one will flourish in the afterlife. Daoist get to this point by different means than Confucians with filial piety. "In the human sphere, *Laozi* describes the perfect individual, the sage, who comprehended the *Dao* and whose life and actions are ordered in accordance with it."[18] The

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[16] Livia Kohn, *Health and Long Life the Chinese Way*. (Cambridge: Three Pines Press, 2005).

[17] Chen Ruyan, *Mountain of Immortals*, 2013. http://factsanddetails.com/china/cat3/sub10/item91.html. This image depicts of idea of an immortal paradise by Chen Ruyan a landscape artist from the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368).

[18] Irene Bloom, "The Way of Laozi and Zhuangzi," in *Sources of Chinese Tradition: From Earliest Times to 1600*, comps. WM. Theodore De Bary and Irene Bloom (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 78.

sages are ideal rulers, and the *Laozi* gives instructions on how a sage should act. In *Sources of Chinese Tradition,* it is stated that, "the sage is to refrain from meddling in the lives of the people, give up welfare and luxurious living, and guide the people back to a state of innocence, simplicity, and harmony with the Dao,"[19] Meaning "the Way" is how one becomes a sage. Furthermore, there are certain funerary rituals that are practiced in Daoism, to ensure a successful afterlife. First, the one being buried shall be in their finest clothes and jewelry as if they were dressing for a formal event. By dressing the body in this manner is meant to ensure riches and wealth in the afterlife. Second, it is common for families to leave food offering for their deceased. Since it is believed that the afterlife and living are one, the food is offered for consumption.

An important concept in Daoism is *Yin* and *Yang*, which are defined by Daoist as "two halves that together complete wholeness,"[20] and are also the starting point for change. When something is whole, by definition, it is unchanging and complete. *Yin* and *Yang* helps when one is trying to reach "The Way" because it is a system that understands and accept all circumstances of life.

Buddhism and the Coming of Neo-Confucianism

Buddhism has a principle called *Karma*, the belief that suffering in one's life is evidence of one's previous life, and it is one's action in this life that indicates what will happen in the next life. This concept will help you understand the order of Buddhism. The goal of a Buddhist is to reach *Nirvana*, which means to extinguish the three fires - passion (*raga*), ignorance (*moha*), and aversion (*dvesha*). Once all three fires are out, one can be released of *Samsara*, i.e. the uninterrupted cycle of life and death, or reincarnation.

The way to achieve *Nirvana* is through the Eightfold Path, which is categorized in three main ideals: wisdom, virtue, and mind-mastery. Sub-categories of wisdom are *Sammaditthi* (right

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[19] Bloom, "The Way of Laozi and Zhuangzi,"78.
[20] Casey Kochmer and Jewelie, "What is Yin Yang?, Personal Tao." 2005-2016, accessed March 23, 2016. http://personaltao.com/teachings/questions/what-is-yin-yang/.

view), which means knowledge about suffering and how it comes to be; *Sammasankappo* (right thought), which means thoughts of goodwill and absence of violence; *Sammavaca* (right speech), meaning refraining from harmful speech such as lying, arguing, etc.; *Samma kammanto* (right action), meaning refrain from killing, stealing, and sexual misconduct; *Samma-Ajivo* (right livelihood), meaning giving up dishonest life and the earning of the right one; *Sammavagam* (right endeavor), meaning the elimination of unwholesome thoughts and the cultivation of wholesome ones;. *Sammasati* (right mindfulness), meaning contemplating the nature of body, feeling, mind, and things after the removal of sorrow regarding the world; *Sammasamadhi* (right concentration), or an intensification of a mental factors that are present in every state of consciousness. Nevertheless, there are also other ways to have the afterlife you want. Wei Shou, chinese author of *Book of Wei*, stated the following:

> By gradually accumulating good deeds, purifying vulgarities, passing through many forms, and refining the spirit, one can arrive at a level at which rebirth will not recur and thus attain buddhahood. [To do so,] there are many steps and mental activities to take, all proceeding from the simple to the profound, the imperceptible to the manifest. Through building up one's goodness and obedience, eliminating desires, and practicing serenity, one can break through. [In addition,] the first step in cultivation of the mind is to take refuge in the buddha, the dharma [Buddhist teachings], and the sangha [the community of Buddhist]. These are called the three refuges...There are also five prohibitions: one must not kill, rob, commit adultery, lie, or drink wine. The meaning is much like the Confucian virtues of benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and trustworthiness...Those who submit to these teachings shave their beards and hair, free themselves from obligation, and take leave of their homes. They attach themselves to a teacher, observe rules and regulations, and live together to

> bring their minds under control and cultivate tranquility.[21]

These ideas are the basis of Buddhism in India. According to Patricia Ebrey, professor at the University of Washington, "Buddhism was introduced into China in the late Han and flourished during the Age of Division and the Tang and Song Dynasty."[22] When Buddhism first came to China, it "was an event of far-reaching importance in the development of Chinese thought and culture and of Buddhism itself."[23] Though Buddhism was not greatly accepted in its beginning stage in China, "The Chinese were particularly desirous of knowing whether Buddhism could add to their knowledge of elixirs and practices that would contribute to longevity, levitation, and other superhuman achievements."[24]

The dislike of Buddhism within China came from the idea of going against Confucian teachings, which now had been one of the leading religions and philosophies in China for hundreds of years. Buddhism taught life was suffering and to rid oneself of suffering, one must get rid of desire. Desires can include family and social relations, and since Confucianism was designed to build oneself for family and social harmony, Buddhism was considered controversial thus not accepted. Confucianism was about self-cultivation by way of family and social setting, while Buddhism was about self-cultivation by way of elimination and alienation.

Buddhism "was radically transformed in Tang China when institutionally it became an arm of the state."[25] The Tang even created schools in accordance with Buddhism, called Pure Land School, Meditation School, and Buddhist Rituals and Devotional

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[21] Wei Shou, "Wei Shou's Summary of Buddhist Doctrine," in "Buddhist Doctrines and Practice," trans. and ed. Patricia Ebrey, of *Chinese Civilization: A Sourcebook* (New York: Free Press, 1993), 98.

[22] Patricia Ebrey, "Buddhist Doctrines and Practices," in Chinese Civilization: A Sourcebook. (New York: Free Press, 1993), 97.

[23] WM. Theodore De Bary and Irene Bloom, in *Sources of Chinese Tradition: From Earliest Times to 1600*, comps. WM. Theodore De Bary and Irene Bloom (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 415.

[24] Ibid., 421.

[25] C. Orzech, "Buddhism's Assimilation to Tang Political Culture," in "Schools of Buddhist Doctrine," comps. Leon Hurvitz, Burton Watson, Daniel Stevenson, George Tanabe, and Wing-Tsit Chan, in *Sources of Chinese Tradition: From Earliest Times to 1600*, comps. WM. Theodore De Bary and Irene Bloom (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 476.

Practices, each school illustrated the comparisons of a Buddhist monk (*Bhikkhus*), to that of a king and a sage king. A Buddhist monk "should manifest and reflect the peaceful and joyous qualities of the *Bhikkhus* way of life."[26] The Buddhist monk's discipline should be helpful to the arising of mindfulness and wisdom. The code of conduct which the monks follow is *Vinya*, which defines a monk's status as being that of a vagabond:

> no personal means of support is a very practical means of understanding the instinct to seek security; furthermore, the need to seek alms gives a monk a source of contemplation on what things are really necessary. The four requisites, food, clothing, shelter and medicines, are what lay people can offer as a practical way of expressing generosity and appreciation of their faith in belonging to the Buddhist Community. Rather than giving requisites to particular monks whom one likes and knows the practicing Buddhist learns to offer to the Sangha as an act of faith and respect for the Sangha as a whole. Monks respond by sharing merit, spreading good will and the teachings of the Buddha to all those who wish to hear, irrespective of personal feelings.[27]

When it comes to food, a monk is only allowed to eat between dawn and midday and allowed to consume only what is offered, except for water, which can be consumed whether it's offered to the monk or not. They are not allowed to eat fruit and vegetables with a fertile seed and they are not allowed to cook or cure food. As far as clothing, monks make their own robes of either brown or white cloth that is offered. For shelter, the ideal living quarters should be solitary, silent, and simple – and they must never share the same quarters with a woman. When it comes to medicine, it can be consumed if it is offered to the monk, or it can be asked for if the monk is ill. The *Vinaya* states that all offerings should be done in a good manner, "making the act of offering a mindful and

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[26] Lays Guide to the Monks' Rule, Buddhist Studies: Buddha Dharma Education Association & BuddhaNet, 2008, accessed March 23, 2016, http://www.buddha net.net/e-learning/buddhistworld/layguide.htm.
[27] Ibid.

reflective one."[28] In addition, monks could use things such as needles and razors. However, they must refrain from television and the handling of money. Monks also lead lives of total celibacy, in which any kind of sexual behavior is forbidden.

Nonetheless, with the rise of Buddhist monks and the assimilation of Buddhist education into China, "the evolution of distinctive Chinese forms of Buddhism"[29] took place. Confucianism still played a small part in the affairs of the state, mainly in aspects of government and education, but many people did not consider themselves Confucian anymore. Seeing as both Buddhism and Daoism fulfilled their spiritual needs, Confucianism lost much of its allure.

Hogarth, Buddhist cave shrine at Longmen caves, made in China during Tang Dynasty, Luoyang, Henan Province, China.[30]

Han Yu was a receiver and transmitter of early tradition, and he contributed to the revival of Confucianism during the Tang

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[28] Ibid., Buddhist Studies: Buddha Dharma Education Association & BuddhaNet.

[29] WM. Theodore De Bary and Irene Bloom, in *Sources of Chinese Tradition: From Earliest Times to 1600*, comps. W.M. Theodore De Bary and Irene Bloom (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 539.

[30] M. Teng Hogarth, http://education.asianart.org/explore-resources/background-information/buddhism-tang-618%E2%80%93906-and-song-960%E2%80%931279-dynasties. This image depicts a Buddhist shrine cave made in China during the Tang because of the increase of Buddhism within china. Made to honor Buddhism.

Dynasty. He sought to "restore a Confucian social and political order to a society long acclimated to Buddhist and Daoist teachings,"[31] Yet he still saw the Buddhist aspect of master and disciple as vital to society. He even "adapts the terminology of Neo-Daoist Buddhist philosophy to the exposition of the traditional Confucian Way, and suggests a way Confucian thought would be enriched and deepened in the process of encountering Buddhism and Daoism."[32] The first Neo-Confucian philosopher, Zhou Dunyi, lived under the Song Dynasty (960-1279 CE). He used a Daoist basis of metaphysics, "The Way," as a framework for his ethical philosophy. Here is where we begin to see the development of Neo-Confucianism. Physical strength and good health were the main outcomes wanted from the Confucian revival during the Song period. Neo-Confucianism is an effort to integrate and harmonize several different religious and philosophical traditions which had developed in China over thousands of years, helping make sense of the several diverse and sometimes competing philosophies. A mixture of Confucian emphasis on principles such as humaneness, filial piety, and ritual, became integrated with more abstract Daoist notions of "the Way" governing all existence, in addition to numerous Buddhist principles.

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[31] Charles Hartman, "Han Yu and the Confucian Way," comps. Charles Hartman, in "The Confucian Revival and Neo-Confucianism" in *Sources of Chinese Tradition: From Earliest Times to 1600*, comps. W.M. Theodore De Bary and Irene Bloom (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 568.

[32] W.M. Theodore De Bary, "The Confucian Revival in the Song," in *Sources of Chinese Tradition: From Earliest Times to 1600*, comps. W.M. Theodore De Bary and Irene Bloom (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 589.

The Three Vinegar Tasters. Confucius, Buddha, and Lao Tzu.[33]

Neo-Confucianism has two ultimate goals: to reach inner sage-hood and outer kingliness. Sage-hood represents a supreme human of virtue. To reach inner sage-hood meant being a perfect moral paragon, but at the same time being learned and wise. From this, one attained outer kingliness, and to achieve this was a lifelong undertaking. A Neo-Confucian must intertwine herself into human affairs by way of leadership, and not be a hermit or a recluse. She must have an impact on others and on society. The Neo-Confucian movement's goal was to create a social order which benefited people, present and future, and allow them to have a means of livelihood.

Neo-Confucianism assimilated into Chinese culture and society, through education. William Theodore De Bary, an American sinologist and scholar of East Asian literature, states in *Sources of Chinese Tradition* that

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[33] The Three Vinegar Tasters, 1880, accessed March 2016, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Vinegar_tasters.jpg. The painting is an allegorical depiction of the three faces of major religions Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism. Each taste the vinegar but for on its sour, another bitter, and last sweet. Showing how each of the different religions though trying to achieve same thing go about it a different way.

> Until this time Confucianism had focused on the
> Way of the sage kings or Way of the noble person as
> a social or political leader. Now, aiming at education
> for all through universal schooling and a neoclassical
> curriculum-- an aim furthered by the spread of
> printing and literacy-- the Neo-Confucians aspired to
> a spiritual ideal of sagehood for everyone achievable
> by methods of cultivation.[34]

A Confucian by the name of Zhu Xi, who was a leading figure in
the School of Principle, created a new curriculum for Neo-
Confucianism based on teachings from *The Great Learning, The
Doctrine of the Mean, The Analects of Confucius,* and *The
Mencius,* which became "a basic pattern of schooling in late
Imperial China developed in response to needs and challenges in
the Song period."[35] Zhu Xi's curriculum showed one how to reach
sage-hood and social harmony. *The Great Learning,* "teaches one
to be a dutiful person and the way of great learning consists in
manifesting one's bright virtue, consists in loving the people,
consists in stopping in perfect goodness."[36] *The Mean* dealt with
the Message of the Mind-and-Heart (*xinfa*), which "focused on the
conflict of the human mind precariously balanced between selfish
and unselfish tendencies, [and] became the basis of Neo-Confucian
mind cultivation."[37] In this manner, Neo-Confucianism taught
"that the human sense of order and value does not leave one
alienated from the universe but is precisely what unites one to it,"
thus ending the dislike of Buddhism by Confucians, because
instead of eliminating one's desire (the aspect of Buddhism that
was not supported when it first came to China because it went
directly against Confucian teaching of self-cultivation and social
harmony), it entwined Buddhist beliefs of self-cultivation (the four

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[34] WM. Theodore De Bary, "Neo-Confucianism: The Philosophy of Human
Nature," in Sources of *Chinese Tradition: From Earliest Times to 1600,* comps.
W.M. Theodore De Bary and Irene Bloom (New York: Columbia University
Press, 1960), 668.
[35] WM. Theodore De Bary, "Self and Society in the Ming," in *Sources of
Chinese Tradition: From Earliest Times to 1600*, comps. W.M. Theodore De
Bary and Irene Bloom (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 841.
[36] Charles Muller, "The Great Learning 大學," July 4, 2013, accessed March 14,
2017, http://www.acmuller.net/con-dao/greatlearning.html.
[37] De Bary, "Self and Society in the Ming," 7.

noble truths and the eightfold path) with Confucian teachings of self-cultivation (filial piety and virtue).[38]

The Revival of Confucianism in Modern China

After China was defeated by the British in the Opium War (1840-1842), which set in action a humiliating chain of events. Soon thereafter, China caught the eye of Westerners with hopes to gain control of China's ports and access to its markets in 1911, the Qing was overthrown, and soon thereafter the Republic of China was established in 1912. "It was referred to as the Republican Period, because monarchy was now repudiated and the Western theory of constitutional republican government was honored, if seldom actually practiced."[39] In this time China and Japan were engaged in a full-scale war. Furthermore, we see significant social and economic changes in China, and "the old order based on Confucian ideas was torn apart."[40] This lead to what is known as the May Fourth Movement.

The May Fourth Movement achieved many of its goals, despite continued Japanese possession of Shandong, the movement set forth a mind set to put the fate of the people in their own hands and not wait for the Westerners to intervene. China exerted its will to take charge of her own political destiny, without returning to old ways (of Confucianism). In this period, we see the rise of Communism in China.

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[38] De Bary, "Neo-Confucianism," 669.
[39] Patricia Ebrey, "The Early Twentieth Century," in *Chinese Civilization: A Sourcebook* (New York: Free Press, 1993), 331.
[40] Ibid., 332.

The May Fourth Movement, Beijing student protesting, 2014, Courtesy of University of St. Andrews History Society, http://standrewshistorysociety.co.uk/ 2014/11/the-origins-of-the-tiananmen-protests-a-comparison-of-the-may-fourth-and-june-fourth-movements-in-china/.[41]

On October 1, 1949, the People's Republic of China was established. Initiating a "Profound social and economic changes," in 1966, during the last decade of his life, Mao Zedong leader of the People's Republic of China, launched a cultural revolution to gain back his power within the government after his position came under question due to his failed plan, the Great Leap Forward.[42] For the cultural revolution, he shut down the "nation's schools, calling for a massive youth mobilization to take current party leaders to task for their embrace of bourgeois values and lack of revolutionary spirit."[43] Soon thereafter,

> The chaos and violence increased in the autumn and winter of 1966, as schools and universities closed so that students could dedicate themselves to "revolutionary struggle." They were encouraged to destroy the "Four Olds"—old customs, old habits, old culture, and old thinking—and in the process damaged many of China's temples, valuable works of art, and buildings. They also began to verbally and

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[41] This image depicts Beijing student protesting on May 4, 1919 due to the decision made for China at the Versailles Peace Conference in Germany.
[42] Patricia Ebrey, "The People's Republic," in *Chinese Civilization: A Sourcebook* (New York: Free Press, 1993), 407.
[43] "The May Fourth Movement," *Alpha History*, 2015, accessed March 2016, http://alphahistory.com/chineserevolution/may-fourth-movement/.

> physically attack authority figures in society, including their teachers, school administrators, Communist Party members, neighbors, and even their friends, relatives, and parents. At the same time, purges were carried out in the high ranks of the Communist Party.[44]

Due to the actions of protesters, the Communist Party leaders felt things were getting out of control and the country was in complete disarray. Tactics changed and leaders encouraged people to gain knowledge of Mao's works over physical and verbal violence. However, this did not stop the violence. Mao called in troops to end an uprising at Qinghua University in Beijing during the summer of 1968. This military action by Mao resulted in the death of five people and injuries of 149 others. The victims consisted of both workers and students. This, in turn, sparked serious government action, and a "Revolutionary Committee consisting of representatives from the People's Liberation Army, 'the masses', and 'correct' Communist Party cadres were established,"[45] in hopes to end violence and restore order in China. This move backfired on Mao, and in the long run it caused Chinese people to lose faith in their government. After Mao's death in 1976, Deng Xioping became the Premier of China, with the goal of modernization focused on improving agriculture, technology, national defense, and industry. At the end of his reign, another May Fourth movement rose at Tiananmen Square as protesters demanded an end to corruption and the government's resignation. Thereafter, the Chinese people became increasingly engaged in international trade.

Beginning in 2007, a revival of Confucianism rose due to government interest and a lack of Chinese cultural identity. Many see the revival of Confucianism as a political agenda by the government. As Daniel Bell, a prolific and controversial political theorist who has been teaching at Tsinghua University in Beijing since 2004 suggests, "the government is trying to use Confucianism to fill in the 'ideology vacuum' of the country." He

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[44] Stefanie Lamb, "Introduction to the Cultural Revolution," *Stanford/SPICE, Stanford Programs of International and Cross-Cultural Education*, December 2005, accessed March 20, 2016, http://spice.fsi.stanford.edu/docs/ introduction_to_the_ cultural_revolution.
[45] Ibid.

believes this is so because the Beijing government thinks extreme nationalism and religious sects are too radical, and Marxism is no longer working as a leading ideology. Therefore, "promoting Confucianism is the best way to protect 'social stability' and a 'harmonic society.'" Outside of the government venture, we see that "new groups are formed in response to the quest of traditional culture and there is a process of reinventing the new meaning of Confucianism in contemporary era."[46]

        Confucian teachings give emphasis on how to live a proper life, and how to meet a good afterlife, which suggests that a life properly lived can pay off with an honored afterlife. Though Confucius never talked about an afterlife, after looking at his teachings of filial piety, service to parents, and ancestral veneration, we can conclude that Confucius did indeed have a clear depiction of the afterlife, which is (1) to reach sage-hood, and (2) to be worshiped by one's descendants and their families. Furthermore, we see how the metaphysical world of Daoism grew alongside Confucianism, allowing Chinese culture to find ways in which people can become attuned with themselves and the spiritual world. In addition, we see the problems with Buddhism's venture to China, because of its direct opposition of Confucian teachings. These differences created a new form of Confucianism, offering the Chinese culture Neo-Confucianism, which intertwines Daoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism, bringing the physical and metaphysical worlds together; and assimilation of their teachings by way of education, instead of through sage kings, showing how outside influence created change in the mind of society and government alike. Although we see Confucianism leave China's grasp for a while due to foreign influences and the Chinese government repetitively seeking other venues in which to govern China, Confucianism has found its way back into Chinese culture and governance. We see this with the May Fourth Movements and the current revival of Confucianism that seeks to find a cultural identity, and to stabilize society by creating harmony.

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[46] Joy Lam, "China's Revival of Confucianism," *University of Southern California U.S.-China Institute*, 2008, accessed March 2016, http://china.usc.edu/chinas-revival-confucianism.

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Author Bio

Jasmyn Murrell is a California State University, San Bernardino, graduate, with a Bachelor of Arts in history, concentrated in Public and Oral History. Currently, she is working on applying to graduate school for a combination program of historical preservation and museum studies in hopes of becoming an Architectural Conservator and a Collections Manager. As a student, she participated in the student History Club for three years – one year as a member and two years as secretary of the club. With the club, she helped bring awareness to the CSUSB history program, fundraising for Upward bound students, and volunteering for projects that benefited CSUSB and the San Bernardino community. Additionally, the club created the Chicano Lecture Series, where they brought in expert speakers and advocates of the Chicano movement. Furthermore, she interned with the March Field Air Museum working in collections, archives, database building, coding, and maintenance, as well as storage, library, and loan operations. She also participated in the Manzanar Public Archeology Project in 2015 and 2016, by helping preserve and rebuild the historical World War II internment camp.

Dark Apostles – Hitler's Oligarchs: Göring, Goebbels, Himmler, Heydrich and Revolutionary Totalitarian Oligarchy in the Third Reich

By Athahn Steinback

Abstract: *In popular memory, the Third Reich and the Nazi party are all too often misremembered as a homogenous entity, entirely shaped and led by the figure of Adolf Hitler. This paper challenges the widely held misconception of a homogenous Nazi ideology and critically re-examines the governance of Nazi Germany by arguing that the Third Reich was not a generic totalitarian dictatorship, but rather, a revolutionary totalitarian oligarchy. The unique roles and revolutionary agendas of Hermann Göring, Joseph Goebbels, Heinrich Himmler, and Reinhard Heydrich, provide case studies to demonstrate the nature of this revolutionary totalitarian oligarchy. The role of Hitler as the chief oligarch of Nazi Germany remains critical to the entire system of governance. However, the unique roles played by his subordinate oligarchs must be explored in order to properly understand the function, radicalization and unprecedented destruction wrought by the Third Reich.*

Adolf Hitler – the mere mention of the name conjures a toxic witch's brew that still sears the psyche of modern Western Civilization. From World War II to the Holocaust, there is virtually no aspect of contemporary society left unscathed by the collective memory of Hitler and the Nazi party. The staggering power of his legacy makes it easy to take the NSDAP's slogan of *'Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer'* at face value and consequently fail to recognize the true nature of the Nazi state edifice upon which he stood.[1] To properly understand Hitler, the Third Reich, and the Nazi movement, it is critical that we not ignore the formative role played by others – the oligarchs who carved out personal empires

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[1] The *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (National Socialist German Worker's Party) or Nazi party. The party's slogan, *Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer,* translates to, "one people, one state, one leader."

within the Byzantine bureaucracy of the Third Reich and dispensed their power based on Führer principle,[2] just as Hitler himself did. The Third Reich was in reality a revolutionary totalitarian oligarchy, ruled by many lesser führers all beholden to the one dominant Führer – Adolf Hitler.

The popular, and simplistic, view of Hitler as sole architect of the Third Reich - the singular all-powerful dictator directing every aspect of the state - has long since been banished from serious discourse by historical giants such as Hugh Trevor-Roper, Martin Broszat, and Ian Kershaw. In reality, Hitler derived the greatest extent of his power through his indispensable role as the chief arbitrator in the internecine struggles of his squabbling oligarchs. Yet, the question remains, what was the nature of this "confusion of private empires"[3] or "shapeless 'system' of governance?"[4] Much of Hitler's power was indeed derived from his role as the supreme Führer, holding sway over the numerous miniature empires of his lieutenants. Kershaw's concept of working towards the Führer continues to provide the most effective mechanism for explaining the ceaseless radicalization of the Third Reich, yet to call the system "shapeless" is somewhat misleading. To clearly understand the Third Reich and normalize its role in the greater fabric of European history, it is imperative that it be identified for what it was – a revolutionary totalitarian oligarchy.

The Third Reich was revolutionary in that it desired to completely re-order the social, political and economic structure of society in a manner no less ambitious than its Marxist rivals. It was totalitarian in that it required not only the loyalty of its subjects but also their total ideological commitment to the movement. Simultaneously, the numerous and conflicting personal empires of the greatest power brokers within the NSDAP guaranteed that the Reich's governance was inherently oligarchic from its inception. These three characteristics defined the National Socialist system and paved the way for the explosive expansion of NSDAP dominion over the German political scene. Fueled by revolutionary

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[2] *Führerprinzip* or Leader (Führer) Principle in English, is the concept that final authority in any given system or situation always rest in the hands of a single, decisive leader and that subordinates should give their total, unconditional loyalty to their Führer.

[3] Hugh Trevor-Roper, *The Last Days of Hitler*, 6th ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 54.

[4] Ian Kershaw, *Hitler: 1936-1945 Nemesis* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2000), 573.

aspirations, enforced by the iron fist of totalitarian repression and served by numerous, expansionist internal empires, the NSDAP stood poised to carve up Germany and Europe itself to feed the insatiable need of the movement to ceaselessly expand, lest the very same revolutionary oligarchs who engineered the National Socialist state turn their ambitions upon one another.

National Socialism was an inherently revolutionary ideology, bent on radically restructuring society along the lines of the *völkisch* state[5] and replacing bourgeois society with a biocracy based upon an ascending racial hierarchy that placed Germanic "Aryans" at the very pinnacle. As was also the case with its splintered Marxist opponent, the perception of this revolution varied widely amongst National Socialists. Hermann Göring sought to gradually subvert the German economy from within, leading to its systematic incorporation into the party's revolutionary mission. Ernst Röhm[6] called for a "brown revolution" to sweep away bourgeois society and replace it with a new, wholly National Socialist order. While, Heinrich Himmler sought to completely re-imagine society along the lines of blood, soil, and a racially pure SS warrior community. In each case, National Socialism's revolutionary zeitgeist was evident. However, these and other numerous competing visions of the movement's mission produced fractious and often competing policies. As a result, governance of the Third Reich is best recognized as a revolutionary totalitarian oligarchy in which several oligarchs controlled their own administrative kingdoms and pursued their own unique visions of National Socialism within their respective spheres. It would not be too much to call these oligarchic personal empires franchises of the revolution, wherein each oligarch, be it

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[5] The precise conceptualization of the *volkisch* state differed from oligarch to oligarch. However, themes of a collectivist state based upon racial purity and the Führer Principle were common to all leading National Socialists.

[6] Ernst Julius Günther Röhm (1887-1934) was a leading National Socialist revolutionary, long time personal friend of Hitler, head of the powerful Sturmabteilung (SA) and vocal leader within the party's left wing. Following the NSDAP's rise to power in 1933, Röhm agitated for the immediate, forceful nationalization of industry, elimination of aristocratic estates, and, most critically, incorporation of the armed forces into Röhm's significantly larger paramilitary SA. Ultimately, Röhm's significant power base and left wing agenda drew him into conflict with the party establishment and he was purged, along with his allies, during the Night of the Long Knives in 1934.

Göring, Goebbels, Himmler, or Heydrich, pursued the objectives of the National Socialist mission as they personally envisioned it.

When viewed through this lens the Nazi state becomes infinitely easier to understand. Bureaucrats at all levels within the Nazi hierarchy ceaselessly toiled to make the movement's objectives a reality, and while some were motivated by cynical self-aggrandizement, many more labored under a genuine belief in National Socialism as a revolutionary mission – the dawn of a new chapter in world history. At the head of this revolution, Hitler established himself as a new messiah, while the most influential of his oligarchs desired to become his greatest apostles, each in turn dictating their own twisted gospel to their followers. Although Hitler's would-be apostles were numerous, four, Hermann Göring, Joseph Goebbels, Heinrich Himmler and Reinhard Heydrich, stand out above the others as singularly powerful men within the revolution and the Nazi state. Each possessed great ambition, power, revolutionary zeal, and the will to acquire vast personal empires; and in doing so, they became far more than mere functionaries of Hitler's will. They enjoyed political agency of their own accord and actively, even enthusiastically, endeavored to further the National Socialist revolution through any means at their disposal. Who were these men? What power did they wield? What great bureaucratic kingdoms did they lord over and what motivated their actions? These are the questions I seek to address.

Hermann Göring – The Consummate Fascist Politician

> Only he who emphasizes German socialism is truly national. He who refuses to speak of socialism, who believes in socialism only in the Marxist sense, or to whom the word "socialism" has an unpleasant ring, has not understood the deepest meaning of nationalism. He has not understood that one can only be a nationalist when one sees social problems openly and clearly. And on the other hand, one can only be a socialist when he clearly sees that nationalism must triumph to protect the living space of a people from outside forces. – Hermann Göring,

speech to the National Socialist Factory Cell Organization, April 9, 1933.[7]

We must strive with the greatest energy for autarky in all spheres in which it is technically possible.
– Hermann Göring, cabinet meeting on the economy, September 4, 1936.[8]

Voice or no voice, the people can always be brought to the bidding of the leaders. That is easy. All you have to do is tell them they are being attacked and denounce the pacifists for lack of patriotism and exposing the country to danger. It works the same way in any country. – Hermann Göring, interview at Nuremberg, April 18, 1946.[9]

Hermann Göring is too often dismissed as a brash amateur politician, or failed Air Marshal possessing little political flare or administrative acumen. Indeed, Göring's taste for ostentatious uniforms, decadent banquets, art theft, and habit of attaching his name to everything he laid his hands on – from his famous Reichswerke to a Panzer Division - makes the Reichsmarschall an easy mark to be readily disregarded as just another insufferably narcissistic oligarch. While Göring's narcissism was well documented, and the man's failures numerous, to dismiss him out-of-hand misses his significant contribution to securing Nazi control over Germany. The failure to comprehend Göring's decisive contribution to the Nazification of the German economy is to fundamentally misunderstand the Third Reich. It is in the field of the economy as Plenipotentiary of the Second Four-Year Plan that Göring exerted his greatest influence and left an indelible mark on the evolution of Nazi Germany. His future career as Reichsmarschall at the head of the Luftwaffe was significant but paled in comparison to his role in the Second Four-Year Plan.

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[7] Hermann Göring, "Nationalism and Socialism" (speech, Berlin, April 9, 1933), trans. Randall Bytwerk, Calvin College, German Propaganda Archive, http://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/goering1.htm.
[8] Hermann Göring to the Reich Cabinet, September 4, 1936, in *Documents on Nazism, 1919-1945*, by Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham (New York: The Viking Press, 1974), 409.
[9] Hermann Göring, qtd. in Gustave M. Gilbert, *Nuremberg Diary* (Boston: Da Capo Press, 1995), 278-279.

To begin to properly understand Göring's political empire and contributions to the Third Reich, it is essential to understand his character and motivations. Like his colleagues, Goebbels, Himmler, and Heydrich, Göring was driven by great ambition. He saw himself as a man in both worlds – simultaneously emulating the trappings of a decadent elite of an age then-pas whilst actively engineering a new National Socialist system to sweep away the old. This dichotomy stands at the core of Göring's character and underlies the primary obstacle in lucidly appraising his actions and ambitions.

Göring's agenda simultaneously reflected the views of revolutionary National Socialists and late Weimar era imperial-revisionists.[10] He himself hailed from the lower spectrum of the bourgeoisie, and was molded by pre-Great War perceptions of idealized Prussian virtues of duty and loyalty to the state; a state that had fallen in 1918, and had been replaced by something entirely alien to his authoritarian worldview – democracy. In some respects, Göring differed little from mainstream imperial-revisionists of his time; his foreign policy opinions sought the creation of a German sphere of influence in East and Southeastern Europe through the formation of an anti-Bolshevik alliance, secured by the bulwark of a friendly Polish state between Germany and its Soviet rival.[11] It was an alliance that would serve as a protective shield against communism – a force that Göring emphatically feared – while simultaneously securing a potent continental economic bloc that could expand both the Reich's and Göring's economic reach far beyond the borders of the empire.[12]

In this regard, he took his cues from traditional Bismarckian statecraft, favoring a traditional balance of power and alliances built to protect the interests of Germany – like any mainstream imperial revisionist.[13] Consequently, in foreign policy Göring actively swam against the current of Hitlerian National Socialism and the concept of *lebensraum* that increasingly

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[10] Imperial-revisionists hoped to re-establish the power of the Pre-World War One German Empire.

[11] Alfred Kube, "Hermann Goering: Second Man in the Third Reich," in *The Nazi Elite*, ed. Ronald Smelser and Rainer Zitelmann (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 66.

[12] Kube, "Hermann Goering: Second Man in the Third Reich," 67.

[13] Ibid., 70-71.

dominated Nazi ideology.[14] Yet, despite this, Göring had no interest nor desire in confronting Hitler's expansionist worldview. He was, as his economic policies clearly demonstrated, very much a fascist at heart. However, like most Nazi oligarchs, the future Reichsmarschall was a creature of ambition who actively pursued whatever strategy combined the extension of his personal empire with the goals of the National Socialist revolution. His foreign policy endeavors had simply been one tactic in a broad effort to spread his influence into another pillar of the state. When Hitler rejected this traditionalist approach in favor of Ribbentrop's[15] aggressive expansionism, Göring simply turned his attention to other matters – it was of no pressing concern to him.

In stark contrast to his imperial-revisionist foreign policy, Göring aggressively pursued the Nazification of the economy as Plenipotentiary of the Four-Year Plan. His fascist economic policies were perfectly captured in a 1938 speech before the German Labor Front; "Just as I will be resolved to ignore the fate of individuals, if the well-being of the community demands it, I shall not show weakness in placing the interests of the *Volk* above the interests of individual businesses."[16] These were neither hollow words, nor an idle threat. Göring was prepared to fight Germany's traditional economic elite for unfettered control of the economy. They could either join him, or he would destroy them. While Göring did not espouse the utopian collectivist views of his fellow oligarch and head of the German Labor Front, Robert Ley,[17] his

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[14] *Lebensraum* or living space in English, was the concept that the German people needed to conquer land (usually in the Soviet east) in order to survive and prosper. The local populations would either be annihilated, enslaved or driven out after the conquest to make way for German settlers.

[15] Ulrich Friedrich Wilhelm Joachim von Ribbentrop (1893-1946) served as the Foreign Minister of Nazi Germany, from 1938 to 1945. He was most famous for his key role in brokering an alliance with Fascist Italy in 1939 as well as a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union the same year.

[16] Hermann Göring, qtd. in Richard Overy, *Goering The 'Iron Man'* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), 51.

[17] Robert Ley (1890-1945) was a minor oligarch at the head of the German Labor Front (DAF), an organization that served as the party replacement for the forcibly dissolved trade unions. His career was marked by an endless – and unsuccessful – quest to transform the DAF into an omnipresent party bureaucracy with a self-appointed mission to rid society of internal conflict by assimilating it entirely into a *volkisch* collective based on racial purity. His utopian ambitions would unsurprisingly fail as a consequence of his own wanton

economic objectives were nothing short of revolutionary. He viewed his revolution as "systematic."[18] There would be no worker occupation of factories, no collectivization of industry. The nation's industrial base would be delivered step by step, piece by piece into the hands of the Fuhrer, as tools belonging to the state, anyone brave or foolish enough to stand in his way would be destroyed.

Within a year of his appointment as Plenipotentiary of the Second Four-Year Plan in 1936, Göring had successfully crushed or co-opted Germany's traditional economic elite. Despite fierce opposition from the Ruhr steel magnates, led by then Minister of Finance Hjalmar Schacht,[19] who opposed rearmament and the nationalization of industry as poor economic policy.[20] His tactics in this war on big business were essentially the same as every other major campaign of civic subversion in the Third Reich. If the senior executives in private corporations opposed the NSDAP's agenda, then politically reliable, mid-level management was systematically encouraged to marginalize defiant bosses and usurp their positions.[21] Those who joined the party were rewarded, while those who continued to resist were gradually swept into obscurity by the swelling ranks of their National Socialist co-workers. Simultaneously, Göring transformed his office into a shadow ministry and usurped much of Schacht's official powers for himself – not because he legally had any right to do so or because he held special qualification, but rather because he could and his goals were in alignment with Hitler's wishes. The Führer subsequently dismissed Schacht's protests out of hand, and Göring was free to remake economic policy in the Reich as he saw fit.[22]

Consequently, Göring increasingly asserted direct control over the entire German economy, but particularly renitent hold

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corruption, alcoholism, mental instability, conflict with opposing oligarchs and the outbreak of the Second World War.

[18] Overy, *Goering The 'Iron Man'*, 27.

[19] Hjalmar Horace Greeley Schacht (1877-1970) was a wealthy conservative economist and banker who threw his support behind – but never joined – the Nazi party in the last years of the Weimar Republic in an abortive attempt to reclaim Germany's place on the world stage. After the party's rise to power, he spent the next four years futilely attempting to stymie the autarkic, anti-free-market economic policies of the NSDAP.

[20] Overy, *Goering The 'Iron Man'*, 47, 71.

[21] Ibid., 56-57.

[22] Ibid., 56.

outs – like Schacht and his fellow Ruhr steel magnates – remained troublesome. In June of 1937, Göring responded to their continued defiance by declaring his intention to establish his very own Reichswerke as a state-owned corporation under his control.[23] He was simultaneously challenging the Ruhr magnates on their own turf and firmly establishing an outpost of his empire in the most important industry in Germany – steel. Despite their traditional privileged position in German politics, even the Ruhr magnates found themselves completely helpless to protect their own corporations from Göring's burgeoning economic dominion.

Two months later, the steel magnates prepared their last act of resistance – the "Dusseldorf Memorandum," a document that roundly excoriated Göring and the Nazi party's autarkic economic planning. For his part, Göring remained informed about his opponent's every move through his personal nationwide wiretapping service, the so-called "Forschungsamt." Aware of his opponents' intentions, Göring struck before any coherent resistance could be mounted by immediately ordering each of the magnates be arrested, although he was subsequently convinced by a subordinate to avoid a national incident and chose to blackmail them individually instead. In the end, they could either sign the memorandum and be regarded as saboteurs or abandon their resistance and fall in line.[24] With the capitulation of the steel magnates, the Nazification of the economy and the concurrent establishment of Göring's personal economic empire were confirmed. In November, following Schacht's resignation as Minister of Economics, Göring briefly occupied the office and made it his first priority to call Schacht and exclaim, "I am now sitting in your chair!"[25]

In modern political parlance, Hermann Göring had become what we might now call an "Economic Tsar." His complete lack of economic expertise was irrelevant to the National Socialist mission so long as he continued to carry out Hitler's wishes – to fund rearmament. More pressingly, from Göring's point of view he had carved an entire piece of the Reich out for himself. All roads in the economy led to his office and he avoided delegating his authority to underlings as much as possible – he simply applied the Führer principle to his own office where he ruled as the master of his own

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[23] Overy, *Goering The 'Iron Man'*, 64.

[24] Ibid., 65.

[25] Hermann Göring, qtd. in Overy, *Goering The 'Iron Man'*, 68.

miniature Reich. His eponymous Reichswerke continued to expand steadily, first in Germany and then benefiting from his political largesse to acquire the majority of captured factories in the newly invested territories – particularly those in Austria and Czechoslovakia.[26] While it is true, as Richard Overy contends, that contrary to popular belief, Göring saw little personal profit from his sprawling Reichswerke (at its height the largest corporation in Europe, if not the world) and remained firmly detached from its day-to-day operations.[27] Göring *did* gain was an incalculable political asset. To take a page from Karl Marx, through the Reichswerke, Göring wrestled control over the means of production for the German war machine and placed himself in position to benefit from the captured assets of conquered nations in a way that no other oligarch could remotely dream. The establishment of the Reichswerke, and his special relationship to it, was a master-stroke political maneuver for his personal empire, as well as a critical flaw in the long-term health of the Reich. The Reichswerke continued to serve as one of the fundamental linchpins of the Göring empire until 1942, when its bloated size, gross inefficiency, and Germany's declining fortunes in the war finally compelled him to release the Reichswerke's weapon and munitions factories to the Ministry of Armaments.[28]

Göring repeated his efforts to consolidate the growing power of the National Socialist state with a concurrent expansion of his personal power in the Luftwaffe. His acquisition of the Aviation Ministry in 1933 was an early political victory for the future Reichsmarschall, but a comparatively minor one at a time when the nation's air forces were still technically subordinate to the Supreme Commander of the military and Minister of Defense – then General Werner von Blomberg. Undeterred, from 1933 to 1938, Göring gradually worked to bring the revolution into the highest ranks of the Luftwaffe by appointing dedicated Nazis like Erhard Milch and Albert Kesselring to positions of power at the expense of established army air specialists with dubious commitment to the party.[29]

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[26] Richard Overy, *War and Economy in the Third Reich* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 114.

[27] Overy, *Goering The 'Iron Man',* 65.

[28] Overy, *War and Economy in the Third Reich*, 164.

[29] Overy, *Goering The 'Iron Man',* 33-34.

Slowly but surely, Göring established his personal presence in the most sacred pillar of the German state – the armed forces. The evolving Luftwaffe was hollowed out and re-purposed as a shell for Göring's emergent petty kingdom and after 1937, strengthened by his uncontested power within the economy. He placed himself in a perfect position to favor the Luftwaffe during rearmament – controlling both the military budget and the Luftwaffe. Ever the opportunist, it would be only a matter of time before he challenged the army's preeminence over the entire military establishment. In 1938, with his nascent Reichswerke extending its tendrils throughout German industry and the Luftwaffe booming amidst general rearmament, Göring seized the opportunity to attempt to definitively establish himself as the unassailable second most powerful man in the Reich – by intriguing to usurp General von Blomberg's office as Commander in Chief of the armed forces.

What path Göring might have chosen to assert the Luftwaffe's total independence of the army, or attempt to establish his own dominance over the armed services, we will never know – because random chance struck in his favor in January of 1938. General von Blomberg, a widower since the death of his wife in 1932, had fallen madly in love with a twenty-six-year-old typist, Margarethe Gruhn, and asked for her hand in marriage. The witnesses at the wedding? None other than Adolf Hitler and Hermann Göring.[30] While it is worth noting that there is no evidence to suggest that Göring arranged the entire affair, his ambitious and opportunistic mind was the first to realize the potential for blackmail the moment a scandal erupted. Blomberg's new wife had once officially been registered as a prostitute by the Berlin Police, and pornographic photos taken when she was eighteen had recently passed into the hands of authorities. Photos taken by her then roommate – who happened to be a Czech-Jewish photographer.[31] Von Blomberg had inadvertently brought the full weight of the Nazi's anti-Semitic zeitgeist down upon his head and not even his personal relationship with Hitler could save him from the firestorm of outrage that stood poised to destroy both his career and the remaining shreds of the army's independence.

Göring's motivations for attempting to destroy Blomberg were two-fold. The first was purely political, as Blomberg's

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[30] Kershaw, *Hitler*, 52.
[31] Ibid., 53.

demise potentially opened doors for the ultimate expansion of
Göring's empire to encompass the entire military establishment.
The second was rather more personal; Blomberg had previously
led a charge in alliance with Schacht to dismantle Göring's
economic empire. He proposed that the War Ministry should enjoy
exclusive control of rearmament policy and the maintenance of the
war economy in February of 1937, a proposal that went so far as to
suggest the complete elimination of Göring's office in the event of
war.[32] Thus the elimination of General von Blomberg represented a
victory across the board for Göring and he intrigued with Himmler
to present the scandal to Hitler, in order to usurp General
Blomberg's office and establish himself as the Commander in
Chief of the Armed Forces. Even if it meant trading away control
of the Four-Year Plan in exchange. Himmler for his part – an
equally ambitious schemer at heart – held onto a fantasy that he
would be able to seize the office and fold the army into his (then)
miniscule Schutzstaffel.[33] Ultimately, Hitler was in no mood for
these machinations. Göring's narcissistic ambition to expand his
political empire was blatantly obvious and Himmler's designs on
the position amounted to little more than an infantile delusion.
Hitler shot down both and instead opted to increase his own power
exponentially by taking the office for himself.[34]

Göring had failed to seize control of the military; but in the
process, he had inadvertently dealt a fatal blow to the
independence of the armed forces and significantly weakened the
hand of the traditional army conservatives. Ironically, while he had
personally lost the battle, he had simultaneously strengthened the
National Socialist revolution by crippling the military's traditional
political neutrality in the long term.[35] It should be noted that there
is little evidence of any significant forethought on his part in this
gambit. It was an opportunistic event, and he simply groped
blindly in the dark through the Blomberg-Fritsch affair like
everyone else involved – Hitler included. Not to be discouraged by
his failure to achieve his personal goal, Göring set about to slowly
manufacture his own parallel military establishment over the next
four years, integrated within the Luftwaffe command structure and
independent of the army. In time, Hermann Göring created his own

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[32] Overy, *Goering The 'Iron Man',* 53.
[33] Kershaw, *Hitler*, 57.
[34] Ibid., 59.
[35] Ibid., 60.

private army composed of twenty-one infantry divisions and a panzer division, which he characteristically named after himself, for a total of a quarter million men under arms.[36] In September of 1943, considering exceptionally poor performance of his Luftwaffe Field Divisions, Hitler finally compelled Göring to turn his private forces over to the army's operational control – though it remained a somewhat separate organization until the end of the war and Göring never ceased expanding it.

Joseph Goebbels – The Nationalist and Socialist Demagogue

> Germany gives in and sells out to the capitalist West. A horrible prospect: Germany's sons will bleed to death on the battlefields of Europe as mercenaries of capitalism. Perhaps, probably in a "holy war against Moscow!" – Joseph Goebbels, personal diary, 1926.[37]

> We shall win. We must win, and quickly. The public mood is one of slight depression. The nation wants peace, though not at the price of defeat, but every new theatre of operations brings worry and concern. – Joseph Goebbels, personal diary, June 23, 1941 – one day after the invasion of the Soviet Union.[38]

> I ask you: Do you want total war? If necessary, do you want war more total and radical than anything you can even imagine today? – Joseph Goebbels, Sportpalast speech, February 18, 1943.[39]

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[36] Werner Haupt, *Die deutschen Luftwaffen - Felddivisionen 1941*-1945 (Eggolsheim: Dörfler Zeitgeschichte, 2005), 19.

[37] Joseph Goebbels, *The Early Goebbels Diaries: 1925-1926,* ed. Helmut Heiber, trans. Oliver Watson (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Inc., 1962), 42.

[38] Joseph Goebbels, *The Goebbels Diaries: 1939-1941,* trans. and ed. by Fred Taylor (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1983), 426.

[39] Joseph Goebbels, "Nation, Rise Up, and Let the Storm Break Loose" (speech, Berlin, February 18, 1943), trans. Randall Bytwerk, Calvin College, German Propaganda Archive, http://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/goeb36.htm.

While Göring was still struggling to carve out a solid political foothold, Joseph Goebbels was already hard at work engineering his own miniature empire and doggedly pursuing the ideological mission of the NSDAP as the architect of the party's propaganda machine and "conqueror" of "Red Berlin" during the late 1920s and early '30s. Within the hierarchy of National Socialist oligarchs, Goebbels forged his own personal empire to dominate propaganda in the Reich and establish himself as the chief political evangelist between party and nation. To properly understand the true role and influence of the Reich's most potent propagandist, it is essential that we peel away the shroud of lies and half-truths with which Goebbels clothed himself and identify the revolutionary oligarch within. The task of the historian in this case is to draw out the demagogue and trace his ideological evolution from his political awakening, to his final days in the Führer bunker.

For all his unbridled narcissism and talent for cynical manipulation, Goebbels was not merely riding the coattails of the revolution for his own political gain. While he was a deeply ambitious, backstabbing opportunist, as we will soon see, in the warped mind of Joseph Goebbels it was essential that he be exalted as a great ideologue standing at the heart of a sweeping revolution. His unchecked lust for praise and distinction demanded that he be remembered as the man who wove the discordant voices of National Socialism into one, coherent narrative united behind the figure of his idol – Adolf Hitler.

Consequently, Joseph Goebbels devoted the first half of his career to selling Nazism and the Führer cult to the German people, and the latter half crusading to save the revolution. At his heart, he was driven by racial theories, virulent anti-Semitism, and an apocalyptic worldview. Ideologically speaking, Goebbels was the perfect person to construct a National Socialist media empire; a true believer, a skilled orator, and one of the most talented manipulators within the NSDAP. Yet, even with the benefit of seventy-years of hindsight, Goebbels is often remembered solely for his tightly choreographed speeches and nigh unmatched rhetorical prowess as head of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda. His political agency and prime position within the Third Reich's oligarchy has all too often been distilled into a simplistic caricature of the man as Hitler's mouthpiece.

All oligarchs of the Third Reich were heavily dependent on Adolf Hitler as their political messiah and guarantor of their personal empires. However, none were as personally reliant on Hitler as Goebbels. As Peter Longerich has ably observed, Goebbels was pathologically obsessed with both demonstrating his own indispensability to the NSDAP movement *and* proving his unconditional devotion to the Führer. In his mind, the two objectives were indistinguishable from one another, and he went so far as to consider his family to be Hitler's family as well.[40] Goebbels's total reliance on Hitler was arguably the most crucial aspect of his personality and the most decisive influence upon his career. However, by focusing too closely on his relationship to Hitler, it is easy to lose sight of his own political agency as an oligarch and his self-appointed crusade to preserve the revolution.

Much like his colleague Heinrich Himmler, Goebbels casts a conflicted shadow across the historical stage. A talented orator and brilliant propagandist, gifted with a sharp intellect on one hand and a depressive, unstable narcissist never to be satisfied by any amount of adulation or accolade on the other.

For Goebbels, the world truly was not enough. No amount of praise could ever satisfy his narcissistic cravings. From his earliest days of political awakening in 1924, Goebbels was fully aware that he was a "demagogue of the worst sort," but he did not care.[41] His chaotic personality demanded political agency and constant reaffirmation of his own brilliance – both of which he would later gain as the Minister of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda. The only anchors amidst the hurricane within his mind were the revolutionary mission of National Socialism and his own self-enslavement to the will of his messiah.[42]

To grasp the contradictions and actions of Dr. Goebbels, it is essential to understand that like his fellow oligarchs, Goebbels saw himself as an indispensable component of the National Socialist revolution. The decisive difference between Goebbels and his colleagues lay in his peculiar relationship with Hitler. While his rivals exalted Hitler as the founder of their political creed, each

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[40] Peter Longerich, *Goebbels: A Biography,* trans. Alan Bance, Jeremy Noakes and Lesley Sharpe (New York: Random House, 2015), XIV.
[41] Joseph Goebbels, qtd. in Elke Fröhlich, "Joseph Goebbels: The Propagandist," in *The Nazi Elite*, ed. Ronald Smelser and Rainer Zitelmann (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 50.
[42] Fröhlich, "Joseph Goebbels: The Propagandist," 58.

endeavored to carve out a domain within the Reich that was uniquely his own. Goebbels on the other hand, sought to mix his own godlike adoration for Hitler with his exceptional talents for demagoguery and propaganda into a potent machine for statewide indoctrination. Other oligarchs built their empires as franchises of the revolution, Goebbels built his power base on selling Hitler to the German people.

At the heart of Goebbels ideology lay a fanatical commitment to the precepts of National Socialist revolution. Despite his zealous attachment to the personality of Hitler during his tenure as an oligarch, it should be noted that he came to National Socialism through the left wing of the party under the tutelage of Gregor Strasser – and originally shared his erstwhile mentor's disdain for the (more conservative) Munich branch dominated by Hitler. Indeed, the early political beliefs of the then National Socialist neophyte Joseph Goebbels were neatly encapsulated by a party slogan he purposed in 1925, "First salvation through socialism, followed like a whirlwind by national liberation."[43] Nor should this be regarded as particularly surprising; Goebbels hailed from a lower-class family and during his political awakening avidly read the works of Marx and Engels, Rosa Luxemburg, and SPD[44] co-founder August Bebel.[45]

Given his predilection for socialist causes, complimented by exceptional natural talent for oratory and manipulation, Goebbels rapidly developed into the most potent attack dog of the party's left wing. Advocating confiscation of landed estates, denigrating western capitalism, exalting socialism, and lionizing the Soviet Union as a natural revolutionary role model for the emerging NSDAP.[46] Goebbels even went so far as to suggest that Germany and Russia should join together as allies in the struggle against the bourgeoisie order, else Germany's only future would be as "...mercenaries against Russia on the battlefields of capitalism...in the last analysis better go down with Bolshevism than live in eternal capitalist servitude."[47] Thus it followed, "That

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[43] Joseph Goebbels, qtd. in Longerich, *Goebbels: A Biography*, 61.

[44] Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, or Social Democratic Party of Germany in English.

[45] Longerich, *Goebbels: A Biography*, 43.

[46] Ibid., 64-66.

[47] Joseph Goebbels, *The Early Goebbels Diaries: 1925-1926,* ed. Helmut Heiber, trans. Oliver Watson (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Inc., 1962), 44.

is why we place ourselves alongside Russia as equal partners in the struggle for this freedom which means everything to us."[48]

As far as the embryonic form of the Reich's future propaganda minister was concerned, the Red Revolution in Russia represented a natural precursor to the evolving National Socialist movement in Germany. In Goebbels' analysis, the critical flaw of his Russian role model was their failure to address the "the Jewish question" that he believed had derailed their industrial reforms and hitherto retarded the development of a "truly nationalist and socialist Russia."[49] Goebbels' aggressive anti-Semitism had clearly become intrinsically linked with his personal ideology and permeated his judgment, long before his defection to the Munich wing of the party.

Moreover, while Goebbels served the left wing of the NSDAP and ideologically found himself at odds with much of Hitler's less aggressively revolutionary agenda, he rapidly became enamored with the seemingly larger than life figure of Hitler. Especially as the future Führer lavished him with praise and gifts for his efforts to spread the party's political creed.[50] Easily swayed by the approval of such a powerful man, the insatiably narcissistic character of Goebbels increasingly explained away his doctrinal disagreements as the work of the coterie of Munich ideologues surrounding his newfound idol. Nor did he immediately realize that Hitler was courting him for the Munich faction and actively attempting to cleave him away from the Strassers – thus striking a powerful blow against his primary opponents within the party. Even on the eve of the fateful Bamberg party conference,[51] Goebbels still genuinely believed that he could convert Hitler to the Strasser's worldview. "Our, i.e. the socialist, spirit is on the march in all towns. Not a soul has faith in Munich. Elberfeld must become the Mecca of German socialism."[52] The concept that his political idol might genuinely hold very different opinions escaped

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[48] Joseph Goebbels, qtd. in Longerich, *Goebbels: A Biography*, 65.

[49] Ibid., 62, 65.

[50] Ibid., 63.

[51] Convened in Bamberg on February 14, 1926 by Hitler in a successful effort to reign in dissenting opinions within the party, re-assert the primacy of the Führer Principle and decisively (albeit diplomatically) crush the Strasser led left wing of the NSDAP. The left wing of the party survived until the Night of the Long Knives purge in 1934, but the supremacy of Hitler and by extension the Munich branch of the party was firmly established.

[52] Goebbels, *The Early Goebbels Diaries: 1925-1926,* 66.

him entirely, and he continued to believe that he could convert Hitler to the left wing of the party despite mounting evidence to the contrary.

Thus, when the crushing weight of reality finally descended upon his shoulders on February 14, 1926, at the Bamberg Conference, he was utterly unprepared for Hitler's frank exercise of total dominion over the direction of the party. Hitler systematically deconstructed the left-wing party platform – denouncing Russia, calling for the destruction of Bolshevism, advocating *lebensraum,* asserting his protection over landed estates, and, in classic National Socialist style, attacked Bolshevism as a Jewish plot. The assault left Goebbels shocked, appalled, and lost without a political compass. For a man so certain that the Munich wing was finished a mere week before, reality as he knew it had just been called into question – and by a figure he personally idolized no less. "Hitler speaks for two hours...What kind of Hitler? A reactionary? Amazingly clumsy and uncertain...Probably one of my greatest disappointments. I can no longer believe in Hitler absolutely...I lost my inner support."[53] Never one to let reality deter him, Goebbels continued to delude himself that the problem could not possibly be that Hitler's worldview differed so dramatically from his own, but rather it must be the work of the treacherous Munich branch – "Kaufmann, Strasser and I go to Hitler to impress on him: he must not allow those rogues down there to tie him hand and foot."[54]

As events unfolded, however, it was Goebbels, not Hitler, who would experience a dramatic political conversion. Within just two months, Goebbels brought his revolutionary socialism in line with Hitler's *volkish* collectivism. In reality, however, the shift was not as dramatic as it may appear. Goebbels' and Hitler's revolutionary objectives were quite similar at their core, both sought total renovation of society and social leveling based upon the concept of racial *volksgemeinschaft*.[55] It was simply their

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[53] Goebbels, *The Early Goebbels Diaries: 1925-1926*, 67.
[54] Ibid.
[55] *Volksgemeinschaft*, or people's community in English, was the concept that class divisions could be dissolved between racially pure Germans in order to create a racially homogenous, classless society, bound together by a mystical common identity based on blood and soil. A further evolution of the concept of the volkisch state. Longerich, *Goebbels: A Biography*, 43-44.

proposed paths to this revolutionary objective that had differed so radically.

> Social question. Quite new perspectives. He has thought it all out. His ideal: Blend of collectivism and individualism. The land: all that is on it and below it for the people. Production, individualistic for those who create. Combines, trusts, production of finished articles, transport, etc. I am reassured all round...With this sparkling mind he can be my leader.[56]

Goebbels had now fallen in line with the Munich faction, yet his revolutionary aspirations remained entirely undimmed as his ideology began to morph into the persona of the fanatical propagandist that has left an indelible mark on the history of both the Reich, and of the world. As Goebbels' idolization evolved, he grew increasingly incapable of separating the person of Hitler from the National Socialist revolution. In his mind, the two became one in the same. With the zealous passion of a fresh convert, he set about to proselytize his adoration for Hitler to the masses and set in motion a series of events that would ultimately establish him as the Reich's most prolific propagandist. Likewise, as the nation entered the perpetual crisis of the Second World War, Goebbels' revolutionary ideology continued to ceaselessly radicalize – as did all things in the Reich. In the absence of the sweeping social revolution that he and many other National Socialists had envisioned, the chaos and destruction of war itself became his engine of revolution. As the Reich burned to ashes around him, Goebbels continued to press for more radical and revolutionary solutions, including stricter control of the press, women in industry, longer work hours, draconian conscription, and harsh restrictions of public life – all with the goal of insuring that the German people could never forget that they were "fighting for our lives."[57] All of these proposals simultaneously expanded the scope of Goebbels power by inserting himself into other pillars of the state, while also contributing to the perpetual radicalization of the Reich. Goebbels actively sought – and in many ways succeeded – in establishing himself as one of the chief masterminds of wartime

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[56] Goebbels, *The Early Goebbels Diaries: 1925-1926*, 78.
[57] Joseph Goebbels, qtd. in Longerich, *Goebbels: A Biography*, 646.

ideology in the Reich. He was a man who never hesitated to propose a more radical solution and never failed to capitalize on the political benefits.

However, in 1930, long before the crisis of the Second World War, Goebbels had already begun to establish himself as the NSDAP's chief intercessor between Hitler, and the nation-at-large, as the Gauleiter of Berlin.[58] His aggressive campaign of mob rallies, beer-hall brawls, and blatant agitation captured the imagination of Berliners and the nation. Though many disapproved of his firebrand agitation, Goebbels fully understood that any publicity was good publicity.[59] His efforts to keep both his own name and the party's ideology in the press achieved results analogous to the triumph of social media in our own contemporary politics. In essence, Joseph Goebbels asserted himself as the most diabolically talented fake-newsman of his era. As Hugh Trevor-Roper so pithily observed, Goebbels narratives were "utterly unscrupulous in substance, and quite indifferent to truth."[60] Truly, Goebbels would have reveled in Trevor-Roper's assessment as his chosen motto for his Berlin based *Der Angriff* newspaper was "no information, just agitation."[61]

Though he was still far from the apogee of his power, Goebbels had firmly ensconced himself at the head of a burgeoning private empire as Gauleiter of Berlin, chief of the party's national election campaign and master of its rapidly evolving propaganda machine.[62] The unification of the party's propaganda outlets in his hands served to bridge the gap between the movement's opposing middle and working class power bases. On one hand, he pandered to the paranoia of political instability and liquid times haunting the imagination of the middle classes and, on the other, drew on his socialist background to formulate aggressive attacks on the western capitalist system and bourgeois society that he so despised. He unified these divergent narratives in

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[58] Gauleiter was an administrative paramilitary rank within the NSDAP. Before the party's rise to power, Gauleiters were responsible for organizing regional branches of the party and energizing its base during election campaigns. After 1933, Gauleiters became the de-facto Nazi party governors of their respective regions and managed, or more often mismanaged, virtually unchecked.

[59] Fröhlich, "Joseph Goebbels: The Propagandist," 52.

[60] Hugh Trevor-Roper, introduction to *Final Entries 1945*, by Joseph Goebbels (New York: G. P. Putnam Sons, 1978), XV.

[61] Fröhlich, "Joseph Goebbels: The Propagandist," 52.

[62] Longerich, *Goebbels: A Biography*, 133.

the person of Hitler, whom he portrayed as a decisive, omnipotent father figure sent to save the German *volk*. Although, in his portrayal of Hitler, Goebbels was not particularly original – the NSDAP had been built as a Führer party and he merely was innovating pre-existing tactics.[63] Furthermore, he catered to a common Weimar-era yearning for a second Bismarck to deliver the nation from insecurity. Even though the message was not original, he rapidly established himself as the premier innovator of Führer cult propaganda, in no small part because he believed the essence of his own message. Goebbels saw Hitler as a messianic savior or, to use his own words, "Half Plebian, half god!"[64] He had long since harbored a desire for a larger-than-life Bismarckian statesman to lead the nation to salvation "O' lord, give your German people a miracle! A miracle!! A man!!! Bismarck, arise!"[65] Hitler was at the epicenter of his entire universe, and Goebbels set about to create an all-encompassing propaganda narrative to grant his veneration of Hitler center stage in the emerging Reich.

Following the NSDAP's 1933 electoral victory, Goebbels found himself in a position of tremendous importance within the Reich and beset by numerous enemies within the party who regarded him – for good reason – as an ambitious and dangerous schemer. However, with his ascension to head of the Ministry for Propaganda and Public Enlightenment in March of 1933, followed by the creation of the Reich Chamber of Culture under his direction in September, he was suddenly and uniquely positioned amongst the NSDAP's budding oligarchs to influence the population at large.

As he confided to his diary in August of 1932, "The national education of the German people is being put in my hands. I will master it."[66] And master it, he did. Goebbels' efforts at the head of the Propaganda Ministry pursued three broad objectives: to transform domestic discourse in the Reich into an echo chamber of his propaganda machine, to create the appearance of overwhelming popular support for the movement through mass rallies as well as 'spontaneous' outrage against the enemies of the NSDAP and finally to force intellectual opposition underground. He had created

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[63] Longerich, *Goebbels: A Biography*, 691.
[64] Goebbels, *The Early Goebbels Diaries: 1925-1926,* 42.
[65] Joseph Goebbels, qtd. in Longerich, *Goebbels: A Biography,* 42.
[66] Joseph Goebbels, qtd. in Fröhlich, "Joseph Goebbels: The Propagandist," 56.

a closed system, wherein the clear majority of domestically consumed information flowed forth from his labyrinthine propaganda empire. Care should be taken, however, to avoid implying that Goebbels thoroughly planned his takeover of the media in advance. Rather, his media empire and construction of a closed system naturally evolved from a combination of the party's Führer principle, his own insatiable need for constant gratification, and the ever-present influence of working towards the Führer. Nor was his control of the media entirely uncontested, as he consistently faced competition from rival ministries and fellow party ideologues, ranging from the Scuhtzstaffel's own newspaper, *Das Schwarze Korps*, to the Wehrmacht propaganda corps, Foreign Ministry, Reich Ministry of Science, Education and Culture, and others.[67] Consequently, Goebbels' Ministry brought him into constant conflict with numerous competing propaganda narratives within the state. However, none enjoyed the Reich spanning breadth of Goebbels' media empire and despite the competition, he remained the chief spokesman of the party.

In his endeavors to ensconce his particularly potent form of propaganda in daily civil discourse, Goebbels was wildly successful. His national propaganda tactics relied heavily on arousing a sense of national pride in the raw power and illusory unity of the National Socialist movement, while animating primal anger against those identified as enemies of the Reich, especially Jews and communists. Yet, Goebbels was not concerned with instilling a new, National Socialist moral compass on the German *volk*, that remained the territory of Heinrich Himmler – as we shall later see. Rather, he sought to mobilize basic emotions among the population and use them to either reinforce popular support for the regime or direct their anger against "outsiders" - who were in many cases, their fellow citizens.[68]

In truth, Goebbels had simply enlarged the same successful tactics he had employed in his "conquest" of Berlin to a national scale, and the results were much the same. However, in his capacity as the Reich's propaganda oligarch, he also enjoyed unprecedented agency to harass and silence his political opponents. Empowered by his new office, Goebbels was free to fabricate violent outbursts and then appear to act in response to popular

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[67] Longerich, *Goebbels: A Biography*, 693, 695; Fröhlich, "Joseph Goebbels: The Propagandist," 58.
[68] Fröhlich, "Joseph Goebbels: The Propagandist," 56.

demand. Thus lending his actions a false air of popular legitimacy. This strategy would evolve into his signature political maneuver, most infamously demonstrated during the massive attacks on Germany's Jewish populations during *Reichskristallnacht* in 1938. Goebbels portrayed these attacks as "spontaneous" popular reactions to the assassination of German diplomat Ernst vom Rath in Paris by a disaffected Jewish exile, when in fact the pogroms of *Reichskristallnacht* had been orchestrated or encouraged at his behest by the NSDAP.

Mass violence was not the only tool of intellectual repression in his arsenal. In his complimentary role at the head of the Reich Chamber of Culture, Goebbels was ideally positioned to firmly wrap the realm of culture in the tendrils of his expanding personal empire by establishing himself as the chief censor in the Reich. With regards cultural censorship, Goebbels's aspirations reached far beyond agitation and pursued a far more actively revolutionary goal, as demonstrated during his speech at the 1933 burning of the books at the Opernplatz in Berlin where he declared:

> The era of exaggerated Jewish intellectualism is now at an end. The Triumph of the German revolution has cleared a path for the German way...entrust to the flames the intellectual garbage of the past. It is a strong, great and symbolic undertaking...which shall prove to all the world that the intellectual basis of the November Republic is here overturned.[69]

As the burning of the books in 1933 quite clearly demonstrated, Goebbels was willing and able to blend his penchant for hate mongering with his revolutionary zeal. The burning of the books accomplished three goals simultaneously. It conflated all unorthodox intellectual thought with the NSDAP's favorite scapegoat – the mythical 'Jewish conspiracy.' It reminded Germans that the era of Weimar liberalism and the Republic itself was dead – replaced by the new revolutionary order of National Socialism and served to publicly confirm his status as the chief

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[69] Joseph Goebbels, "Speech to the Students of Berlin at the Opernplatz" (speech, Berlin, May 10, 1933), United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/media_fi.php?ModuleId=10005852&MediaId=158.

censor. Goebbels followed up his aggressive censorship of 'un-German' literature with a similar attack on unorthodox art during the Degenerate Art Exhibition in September of 1937 and the Degenerate Music Exhibition in 1938. Exhibitions that – like so much of Goebbels' career served several purposes at once – to please Hitler above all else, but also to attack the Weimar period as culturally degenerate in contrast to the supposed masculinity and perfection of the new revolutionary order and finally to strike blows against his competitors within the party.[70] Each exhibition served to solidify his political empire, whilst simultaneously pursuing the goals of the revolution.

This layering of revolutionary zeal and narcissistic goals lays at the very bedrock of Goebbels' success as an oligarch. Though it was true as his longtime rival Rosenberg observed in 1939 "Dr. G. has no friends, no comrades,"[71] Goebbels proved himself perpetually incapable of completely falling from grace, his fanatical personal devotion to Hitler and zealous commitment to the revolutionary mission of National Socialism combined with his innate predilection for intrigue guaranteed his survival – and prosperity – as the Third Reich continued its relentless march into the bottomless abyss of radicalization. As the strategic outlook of the Reich grew bleak, Goebbels' personal power continued to grow exponentially.

The coming of the Second World War necessitated a dramatic shift – and opportunity – for Goebbels as well as his propaganda empire. In the aftermath of the swift triumphs over the Western allies from September of 1939 to the end of Operation Barbarossa in winter of 1941, the newly forged continental empire seemed invincible. Yet, as the winter crisis of 1941 demonstrated, the war with Russia was devolving into a protracted, bloody affair with no swift end in sight. Nor had the United Kingdom capitulated as hoped and the entry of the United States into the war, when it came, added to the future uncertainty of the Reich's strategic situation. Though German defeat was by no means guaranteed, it had become clear within Germany that the Second World War – win or lose – would not end as quickly as it had begun.

Consequently, Goebbels transitioned into the final stage of his career – the preservation of the revolution by setting about to

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[70] Longerich, *Goebbels: A Biography,* 349, 351.
[71] Alfred Rosenberg, qtd. in Fröhlich, "Joseph Goebbels: The Propagandist," 58.

painstakingly regulate morale and war weariness within the empire. Nothing was to be left to chance, optimistic reports that could create delusions of a quick war were redacted and suppressed alongside pessimistic "grumblers" who questioned the capability of NSDAP leadership or the wisdom of the war effort itself. Any action or statement that diverged from party sanctioned morale standard could be interpreted as an existential threat to the state by Goebbels' expansive propaganda apparatus.[72] His goal became one of fostering a sense of apocalyptic desperation in the German people – not simply to sew fear, but to create a feeling that defeat in war amounted to the end of the German people. There could be no 1918 style capitulation, no 1919 revolution, the defeat of the Reich would mean "our national life would be completely and totally destroyed."[73] After all, Goebbels was clearly privy to the evolution of the Final Solution and confided to his journal in March of 1943 that, "On the Jewish question, especially, we have taken a position from which there is no escape. That is a good thing. Experience teaches that a movement and a people who have burned their bridges fight with much greater determination than those who are still able to retreat."[74] The stakes were simply too high to fail; thus, in order to preserve the revolution, Goebbels made it his mission to manage the wartime attitude of the German public by spoon feeding them his own positive spin on the direction of the war effort and by resorting to exponentially more radical and totalitarian means to maintain the dominion of the NSDAP.

Such calculated manipulation of the home front was merely the first step in Goebbels' path to endless radicalization throughout the war. When Göring began his meteoric decline in the aftermath of his inability to bomb the United Kingdom out of the war or defend the skies over Germany, and Hitler grew to detest the nation's traditional military leadership as inherently bourgeoisie, Goebbels was ideally suited to fill the creeping power vacuum in the Reich. His hands were 'clean' of the military reversals of 1942 and 1943. As the military situation grew bleak and Hitler withdrew from the public eye to become absorbed with micromanaging military matters, Goebbels increasingly stepped in to fill the public

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[72] Longerich, *Goebbels: A Biography,* 502-503.

[73] Joseph Goebbels, qtd. in Longerich, *Goebbels: A Biography,* 505.

[74] Joseph Goebbels, *The Goebbels Diaries: 1942-1943,* trans. and ed. by Louis P. Lochner (New York: Doubleday, 1948), 266.

void left behind by the Führer's growing domestic absence.[75] As he accurately identified – there was a "leadership crisis" within the Reich and "the Führer is sometimes somewhat vacillating in his decisions. He also doesn't always react correctly to people. A bit of help is needed there."[76] Naturally, Goebbels viewed himself as the ideal man to bridge this gap between Führer and *volk*, the man to breathe new life in the revolution at its darkest hour and deliver it from certain destruction through sheer force of will and persuasion alone.[77] With his customary talent for intrigue, Goebbels combined his assumption of greater responsibility with a complimentary expansion of his political empire to new heights.

His power would not remain relegated entirely to the somewhat intangible world of propaganda. Starting in 1943, he endeavored to form a political clique in alliance with Göring, Speer, Ley, and Funk[78] – with the objective of resurrecting the Ministerial Council to free Hitler up for management of military affairs. With Hitler free to micromanage the war effort, Goebbels and his cohorts purposed to administer the daily governance of the Reich through the Ministerial Council, chaired by Göring with Goebbels serving as his deputy.[79] Goebbels reasoned that "The men who helped the Fuhrer win the revolution will now have to help him win the war. They were not bureaucrats then; they must not be bureaucrats today."[80] The critical flaw – among several – in Goebbels' planning, was that much like 1927, when he believed he could "liberate" Hitler from the Munich branch of the NSDAP, he assumed the heart of the problem lay in those around Hitler, the bureaucracy in this case, and not in the person of Hitler himself. Indeed, his messianic devotion to Hitler precluded him from lucidly assessing that the leadership crisis in the Reich stemmed from Hitler's divide and rule leadership style that created a revolutionary totalitarian oligarchy and enabled his lieutenants to carve the Reich into so many rival internal empires. Hitler proved

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[75] Kershaw, *Hitler*, 571.

[76] Joseph Goebbels, qtd. in Kershaw, *Hitler*, 571.

[77] Fröhlich, "Joseph Goebbels: The Propagandist," 60.

[78] Albert Speer (1905-1981) an architect by training, he achieved early prominence within the Reich as Hitler's chief architect. During World War Two he obtained tremendous power as an oligarch as the Minister of Armaments and War Production 1942-1945. Walther Funk (1890-1960) was Reichsminister of Economics (1938-1945) and president of the Reichsbank (1939-1945).

[79] Goebbels, *The Goebbels Diaries: 1942-1943*, 264, 268.

[80] Ibid., 264, 269.

categorically opposed to real reform, as any significant change in the power structure of the Reich posed a potential threat to the reliance of all his subservient oligarchs on his personal blessing.[81] Ironically, the same leadership style that allowed for the existence of powerful miniature-führers like Goebbels in the first place had become just as existential a threat to the state as the myriad of foreign armies arrayed against it.

Regardless, the clique's plans proved dead on arrival. Hitler's continued feud with Göring over the Luftwaffe's inability to defeat the overwhelming aerial campaign underway against the Reich rendered any possibility of resurrecting the Ministerial Council under his direction a moot point. The intrigue was completely dead by September of 1943.[82] Undeterred, Goebbels continued to attempt to shift the weight of the leadership crisis onto his shoulders and a subsequent effort by him to usurp the foreign office and attempts to persuade Hitler to pursue a separate peace with the Reich's opponents also met with failure.[83] It was only in the aftermath of the July 20 assassination attempt that Goebbels was finally able to tangibly expand his empire beyond the realm of propaganda and culture following his appointment as Plenipotentiary For Total War.

Ostensibly, the office of Plenipotentiary For Total War granted Goebbels sweeping power to cut through bureaucratic red tape and maximize available manpower reserves in a last-ditch effort to reverse the increasingly hopeless military situation.[84] Yet, in reality, Goebbels' newfound power was far less omnipotent than he hoped; and, though he hailed his newly won office as "probably the greatest success of my life,"[85] he would soon fall afoul of the same bureaucratic inertia and inherent party resistance to significant reform that had catastrophically derailed all attempts to rationalize the National Socialist state. Still, Goebbels fully intended to use his new office to renovate governance of the Reich according to his own conceptualization of the NSDAP's revolutionary mission as a means to combat the empire's declining fortunes.

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[81] Kershaw, *Hitler*, 573.

[82] Ibid.

[83] Fröhlich, "Joseph Goebbels: The Propagandist," 59; Longerich, *Goebbels: A Biography,* 609.

[84] Longerich, *Goebbels: A Biography,* 643.

[85] Joseph Goebbels, qtd. in Longerich, *Goebbels: A Biography,* 644.

At Goebbels' direction, formerly conscription-exempt manpower reserves wrapped up in the nation's industrial base were heavily raided, and the female conscription age for labor was raised to fifty.[86] Bureaucracies, and institutions deemed non-critical to the war effort, ranging from newspapers to technical schools were summarily pruned or disbanded. Likewise, social infrastructure, including the national postal, rail, taxation as well as social security systems were streamlined – all in the name of freeing up manpower for the war effort. Characteristically, Goebbels was unable to resist proposing more radical solutions, including the suspension of candy and beer production, as well as the suspension of the delivery of private postal packages and telegrams in an effort to combat the growing personnel deficiency in the armed services.[87] Each of these proposals was in turn shot down by Hitler, meanwhile his efforts to use his new powers to eliminate opposing forces within the bureaucracy – including the office of the Prussian Prime Minister and the entire Reich's Economics Ministry, unsurprisingly foundered on the rocks of bureaucratic resistance.[88]

As the war dragged on through the balance of 1944 and into the early months of 1945, it became increasingly obvious that no amount of revolutionary zeal, no infusion of National Socialist thought could right the sinking ship. Although, Goebbels assumed the role of Plenipotentiary for Total War with high hopes and great confidence in his own ability to preserve the revolution through sheer force of will, the icy reality of conscription shortfalls and the impending collapse of the National Socialist order loomed large on the horizon. Goebbels' personal empire had reached the zenith of its breadth and power, but in light of the collapsing strategic situation of the Reich, it seemed like a hollow achievement indeed. His crusade to preserve the movement failed in no uncertain terms.

Never one to let the crushing weight of reality block his path, the Reich's most senior propagandist prepared his exit in a manner that would live on through history. In the warped mind of Goebbels, if his idol was to take his life in the Führer bunker on April 30, 1945, then Goebbels would follow the lead of his messiah into the grave – even as his fellow oligarchs fled or surrendered. Given Goebbels' peculiar brand of narcissism, his

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[86] Longerich, *Goebbels: A Biography,* 646.

[87] Ibid., 647.

[88] Ibid.

decision to (in his own eyes) martyr himself alongside his Führer is entirely unsurprising. It would not be too much to contend that Goebbels viewed himself as Peter to Hitler's Jesus, the apostle closest to his messiah who could provide counsel and guidance to his ailing leader. In so doing, he believed he could help guide his chosen prophet – and the movement itself to salvation, a salvation that was toxic, destructive and utterly intolerant of opposing world views.

Heinrich Himmler - The High Priest

> Shall we, by filtering out the valuable blood through a process of selection, once again succeed in training and breeding a nation on a grand scale, a Nordic nation?...We are called upon to establish foundations so that the next generation can make history, and if we create the right foundations it will be a great one. – Heinrich Himmler, speech to SS leaders on "The Purposes and Aims of the SS, the Relationship between the SS, the SA and the Political Formations," June 13, 1931.[89]

> By rooting our people in a deep ideological awareness of ancestors and grandchildren we must once more persuade them that they must have sons. We can do a very great deal. But everything we do must be justifiable vis-à-vis the clan, our ancestors. If we do not secure this moral foundation which is the deepest and best because [it is] the most natural, we will not be able to overcome Christianity on this plane and create the Germanic Reich which will be a blessing for the earth. – Heinrich Himmler, Address at the Funeral of Reinhard Heydrich, June 9, 1942.[90]

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[89] Heinrich Himmler, qtd. in Longerich, *Heinrich Himmler,* trans. Jeremy Noakes and Lesley Sharpe (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 123.

[90] Heinrich Himmler, "Memorial Speech for Reinhard Heydrich" (speech, Berlin, June 9, 1942), ed. Richard Breitman, trans. Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham, German Historical Institute, German History in Documents and Images, http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=1573.

> The guideline for us in our struggle is neither the Old or the New Testament in the Bible, but the political testament of Adolf Hitler. – Heinrich Himmler, 1943.[91]

In contrast to the brash extravagance and bombastic personality of Göring or the fiery rhetoric of Goebbels, the frail, timid, and socially awkward Heinrich Himmler represented something of an enigma both to colleagues and historians. Even senior NSDAP officials found themselves perplexed as to how such a seemingly apprehensive man had maneuvered into a position of great power, and Armament Minister Albert Speer characterized him as "a completely insignificant person, who in some inexplicable way has risen to a prominent position."[92] Nor did his constant need to expound (often tactlessly) on his racial theories win him many friends, or, in the words of Hamburg NSDAP functionary Albert Krebs, "such political rubbish served up in such a concentrated form and that from a man who had been to university and who was professionally engaged in politics."[93] Even his closest associates, Heydrich and Hitler himself, often found themselves at wit's end with the whimsical fantasies that occupied Himmler's mind.

In truth, Himmler represented a sort of sphinx amongst the ranks of the Nazi oligarchs. A man possessed of sharp intellect, and yet, simultaneously firmly detached from any semblance of reality; a cunning mind for intrigue and diplomatic manipulation on one hand, but truly socially inept on the other. Taken at face value these contradictions have rendered Himmler entirely impotent in the eyes of history, an irrelevant figurehead on the sidelines of real power, but this view is wholly inaccurate. To penetrate the smoke screen surrounding the Third Reich's most enigmatic oligarch, it is essential to understand both his motivations and warped personal ideology.

Heinrich Himmler was driven by absolute determination to remake German society according to his vision of the "ideal" Aryan *volk* and reorder the entire world along the lines of the National Socialist biocracy. In his mind, his role was that of the

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[91] Heinrich Himmler, qtd. in Ackermann, "Heinrich Himmler: Reichsführer - SS" in *The Nazi Elite*, ed. Ronald Smelser and Rainer Zitelmann (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 106.

[92] Albert Speer, qtd. in. Ackermann, "Heinrich Himmler," 99.

[93] Albert Krebs, qtd. in Peter Longerich, *Heinrich Himmler*, 138.

master teacher and high priest of the National Socialist Revolution, the man who would imbue future generations with the movement's revolutionary ideology and a new moral code, thereby insuring the survival of the thousand-year Reich.

At the very core of Himmler's world view and power, lay the intertwined concepts of racial hierarchy, impending apocalypse, and "blood and soil" Teutonic mysticism – a phrase coined by his colleague Richard Darré.[94] Himmler combined these concepts to form the essential guiding principles of Schutzstaffel indoctrination and the basis of his social engineering efforts. In June of 1931 (two years after his ascension to Reichsführer-SS), Himmler laid out his long-term objectives for the SS in a speech to his senior officers: "The SS must become a force that includes the best human material that we still possess in Germany. The SS must be held together by a shared community of blood."[95] In Himmler's mind, the purpose of this shared community – bound by blood – was to prepare Germany for the final battle between the Nordic peoples and the nebulous forces of Bolshevism that haunted his imagination. To Himmler, Bolshevism represented a worldwide conspiracy against the German people, a plot by the enemies of the Reich to destroy Nordic civilization as he understood it – as he continued in his 1931 speech "But if Bolshevism is victorious then this will mean the extermination of the Nordic race, of the last valuable Nordic blood, and the devastation would mean the end of the earth."[96]

Himmler was preparing for a sort of National Socialist Ragnarök, in which he would personally play a critical role by laying the foundation for the final victory of the "Nordic" races through the creation of a racially pure military community:[97]

> We have been given the greatest and most magnificent task that a nation can be faced with. As

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[94] Richard Darré (1895-1953) was an early Nazi ideologue, agricultural romantic and intellectual of sorts best remembered as the chief advocate of blood and soil aristocracy as well as his fervent hatred for industrialization and exaltation of traditional agricultural society. He served as the head of the SS Race and Resettlement Main Office (RuSHA) (1931-1938) and as Reichsminister of Food and Agriculture (1933-1942). Longerich, *Heinrich Himmler*, 128.

[95] Heinrich Himmler, qtd. in Longerich, *Heinrich Himmler*, 122.

[96] Ibid., 123.

[97] Ragnarök, the ancient Nordic pagan concept of the apocalypse wherein the world will be consumed in a final cataclysmic battle between the gods.

far as the value of our blood and the numbers of our population are concerned, we are dying out. We are called upon to establish foundations so that the next generation can make history, and if we create the right foundations it will be a great one.[98]

It is precisely because of this psychotic whining that Himmler has been so difficult for both historians and his contemporaries to take seriously. However, the fact that Himmler perceived the world in terms of racial hierarchies and truly believed in an impending apocalypse represented the overriding guiding principle for his entire career. Thusly, guided by insanity, fear and unbridled ambition, Heinrich Himmler set off on a path that ultimately enabled him to carve out the largest private empire of any oligarch within the Third Reich – his very own Schutzstaffel state. An organization so elaborate that before the end of the war, it had inserted itself into every significant function of government, from the battlefield to the maternity ward, owing to its colossal size and special relationship to Hitler.

Throughout his career, Himmler consistently pursued his vision of a race-based SS community to lay the aforementioned 'right foundations' for the coming apocalyptic struggle. New SS applicants were examined for racial purity from the beginning, and in 1931, examinations were extended to their wives and families by the infamous "Engagement and Marriage Order." Walther Darré was brought in at the head of the SS Racial Office (the future Race and Resettlement Main Office) to endlessly expound on the ideals of blood and soil aristocracy, the necessity resettlement of German populations eastwards and the future use of breeding wardens to maintain Aryan purity in conquered lands, for all time to come.[99]

Despite widespread derision, Himmler remained unswayed from his campaign to assemble an SS community and in 1935 created the Lebensborn program in order to provide a human production line for future generations of racially pure SS soldiers. As Himmler explained in 1936, he anticipated "200-300 children per year from every battalion of the Verfügungstruppe...and make them soldiers and officers or, alternatively superior wives of our

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[98] Heinrich Himmler, qtd. in Longerich, *Heinrich Himmler*, 123.
[99] Ibid., 128.

nation"[100] It was a truly ambitious eugenics program by any stretch of the imagination. Young women within the program were boarded at SS owned facilities, cared for to the fullest capacity of the state, and any child born at a Lebensborn facility could become a ward of the program, a measure designed to be particularly enticing to single mothers to whom traditional stigmas surrounding unwed motherhood could prove devastating. However, as tempting as it may be to disregard the Lebensborn program a system of state sponsored brothels, any such assertion is a sensationalist overstatement. Above all else, Lebensborn existed as the ultimate expression of Himmler's vision of the SS as a community, and its services extended to provide welfare for the married spouses of SS personnel and an adoption service for unwanted children from the general public – provided the parents were judged racially pure.[101]

However, Himmler's ambitions were not limited to merely ensuring future racial purity. He also entertained a deep-seated desire to excise what he saw as the un-German cultural influence of Christianity by replacing it with a new religious order based upon National Socialism. "The guideline for us in our struggle is neither the Old or the New Testament in the Bible, but the political testament of Adolf Hitler."[102] Himmler saw the principles of Christianity as a stifling foreign influence that would ultimately have to be eradicated to make way for "proper religion and morality" based on ancestral folk heroes and the modern Führer principle, a truly schizophrenic combination. However, despite Himmler's attempts to instill a new National Socialist creed on German society through his intercessionaries within the SS, his "messiah" remained unimpressed:

> What nonsense! We have finally arrived in an era which has dispensed with all mysticism, and now he's starting at the beginning again. We might as well have stayed with the church. To think I might one day be made an SS saint. Just imagine it! I would turn over in my grave.[103]

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[100] Heinrich Himmler, qtd. in Longerich, *Heinrich Himmler*, 371.
[101] Ibid., 371, 372.
[102] Heinrich Himmler, qtd. in Ackermann, "Heinrich Himmler: Reichsführer - SS," 105.
[103] Ackermann, "Heinrich Himmler," 107.

Despite his frenzied rhetoric and grandiose designs, in 1931 Himmler and his SS were in no position to dictate anything to anyone. He was for all practical intents and purposes, the head of a glorified bodyguard service tasked with ensuring the safety of leading NSDAP officials; moreover, the microscopic SS existed only as a subordinate wing of the SA. But opportunity lay just around the corner and Himmler was not one to miss it, he had already begun to distinguish the SS as an "elite" organization within the SA, committed to discipline, racial/moral purity, and unquestioning loyalty to Hitler.[104] Meanwhile as the Nazi Party began its final ascent to power after the arduous setbacks of 1932, the party establishment found it increasingly difficult to control the behavior of Ernst Röhm's Sturmabteilung (SA).[105] The use of street terror had served to remind the populace that the NSDAP was a serious political organization, but the SA's small regard for Hitler's legal approach to destroy democracy from within by mobilizing its own tools against it was now a problem. The SA demanded immediate revolution to overthrow the state and remake the entire nation in the image of National Socialism and even after Hitler ascended to the chancellery, Ernst Röhm and his associates continued to agitate for a "second revolution."[106] As tensions between the party and the SA continued to simmer, Himmler stood to gain a great deal from the ensuing chaos. Party officials across the country lived in fear of the SA – especially recently established NSDAP state governors who felt particularly vulnerable. Himmler found himself in a unique position to provide an insurance policy against the SA's revolutionary ambition, for he was solidifying a monopoly on the most potent weapon in the Reich – repression.[107]

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[104] Longerich, *Heinrich Himmler*, 118-121.

[105] The *Sturmabteilung* or SA was the paramilitary wing of the Nazi Party. The organization was simultaneously renowned and infamous in party circles for its brutality, revolutionary zeal, rebellious nature and penchant for random acts of violence – both sanctioned and unsanctioned. The SA's extraordinary size – some several million members composed of numerous, often loosely controlled regional commands – made the organization notoriously difficult to control. Ultimately, the SA was decapitated and reduced to political insignificance during the 1934 Night of the Long Knives purge. Conan Fischer, "Ernst Julius Röhm: Chief of Staff of the SA and Indispensable Outsider," in *The Nazi Elite*, ed. Ronald Smelser and Rainer Zitelmann (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 178.

[106] Longerich, *Heinrich Himmler*, 156.

[107] Ibid., 156, 158.

As early as the summer of 1931, Himmler had already begun to ensconce the SS in the world of internal security with the formation of an independent SS Intelligence agency that eventually evolved into the dreaded Sicherheitsdienst (SD) under the highly efficient (and brutal) leadership of fellow oligarch Reinhard Heydrich.[108] However, Himmler's power was still restricted to internal security within the party and his subordination to the SA limited his capacity for independent action. Himmler, the burgeoning oligarch, needed to be able to assert his power in an entirely separate domain, apart from the gargantuan SA and ultimately his great break would come in Bavaria after Hitler's rise to power in 1933. On March 9, 1933, Himmler was appointed as Chief of the Munich Police with Heydrich acting as his right-hand man at the head of Department VI – the political police.[109] This gave Himmler an opportunity to successfully assert his independence. Small as his new post may seem in retrospect, he was no longer merely the head of a glorified bodyguard service, sporting an awkwardly bolted on intelligence wing. He was now a political actor possessing very real agency, and nothing could have prepared the nation for the cold and calculated apparatus of terror he was about to engineer.

Himmler acted quickly and decisively to secure his new position; Communist party members, non-Nazi paramilitaries and trade unionists were arrested en-masse under the fig leaf of "protective custody." Dissidence within Munich was quelled instantaneously and his efficiency was swiftly rewarded. On April 1st, he was promoted to Commander of the Bavarian Political Police, placing him at the helm of both Bavaria's statewide political police and its growing array of concentration camps.[110] Himmler wasted no time in subordinating both to his SS hierarchy. Within months, the Schutzstaffel became synonymous with protective custody, sadistic punishment, and systematic terror carried to the German people through Himmler's sinister emissary – Dachau.[111]

Himmler was no mere regional police chief; he had become the head of the thought police, and he wanted everyone to know it

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[108] Longerich, *Heinrich Himmler*, 125; Robert Gerwarth, *Hitler's Hangman: the Life of Heydrich* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 51.
[109] Longerich, *Heinrich Himmler*, 149.
[110] Ibid., 150.
[111] Longerich, *Heinrich Himmler*, 155.

– "We are brave enough to be unpopular, we are brave enough to be hard-hearted and unfeeling!"[112] The means of repression were gradually falling into the Reichsführer's hands. Within one year the political police of every German state – save Prussia – had fallen under Himmler's control, and armed SS detachments had been permanently garrisoned across the nation as political dissent quick reaction detachments.[113] Himmler had been unleashed. He would soon be in a position to act on his apocalyptic fantasies and attempt to make his visions of "German samurai" and an SS community based on blood a terrifying reality.[114] The Schutzstaffel empire took flight.

Meanwhile, as Himmler extended the tendrils of the SS across Germany, the clock was ticking for Röhm and his SA. Göring grew suspicious of Röhm's revolutionary ambitions and Minister of the Interior Wilhelm Frick (still futilely attempting to moderate the excesses of the NSDAP) – tired of their random acts of violence. The German people lived in fear of their wrath and Himmler saw an opportunity to usurp the power of his friend and former mentor, Ernst Röhm. Thus, the elimination of Röhm and the consequent emasculation of SA leadership opened numerous doors for the up and coming Reichsführer. First and foremost, it lent Himmler an opportunity to prove his unconditional loyalty to Hitler while simultaneously establishing the Schutzstaffel's formal independence from the SA. Furthermore, Röhm's demise at the hands of SS executioners served as a grim reminder to the Nazi hierarchy that if they incurred Hitler's wrath, they would answer to the SS. There would be no tolerance for dissent, no matter how senior or popular the dissenter – no one was ever beyond the reach of the Schutzstaffel's reign of terror. If the SS could liquidate Röhm without repercussion, they could liquidate anyone so long as the Führer sanctioned it.

Most pressingly, Himmler's personal empire was no longer fettered by any external authority – save Hitler, to whom he remained sycophantically loyal until the very end. Himmler acted quickly to expand his power base; in the immediate aftermath of the Night of the Long Knives, pre-existing SS bodyguard detachments were gradually organized into front line military formations under the banner of the SS-VT (SS-Verfügungstruppe,

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[112] Ackermann, "Heinrich Himmler: Reichsführer - SS," 105.
[113] Longerich, *Heinrich Himmler*, 160.
[114] Ackermann, "Heinrich Himmler: Reichsführer - SS," 108.

later Waffen-SS). Likewise, the concentration camp guards were invested into the SS-TV (SS-Totenkopfwerbände), which ultimately evolved into the umbrella organization for all concentration and extermination camp guards within the Reich.[115] Though both organizations were still in their infancy, Himmler had laid the groundwork both for his private army and for continued monopoly over the camps, the Reich's most potent instrument of repression.

However, much like Göring's future efforts to establish an independent Luftwaffe army, Himmler met immediate resistance from Germany's traditional military establishment who saw the emerging SS-VT as yet another threat to the armed forces role as the nation's sole bearer of arms and a mere re-run of Röhm's threats to replace the army with a "people's militia." In this regard the army elites were absolutely correct, the difference was that unlike Röhm, Himmler enjoyed Hitler's support and the nascent Verfügungstruppe continued to expand its ranks, equipment and officer corps, despite army opposition. In 1938, following the decisive defeat of the army's independence in the aftermath of the Blomberg-Fritsch affair, Hitler finally interceded to end the SS-Wehrmacht feud. The Allgemeine-SS (General SS) was restricted to internal policing and party activities during peacetime. However, a critical caveat was created through which Himmler engineered the Waffen-SS, the Verfügungstruppe was affirmed as "neither a part of the Wehrmacht nor part of the Police. It is a standing armed unit exclusively at my disposal"[116]

The outbreak of World War II opened the door to a virtually unlimited expansion of both the Schutzstaffel and Himmler's personal power base. Right up until the surrender of the Third Reich, Himmler's grip expanded on all fronts. The massive expansion of the SS repression system over conquered territories by the Reich Main Security Office (RSHA) under Heydrich spread the National Socialist reign of terror to the furthest corners of the continent. While the swelling ranks of the SS-Totenkopfwerbände ultimately made the expansion of the concentration camp system eastwards and subsequent creation of the death camps possible. However, the most direct expansion of SS power manifest itself within the Waffen-SS, formed out of the SS-Verfügungstruppe in

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[115] Longerich, *Heinrich Himmler*, 174.
[116] Adolf Hitler, qtd. in George H. Stein, *The Waffen SS: Hitler's Elite Guard at War, 1939-1945* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), 21.

1940. By the war's end, the Waffen-SS had grown from an initial establishment of roughly 28,000 men to a breathtaking size of thirty-eight divisions and just over a million men had served in its ranks.[117] By the beginning of 1944, despite its entire size equating to a mere five percent of the Wehrmacht, the Waffen-SS controlled roughly twenty-five percent of the nation's armored divisions and thirty-three percent of its mechanized divisions and received the newest equipment before the vast majority of the army.[118] The Waffen-SS had established military prominence far beyond its comparative size. Furthermore, all major combatant foreign military formations in the Reich were either controlled by or transferred to Waffen-SS command, and Waffen-SS personnel were drawn from *volksdeutsche* from every corner of the Germanic world, Holland, Norway, Finland, France, Hungary and the Baltic states just to name a handful.

Additional auxiliary SS units were raised from non-Aryan populations. Himmler acquired personnel from nearly every occupied region and subject population within the Reich, ranging from Bosnian Muslims to Ukrainians.[119] The conditions of service and willing participation of these so-called "Hiwis" (volunteers) from non-German populations was always suspect, and Himmler went to great lengths to differentiate foreign soldiers from their German superiors; the "term SS man, which means so much to us and which we regard so highly" did not apply to "the numerous members of alien ethnic groups which we are now organizing under command of the SS."[120] Himmler clearly did not envision his "alien" personnel as his equals; indeed, their employment echoes of the SS-TV's parallel use of foreign populations in the execution of the Final Solution. They were merely intended to serve as the serf-soldiers of the coming thousand-year Reich and nothing more.

By the fall of the Third Reich in May of 1945, Himmler's empire had reached truly fevered heights. What had begun as a party bodyguard agency of no exceptional note when Himmler assumed control of the SS in 1929, had evolved into the single most defining institution of the Third Reich. As the war dragged on and the worldview of German leadership became increasingly

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[117] Stein, *The Waffen SS*, 137, 281.
[118] Ibid., 288.
[119] Longerich, *Heinrich Himmler*, 675, 679.
[120] Heinrich Himmler, qtd. in Longerich, *Heinrich Himmler*, 679.

detached from the situation at the front and descended further and further into a self-radicalizing tailspin, the power of Himmler and the SS grew exponentially. On the battlefield, every defeat suffered at the hands of Germany's enemies caused Hitler and the Nazi leadership around him to increasingly despise the traditional army elites upon whom the prosecution of the NSDAP's war largely rested. Instead of considering the leadership failures of the Führer and others that had created such an untenable strategic situation, Hitler and his cohorts simply entertained increasingly deranged conspiracy theories and admonished the traditional Wehrmacht for lacking proper revolutionary National Socialist consciousness:

> In the absence of an elite as we envisaged it, we had to make do with the human material to hand. And this is the result! Because the intellectual concept could not be wedded to a practical and practicable implementation of the idea, the war policy of a revolutionary state like the Third Reich necessarily became the policy of reactionary bourgeois.[121]

In the midst of it all, there was one man who promised Hitler both an "elite as we envisaged" and total devotion to the revolutionary principles of the NSDAP – and that man was Heinrich Himmler. Paradoxically, much like his colleague Goebbels, the Reich's decline was the key to Himmler's success in transforming the SS from a glorified bodyguard service into a continent spanning internal empire. As the political life of the Third Reich – and particularly the political outlook of Hitler himself ran further off the rails of the remotest sense of normality and reality – Himmler's power grew incalculably. His central role in the direction of policy and ideology within the Third Reich has often been overlooked, relegated to the sidelines of history and dismissed as the ravings of a madman. Mad as he may have been, it is nigh impossible to imagine the Third Reich without the SS, the SS that Himmler built. The only individual in the entire Reich with a more dramatic impact than Heinrich Himmler was Hitler himself.

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[121] Adolf Hitler, qtd. by Rainer Zitelmann, "Adolf Hitler: The Führer" in *The Nazi Elite*, ed. Ronald Smelser and Rainer Zitelmann (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 127.

Reinhard Heydrich - The Revolutionary Purifier

> Ideological enemies can only be subjugated in a spiritual battle of world-views. After the first months of the revolutionary conquest of state power, co-ordination began to be undertaken. When some of our fellow combatants did not endorse the importance of this change in the form and means of battle, the term 'from revolution to evolution' was coined, i.e. from external seizure of power to the spiritual and ideological conquest of everybody. – Reinhard Heydrich, *Transformations in Our Struggle,* 1935.[122]

> It is almost too hard for one person, but we have to be as hard as granite, otherwise the work of our Führer will be destroyed. In the distant future, they will thank us for what we have taken upon ourselves. – Reinhard Heydrich, speaking to a League of Nations Commissioner, 1937.[123]

> Educate our children to become firm believers in the Führer and Germany; to be true to the ideas of the Nazi movement. [Make sure] that they strictly adhere to the eternal laws of the SS, that they are hard toward themselves, kind and generous towards our own people and Germany and merciless towards all internal and external enemies of the Reich.
> – Reinhard Heydrich, letter to his wife to be delivered in the event of his death, September 1, 1939.[124]

Though Himmler's empire building achievements were numerous, he had by no means done it alone. He had, like all other Nazi

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[122] Reinhard Heydrich, "Transformations in Our Struggle," (Berlin & Munich: *Das Schwarze Korps*, 1935), accessed August 2, 2016, http://www.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%203352.pdf, 1.

[123] Reinhard Heydrich, qtd. in Günther Deschner, "Reinhard Heydrich: Security Technocrat" in *The Nazi Elite*, ed. Ronald Smelser and Rainer Zitelmann (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 90.

[124] Reinhard Heydrich, qtd. in Gerwarth, *Hitler's Hangman*, 139.

oligarchs, relied heavily on the Führer, but most pressingly he also enjoyed the cooperation of the man destined to become the most feared official in the Reich – Reinhard Heydrich. The character of Heydrich – much like Himmler, has been the subject of a great degree of historical hyperbole. Wild claims about his mythical Jewish heritage or supposed efforts to assassinate Hitler were accepted as canonical for many decades, and efforts to seriously decode the man's motivations and worldview have been clouded by such sensational claims. As usual, reality is far more complex. The character of Reinhard Heydrich has been ably described by German historian Günther Deschner, "If National Socialism had looked into a mirror, Reinhard Heydrich would have looked back out of it."[125] Deschner's observation is absolutely correct. Heydrich was not merely a two-dimensional careerist driven by ambition alone, nor was he driven by a fractured and self-loathing personality to pursue greater and greater power.[126] Great ambition certainly helped Heydrich along his path, and the loss of his kriegsmarine career did push him firmly into the National Socialist camp, but Heydrich's conversion to the National Socialism was genuine and his devotion to Himmler's Schutzstaffel worldview, absolute. Reinhard Heydrich was to become the ideological "purifier" for the National Socialist revolution, a man who truly believed in the aims of the NSDAP and prepared to take any and all steps he deemed necessary in pursuit of its goals. Heydrich was the malevolent Lancelot to Hitler/Himmler's King Arthur.

To properly grasp Heydrich's role within the state as chief security oligarch, it is important to understand the nature of his relationship to his titular superior – Himmler. The two men possessed radically different personalities. Himmler viewed himself as the ideological architect of a new world order and Heydrich as the cold, rational hammer with which his new order would be forged. To those around them, it often seemed as though the pair were in a constant state of disagreement, when Heydrich poured scorn on Himmler's flights of fantasy Himmler in turn retaliated like a helpless schoolmaster berated by his student; "You...and your logic. We never hear about anything but your

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[125] Deschner, "Reinhard Heydrich: Security Technocrat," 87.
[126] Ibid., 86.

logic. Everything I propose you batter down with your logic. I'm fed up with you and your cold rational criticism."[127]

Arguments such as this have often been used as evidence for some kind of irreconcilable rift between the Heydrich and Himmler, but this is merely misreading of the relationship. Indeed, Heydrich was not impressed by Himmler's flights of fancy, but it did not represent an insurmountable stumbling block between them. Heydrich valued practicality and efficiency above all else and part of his role as Himmler's de-facto second man was to provide cold, hard logic as a counterbalance to Himmler's mystical delusions. Until Heydrich's death, the pair enjoyed a collaborative relationship as two powerful oligarchs in pursuit of a common goal – the realization of the SS state and the fabrication of a National Socialist world order.[128] From the day Heydrich joined the SS, on July 14, 1931, until his death in June of 1942, Himmler remained Heydrich's ideological mentor and chief ally within the Nazi party, two sides of the same coin at the very heart of National Socialism.[129]

Heydrich's primary roles within the Third Reich were two-fold. His official role as the head of party intelligence – later expanded to the empire-wide Reich Main Security Office – and his self-appointed role as the purifier of the revolution, to be discussed in greater detail later. Heydrich's ascent within the SS security apparatus began by historical happenstance, in 1931, when Himmler formed the *Ic-Dienst* (future SD) – he had been mistakenly informed that Heydrich had been an intelligence officer. In reality, Heydrich had merely been a communication officer. Regardless, armed with his intellect, an understanding of spy craft from espionage novels and twenty minutes, Heydrich had fleshed out a convincing sketch for the future structure of a party intelligence agency – at least, convincing enough for Himmler to hire him on the spot.[130]

Initially, Heydrich's new role was nothing particularly glamorous. The SD was not yet feared – though it would be soon – and the SS state that it would serve did not yet exist. In 1931, the SS was, as has already been mentioned, little more than a

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[127] Heinrich Himmler, qtd. in Charles Wighton, *Hitler's Most Evil Henchmen* (London: Odhams Press Limited, 1962), 81.

[128] Gerwarth, *Hitler's Hangman*, 52.

[129] Ibid.

[130] Gerwarth, *Hitler's Hangman*, 51.

bodyguard service headed by an unusually ambitious Reichsführer. Regardless, Heydrich devoted himself completely to his new post despite crippling material and personnel shortages. During its formative years between 1931 and 1934, Heydrich's SD benefited greatly from general paranoia and fear of ideological opponents within the movement – especially real and imagined links between the SA and disgraced Strasser brothers.[131] Yet, despite accusations in the press that he was founding "a Fascist Cheka" as early as 1931,[132] Heydrich's nascent SD remained miniscule, overworked, and lacking respect within the party. In 1932, the SD consisted of paltry thirty-three full-time employees to cover the entire NSDAP establishment.[133] Nonetheless, Heydrich forged ahead and when Himmler was finally gained real power in Munich in 1933, Heydrich's meteoric rise followed that of his mentor. As Himmler consolidated his SS grip on political police across the Reich, Heydrich integrated the newly acquired political police forces into his SD, assembling a nationwide information network that constantly fed intelligence from every corner of the Reich directly to his office.[134] Heydrich's ascendancy as the Third Reich's dreaded security oligarch was about to begin.

Unsurprisingly, the rise of Heydrich's personal empire was – just like the rest of the SS – closely tied to the decline of the SA. For many years, Himmler, Heydrich, and Röhm had been close friends, fellow National Socialists, and true believers; Röhm was even the godfather to Heydrich's eldest son.[135] Yet, ambition and the oligarchic nature of the newly established National Socialist regime had begun to seriously undermine relations between Himmler/Heydrich and Röhm as the NSDAP finally obtained real power in the aftermath of their 1933 electoral victory. Röhm openly called for a second revolution, while party leadership entrenched around Hitler clearly understood that their hold on the nation was far too tenuous and their "legal approach" far too successful to be gambled away on a whim.

Röhm's dissent posed both a serious threat and an irresistible opportunity. With the SS rapidly gaining control over the nation's political police, the random acts of violence and

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[131] Wighton, *Heydrich*, 46, 47.
[132] Gerwarth, *Hitler's Hangman*, 57.
[133] Ibid., 61.
[134] Ibid., 71.
[135] Ibid., 77.

retribution perpetrated by individual SA members simply could no longer be tolerated by the Himmler/Heydrich duo. The tools of state repression *belonged* to them, and they could brook no competition. Moreover, Röhm's ambition to replace the army with a National Socialist people's militia posed a direct challenge to Himmler's long term objectives for the SS. However, of more immediate concern, Röhm's bellicose rhetoric directly challenged the Führer's will.[136] Open dissent would not be tolerated – especially from the head of the SA that had been so critical to the success of the revolution. The board was set for a show down between the SA and the party establishment, Heydrich and Himmler were quick to realize that their interests would be well served by disposing of their old friend.

Heydrich's role in the suppression of the SA and destruction of Röhm was complex. He was both the party's executioner, responsible for eliminating Röhm and his confederates and, simultaneously manager of the whisper campaign to justify his elimination.[137] Röhm had already placed himself in a precarious position, but he was still shielded by his impeccable National Socialist credentials and by the immense size of his SA. But as the master of party intelligence, Heydrich was well positioned to weave the narrative of a putsch plot between Röhm, former Chancellor von Schleicher, Gregor Strasser, and the French Republic.[138] A mere three days before the purge, Heydrich informed his subordinates about the imminent danger of "Röhm's connections to France and the involvement of other forces hostile to the state" including "the communists" and "reactionary circles."[139] It was a convenient conspiracy, including Heydrich's least favorite things – foreigners, communists, and reactionary bourgeoisie. Whether Heydrich cynically fabricated this narrative to meet the needs of his superiors, or contorted his mind into believing that Röhm presented an imminent threat to the National Socialist state remains hotly debated. It is certainly easy to see Heydrich as the master blackmailer and forager that he was, fabricating the narrative for the elimination of his opponents.[140] Nevertheless, it is just as easy to see Heydrich, the paranoid

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[136] Gerwarth, *Hitler's Hangman*, 77.

[137] Wighton, *Heydrich*, 68.

[138] Ibid., 77.

[139] Reinhard Heydrich, qtd. in Gerwarth, *Hitler's Hangman*, 79.

[140] Wighton, *Heydrich*, 68.

xenophobe finding conspiracies where, indeed there were none. Regardless of Heydrich's agency in planning the purge, his primacy as the instrument of purification is beyond question. The National Socialist Lancelot was in his element.

When the order to liquidate Röhm and his compatriots came down from Hitler on June 30, 1934, Heydrich acted swiftly and efficiently. The SD had been elevated to the sole party intelligence agency on June 6th by Hitler himself, and all party officials had been required by secret decree to supply the SD with any and all information it deemed necessary.[141] By the beginning of the Night of the Long Knives, the SD had already prepared lists of political opponents earmarked for elimination, including conservative politicians and in classic Heydrich style, he also used the opportunity to employ his recently acquired Gestapo against personal opponents as well – particularly from the politically activist Catholic right that he so emphatically despised.[142]

The purge not only consolidated the regime's grip on the state, it also served as a particularly potent warning to every citizen of the Reich that the new prince of terror was both willing and able to execute political dissidents out of hand, although, unbeknownst to the general public – Hitler berated Heydrich's Gestapo for the unnecessarily public ways in which some of the victims had been disposed of.[143] Hitler's public relations objections aside, Heydrich's role as the sword of fate in the Röhm purge firmly cemented his position as a senior oligarch in the NSDAP hierarchy. Within a month, he had already begun a whisper campaign alleging among other things that General von Fritsch was planning a putsch against Hitler and collecting the baseless accusations of a notorious male Berlin prostitute and blackmailer targeting the General. Though the Führer would have none of it and ordered the Fritsch files destroyed – an order that Heydrich conveniently neglected to carry out – it returned to haunt von Fritsch four years later amidst the Blomberg-Fritsch affair.[144] Nonetheless, Heydrich had spread his wings as the unchallenged security oligarch and like the other great men of the National Socialist state, immediately set about to insert himself uninvited into all other aspects of the state.

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[141] Wighton, *Heydrich*, 69.
[142] Gerwarth, *Hitler's Hangman*, 80.
[143] Wighton, *Heydrich*, 79.
[144] Gerwarth, *Hitler's Hangman*, 116; Kershaw, *Hitler*, 54.

Following the Röhm purge in 1934, Heydrich's power exploded, both in conjunction with Himmler and on his own accord. Heydrich expanded the scope of SD operations far beyond the borders of Germany and began to actively recruit personnel for foreign deployments. This new expansion of the SD program was in direct contravention of his pre-existing "Ten Commandments" agreement with *Abwehr* (military intelligence) limiting the SD to internal intelligence and leaving foreign affairs firmly in the domain of Admiral Canaris and Abwehr, not that Heydrich particularly cared.[145] He was just taking a standard page from his fellow oligarchs by building a National Socialist clone of an established institution and gradually usurping its role entirely, the same strategy used by Göring against the Finance Ministry and the same strategy Himmler was already planning for his SS-Verfügungstruppe against the venerable German army.

In July of the same year, Himmler and Heydrich jointly conspired to use SS-Standarte 89 (based in Vienna) to mount a putsch in the Austrian capital, decapitate the fascist Vaterländische Front government and achieve Anschluss in 1934.[146] The plot rapidly morphed into a catastrophe, the putsch failed, Mussolini – then a close ally of Austria – was enraged, the international press was mortified by the assassination of the Austrian Chancellor and Hitler was forced to disown the Austrian National Socialists to avoid a public relations nightmare. For his part, Heydrich was not discouraged by this setback and continued to methodically expand his intelligence apparatus both inside the Reich and beyond its borders for the duration of his lifetime.

In late September 1939, a little under a month after the outbreak of World War Two, Heydrich rose to the head of the Reich Main Security Office (RSHA); a security apparatus rivaled in the Herculean scope of its mission only by Stalin's NKVD. As the head of the RSHA Heydrich played a critical dual role, both as an oligarch at the head of his own security empire based upon the National Socialist Führer principle and as the decisive wing of Himmler's SS-state.[147] Without Heydrich's RSHA, Himmler's plans for his racially pure SS-community could not be exported beyond the borders of the Reich and his dreams of a blood and soil

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[145] Gerwarth, *Hitler's Hangman*, 86.

[146] Longerich, *Heinrich Himmler,* 178.

[147] Martin Brozsat, *The Hitler State*, trans. John W. Hiden (New York: Longman, 1981), 270.

aristocracy could not be realized without the cold, efficient engine of terror that Heydrich had manufactured for him. Heydrich made it possible to export the Aryan worldview – by coercion – across the entire continent and in so doing, laid the groundwork for the most infamous atrocities of the Nazi regime, including the brutal suppression of conquered nations, the mass deportation of Jewish populations, the *Einsatzgruppen*, and finally, the systematic extermination of millions.

The twisted talents and achievements of Reinhard Heydrich have been well documented and assessed over the years, yet the question remains. What motivated Heydrich to develop such an extensive and potent security apparatus and to so doggedly pursue all enemies of the Reich – both real and imagined? Was it insatiable ambition? Unbridled paranoia or a shattered, restless personality? The truth, of course, is far more complex than a single generalized character trait. To properly understand the motivations and actions of Reinhard Heydrich, it is necessary to revisit the principle of the National Socialist Lancelot, the man who embodied the "manifestation of the SS state like no other"[148]

Like other leading Nazis, Heydrich viewed National Socialism as a revolutionary mission, however, unlike most Nazis, he fit its portrait for "perfection" flawlessly and viewed himself as the self-appointed purifier of the NSDAP's revolutionary mission. Heydrich was tall, blonde, blue-eyed, viewed the world through racial hierarchies and preferred a technocratic approach to solving problems.[149] Moral quandaries did not trouble him and like his ideological mentor Himmler, he viewed ethical qualms as a sign of weakness to be brushed aside in pursuit of a higher goal. Heydrich's worldview was best summed up in his comments regarding the early concentration camps to Swiss diplomat Carl Jacob Burkhardt in the late 1930s – "It is almost too hard for one person, but we have to be as hard as granite, otherwise the work of our Führer will be destroyed. In the distant future, they will thank us for what we have taken upon ourselves."[150] And thus he took it upon himself to cleanse the National Socialist Revolution of all impurities, both racial and practical, to ensure that the revolutionary mission would go on so that the promised thousand-year Reich could be born. In Heydrich's mind, his actions would

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[148] Deschner, "Reinhard Heydrich: Security Technocrat," 85.
[149] Ibid., 87, 88.
[150] Deschner, "Reinhard Heydrich, 90.

ensure a "link between the illustrious cultural past of our people and the coming thousands of years of German national history."[151] Heydrich was adamant from his earliest days in the movement – at least after his appointment to the nascent SD – that National Socialism was beset on all sides by amorphous conspiracies, plots and enemies disguised in all corners of society.[152] Jews, Freemasons, Catholics, Marxists – anything with the remotest hint of internationalism or affinity for foreign culture was fair game for Heydrich's labyrinthine conspiracy theories. They were all to be surveilled, subdued, and if necessary, eliminated.

In Heydrich's worldview, it was *essential* that he be granted total independence from established law and categorically dismissed the concept of inviolable rights in pursuit of the enemies (*reichsfiende*) that threatened the coming thousand-year Reich.

> In order to preserve our people, we must be harsh in the face of our enemy, even at the cost of hurting an individual or being condemned as rabble-rousers...Should we not fulfill our historical role as National Socialists because we have been too humane and objective, there will be no mitigating circumstances when our conduct is being evaluated. It will merely be said: they have not fulfilled their role when facing history.[153]

To students of history familiar with purges in revolutionary Leninist and later Stalinist Russia, this language might strike the reader as chillingly familiar. It is the language of a revolutionary executioner, a latter-day Robespierre.[154] Heydrich's agency in the Röhm purge was by far the most visible episode of his ideological crusade within the movement, but it was far from the only one. In 1935, as his personal empire branched out across the Reich,

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[151] Reinhard Heydrich, "Transformations in Our Struggle," (Berlin & Munich: *Das Schwarze Korps*, 1935), accessed August 2, 2016, http://www.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%203352.pdf, 2.

[152] Gerwarth, *Hitler's Hangman*, 57.

[153] Reinhard Heydrich, "Transformations in Our Struggle," *Das Schwarze Korps* (1935), 1.

[154] Maximilien Robespierre (1758-1794) played a key role in engineering the Reign of Terror during the French Revolution. He was renowned for both his brutality and his single minded dedication to the ideological objectives of the revolution.

Heydrich furnished himself with a bully pulpit from which to bludgeon his political enemies – at home and abroad. He proposed to Himmler that the SS should possess its own tabloid inspired by the lurid success of Julius Streicher's *Der Stürmer*.[155] Unlike Streicher, Heydrich's goal was not merely to provoke outrage and mobilize the party's radical base against the enemies of National Socialism. Instead, he viewed it as a precise tool of political indoctrination, purification, and his own personal soap-box from which to lambast his fellow National Socialists and ideological opponents alike. Thus, *Das Schwarze Korps* was born and no one, save Himmler and Hitler, was safe from Heydrich's scathing attacks, even the master of the presses himself – fellow oligarch Joseph Goebbels occasionally wandered into the sights of *Das Schwarze Korps*.

Unsurprisingly, Heydrich used *Das Schwarze Korps* to attack all of his favorite targets, the church in particular, going so far as to combine his role as the editor in chief of *Das Schwarze Korps* with his position as head of the Gestapo by alleging church scandals in *Das Schwarze Korps* and then using those self-same "journalistic" articles as evidence in his judgments as head of the Gestapo to pack stubborn churchmen off to concentration camps.[156] Even Mussolini came under a withering assault from Heydrich's personal attack dogs as *Das Schwarze Korps* mercilessly assailed the 1936 Italian military campaign against Abyssinia in direct opposition to Goebbels' pro-Italian line.[157]

His attacks were also directed at fellow party members whom he saw as deviating from the proper course of National Socialism. *Das Schwarze Korps* routinely attacked bourgeois culture, reactionary conservatism, and the infamous corruption of the part's numerous Gauleiters. Likewise, big business was regularly assaulted, and Heydrich did everything he could to conflate the public image of international business with the Zionist conspiracy theories that so pervaded National Socialism.[158] Nor did Heydrich have any sympathy for armchair Nazis who enjoyed titular party membership but did not actively devote themselves to its ideological mission, or whom spoke much of their commitment but were not prepared to take tangible action in support of the

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[155] Wighton, *Heydrich*, 102.
[156] Ibid., 106.
[157] Ibid.
[158] Ibid., 110, 111.

revolution – "A party card is not a meal ticket" and "One cannot live by catchwords and gimmicks – history is made by individuals who perform deeds and not those who make speeches."[159] Though the latter comment, a scathing attack directed at Goebbels, sorely undervalued just how much the Propaganda Minister's speeches, gimmicks, and Führer cult underpinned the entire National Socialist system.

In addition to its role as a Heydrich's personal bully pulpit, *Das Schwarze Korps* also served as a highly effective medium to bring the latest ideological radicalization from the dual minds of Himmler and Heydrich directly to the rank and file SS. Like everything else in the SS-state it helped to establish firm roots for the growing SS community and Heydrich used it as an aggressive implement of indoctrination:

> What does this new form of struggle demand from us, the SS? We have to improve ourselves. We have to discipline ourselves, to deepen and follow the principles of our worldview, given to us by the Führer. We have to ideologically co-ordinate ourselves so that all of us think alike of our enemies and fundamentally exclude them, without making any personal selfish or compassionate exceptions.[160]

Heydrich's message in *Das Schwarze Korps* perfectly encapsulated the ideological mission of the SS state – itself by far the most assiduously totalitarian wing of the National Socialist revolution. He ceaselessly exhorted his comrades to harden themselves, to disregard personal motives and human compassion in pursuit of a higher goal. To shed whatever vestigial remains of liberal bourgeois society might still cling to their consciousness and embrace the National Socialist mission unconditionally as he already had. Armed with this worldview, Heydrich helped open the door to endless radicalization within the SS and the Third Reich in general. He was not the genesis of Nazi ideological radicalization. The lion's share of that responsibility rested first with Hitler then Himmler and Goebbels, but Heydrich played a paramount role in the creation of an all-encompassing system of ideological

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[159] Reinhard Heydrich, qtd. in Wighton, *Heydrich*, 110, 111.
[160] Reinhard Heydrich, "Transformations in Our Struggle," *Das Schwarze Korps* (1935), 1.

repression to crush dissent in the name of the revolution. All the while, he played a crucial role as both the guardian of both the movement's revolutionary consciousness and as an adroit conduit of radicalization to the black uniformed masses. Heydrich was, as Admiral Wilhelm Canaris so aptly characterized him, "the cleverest brute of them all."[161] Considering Heydrich's talent for repression, indifference to murder, and boundless paranoia, it is hardly surprising that he – and the security apparatus he engineered – became the chief architect of mass population expulsions and the largest genocide in human history. In the twisted character of Reinhard Heydrich, National Socialism had truly found its Knight-Errant, the "man with an iron heart."[162]

Conclusion

Bearing in mind the unique and pivotal roles played by each of the Third Reich's most prominent oligarchs, it becomes virtually impossible to envision the Reich without them. Could the German economy have been so totally transformed from the civilian economy of the Weimar Republic to the war economy of the Third Reich without the systematic Nazification of industry and disarmament of the traditional bourgeois economic elite undertaken by Göring? As Hitler withdrew from the public eye, could Goebbels' role as the spokesman of the crumbling Reich have been adequately filled by another? Could the Final Solution have been executed without the existence of the Schutzstaffel and its undisputed hegemony over the tools of state repression, including its infamous SS-VT that sprang from the apocalyptic philosophy of Heinrich Himmler? What form might the Nazi reign of terror in occupied Europe have taken – especially in the east – without the cold, yet pragmatic mind of the National Socialist ideological crusader, Reinhard Heydrich?

We will never truly know the answer to any of these questions. Yet, in the final analysis, it remains obvious that the rise and maintenance of the National Socialist state did not reside with Hitler alone. While it is important – nay, crucial – that the Third Reich be viewed as a revolutionary totalitarian oligarchy, and not

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[161] Wilhelm Canaris, qtd. in Wighton, *Heydrich*, 95.
[162] Adolf Hitler, qtd. in Wighton, *Heydrich*, 277.

as a generic totalitarian dictatorship, it is equally essential that this premise not be abused for the goals of historical apologists. It would be a mistake to contend that Hitler was a weak Führer unable to control his subordinates, or that he was somehow unaware of the actions of his oligarchs. Such assertions miss the significance of Hitler's leadership style. The dynamic relationship between Hitler and the actions of his oligarchs was best described in Himmler's statements in favor of extramarital affairs (as part of his preparations for the Lebensborn program) to the Expert Advisory Panel on Population and Racial Policy in June of 1937 – "I am certainly not alone, but am acting with the Führer's approval, for I have had repeated conversations with him on the subject."[163] Or Goebbels statements on solving the Berlin's "Jewish Question" to Police Chief von Helldorf in April of 1938, "Then we put it to the Führer. He agrees, but only after his trip to Italy."[164]

Hitler had no need to rule as an absolute dictator, his chosen system of totalitarian oligarchy served both his and the National Socialist revolution's goals perfectly. The German state was jealously divided between party functionaries, each pursuing the movement's revolutionary agenda according to their own vision, each feeding the spiral of radicalization in a ceaseless effort to curry favor with the Führer. Thus, each oligarch, regardless of his power base or personal influence, remained utterly dependent on Hitler as the ultimate source of legitimacy, authority and arbitration, the veritable messiah of the National Socialist movement. Hitler for his part remained secure in the knowledge that as long as his oligarchs remained dependent on his blessing, he was free to micromanage whatever aspect of the state interested him at the time – be it diplomacy, armaments production or military strategy. He could rule the rest of the Reich through his intercessionaries without needing to overtly involve himself in all aspects of state at all times, his oligarchs saw to that of their own accord. Despite its relentless propaganda to the contrary, leader cult and Führer principle, National Socialism was never a one-man show. It was an ensemble project; a revolution and oligarchy built upon the twisted talents, obsessions, and peccadilloes of numerous men with Hitler positioned at its apex – but by no means ruling alone.

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[163] Heinrich Himmler, qtd. in Longerich, *Heinrich Himmler,* 368.
[164] Joseph Goebbels, qtd. in Kershaw, *Hitler*, 133-134.

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Author Bio

Athahn Steinback is an undergraduate at California State University, San Bernardino, preparing to graduate with a Bachelor of Arts in history in June 2017. His academic interests focus on Nazi Germany, fascism, revolution, and the threat posed to democratic societies by radical populist ideologies. Currently, Athahn is expanding upon the concept of revolutionary totalitarian oligarchy put forth in Dark Apostles in a Senior Honor's Thesis with the objective of expanding the project into a full length book during the course of his M.A. program. After obtaining his B.A., he plans to pursue a Master of Arts in social science and globalization, with an emphasis in history at CSUSB, and continue his study of revolutionary populist ideologies – particularly within the Weimar Republic and Nazi Germany. His ultimate objective is to obtain a Ph.D. and pursue a career in academia.

Travels Through History

Past & Present in Prague and Central Bohemia

By Martin Votruba

While I was born and raised in Southern California, my parents migrated from, what was then, Czechoslovakia in the late 1960's – when Communism control intensified and they felt threatened. They left behind family members in Prague, and in a couple smaller outlying towns, and relocated to Los Angeles, California. Growing up, we only spoke Czech at home; my parents reasoned that I would learn and practice plenty of English at school. I have always been proud of my family roots and I am grateful to retain some of the language and culture.

In the early 1980s, while Czechoslovakia was still under communist control, my parents sent me there to visit some of the family they left behind. I spent about six weeks with aunts, uncles, cousins, and grandparents in and around Prague. Although I was young, I noticed a very stark difference between my surroundings in Southern California and Czechoslovakia. The buildings, homes, and even the dress of the citizens were comparatively drab in the old country. Grays, browns, and a few muted colors were the norm. I remember visiting Prague's most prominent town center, Wenceslas Square. Everything and everyone seemed gray and depressing, as if the overcast sky was the only palette of colors from which to choose. The stifling and oppressive influence of the communism influenced all aspects of everyday life.

I recall one specific experience where I stood in a long line with my relatives. We were in queue to purchase bananas. When we finally reached the front of the line, the merchant put four bananas on the table. I noticed that we had no choice in selecting the produce we wanted, nor the quantity, since when I asked for a fifth, as there were 5 of us, I was denied and told, "These are the four bananas you can buy. Take it or leave it." It was such a stark difference between my shopping experiences back home and what my relatives went through in their daily lives. I bid farewell to my relatives that remained in Czechoslovakia, returned to the comforts

and capitalism I was so used to. It was not until 30 years had passed that I had the opportunity to return.

In late 1989, Czechoslovakia experienced its "Velvet Revolution" where several decades of communist rule were cast off and replaced with a democratic government. Almost overnight significant changes began to be implemented. Many Czechs were quick to embrace capitalism, especially the youth and the urban population. Investors, both national and global, began seeking business opportunities; Old structures began to be remodeled, and the old drab gray of communism started to be replaced with a brightness not seen in half a century. Today, a visitor would experience a brighter, richer, and more importantly, a welcoming nation.

Besides shaking off their oppressive political governmental regime, a key educational requirement was changed. Instead of requiring "Russian" as a second language, schools began teaching English. An interesting observation in present day is that the older generations speak Czech and Russian, while the younger ones speak Czech and English. A traveler needing directions or assistance need only seek out the local youth if they do not speak the native language. Tours in English, as well as other languages, are common at most major attractions, both in and beyond Prague. I returned to the Czech Republic in the summer of 2014 with my wife and daughter. While this was to be their first visit, it was the second time I set foot in the country of my family's roots. The transformation from the old country I remembered from a quarter of century ago to what I witnessed upon my return was breathtaking. Without a doubt, I would not have realized the difference had I not visited the old country so many years ago.

View of Charles Bridge, with Prague Castle in far right, Summer 2014, Photo by author.

View from Prague Castle, Charles Bridge is in far top left, Summer 2014, Photo by author.

Prague has been called the Heart of Europe and is arguably one of the most beautiful cities one can visit, and with good reason. It is a city rich in history and culture. For someone traveling to Europe, many would consider it a "must see." While Prague is a wonderful travel experience for any tourist visiting Europe, to

simply stopover in Prague for a few days and move on to the next European capital is to miss out on all the Czech Republic, and the many other wonderful experiences the nation, has to offer. There are several popular sites to see while in the capital: Prague Castle ("Prazsky hrad"), Charles Bridge, the astronomical clock ("Orloj"), Wenceslas Square, the Jewish synagogue and cemetery, and Vysehrad (which roughly translates to "tower castle") are just a few.

Vysehrad, Summer 2014, Photo by author.

View from Vysehrad, Vltava River is on the right, Summer 2014, Photo by author.

The Czech Republic has embraced capitalistic values common in western society's cities and communities. For example, in the Flora district of Prague, next to a centuries old cemetery now stands a modern multi-level shopping center, complete with a multiplex movie theater, supermarket, and even a currency exchange kiosk.

Just a five-minute walk from the southeastern corner of Wenceslas Square is the main train station ("hlavni nadrazi") of Prague. Not only is the public transportation in the Czech Republic relatively simple to use, the systems are also user friendly. The staff at the ticket counter are multilingual and finding an English speaking employee at the train station is usually easy.

Beyond Prague

While the possibilities outside of Prague are many, here is just a small sample of the wonderful destinations for someone wishing to experience more of the Czech Republic beyond the capital. Each of these destinations are located in the Central Bohemian region, and can be visited as day trips from Prague.

Kolin is a smaller town east of Prague that is quite easy to reach. By either car or train (the Czech Republic's public transportation is very user friendly) the trip takes about 45 minutes.

Either way gives the traveler a beautiful country view for most of the journey, however, for the first few minutes the train travels out of the capital, the view is…interesting…as the train speeds by graffiti adorned structures. My cousin explained that the locals find that it is easier to just leave the rebellious artists' works than to trouble with abatement. Perhaps it was decades of communistic oppression that both encouraged the artists and tempered the tolerance of others. This casual approach to life is the norm, my cousin continued. He described that the relaxed and accepting mentality helped people cope with the previous communistic occupation and generally makes life less stressful. I witnessed this mentality in both visits with my family, and encounters with other Czechs – from shopkeepers, to tour guides, to strangers on the street.

Kolin Town Square, Summer 2014, Photo by author.

When I visited as a young teenager, I remember exiting the Kolin train station and taking in the view of the city my father's side of the family called home. Across the street and to the right of the depot stood a three-story building that once belonged to my paternal grandparents. It was a tavern with a patio, four rooms for rent on the second floor, and living quarters above that. When my family fled occupied Czechoslovakia, they had to abandon the family home and business. The structure had fallen into disrepair

and was occupied by squatters for many years. It is fascinating to contemplate that if history had unfolded differently, I may now be serving beer and bratwurst instead of writing this piece.

Today, there stands a modern day supermarket owned by a Dutch corporation. A big box store with neon lights and bright "ON SALE!" signs has replaced the dilapidated structure what was my father's childhood home and my grandparent's business. My family's old business is just one of many such changes that have occurred in the three decades since my last visit. Even this small town has been infused and rejuvenated with the country's new-found republic and capitalistic sense of development. Where I once shopped with my aunt in small specialty shops, we instead stopped in a supermarket that would be almost indistinguishable from any seen in the U.S.

A previous water pumping station in Kolin, which is now being converted into a river side restaurant/bar complete with a boat dock, Summer of 2014, Photo by author.

Absent, are the Tuzex stores that were revered during Communistic occupation. These stores sold highly sought after imported goods, especially from the United States. Tuzex only accepted U.S. dollars or their own special currency that consumers were required to purchase for Czechoslovakian Crowns, at exorbitant rates. Yet the few times I visited one as a young teen, the stores were always busy. The Czechoslovakian people were

mesmerized by U.S. products. A few family members that I visited during my first stay has china cabinets that proudly displayed the empty containers of common U.S. products that were on every supermarket shelf back home. Packages that I remember seeing displayed included cereal and cigarette boxes, tea and coffee tins, and even gum and candy packages.

In contrast, during my last visit, many such imported products were now readily available in markets and convenience stores. While we stopped for fuel on one of our excursions, my cousin and I went into the gas station to pay. The candy, snacks, and drinks that were colorfully displayed were a mix of both local and U.S. products. The bilingual attendant cheerfully greeted us as English pop music played over the store's speakers.

Kutna Hora is an even smaller community than Kolin, located just a bit further south east. Kutna Hora's history is securely tied to the silver mines in the community. In the late 1200s, the silver produced by its mines accounted for about a third of the silver mined in Europe. By the early 1500s, the mine was said to be the deepest mine in the world at the time at a depth of about 500 meters. Besides Prague, Kutna Hora was the most important city in the area because of the wealth it generated. In 1995, it was added to the UNESCO list. With such a rich history, a visit is strongly recommended.

While the city is located off the beaten path, experiencing and getting around the city is relatively easy. Each of the few major tourist attractions are visitor friendly. Most sites have staff that speak English and they each have information and brochures available in several languages. Although the major attractions each require a nominal fee, there is a discounted bundle pass that is available at each of the locations. The pass is recommended if a visitor wishes to visit more than one location. Simply buy the pass at any of the grouped locations and use the pass when arriving at the others.

One of the memorable destinations in Kutna Hora is Kosnice. Translated to English, Kosnice roughly means "Of Bones." The name speaks directly to its most interesting and obvious quality – the interior is decorated with human remains. While a photograph can provide an idea of what to expect to the traveler considering a visit, a photo does not do justice to an in-person experience. The small and unique church provides a somber

look back into history and how the local community laid their deceased to rest.

The macabre décor of the church was orchestrated by near-blind monks that wanted to provide a respectful memorial to the deceased, both locals and victims of regional wars. An observant visitor can often see the fatal blows that brought down those that died by violence centuries ago. Skulls pierced by swords or cracked by bludgeoning weapons can be seen throughout the church – a grim reminder of the violence the area experienced hundreds of years in the past.

The author and his daughter in Kosnice, A family crest from human remains in the background, Photo by author's wife, Nina Votruba.

Santa Barbara Cathedral, also located in Kutna Hora, is likely the most captivating building in the community. Cathedrals may be common in most European cities, but finding such a majestic and historical structure that is not crowded and under a constant barrage of tourists is a welcome change of pace. Visiting Santa Barbara Cathedral in Kutna Hora is a peaceful and spiritual experience. Unlike Saint Vetus Cathedral in Prague, here, a visitor is allowed to stroll, touch and explore most of the grounds and structure. Small group tours are available and staff is friendly and accessible. A visitor not wishing to take a guided tour can stop on the second floor of the Cathedral to find historical information and interesting artifacts. In addition to the beautiful interior, a visitor

should also spend some time on the grounds outside. The serene gardens surrounding the Cathedral and Santa Barbara's flying buttresses are not to be missed.

Front view of Santa Barbara Cathedral. Photo by author.

Europe is rich in castles and fortified structures from the middle ages, and the Czech Republic is no exception. While public transportation generally not available to the fortified manor, if a car ride or tour can be arranged, it would be well worth the effort. Sternberg Castle ("Cesky Sternberk") was originally built in the mid-13th century. However, some of the structure was destroyed by King Gorge's army in 1467. It was later restored and expanded. As my family and I rode to the castle, my uncle jokingly remarked, "you've seen one castle, you've seen them all." I don't find that to be the case. Each magnificent structure has its own unique architecture and history. Sternberg Castle may not be the largest in the Czech Republic, but its commanding hill top presence (along with beautiful views), enchanting early gothic architecture, and captivating Baroque interiors make it a worthwhile excursion. Given that is not a major tourist destination means that tours tend to be smaller and more intimate. Information is available in English and, while small, there is a quaint shop that offers literature, gifts, and sundries.

Sternberg Castle, Summer 2014, Photo by author.

View from Sternberg Castle Tower, Summer 2014, Photo by author.

Another quaint bohemian town located about thirty miles east of Prague is Podebrady, which translates to English as "below the ford." What makes this a worthwhile day trip destination is that it is considered a spa and health center for the nation. The most fascinating feature is the natural spring that provides the town with

iron rich water that is used for medicinal purposes. Furthermore, the natural spring produces both freshwater and naturally carbonated mineral waters.

The spring waters discovered in 1905 by Prince von Bullow led to the town's current status, however, Podebrady's history goes back a few hundred years. A fortified manor stands guard by the river Elbe (Labe), which runs by the town. The structure, built in 1268, is relatively plain when compared to other ornate structures erected during the time period but has a commanding presence. The settlement originally sprung into being as a stopping pointy along a trade route that ran east from Prague, through Podebrady, and continued on to Poland. The town was officially recognized in 1472, by King Jeri of Podebrady. Compared to my first visit to this spa town, Podebrady today is almost unrecognizable. In the 1980s the town was cold, quiet, and uninviting. Today the walkways are clean and bright and, at least during the summer season when I went, colorful flowers bloom all around. Shaded park benches under green trees offer a comfortable respite to both travelers and spa guests alike.

At the heart of the town is a beautiful park where locals, guests and patients can enjoy flowers and fountains while they bask in the warm sunlight. Adventurous travelers who make the effort to visit are able to sample the springs' waters free of charge. In the center of the park is a public building where water from both springs are available. While the taste is rather unique, the locals swear by its medical properties and the waters are primarily administered to patients with heart conditions.

Podebrady fountains, the public building with free mineral spring water is in the back left, Summer 2014, Photo by author.

Central Bohemia has greatly changed between my two visits. It is truly amazing what a quarter century and a change in government can do to reawaken a region and its people. With such a rich history and culture, it was inspiring to see both the country and people flourishing after years of stagnation under communistic governance. In my revisit to Prague and Central Bohemia, I saw a nation and people full of hope, newfound inspiration, and freedom. I encourage readers to consider visiting the country and experience the Czech Republic for themselves.

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Author Bio

Martin Votruba has been a high school teacher for over twelve years. In 2014, he decided to return to CSUSB and further his education by earning a Master of Arts in Social Sciences & Globalization with an emphasis in the causes of Salvadoran migrations to the United States. He plans to teach part-time at the junior college level while continuing his high school teaching career. He would like to thank Dr. Cherstin Lyon for her encouragement and support, and Chief Editor, Heather Garrett, for her invaluable input during the editing process. In addition, he would like to thank his wife, Nina Votruba, for her patience and support over the past few years.

In Memoriam

In Memoriam: Fidel Castro

By Andria Preciado

"A revolution is a struggle to the death between the future and the past." – Fidel Castro

Fidel Castro died on November 25, 2016 at 90 years old in Havana, Cuba, after a dictatorship that lasted nearly five decades. Castro was a staple of the 20th century and an emblem of the Cold War. He was either loved or hated by those he encountered – national leaders and civilians alike – some were swayed by his charm and others fled from his brutal leadership. The Russians praised him; the Americans feared him; the world was perplexed by him; and his impact changed Cuba forever. Even after Castro's death, people were still drawn to him; crowds mourned his passing in Havana, while others celebrated his death in the United States. The radically different reactions to his death across the globe stands as a testament to the revolutionary legacy he left behind.

In August 13, 1926, Fidel Castro was born in Birán, Cuba to a privileged family of Spanish descent. His father Ángel Castro and his family immigrated to Cuba and became a sugar plantation owner. Castro's upbringing allowed him to enter the University of Havana where he studied law and became immersed in politics. His active role in politics focused on protection of the poor Cubans.[1] Castro challenged the corrupt Cuban government under Fulgencio Batista that opposed the regime. He created an organization called "The Movement" that published ironic critiques of the government and expressed socialist ideas of the public and planned an attack of the Moncada army in Santiago de Cuba in 1953; Batista called martial law in response to the attack to maintain control. Because of Batista's crackdown, Castro was sent on trial where he delivered a speech later titled "*History Will Absolve Me*". Castro, in the end, was sentenced to 15 years in

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[1]John Charles Chasten, *Born in Blood and Fire: A Concise History of Latin America* (New York: WW Norton & Co, 2016), 284.

prison and was released in May of 1955.[2]

After a series of revolts in conjunction with socialist revolutionary Ernesto "Che" Guevara, in 1959 the young charismatic revolutionary, Fidel Castro, led a rebellion that forced the military dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista out of power. Castro became the Prime Minister of Cuba and pursued socialist policies that promised to improve education, healthcare, and social welfare at the expense of democracy and freedom of speech.[3] Castro promised that he would not become a dictator. In a rare interview with Ruth Lloyd in 1959 he stated: "I'm not a dictator...and I do not think I will become one. I will not maintain power with a machine gun."[4] Although Castro denied being a socialistic nation, he implemented the Agrarian Reform Law of 1959 that eliminated privatization of land and business, effectively socializing the economy in a single stroke. He remained popular among the working classes and peasants of Cuba even as doctors, engineers, and other professionals migrated to the United States.

Diplomatic relations between the United States and Cuba deteriorated when Castro's socialist ideologies posed a threat to capitalistic ideologies. As result of deteriorating relations with the United States, Castro increased tariffs on U.S. imports and initiated trade deals with the Soviet Union. President Eisenhower imposed a partial embargo and cut ties with Cuba in 1960. Throughout the next decade, the resulting economic consequences continued to cause educated professionals to depart Cuba in favor of the United States. In 1961, Castro formally declared Cuba a socialist nation. This, combined with the ongoing flow of Cuban refugees to the United States, damaged his reputation as a liberator in the United States and led to the passage of the Cuban Adjustment Act in 1966 (allowing Cubans who had been present in the U. S. for two years to apply for permanent residency). The failed invasion by U.S.-sponsored Cuban emigres at the Bay of Pigs in 1961 led to the imposition of a total embargo on Cuba with severe consequences for the Cuban economy.

The United States embargo increased Castro's reliance upon Soviet Union military and economic protection. In the aftermath of the embargo, the Soviet Union, under Nikita

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[2] Chasten, *Born in Blood and Fire,* 286.

[3] Ibid.*,* 283.

[4] *I Won't Be a Dictator*, interview with Ruth Lloyd, January 1959, printed in *The Spokesman-Review*, May 24, 1959.

Khrushchev, encouraged by Castro, secretly deployed nuclear missiles to Cuba, in order to secure Soviet first strike capability in the event of a nuclear war with the United States. Subsequently, the United States became aware of the presence these missiles, leading to the Cuban Missile Crisis and total blockade of Cuba in 1962. Castro asked the Soviet Union to consider retaliation against the U.S. if needed. He wrote to Khrushchev stating, "Given the analysis of the situation and the reports, which have reached us, [I] consider an attack to be almost imminent."[5] Castro's request caused Khrushchev to question the Cuban leader's sanity, but agreed to defend Cuba in the event of American invasion, including the potential use of nuclear weapons. For its part, the United States threatened to invade Cuba if the missiles were not removed. The crisis spanned 15 days in October, when the world was faced with serious possibility of nuclear war, and ended with Khrushchev's retreat. Castro's response to Khrushchev's actions, in a second interview with Barbara Walters, stated that Khrushchev's understanding in the launching of the missiles was a misinterpretation. Walters spoke about Castro's charisma, she stated that he was a likeable man and she had to remind her herself that there were two sides to Castro: Castro was both "a charming and a ruthless authoritarian dictator."[6]

Nations implored Castro's generosity; Castro strongly believed in building the community of socialism and extended education and medical programs to poor communities to create unity in communism. Castro was known as a hero and liberator in countries throughout Africa as he supported them in their fight for independence. South African President Nelson Mandela received Castro with gratitude after Castro had sent medical aid to help with the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Castro also strengthened his global diplomatic relations with Africa after he established a government that functioned in Angola in 1975. Angolan President Manuel Vicente stated, "Fidel is a friend, a comrade. He is an unforgettable figure to us. His memory will be always remembered in Angola." Castro had sent troops to protect the people of Angola and fought on the side of the African rebels to maintain "international solidarity" in the country.[7]

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[5] Fidel Castro, Letter to Nikita Khrushchev from Fidel Castro Regarding Defending Cuban Air Space, October 26, 1962.

[6] "20/20 Fidel Castro Interview," interviewed by Barbara Walters, 2001.

[7] David Deutschmann, *Changing the History of Africa: Angola and Namibia*,

In Latin America, Castro was an example of how to keep out imperialism from the infiltration of their countries. Castro provided his support to countries that sought to build away from monopolies and promoted Anti-American reformation. For Latin America, that meant various countries had the ability to run their country without foreign interference – such as World Banks or imperial monopolies.[8] Castro played a major role in the peace development of Colombia and Venezuela. Colombian President Juan Manuel Santos, along with many Latin American leaders, were inspired by Castro's authority and refusal to fight with armed forces. After Castro's death, Venezuelan President Nicolás Maduro tweeted, in a general translation, "60 years after the departure of the Granma of Mexico joined the Immortality of those who fight all the Life… Until the Victory Always…" Castro became an icon of all leftist countries around the world.

Criticism, as much as praise, played a major role in Castro's political career. In the fall of 1994, Cuban refugees were found floating along the Straits of Florida in a Cuban exodus.[9] After the full embargo of the United Stated in the 1960s, Cuba economically depended upon the Soviet Union until it collapsed in 1994 – collapsing the economy of Cuba in turn. Castro had made controversial speeches that resulted in mass riots and anti-government campaigns in Havana. Castro stated that any person that wanted to leave Cuba could leave, and shortly after 30,000 Cubans fled Cuba to find sanction in the United States – similar to the refugees of the 60s-80s. The Clinton administration created the "Wet Foot, Dry Foot" policy that put certain conditions on Cuban refugees. For example, if Cuban refugees set foot on United States territory they were allowed sanction, but if the Coast Guard caught them at sea they had to return to Cuba. Castro aimed toward a government that was in full submission of him. However, the exiles complained about his rule of thumb government and that the poverty in the country, as a whole, continued to plummet.

Castro maintained an anti-democratic and anti-freedom-of-speech government and any person that criticized his regime was jailed. On March 18, 2003, in what is now called the Black Spring,

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Ocean Press (Australia), 1989.

[8] Chasten, *Born in Blood and Fire,* 290.

[9] Holly Ackerman. "Mass Migration, Nonviolent Social Action, and the Cuban Raft Exodus, 1959-1994: An Analysis of Citizen Motivation and International Politics." PhD diss., University of Miami, 1996.

Castro cracked down on the press and 75 pro-democracy activists were jailed. The Cuban government harassed journalists if they questioned Castro's regime. In an interview with Barbara Walters in 2002, she asked Castro to explain why there was suppression of the press – no freedom of the press, in any form. Castro confidently responded and stated, "We do not have your same [American] conceptions; like your concepts of the freedom of the press is not yours. And I say this very honestly; I have nothing to hide, if you ask, 'Could a paper against socialism could appear here?' I could say honestly 'no, it cannot appear here'".[10] Though Castro did not permit criticism of his government, he expressed that if Cubans wanted to protest they had the ability to – if they really wanted a revolution – but nobody did. Castro believed that his government was for the people and there was no proper foundation for criticism nor would he allow someone who was indoctrinated in pro-capitalist ideology to insult his leadership.

Castro was resilient through the Cold War and into the new millennium, but his physical health took a toll on his body. Castro was a private man and never spoke about his personal life. Little information was known about what Castro experienced during his reign, but he maintained that he was suitable for the Presidency. In 2001, Castro appeared to have almost fainted during a live broadcasted speech in Havana, Cuba. He was immediately escorted from the podium by officials in order to allow him some rest after the incident. The crowd of people attending the speech, in the video, chanted "Fidel! Fidel" in support of the leader. Shortly after, Castro made a reappearance to assure the people of Cuba that he was fine and the weather and lack of sleep had affected him and that he planned to finish his speech on a later date. Castro developed an intestinal disease that reduced his number of public appearances. The people of Cuba continued their support for Castro's regime, meanwhile, the exiled Cubans in the United States waited anxiously for his death.

In 2006, Castro resigned as President and his brother Raúl Castro resumed as the President of Cuba. Castro stayed out of the public eye, but remained in the parliament.[11] Castro was rarely seen in public and the United States, under President Obama, sought to rebuild relations with Cuba and lifted the embargo in March of 2016. Though Castro had resigned from the Presidency,

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[10] "20/20 Fidel Castro Interview," interviewed by Barbara Walters, 2001.

[11] Chasten, *Born in Blood and Fire,* 313.

and foreign relation was in the process of expansion, the people of Cuba and some nations around the world deeply respected Castro. Castro (in a rare appearance) commented on his own mortality: "Soon I will turn 90 years old, never would such a thing have occurred to me and it's not the outcome of any effort; it was fate's whim, soon I will be like everyone else. To all of us comes our turn." On November 25, 2016, Castro died in Havana, Cuba. Some mourned his death and others celebrated, but his extreme impact on the world cannot be denied.

Statements on Fidel Castro's Death:

"Forever, Commander! This No. 25, at 10:29 p.m. the commander in Chief of the Cuban Revolution Fidel Castro Ruz passed away…"
– The Cuban Embassy in the U.S. (Twitter)

"At this time of Fidel Castro's passing, we extend a hand of friendship to the Cuban people. We know that this moment fills Cubans – in Cuba and in the United States – with powerful emotions, recalling the countless ways in which Fidel Castro altered the course of individual lives, families, and of the Cuban nation. History will record and judge the enormous impact of this singular figure on the people and world around him…"
– President Barack Obama

"While a controversial figure, both Mr. Castro's supporters and detractors recognized his tremendous dedication and love for the Cuban people who had a deep and lasting affection for 'el Comandante'"
– Canadian Prime Mister Justin Trudeau

"R.I.P Fidel Castro, tenacious fighter who lived a full liberation and condolences to the resilient people of Cuba"
– Rwandan President Paul Kagame (Twitter)

And finally,

"Fidel Castro is dead!"
– President Donald Trump

Author Bio

Andria Preciado is a senior at California State University, San Bernardino. She is expected to graduate with a Bachelor of Arts degree in history in spring 2017. Her focus of study is on European history with an interest in the Cold War. In the fall of 2017, she will be attending San Jose State University for a graduate degree in Librarian and Information Science.

History in the Making

Rhodes Fallen:
Student Activism in Post-Apartheid South Africa

By Amanda Castro and Angela Tate

The Cecil Rhodes statue as a contested space. Photo courtesy of BBC News.[1]

In early March of 2015, the steely gaze of Cecil Rhodes—ardent imperialist, founder of Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe and Zambia), and former Prime Minister of the Cape Colony—surveyed the campus of the University of Cape Town (UCT) through a splatter of feces. It had been collected by student Chumani Maxwele from "one of the portable toilets that dot the often turbulent, crowded townships on the windswept plains outside Cape Town."[2] Maxwele's actions sparked a campus-wide conversation that spread to other campuses in South Africa. They also joined the global conversations about Black Lives Matter; the demands in the United States to remove Confederate flags and commemorations to Confederate heroes, and the names of racists (including President

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[1] Andrew Harding, "Cecil Rhodes Monument: A Necessary Anger?," *BBC News*, April 11, 2015, accessed March 3, 2016, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-32248605.
[2] Ibid.

Woodrow Wilson) from buildings; UK students calling for Oxford University to remove its own statue of Rhodes; and other uprisings against symbols of colonialism, oppression, and racism. Because of Rhodes' exploitation of vulnerable population to create a ruling government, which was built on capitalistic tendencies and the commodification of people and labor, the history of Rhodes on the UCT campus has transformed in recent years; those who are now students on the land that was once Rhodes' personal estate ask how should South Africa's harmful past be remembered and envisioned?

Apartheid and Student Movements

The existing inequities in South Africa, which directly impact students and the youth, developed directly from Apartheid. At a time when most European powers were dismantling their colonial systems and African nations obtained their independence, South Africa—created from the merging of the Orange Free State, the Transvaal, Cape, and Natal in 1910—doubled down on its own form of colonialism. The Apartheid era of South Africa began in 1948, with the emergence of the Afrikaner-dominated National Party and its promotion of an ideology of racial and ethnic separatism.[3] The 1950s and 1960s saw a hardening of Apartheid beneath the myriad of laws passed by the government to create hyper-inflated, artificial notions of "race" to justify the oppression. During this period, the state crushed black South African resistance, sending those dissidents not imprisoned or assassinated into exile.

   The history of student movements in South Africa that challenged Apartheid rule plays a major role in the development of the Rhodes Must Fall (RMF) campaign and those that grew from it. Student rallies and protests had been an effective way in which South African youth called for change in the lives of all through the educational system, political systems, and social systems. Students used picket signs, sit-ins, and marching as a place to begin the redevelopment of South Africa during or after various points of colonization and Apartheid. One of the first contentions

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[3] John Peffer, *Art and the End of Apartheid* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), xvi.

that students rallied around was the demolishing of the Bantu Education Act in 1953. This act "enforced racial segregation of South Africa's primary and secondary schools by law, and situated responsibility for the educational institutions for black students in the Native Affairs Department."[4] These 1953 protests were the example for many of the movements that followed.

The decade of peace and prosperity for white South Africans was shattered by the 1976 Soweto Student Uprising. More than 10,000 students from the Soweto township outside of Johannesburg gathered to protest, march, and demonstrate against a decree from the Bantu Education Department, which made Afrikaans the official language of instruction. A convergence of influences—Steve Biko's South African Student's Organization (SASO); the Black Consciousness Movement in the 1970s, which stressed "black pride, self-reliance, and psychological liberation;" and resistance and liberation in neighboring countries—sparked an "emergence of a new collective youth identity forged by common experiences and grievances."[5] Between the 1970s and 1990/94, resistance against Apartheid amongst South Africans of all "races" accelerated.

Throughout each movement, the use of ideals, imagery, and slogans were taken from those who have come before them. Influential movements, such as the protests against the Bantu Education Act of 1953 and the Equal Education (EE) movement that began in 2008, saw students working with their communities and families to force the administration and government to take responsibility for the inequalities within the education system. The EE high school movement called for education to be more accessible. As Former EE General Secretary Brad Brockman explains, the students who call themselves 'Equalisers' work in 'Youth Group[s]' which meet weekly to discuss the current needs of each communities' students.[6] As illustrated above, the statement that 'every generation has its struggle' is true; though changes have been made in the past two decades of South African history, there

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[4] Anne Heffernan and Noor Nieftagodien, *Students Must Rise: Youth Struggle in South Africa Before and Beyond Soweto* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 2016), 2.

[5] "Soweto Student Uprising," *South Africa: Overcoming Apartheid, Building Democracy*, accessed March 3, 2016, http://overcomingapartheid.msu.edu/sidebar.php?id=65-258-3.

[6] Heffernan and Nieftagodien, *Students Must Rise*, 169-170.

are still struggles that the youth are working to change. It is not enough to see opportunities opening for the few able to afford the fees that come with a grade school education, but to open them for all school age children to have access to higher education.

The end of Apartheid was marked by Nelson Mandela's release from prison in February 1990. After this, the ban was lifted on the African National Congress and other political parties, and a new constitution was built, resulting in the first democratic elections in April 1994. Mandela's inauguration speech after being elected president of the Republic of South Africa offered hope of a "society in which all South Africans, both black and white, will be able to walk tall, without any fear in their hearts, assured of their inalienable right to human dignity – a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world."[7] Since the first democratic elections in 1994, there have been battles by many to combat the realities of overt racism and the unequal opportunities that are a byproduct of decades of colonization and Apartheid rule. The optimism inspired by Mandela's speech also marked the beginning of a struggle to acknowledge the systemic wrongs of the nation's past. As Daniel Herwitz argues in *Heritage, Culture, and Politics in the Postcolony* this democratic transition was a narrative which stressed redress, acknowledgement, social flexibility, and building a culture of human rights. The active opposition of colonial and Apartheid heritage, such as monuments to imperialists like Cecil Rhodes, is the public, which is as diverse in culture as it is in religion and thought, attempting to regain its voice within this new democratic society. Since monuments are a way in which heritage and identity are created within nations, it is clear that student demands to remove colonial monuments at UCT are helping to shape a new national narrative that stresses equality and redress.

Space and Power

The reaction of the state to the demonstrations and protests by students raises questions about the definition of violence in South Africa and how entrenched its Apartheid legacy is in society.

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[7] Nelson Mandela, "Statement of Nelson Mandela at His Inauguration as President," *African National Congress*, May 10, 1994, accessed March 3, 2016, http://www.anc.org.za/content/statement-nelson-mandela-his-inauguration-president.

Under Apartheid, "one of the key instruments used…to neutralise political dissent was the State of Emergency (SOE)."[8] Once the country was placed beneath an SOE, resistance and protest were considered public violence, which "defined 'the problem' by making state violence invisible [and resulted in] a range of repressive policing tactics, such as aggressive riot control and mass detentions."[9] These tactics were no longer sanctioned after 1990, yet student demonstrations in Cape Town in the fall of 2016 led police to use stun grenades against them. Student demonstrations in Johannesburg were met with rubber bullets; twenty-nine people in Cape Town and sixteen students from Tshwane University of Technology (TUT) in Johannesburg were arrested and charged with "public violence."

Art as Resistance

From the start, South Africans recognized the power of visual culture vis-à-vis resistance and its unification of peoples across color lines (hence why South Africa was one of the last countries in the world to have access to television). Art was a "contested but shared terrain"[10] in South Africa, yet was also a "space for exploring modernity for those living in a more traditional manner in the rural areas."[11] In pre-Apartheid South Africa, artist Gerard Sekoto's richly luminous paintings of black Johannesburg life opened the door for his mingling with white South Africans and the European art world of the first half of the twentieth century. Surprisingly, his most celebrated painting, *Yellow Houses. A Street in Sophiatown*, was displayed at the annual showing at the South African Academy and was not hung in the separate 'Native

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[8] "States of Emergency in South Africa: the 1960s and 1980s," *South African History Online*, March 14, 2012, accessed March 1, 2016, http://sahistory.org. za/topic/state-emergency-south-africa-1960-and-1980s.

[9] Padraig O'Malley, "The Police and the Violence in South Africa," *Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory*, accessed March 3, 2016, https://www.nelson mandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv02424/04lv03275/05lv03294/06lv033 34.htm.

[10] John Peffer, *Art and the End of Apartheid* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 4.

[11] Ibid., 10.

Exhibition' category that had been set aside for most previous work by black artists.[12]

Yellow Houses, District Six, Oil on Canvas, 50.5 x 58cm, by Gerard Sekoto, https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/18788/lot/204/.

The conflict between the Ndebele people—recent immigrants who intermarried with indigenous tribes and lived in various parts of the country—and the South African government over their space and place within "racial" classifications and the development of homelands, is cast in an ironic light by the traditional mural art and beadwork of Ndebele being considered "tribal" art of South Africa. Sekoto's art tested the stereotypes about black South Africans in urban spaces and explored his own experiences with "urban life in the modern world." The paintings were also a "means to share in the middle-class world and the worldliness of white South Africa" and the "the stirrings of a modernist art that would hold the kernel of a crucial alternative to the authoritarianism and the separateness of life under apartheid after 1948."[13] They also had the more mundane, yet equally important function of representing the black South African experience in a positive light to black and white South Africans.

Later generations of black South Africans, in conversation with the anti-colonialist and anti-oppression uprisings of the Global 1960s, expressed their discontent and heritage through the Black Consciousness Movement of the 1970s, which touched on all aspects of black South African lives. The use of art as a form of

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[12] Peffer, *Art and the End of Apartheid*, xvi.
[13] Ibid., 5.

resistance was deeply embedded in Black Consciousness, and in 1971, the Mihloti Black Theatre was founded by Molefe Pheto and a dozen other young men to produce "music, poetry, and theater events and performed speeches by black activists at schools, churches, and political rallies."[14] A Milhoti member named Thami Mnyele later took art to urban spaces with the intention of taking art "directly to the people of the townships at a moment of political crisis."[15] During the most troubled times under Apartheid, when police and soldiers terrorized black townships, art became a response to the violence and occupation with the invention of "forms of children's play, popular visual art, verbal humor, and songs." The "Mello-Yellow," the "Buffel," and the "Hippo"—three notorious armored vehicles of the state—appeared time and time again in songs, in art, and games of the 1980s. Anne Schumann, a Postdoctoral Fellow in Media Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, discusses the role of music and resistance in her 2008 article "The Beat that Beat Apartheid: The Role of Music in the Resistance against Apartheid in South Africa." According to Schumann, South African music transformed from "reflecting common experiences and concerns in the early years of apartheid" to, in the 1980s and 1990s, functioning "as a force to confront the state and as a means to actively construct an alternative political and social reality."[16]

In the immediate period after Apartheid, efforts to come to terms with the wounds created by colonialism and Apartheid focused not only on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (a restorative justice body formed in 1996 to help South Africans come to terms with Apartheid),[17] but on the visual culture created under the regime—the monuments and their created myths, the public spaces devoted to oppression, the absence of black South African artistic production, etc. The debate over monuments harkened to similar struggles post-USSR Eastern Europe, where

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[14] Peffer, *Art and the End of Apartheid*, 16.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Anne Schumann, "The Beat that Beat Apartheid: The Role of Music in the Resistance against Apartheid in South Africa," *Stichproben - Weiner Zeitschrift fur kritische Afrikastudien* 14 (2008): 17, accessed March 3, 2016, http://stichproben.univie.ac.at/fileadmin/user_upload/p_stichproben/Artikel/Nummer14/Nr14_Schumann.pdf.

[17] South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, "Welcome to the Official Truth and Reconciliation Website," *Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, accessed March 11, 2017, http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/.

leaders and the public grappled with a past that was realized through a grappling with monuments.[18] According to Dr. Sabine Marschall of the University of KwaZulu-Natal, "monuments are public 'institutions' through which selected narratives and associated groups can gain visibility, authority and legitimacy, but they are also sites of contestation where perhaps previously invisible differences can become evident."[19] The conversation about resetting South Africa's biased heritage landscape after Apartheid resulted in workshops, conferences, televised debates, newspaper articles, and academic texts, all of which reflected the optimism engendered by Mandela's aforementioned speech.

Public Space, Public Memory

The Rhodes Must Fall's request to remove the Rhodes statue is definitive of the transformation that public space undergoes in different time periods, under varying social conditions, and under different political overseers. This movement is a case study in how public space can define and be defined by those who encounter it. The use of public space on UCT's campus throughout 2014-2016 was made possible by the numerous student movements that helped to create the structures in the social thought that students can make a difference on the highest levels of society. The RMF movement unfolded in public spaces with historical significance on many levels. The history of John Cecil Rhodes and the history of the campus were seen to reside upon the steps of Upper Campus. Not only is UCT the leading research university on the Continent, but its Upper Campus contains the Main Library and housing for UCT's top ranking students. The Rhodes statue standing in such a prominent space on campus made it central to the student's struggles for change and calls for transformation. Though UCT was built with the bequest of John Cecil Rhodes, much of the campus community argues that his actions should not be

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[18] Annie E. Coombes, *History after Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa* (London: Duke University Press, 2003),7.

[19] Sabine Marschall, *Landscape of Memory: Commemorative Monuments, Memorials, and Public Statuary in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 2, accessed February 26, 2016, http://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/18536.

memorialized but rather questioned on the grounds of social justice for the memory of those generations who have been negatively impacted by Rhodes's legacy.

The use of public space such as city squares, main streets, and memorial spaces as a stage for being heard is a method present in all student movements and protests. These spaces become centers where students can make a stand for their goals while making statements calling for change of many different forms. From time immemorial, leaders and regimes have used "built structures as a form of legacy... [they] asserted themselves in the built environment through monuments...statues, civic buildings, or technical infrastructure…often intertwining leaders' achievements with that of the nation."[20] They also "advertise a person as ever-present in the urban space and, by extension, in the lives of the citizenry."[21] With this, public space is politicized, it is linked to identity, and it demands the absorption of certain messages and communication staged by the regime, whether or not it is intended to be benign. Since there is so much diversity within each community, it is clear that these spaces cannot be defined by just one group or one set of ideals. Public spaces – such as the Rhodes statue – may be made for a specific purpose like memorializing John Cecil Rhodes, but they can also become spaces of contention. Once various movements use these public spaces, they take on a new life and are at times reclaimed, as was the Rhodes statue at UCT.

For black South Africans, the removal of monuments and plaques, and the renaming of bridges, roads, and other structures dedicated to Apartheid leaders has been cathartic. In 1994, the statue of Hendrik Verwoerd, the Prime Minister who drew the map of segregation and imposed inferior education on blacks, was wrested from its place in front of the provincial offices of the Orange Free State during a Friday afternoon rush hour. It took several hours to pull the statue from its perch, but in the end, the 15-foot likeness of Verwoerd was no longer standing with his hands on his hips as if inspecting his subjects, but was flat on his back with black people dancing on his chest. "Now they will know

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[20] Alexandra Staub, *Conflicted Identities: Housing and the Politics of Cultural Representation* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 26.
[21] Ibid.

that black people are in charge here," said Daniel Malebo, a messenger.[22]

The statue of H.F. Verwoerd that was removed from its place in Midvaal now stands in the town hall on the farm Kleinfontein, east of Pretoria. Photo courtesy of Madelene Cronjé, M&G.[23]

This statement is echoed in the argument set forth by Leigh-Ann Naidoo, a PhD. Candidate at Wits University in response to South African students hijacking meetings, panels, and other platforms held by the University of Cape Town after the #RhodesMustFall protests began: "You are not in charge of us, you are not able to lead on these issues, your process is corrupt and vacuous, and therefore you do not tell us what to do and how to do it anymore."[24] The seemingly benign message propagated by the

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[22] Isabel Wilkerson, "Apartheid is Demolished. Must Its Monuments Be?," *The New York Times*, September 25, 1994, accessed March 3, 2016. http://nytimes.com/1994/09/25/world/apartheid-is-demolished-must-its-monuments-be.html.
[23] Sean O'Toole, "Where Apartheid Statues Go to Die," *Africa Mail & Globe*, June 17, 2011, http://mg.co.za/article/2011-06-17-finding-verwoerd-lifting-the-lid-on-dustbin-of-history.
[24] Leigh-Ann Naidoo, "Needing to Learn: #RhodesMustFall and the Decolonisation of the University," *Independent Thinking*, November 2015, accessed March 20, 2017, http://www.dhetnews.co.za/needing-to-learn-rhodesmustfall-and-the-decolonisation-of-the-university/.

statue of Rhodes is precisely what drove Maxwele to deface its surface—he found it "unbearably humiliating to walk every day past a statue glorifying an undeniable racist."[25] Days later, the clash of the political and the public space of UCT resulted in the students occupying the Bremner building that housed the Vice-Chancellor's administration office. The building was subsequently renamed the Azania House, referring to the classical name for the southeastern region of Africa, and to the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, a black nationalist party in South Africa.

The occupied Bremner Building. Photo by The Johannesburg Salon: Volume 9.[26]

The occupation of this space is significant. Khumo Sebambo, a Cape Town based writer, argues that "geographical space is reflected as historical—that is that the particularities of space are formed through and informed by long histories of ideologies… [and] if space was an organising tool for oppression in South Africa's past, then it is more than fair to say that in the 'new' South Africa, space should be reorganised to ensure

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[25] Harding, "Cecil Rhodes Monument."

[26] Khumo Sebambo, "Azania House as a Symbol of the Black Imagination," *The Johannesburg Salon* 9 (2015): 108, accessed March 3, 2016. http://jwtc.org.za/resources/docs/salon-volume-9/Khumo_Azania_House_Vol9_34.pdf.

equality."[27] The secondary and post-secondary educational system further cemented this spatial oppression: the 1953 Bantu Education Act centralized schools for black South Africans under government control and was "designed to teach African learners to be 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' for a white-run economy and society."[28] For the protesters, occupying Azania House offered a "spatial safety to black identities, which are otherwise formed on precarious grounds [of UCT]... [it] allowed for the imagination of blackness to flourish."[29]

The occupiers of the rechristened Azania House recognized the power of public art, orchestrating "protests and performance art demonstrations across the campus, interrogating the legacy of colonialism and how it is memorialised on campus."[30] A collective of artists staged an art demonstration titled Saartjie Baartman—named for the Khoikhoi woman enslaved and displayed in European freak shows because of her shapely anatomy. They walked from Azania House and through the campus in chains, black paint and diapers, moving towards a sculpture on Baartman located in the University library.

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[27] Sebambo, "Azania House as a Symbol of the Black Imagination."
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Brian Kamanzi, "'Rhodes Must Fall' – Decolonisation Symbolism – What is happening at UCT, South Africa?" *The Postcolonialist*, March 29, 2015, accessed March 3, 2016, http://postcolonialist.com/civil-discourse/rhodes-must-fall-decolonisation-symbolism-happening-uct-south-africa/.

Protest of Saartjie Baartman, Man walking with Chains. Photo by UCT Rhodes Must Fall, The Postcolonialist.com.

Naidoo contextualizes this performance of public art in the performance artists' own words:

> We reject her presentation in the library, we reject that her standing naked commemorates her and retains her dignity. Further, we see no difference in the racist, sexist methods used by the French and British in the freak show attraction, than her presentation in the UCT Oppenheimer library. Thus we aimed to illustrate that the violent objectification and sexualisation of the black body is a system, which feeds into the stereotype of racial superiority so subtly and insidiously that it is hard to detect even by those bodies it represents in real life. So our aim is to challenge a history that represents us as a fetish, as base sexual beings. There are particular ways in which Saartjie Baartman's spirit and legacy can be contextualised and respected. Thus in our climatic

> end, we draped her and covered her, hoping to show
> that these violences inflicted on the black body and
> psychology still continue, and we will not stop until
> we decolonise the black body and mind![31]

Taking the contesting of public space and public memory even further, black students at Stellenbosch University took to social media to chronicle the discrimination and racism experienced on campus in a video titled "Luister" (Listen in Afrikaans). An undoubtedly deliberately ironic title, as the students in the video criticize the use of Afrikaans in lectures and the mandatory lessons in the language. Open Stellenbosch, a group of faculty and students, decry the dominance of Afrikaans in the public sphere, arguing that "despite its stated intentions, [the language policy] safeguards Afrikaans and Afrikaner culture at the expense of black people."[32] In mid-February 2016, a group of Rhodes Must Fall (RMF) protesters "removed and burnt artworks from Fuller Hall and Smuts Hall residences as well as Jameson Hall"[33] in the name of ridding UCT of its images of oppressors. This bold, yet unsettling act raised concerns about the nature of this battle for public memory. Marlyn Faure, a self-identified coloured South African, offered a dissident opinion, wondering if "erasing of the material existence of these symbols could inadvertently whitewash how colonialism and apartheid continue to affect every aspect of reality for all South Africans…[denying] a diversity of cultural symbols to co-exist, in complex and contested ways, we also disallow those who have benefitted from colonial structures to deny this reality." [34] South Africa's troubled reconciliation with its Apartheid past will continue to focus on its monuments and memory as the new generation of black South Africans overtly position themselves within the Black Consciousness Movement and Pan-Africanist spaces of their forbearers, and interrogate

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[31] Naidoo, "Needing to Learn."

[32] Samiha Nettikkara, "The Black Students Rallying against 'Remnants of Apartheid'," *BBC Trending*, September 2, 2015, http://bbc.com/news/blogs-trending-34125297.

[33] Ashleigh Furlong, "South Africa: Rhodes Must Fall Protesters Destroy UCT Art," *All Africa*, February 16, 2016. http://allafrica.com/stories/201602170966.html.

[34] Marlyn Faure, "The Battle for Public Memory: Why #RhodesMust(Not)Fall," *Thought Leader*, March 25, 2015. http://thoughtleader.co.za/readerblog/2015/03/25/the-battle-for-public-memory-why-rhodesmustnotfall/.

blackness in the context of post-Apartheid South Africa, thus forcing a dialogue on identity and imagining of themselves.

Evolution of Rhodes Must Fall

The Rhodes statue removal can be seen as a milestone development in the RMF campaign and a step toward more than just the changing of the UCT landscape. Following the RMF movement, the Fees Must Fall movement took on the task of calling for more availability for higher education by dropping student fees to zero. In order to reach this goal, the Fees Must Fall movement urged the students to resist, "the commodification of education by calling for free, quality, decolonized education and expressing dissatisfaction with the rate and depth of change two decades after South Africa's democratization."[35] This movement spread throughout the whole of the South African nation causing students in all major universities to order fees to fall just as Rhodes had.

Although President Jacob Zuma did freeze fees because of these campaigns, there are student who question if this movement aims to help the students who conform to the idea of patriarchal heterosexual dominance over those that do not identify themselves to be as such. For example, the Patriarchy Must Fall movement PMF was not inspired by the RMF movement but was created to question the student body which headed the movement. Leigh-Ann Naidoo illustrates this shift:

> Black queer feminists in the movement resisted this approach and continued to draw attention to the oppressive systems of patriarchy and homophobia, compelling their heterosexual male comrades to recognize that while they are oppressed black men in a university system and world that continues to privilege whiteness, they are simultaneously privileged as men by patriarchy and by heteronormativity as heterosexual.[36]

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[35] Heffernan and Nieftagodien, *Students Must Rise*, 180.
[36] Ibid., 183.

With this development, the movement was questioned on the basis of who would be considered worthy of receiving this equal education of which was being fought. This shift in language from how to get education to who deserves this education brought to light the fact that conflict within this nationally recognized movement did exist. Though there was violence by police and security throughout the majority of the protest, there was the reality that violence on the campus of UCT *within* the RMF and the FMF movements did exist and was mostly towards the LGBTQ community.

The development of the Patriarchy Must Fall movement was similar to that of the RMF and FMF in that it took to public space in order to be heard. The Patriarchy Must Fall movement fought for recognition and also wanted the decolonization of the UCT campus. In reaching their goals they would be able to secure futures for their group and others around the nation who are part of the LGBTQ community. They also fought for the rights of women to gain better education. They felt that unlike the ANC government who only focused on surface-level changes, they "called instead for deeper structural change of the university as an institution, issuing from concerns with staff demographics, Euro-centric curricula, institutional racism and other forms of oppression such as patriarchy and homophobia."[37] Their message was spread throughout the UCT campus and became a point of contention between the Patriarchy Must Fall and the Fees Must Fall groups. Although there were students within the RMF and FMF movements who understood the importance of equality there were also many that used violence to try and put down this new campaign.

The Patriarchy Must Fall questioned the RMF and FMF publicly at an exhibition titled "Echoing Voices from Within" on March 9, 2016, marking the anniversary of the RMF campaign.[38] The exhibit was described as telling the story of those who fought for the removal of the Rhodes statue while pressing the administration to help reach their new goals. The campus defined this exhibition as:

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[37] Heffernan and Nieftagodien, *Students Must Rise*, 183-184.
[38] "Rhodes Must Fall Exhibition: 'Echoing Voices from Within,'" *Facebook*, accessed March 20, 2017, https://www.facebook.com/events/17725311 86314673/.

A body of work that drew its content from photographs, videos, banners and artefacts from a climactic year of activism. Many of the photographs and videos were taken by the students themselves who also assembled a significant and important archive of this moment in history. It is in itself a record of the events that began on 9 March 2015.[39]

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[39] "Rhodes Must Fall Exhibition," *Facebook.*

"Echoing Voices from Within: Rhodes Must Fall Exhibition" Program posted to Facebook, https://www.facebook.com/events/17725311 86314673/.

Since the exhibit was promoted as a narrative of the movement, it is clear that the PMF questioned how this narrative should be created and who should be remembered. They also questioned the way in which they fit into this narrative. The PMF believes that their role has morphed into speaking to the RMF and keeping it accountable of its commitment to "intersectionality precisely because it is positioned as a black decolonial space."[40] In keeping the movement and its students accountable for their actions they staged a protest on the opening of the exhibition. They smeared red paint onto the images surrounding the space and also gave speeches at the entrance of the exhibit. A piece of pink paper was placed over one of the photographs with a message that read, "We will not have our bodies, faces, names, and voices used as bait for public applause" while another read, "RMF will not tokenise our presence as if they ever treasured us as part of their movement."[41] Public space was used by the two groups to define themselves and their movement. On the one hand the RMF and FMF were putting their narrative on display while those who are part of PMF were questioning how and why this narrative should be the only one presented by UCT staff and officials. This type of contention is the byproduct of a movement which sees its political goals as being far more important than recognizing the social impact their movement has on students who do not feel they were as welcomed as others.

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[40] Ground Up, "Rhodes Must Fall Exhibition Vandalised in UCT Protest," *The South African*, March 11, 2016, http://www.thesouthafrican.com/rhodes-must-fall-exhibition-vandalised-in-uct-protest/.
[41] Ibid.

Members of the UCT Trans Collective blocked entrances to the exhibition of "Echoing Voices from Within." The exhibition was eventually shut down. Photo courtesy of Ashraf Hendricks.[42]

Conclusion

The question of how those who are now students on the land that was once Rhodes' personal estate should remember South Africa's harmful past is an ever-evolving dilemma with no definitive solution in sight. With developments still taking place at the site of the Rhodes statue on UCT's upper campus this turbulent site is even now being transformed and discussed. During a trip to South Africa to study at the UCT campus Amanda Castro, a student from CSUSB and co-author of this article, was able to see the site of Rhodes statues dethroned pedestal. On her way to the UTC library she saw this new addition to the site that had taken place over night. Proof of an interruption was apparent because the new yellow paint marking the pedestal was rushed with the job half done and a paint can and paint roller still sitting where they dropped it. Although not sure of the reasoning behind the paint and

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[42] Ground Up, "Rhodes Must Fall Exhibition Vandalised in UCT Protest."

its meaning, the act of change itself, even hidden by night, shows just how much of a center for transformation the site still is.

"University of Cape Town Upper Campus," Photo by Amanda Castro, July 2016.

Paint brush left by unknown person on the pedestal of the Rhodes statue. Photo by Amanda Castro, July 2016.

'X' painted onto Rhodes pedestal with yellow paint, Photo by Amanda Castro, July 2016.

The Rhodes Must Fall campaign, and those that followed, have become a topic of discussion throughout South Africa since the beginning of 2015. It is now, like other student movements, in the memory of not only students but also the administration throughout the country. For example, on February 27, 2017 Thabo Mbeki, the chancellor of the university of Pretoria, urged students who are calling for free education not to take the Rhodes Must Fall Movement as a productive example. Although he appreciates and understands the actions of the movements he argues that the violence and destruction of university property was both completely unnecessary and counterproductive.[43] Mbeki's choice to call on the history of the Rhodes Must Fall movement, although recent but powerful helps to illustrate the cementing of the movement into the memories of those in South Africa. The development of Rhodes Must Fall is now another example of how student movements take hold and develop into powerful catalysts for change that can be used as a springboard for future movements like the ones before it.

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[43] Ernest Mabuza, "Students, Society Should Reject Protests Which Cause Damage to Property: Mbeki," *Times Live*, February 27, 2017, accessed March 18, 2017, http://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2017/02/27/Students% E2%80%9A-society-should-reject-protests-which-cause-damage-to-property-Mbeki.

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Author Bios

Amanda Castro (left) received her Bachelor's Degree from CSUSB in Public and Oral History in 2014. She is currently a graduate student at CSUSB in the Social Sciences and Globalization program with an emphasis in Public History. In Fall of 2015, she became the Project Manager at the Patton State Hospital Museum and Archive where she is helping to digitize the hospital's photograph collection. Amanda has an interest in community based projects and outreach where her knowledge in Public History helps her to organize and carry out projects with various county and state institutions.

Angela Tate (right) is a Sally Casanova Pre-Doctoral Scholar for 2016-17 and is completing her final year at CSU San Bernardino, where she is a dual Public/Oral History and American Studies major. She will be entering a doctoral program this fall to continue her studies in African Diaspora studies, Global U.S. history, digital humanities, feminist theory, and Afro-Asian cultural production during the over-lapping eras of Jim Crow, Imperialism, and the Cold War.

The Women on the Frontlines of the Revolution

By Raquel Holguin and Lark Winner

The 2016 presidential election brought to the surface how deeply divided the United States is politically and socially. Many issues that seemed mostly settled, such as the right to abortions, gender equality, protected civil rights for the LGBTQ community, and environmental protections, have resurfaced to become front-page, hot button issues that are in danger of being overturned. For many armchair liberals, the Obama years seemed to demarcate an era where an inclusive liberal agenda was taken for granted, and an era where a slow, continual path towards progressive ideals was inevitable – regardless of minor battles or small setbacks. For those on the fringes of radical, left-wing political activism, the previous eight years have been a source of contention, where the surface-level achievements of a moderately progressive administration have drowned out serious issues related to police brutality, rape culture, systemic racism, and a massive military industrial complex that needs continual conflict in order to maintain its profit margins and relevance. The election of Donald J. Trump, in November of 2016, came as a shock to many progressives who felt confident that nothing could get in the way of a continued progressive movement, and many people who had never taken part in any direct activist movement or mobilization felt that it was now necessary to get directly involved in some form of activism.

One of the largest movements to form after election night was the Women's March on Washington. With a single cohesive focus, accompanied by slick marketing, the Women's March on Washington was set for January 21st, the day after Donald Trump's inauguration as the 45th President. With it came a network of sister marches in cities across the United States, and the rest of the world for those who felt solidarity with the movement, but who were unable to travel to Washington for the official event.

The historical fight for gender and sexual equality has been a long and complicated endeavor. It has had many different faces, addressed an array of issues, and moved in waves. This complex approach to obtaining women's rights is due to the multi-dimensional factors that cause inequity. The women's rights movement in the United States became prominent at the Seneca

Falls Convention in New York (1862). The focus of the convention was to address the fact that women did not possess political rights. Women, with the support of a small number of men, advocated for the right to vote, the right to own property, and the right to obtain a college education.[1] This was a precursor to subsequent conventions working towards political parity, which resulted in the long and arduous battle for suffrage.

From 1862 through 1920, women were empowered to challenge the status quo. Many rose to leadership positions, which was very different from their role as a man's submissive property. Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Alice Paul, and Susan B. Anthony began speaking publicly, organizing within the community, and partaking in political activism. Due to their efforts, the 19th Amendment was finally ratified to provide women the legal right to vote in 1920, almost 60 years after Seneca Falls.[2]

Despite the victory of the Suffrage Movement, many women, especially those of color and of a lower socioeconomic status, continued to lack equitable opportunities. This was due to issues that intersected with gender, such as race, class, and sexuality. Suffrage was just the beginning of the issue of equality. Women continued to face economic discrimination, suppression of their sexual expression, and were limited to rigid gender roles. Therefore, a second wave emerged.

Leaders of the Second Wave of Feminism focused on closing the wage gap, sexual liberation, reproductive freedom, bodily integrity, as well as aligning with the Civil Rights Movement during the 1960s through the 1980s. Achievements made during this wave were the Equal Pay Act of 1963, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, *Griswold v. Connecticut, and Roe v. Wade*.[3] While these were major advancements, those outside of the heteronormative still faced disparity in access, treatment, and liberties.

The Third Wave of Feminism continued the ideologies of the second wave through the 1990s, but also broadened them to

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[1] Newman, James L. "Women's Rights Movement 1848-1920. *History, Art, and Archives: Untied States House of Representatives* 42, No. 3 (Fall 1992): http://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/WIC/Historical-Essays/No-Lady/Womens-Rights/.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Elinor Burkett, "Women's Movement: Political and Social Movement," *Encyclopedia Britannica,* accessed March 27, 2017, https://www.britannica.com/topic/womens-movement.

include genders outside of the binary, transgender individuals, and queer sexuality. By this time, sexism was a well-known issue, and there was legislation passed to prevent institutional forms of it. However, social forms – such as expectations of women to maintain unrealistic beauty standards, fulfill supportive social roles, and be sexually submissive – still existed. In an attempt to combat social sexism, many feminist public figures emerged. Some of those figures were living – Madonna, Queen Latifah, and Mary J. Blige – while others were fictional, like Carrie from *Sex and the City* and Disney's Mulan.[4] Representation of independent, successful, heroic, and strong women was yet another breakthrough; but like previous movements, once an issue was addressed several more rose to the surface.

The existence of the Fourth Wave is highly debated, but experts legitimize it by pointing out the importance of social media in the fight for women's equality. The Fourth Wave of Feminism began in the 2000s, and it focused on social justice issues such as spirituality, immigration, and the importance of preserving the natural environment.[5] The turning point during this phase in the feminist movement, which is known as the birthplace of the fourth wave, was the utilization of social media to address social injustices. This wave quickly became known as the "call-out generation," since many leaders used social media to call-out any acts of misogyny, recruit budding feminists, create communities, and organize. This "call-out" generation has come a long way from the founders and other feminist activists, yet they still fight for the same things – equality, rights, and inclusivity.

Throughout every one of these historical movements there were two kinds of people: the participants and the bystanders. Raquel Holguin had always told herself that if she had been alive during the Women's Suffrage Movement, she would have shown up to the polling place to cast her vote, even if that meant getting arrested. If she had been alive during the Civil Rights Movement, Raquel would have been on the forefront of every protest, even if that meant risking my life. She pledged to never become a

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[4] Elinor Burkett and Laura Brunell, "The Third Wave of Feminism," *Encyclopedia Britannica,* accessed March 27, 2017, https://www.britannica.com/topic/feminism/The-third-wave-of-feminism.
[5] H. K. Wrye, "The Fourth Wave of Feminism: Psychoanalytic Perspectives Introductory Remarks," *Studies in Gender & Sexuality* 10, no. 4 (2009): 186-187.

bystander. Though she fantasized about her involvement, she never had to put those fantasies into action until November 8, 2016.

On June 16, 2015, Donald Trump announced that he was seeking the Republican nomination for the 2016 presidential election. At the time, critics did not take Trump's bid seriously and many shrugged him off believing that this was a publicity stunt to increase his presence in the media.[6] Despite the skepticism, Trump won the Republican nomination by basing his presidential platform on the promise to "Make America Great Again." Some of the other promises he made in his campaign rhetoric were to harshen immigration policies, impede religious diversity, remove access to affordable birth control, criminalize abortion, repeal the Patient Protection and Affordable Health Care Act, and reduce taxes by defunding social service departments that he deemed unnecessary.[7]

To the surprise of many, assumingly Mr. Trump himself, Donald John Trump was elected as the 45th President of the United States. For his supporters, this was a vicarious victory. For others, this was the actualization of an unreal fear. For everyone, this meant inevitable change. After the winner of the election was announced, there was mourning of what would be the end of a progressive era, one that had endowed rights and liberties upon so many. Raquel was not sure exactly what this would mean for her, or what it would mean for her loved ones, but she did know that they would all lose their health care, resources, safety, and autonomy. It felt as though all of the progress that had been made in the last 200 years in women's rights, and indeed, in human rights, was eviscerated.

The day after the election, Teresa Shook, a retired attorney from Hawaii, used Facebook to create an event for a protest in Washington so that participants could voice their disapproval of the new president, and represent the interests of the different

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[6] Jose A. DelReal, "Donald Trump Announces Presidential Bid," *The Washington Post,* June 16, 2015, accessed March 27, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2015/06/16/donald-trump-to-announce-his-presidential-plans-today/?utm_term=.5e4f7d920448.
[7] Linda Qui, "Donald Trump's Top 10 Campaign Promises," *PolitiFact,* July 15, 2016, accessed March 27, 2017, http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/article/2016/jul/15/donald-trumps-top-10-campaign-promises/; Jenna Johnson, "Here Are 76 of Donald Trump's Many Campaign Promises," *The Washington Post,* January 22, 2016, accessed March 27, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2016/01/22/here-are-76-of-donald-trumps-many-campaign-promises/?utm_term=.57996ff5f339.

communities that believed they would be negatively impacted by a Trump presidency. That night, she had about 40 people who signed on to participate. When she woke up the next morning, the event had more than 10,000 pledged participants. Bob Bland, a fashion designer in New York also began planning a demonstration on the east coast and reached out to Shook upon hearing of hers. The two collaborated via social media and decided to join forces. After receiving criticism for their lack of inclusivity of marginalized groups such as immigrants, people of color, Muslims, and the LGBTQ community, the two organizers recruited three New York based activists to serve as co-chairs of the national march: Tamika Mallory, a gun control advocate; Carmen Perez, head of the Gathering for Justice, a criminal-justice reform group; and Linda Sarsour, who recently led a successful campaign to close New York City public schools on two Muslim holidays."[8] In late November, they announced their plans for an inclusive demonstration in Washington.

The Women's March on Washington was scheduled to occur the day after the inauguration. In the weeks following the announcement of the march, the respondents expected to attend grew from 10,000 to 1.8 million. Cities across the nation were encouraged by the march organizers to host local demonstrations of their own to provide those who could not travel to Washington with a space to protest. Countries around the world, including Mexico, London, Australia, and Canada, also planned demonstrations to stand in solidarity with Americans.[9]

The mission and vision of the march was to stand together, "recognizing that defending the most marginalized among us is defending all of us."[10] The intentions of the march were not to change the outcome of the 2016 elections, but to unite many marginalized groups who were going to face oppression should the

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[8] Nina Agrawal, "How the Women's March Came into Being." *Los Angeles Times*, January 22, 2017, accessed March 13, 2017, http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-pol-womens-march-live-how-the-women-s-march-came-into-1484865755-htmlstory.html.

[9] Jason Silverstein, Larry McShane, Cameron Joseph, and Adam Edelman, "Half a Million People Show Up for D.C. Women's March as Others Flock to Sister Marches across Globe," *New York Daily News*, January 21, 2017, accessed March 27, 2017, http://www.nydailynews.com/news/ politics/women-march-washington-attendance-dwarfs-inauguration-crowd-article-1.2952170.

[10] "Mission and Vision," *Women's March on Washington*, accessed January 30, 2017, https://www.womensmarch.com/mission/.

new administration follow through on their campaign rhetoric.[11] The leaders of the Women's March on Washington realized that many groups were going to be targeted for different reasons. They wanted to provide a space for each one of these groups to fight for their rights, but also bring them together to be a part of a collective because they saw strength in unity.

The uniting of these diverse groups is the beginning of the Fifth Wave Movement. In the past, various movements gathered people to unite against an issue in hopes to gain access or freedom. Today, the current threat is the elimination of rights and liberties that are already in existence. This is completely different than anything that has ever happened in American history and is an affront to the long history of the women's rights movement. This is why communities have set aside personal grievances and stepped forward to join in an alliance.

Many groups, including a group of CSUSB student marchers, came together to represent their communities at the local branches of the Women's March. Like those groups, the CSUSB students prepared for the Los Angeles march by creating signs. As the organizer of the CSUSB marchers, Raquel's sign said, "I march for the women and people I love who don't understand why we march." This was very personal for her because many of her close friends and family members opposed Raquel's decision to attend. Despite their disapproval, she went to the march and did so because she wanted to fight for her rights as well as theirs.[12]

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[11] "Mission and Vision," *Women's March on Washington*, accessed January 30, 2017, https://www.womensmarch.com/mission/.

[12] Raquel Holguin organized the CSUSB student marchers and participated in the Los Angeles Women's March. Her experiences and thoughts are included in this paragraph.

CSUSB marchers, Raquel Holguin on right, Photo by Author, Los Angeles, January 21, 2017.

January 21, 2017 – the day of the Women's March on Washington. Turnouts across the globe were unprecedented and spanned every continent. The official event in Washington eclipsed the turnout for the inauguration the day before by three-fold, with estimates of over 470,000 people attending the March in Washington.[13] The difference in crowd size between the two events also sparked the first major issue of the new presidency, with a war erupting between the White House and the media over the reporting of crowd sizes. The major metropolitan cities that had sister marches saw hundreds of thousands of marchers swarm their downtown areas. Final tallies showed that approximately one percent of the US population took to the streets on January 21st.[14]

[13] Tim Wallace and Alicia Parlapiano, "Crowd Scientists Say Women's March in Washington Had 3 Times as Many People as Trump's Inauguration." *The New York Times*, January 22, 2017, accessed March 13, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2017/01/22/us/politics/womens-march-trump-crowd-estimates.html.

[14] Erica Chenoweth and Jeremy Pressman, "Analysis: This Is What We Learned by Counting the Women's Marches." *The Washington Post,* February 07, 2017, accessed March 13, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/ news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/02/07/this-is-what-we-learned-by-counting-the-womens-marches/?utm_term=. f758045f89d6.

Many had doubts as to how "peaceful" this protest would be. What if the march turns violent? What if people are arrested? What if CSUSB students are lost? The train pulled into the station, and there were men, women, and even children standing outside of the boarding gates. Some had signs, pink hats, and others were wearing feminist t-shirts. Despite some initial fears and doubts, everyone at the train station was in good spirits.

There was solidarity amongst the group of CSUSB marchers, and we had not yet even boarded the train. When the train finally did arrive, everyone cheered and high-fived each other as they boarded. At each boarding stop afterward, there were crowds of people anxiously waiting. By the fourth stop, the conductor began refusing to let any other passengers onboard. Every stop afterward he made an announcement, "this train is at capacity and we cannot allow any more people on. The next train will arrive in an hour." During the ride, Raquel observed those on the train, and she felt positive energy, excitement, and hope. As the train pulled into the station everyone clapped and cheered while they exited the train cars. Raquel had never taken the train without a guide, so she was nervous about leading the students to the march headquarters. Though she did not worry long because there was a sea of people with signs, shirts, and pink hats all heading in the same direction. There were so many people walking in the streets that it seemed as though the march had already begun.

As Raquel led the CSUSB students to the march, following the sea of people, she witnessed many personal and thought-provoking signs. One of which was held by a woman and her two children. Her sign said, "I march now so that my kids won't have to later." Raquel asked her what her sign meant, and she responded, "Exactly what it says. My ancestors didn't fight for our rights just to have them taken away." As fourth and fifth wave feminists, we benefitted from the progress that the feminist leaders before us died to make. Raquel knew that she personally took advantage of these rights, and it is a scary thought that now we are the only thing standing between their existence and their extinction.

Woman marching with her children, Women's March, Photo by Raquel Holguin, Los Angeles, January 21, 2017.

Moreover, a 15-year-old girl was holding another sign that said, "I will be of voting age for the next election. My generation is watching." Raquel asked the girl what her sign meant and her response was, "I want him [President Trump] to know that we, even me who is only 15, are going to keep him accountable for his actions. I hope that he is a good leader and only does good things, but if not, I will be at the next election to make sure he doesn't win again." She was not the only underage person in attendance. Raquel saw many under the age of 12, holding signs while chanting with their fists in the air. This political awakening in young people has not happened since the 2008 elections.[15] Youth engagement is important whether it be formally or informally because their needs and issues are likely to go unaddressed due to

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[15] Benedict-Nelson, Andrew. "Young People and Political Engagement." *Pew Research Center.* July 16, 2012. Access March 30, 2017: http://www.pewresearch.org/2012/07/16/ask-the-expert-young-people-and-political-engagement/.

the disparity in representation of those under 35 in leadership positions.[16]

Fifteen-year-old girl with her sign at the Los Angeles Women's March, "I Will Be of Voting Age for the Next Election. My Generation is Watching!" Photo by Raquel Holguin, Los Angeles, January 21, 2017.

As we got closer to Pershing Square, the streets became more and more congested with people of diversity. There were cisgender men and women.[17] There were transgender men and

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[16] United Nations Department Programme. "Young People and Political Participation." Page 2: http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/documents/youth/fact-sheets/youth-political-participation.pdf.

[17] Cisgender, as defined by Merriam-Webster: of, relating to, or being a person whose gender identity corresponds with the sex the person had or was identified as having at birth: https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/cisgender. In other words, the term *cisgender* refers to individuals who feel that the gender they were born as properly reflects who they are.

women.[18] There were black men and women. There were white women and men. There were Native Americans, Asians, and Hispanics. There were heterosexuals and homosexuals. Muslims, Christians, Catholics, Atheists, and Agnostics. I had never seen nor experienced so much diversity, and yet so much unity at the same time.

The streets were so inundated that people spilled out more than halfway into the march route. Initially, those on the outskirts were unsure of where to walk or if they should even begin walking. After instructions from those closest to the stage, the march moved forward. As we marched forward, chanting and clapping began, someone in the distance started hollering, "Whose streets?" The people surrounding me shouted back, "Our streets!" This chant was symbolic of the protestors' refusal to allow any actions of the newly elected administration to cause them to waver in their resistance.

A number of celebrities such as Demi Lovato, Jane Fonda, Ariana Grande, Natalie Portman, Jamie Lee Curtis, Laverne Cox, Kerry Washington and Christine Lahti were also demonstrators at the march. There were so many people in the crowds that it is doubtful that any one person would have noticed brushing passed any of these well-known celebrities. Kerry Washington and Christine Lahti were speakers who reminded the crowds that unity and solidarity is not enough, but continued support and action throughout the next four years will keep the feminist movement strong. A large number of those who attended were first-time protestors who were completely new to the feminist movement.[19] These celebrities used their influence to encourage them to continue to show up and stand up.

The Women's March has not been without its critics, who have accused it of not addressing the issues facing women from marginalized groups. One of these complaints stems from the Pussyhat Project, which brought knitters across the country

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[18] Transgender as defined by Merriam-Webster: (adj.) of, relating to, or being a person whose gender identity differs from the sex the person had or was identified as having at birth: https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/transgender. People who identify as transgender feel that their birth-assigned gender, and who they are, do not align. One of the key distinctions that should be emphasized though, is that gender identity is not related to sexuality.

[19] Alter, Charlotte. "Marchers Say They are Going to Stay Active in Politics." *Time*. January 21, 2017. Accessed March 30, 2017: http://time.com/4642488/womens-march-washington-dc-donald-trump-action/.

together through the creation of pink "pussy cat" hats for marchers to wear at the events on January 21st. The hats were intended as tool for solidarity between people who were marching in support of women's rights and those who could not attend but were able to make hats for those that could. According to the Pussyhat Project's website, they chose the name because they wanted "to reclaim the term as a means of empowerment."[20]

While these intentions seem benign, they have come up against resistance from the transgender community. One of the key tenets that differentiates this current generation's feminism from previous iterations has been the focus on intersectionality. For transwomen this has meant a feminism that acknowledges that anatomy and genitalia are not gatekeepers to gender identity. In an opinion piece in the feminist magazine, *Bitch Media,* Holly Derr emphasizes that "while the March claims intersectionality as central to its platform, and the Pussyhat Project claims to be speaking for both cis- and trans-gender individuals, the latter's conception of what it means to be a woman is remarkably narrow."[21] When activists seek to use visual symbolism and plays on language, like the Pussyhat Project, it is necessary to analyze how that language helps perpetuate gender gatekeeping narratives and to understand that those in marginalized communities – like transgender women, and especially transgender women of color – face real, life-threatening violence at rates that cisgender women do not. As Juniperangelica Xiomara explains in her piece on why she chose not to participate in the Women's March, in order for a movement to claim intersectionality, it has to be based in critical thought, and that it "must center the existences of marginalized people, not just their select body parts."[22]

Another issue many women had with the march was the fact that, for activists who had already been deeply involved in social justice movements, the sudden "awakening" of moderate progressives to social action comes as too little, too late. For black and brown women, who have been the victims of systemic racism

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[20] "FAQ." *Pussyhat Project*, accessed March 13, 2017, https://www.pussyhat project.com/faq/.

[21] Holly Derr, "Pink Flag: What Message Do 'Pussy Hats' Really Send?" *Bitch Media*, January 17, 2017, accessed March 13, 2017, https://bitchmedia.org/ article/ pink-flag-what-message-do-pussy-hats-really-send.

[22] Juniperangelica Xiomara, "On Pussy Hats and Transmisogyny." *Wear Your Voice*, January 26, 2017, accessed March 13, 2017, http://wearyourvoicemag. com/identities/feminism/pussy-hats-transmisogyny.

in this country at the hands of both white men *and* white women, there are questions about why they should have to share space with white women who haven't sought to share space with them in movements like Black Lives Matter. In a piece in Colorlines, Jamilah Lemieux discusses how in the initial planning of the event it was being referred to as a "Million Woman March," and how "the labors of Black folks (in this case, the 1995 Million Man March and the 1997 Million Woman March, organized by Minister Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam) were being co-opted and erased by clueless White ones."[23] The Million Woman March that took place in Philadelphia in 1997 had 750,000 African-American women attend, and the grassroots efforts to bring it to fruition did not have the luxury of the internet and social media to help spread the word.[24] As activist and grassroots organizer Brittany T. Oliver discussed on her blog, when the organizers of the 2017 March were made aware of the fact there had already been a Million Woman March, organized by black women twenty years earlier, they "decided to change the name to 'March on Washington.' Well, this was another Black-led march that advocated for civil rights and culminated Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s 'I Have a Dream' speech in 1963."[25] The inability for the planners of the 2017 March to accept and acknowledge that black women and men that came before them had helped lay the groundwork for their current movement caused friction amongst some of the planners, and led to resignations by at least two planners.[26]

Reproductive rights were at the forefront of the Women's March's agenda, with chants of "Her Body, Her Choice" and signs reaffirming a woman's right to choose were pervasive throughout the marches across the country. At the center of this issue is the fear that the political swing to the right in U.S. politics will lead to

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[23] Jamilah Lemieux, "Why I'm Skipping the Women's March on Washington," *Colorlines*, January 23, 2017, accessed March 13, 2017, http://www.colorlines.com/articles/why-im-skipping-womens-march-washington-opinion.
[24] Bobbi Booker, "Million Woman March: 1997 Philly Event Equally Significant." *The Philadelphia Tribune*, October 02, 2015, accessed March 13, 2017, http://www.phillytrib.com/news/million-woman-march-philly-event-equally-significant/article_50ac7b03-3586-559b-9fcd-4f25ff008381.html.
[25] Brittany T. Oliver, "Why I Do Not Support the Women's March on Washington." November 17, 2017, accessed March 13, 2017, http://www.brittanytoliver.com/blog/2016/11/16/why-i-do-not-support-the-one-million-women-march-on-washington.
[26] Ibid.

the loss of abortion access for women and the defunding of Planned Parenthood by means of federal Medicaid reimbursements for preventative care. Planned Parenthood was accused in 2015, by the Center for Medical Progress, a pro-life group, of selling fetal tissue, which invigorated the fight against Planned Parenthood by legislators seeking to challenge Planned Parenthood's presence in their states.[27] In 2016, "more than 60 new restrictions on access to abortion were passed by 19 states," with one of the most stringent coming out of Indiana and signed by the then-Governor Mike Pence, now the Vice President.[28] The Indiana bill would require women to pay for funeral expenses for their aborted fetuses and ban women from getting abortions if they knew there was a genetic anomaly in the fetus. Pence's new position as the Vice President has alarmed pro-choice activists who are afraid of him bringing this agenda to the White House.

For other activists, the focus on abortion access as a benchmark for reproductive rights is too single-issue focused. The battle for reproductive rights and women's bodily autonomy goes much farther than abortion access, even if that issue is still important. For women of color and women that live in poverty, the battle for reproductive rights has also included the fight against forced sterilization and has expanded the boundaries of reproductive rights to include issues of racism, classism, and anti-war ideas. "Women of color challenged the white middle-class feminist movement to recognize that the abortion rights movement needed to encompass 'bread and butter' issues such as health care for the poor, child-care, and welfare rights in addition to anti-sterilization abuse efforts."[29] The 1960s and '70s saw Black women caught between the Women's Liberation movement that vocally fought for abortion rights and men of the Black Nationalist movement that equated birth control and abortion by black women as genocide.[30] A holistic approach to women's reproductive rights

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[27] Jennifer Ludden,"Anti-Abortion Activists Indicted On Felony Charges In Planned Parenthood Case." *NPR*. January 26, 2016, accessed March 28, 2017, http://www.npr.org/2016/01/26/464469813/anti-abortion-activists-indicted-on-felony-charges-in-planned-parenthood-case.

[28] Jordan Smith, "19 States Passed 60 New Abortion Restrictions in 2016." *The Intercept,* December 27, 2016, accessed March 28, 2017, https://theintercept.com/2016/12/27/19-states-passed-60-new-abortion-restrictions-in-2016/.

[29] Jennifer Nelson, *Women of Color and the Reproductive Rights Movement* (New York: NYU Press, 2003).

[30] Nelson, *Women of Color and the Reproductive Rights Movement*, 85.

is still an issue many feminists see as missing from the current political agenda that is zeroed in abortion access as the central focus. Reproductive rights for these activists embrace intersectionality and address the wider social world that children are raised in – including safe neighborhoods, quality schools, and access to health care – as being reproductive rights that women still do not have.

At the end of the demonstration, organizers announced that over 350,000 people were marching in Los Angeles alone. A political science professor, Jeremy Pressman, from the University of Connecticut compiled a spreadsheet, which tracked the number of protestors across the world. Based off of the information he gathered from local and state police officials he estimates that over 4 million people participated in the marches across the country making it the biggest protest in American history.[31] This march is unique and monumental for a number of reasons. The first reason being that diversity did not divide and segregate those present, but rather, it unified them. The second reason is that it sparked the beginning of the Fifth Wave of the Feminist Movement. This represents how far women have come since the beginning and how they refuse to go back to that time. The third reason is that this is no longer solely an American issue, but a global issue. That day, Americans found many allies in countries across the world. The fourth reason is that clearly gender equality is not a reality, even in the twenty-first century. Through the Trump Administration, we can also see that many in power today still perceive a threat if gender equality were to happen. What many who oppose feminism do not know is that equal rights for all does not result in a loss of power for them. Until they are able to recognize this, there will still be a need for the women of the revolution. As history has shown, women will continue to show up to the frontlines regardless of the odds, the adversary, or the risks.

What these issues highlight is how much work is left to be done in addressing the history of social justice movements in the current context of movements that claim intersectionality, but lack the self-critical analysis necessary to create real intersectionality. Reinforcing binary- and anatomy-focused gender narratives, and denying the historical realities of black and brown activism, only

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[31] Pressman, Jeremy. "Crowd Estimates." *Google Docs*. January 21, 2017. Accessed March 29, 2017. https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1xa0iLq YKz8x9Yc_rfhtmSOJQ2EGgeUVjvV4A8LsIaxY/htmlview?sle=true#gid=0.

causes further divisions between groups who ostensibly have similar goals. While the Women's March on Washington – and its sister marches across the country – were successful in bringing large numbers of people out to demonstrate who had not been involved in social justice before, it does not mean that it is immune from the same critiques it attempted to levy against the current political establishment.

The Women's March awakened complacent and jaded feminist leaders. It also drew new and inexperienced faces to the movement. Though this gathering of diverse groups was revolutionary, it will not end attacks on marginalized groups. The organizers of the Women's March are well aware of this and have since vowed to continue to take stands against the 45th president by organizing 10 resistance events that will take place throughout the first 100 days of his presidency.[32] The Women's March and the subsequent events will not change the outcome of the election, but it may slow down any oppressive legislation the current administration may enact. It will also keep the diverse groups united, with the most oppressed at the very center of the movement.

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[32] "First We Marched, Now We Huddle," *Women's March,* Accessed May 24, 2017, https://www.womensmarch.com/100/action2/.

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Author Bios

Raquel Holguin (left) is currently working on her Master's in Social Work at CSUSB, where she recently received her Bachelor's in Psychology. She is an outspoken, feminist activist who is passionate about issues such as gender inequality, interpersonal violence, LGBTQ rights, and racial disparities. She spreads awareness about these issues on the CSUSB campus through her involvement in the Violence Prevention Educators group known as VOICE. She is also active in the community and is employed by the local rape crisis center as a SART Coordinator. Upon graduation, Raquel plans to work as a social worker before pursuing a doctorate in public policy. She hopes to then spend the rest of her career working in public policy reformation.

Lark Winner (right) is a senior at CSUSB. She is majoring in history with a focus in European history, minoring in French and gender and sexuality studies, and working towards a certificate in museum studies. She will be graduating in the spring of 2018. Currently, Lark is an intern for the Anthropology museum on campus with the upcoming InDignity exhibition.

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Sources of History

How Christianity Became the Leading Religion of the Roman Empire

By Amy Stewart

When studying history, primary sources from various periods provide fundamental insight into major historical events that changed the course of different civilizations. To understand the impact that the growth and spread of Christianity within the Roman Empire had on changing the Roman worldview from a pagan-centered ideal to a society dominated solely by Christianity, primary sources can be especially enlightening. Sources ranging from the early encounters of Pliny with the then-persecuted Christians, to Tertullian's apology against such persecution, to Eusebius' accounts of Constantine's religious conversion and newly introduced laws, provide a telling explanation of how Christianity became the leading religion of the Roman Empire.

   To comprehend the importance of the primary sources examined by this paper, one must first briefly understand the structure of Roman religion prior to, and after, Christian influence. Before the introduction of Christianity into the workings of the empire, Roman religion, an ancient practice, consisted of a hierarchical pantheon of powerful gods to whom the people sacrificed and relied on for the prosperity of the state. In the Roman Empire, the chief priest and communicator between the citizens and the gods was the emperor himself. Contrary to popular belief, Romans tolerated most other religious practices, as long as people respected Roman gods and were willing to participate in state festivals and sacrificial ceremonies dedicated to them. Religious practice was actually an imperative part of the Roman world; it was believed that the fortune of the empire depended on the peoples' loyalty to the gods. When Christians split away from Judaism and emerged as their own force within the empire, however, conflict began to arise. The refusal of Christians to worship the state gods publicly, or pour out a libation when put on trial, put into jeopardy the welfare of the state. Christians became

the subjects of major persecutions in Rome from the 1st to the 4th centuries CE but, by the end of the 4th century, Christianity emerged as the only legal religion of the empire. The following analysis of several primary sources from the Roman Empire exemplifies the progression of a once outlawed religion becoming the dominant legal practice of the state. They range from the age before Constantine, to his reign, and beyond.

One of the more notable Roman accounts of the persecution of Christianity in the empire comes from the Roman governor Pliny in his letter to Emperor Trajan in the 2nd century CE. Pliny was the governor of Bithynia from 111-113 CE. He often wrote to Trajan regarding different cases presented to him that he seemed unsure of how to resolve on his own. Pliny was more cautious in his role as governor, and was not quick to decide on something important without first seeking a second opinion. He says himself that he refers to Trajan in all matters of which he is in doubt.[1] In this particular letter, he is seeking advice from the Emperor Trajan on what to do regarding the Christians. He seems conflicted, noting, "I do not know for what offense, nor to what extent it is the practice to punish or to investigate."[2] According to the letter, Pliny was familiar with the proper ways to put a Christian, or anyone who refused to worship the gods publicly, on trial for treason, and was not shy about performing hundreds of their executions. His main issue in the letter concerns his confusion as to what exactly the Christians were doing that went against the state, as all he witnessed was "wicked and excessive superstition"[3]; he seems genuinely invested in enacting Roman law only where it is justified. This letter gives modern historians insight into how the persecutions of Christians were structured. Trajan's response to Pliny states that Christians should not be sought out and punished, nor should anonymous tips against them be acted upon. He adds that as long as someone brought to the attention of Pliny denies that he or she is a Christian and prays to the Roman gods, then they should be pardoned.[4] The information provided by this letter is imperative in understanding Christianity within the Roman Empire. The ideas and practices of Christianity were not

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[1] Pliny, "Letters," in D. Brendan Nagle, *The Roman World: A Sourcebook* (New York: Sloan Publishing, 2015), 282.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., 283.

oppressed; rather it was the blatant refusal to worship Roman gods publicly that led to their persecution. Pliny's letters support the idea that Christians were free to worship as they pleased, as long as they still remained loyal to the state religious observances, therefore allowing their ideals and influence to spread throughout the Roman Empire, which eventually lead to its dominance as the only legal religion.

Contrary to Pliny's letter against the Christians, Tertullian's *Apologeticus* argues in favor of Christian belief and practice. Tertullian was an educated Roman citizen and lawyer born in Carthage, who converted to Christianity in 193 CE. His writing is an apologetic work that explains and defends the extent of Christian belief to other educated, non-Christian Romans, particularly those holding some type of governmental office. Tertullian's main objective is to get his targeted audience to see the truth of Christianity so that they may convert and end all persecutions. He argues throughout the work that there is no direct link between Christians and the misfortunes of Rome, explaining that Christians include the Emperor and peace of the empire in their prayers, and therefore cannot be held responsible for the wrath of the gods. In chapter 50 of the apology, Tertullian claims that Christians conquer in dying and go forth victorious when subdued.[5] He states to Roman officials, "The oftener we are mown down by you, the more in number we grow; the blood of Christians is seed."[6] Tertullian's apology gives insight into the Christian theologies of the late 2nd century CE. In a time marred by oppression, Tertullian describes Christians as prepared to suffer in order to be closer to God, willing to die for what they believe due to the reward of eternal life. This information is vital in contributing to the rise of Christianity in the Roman Empire. What Tertullian describes is a religion unwilling to waver from its beliefs, and therefore one which begins to appeal to non-Christian Romans who bear witness to such martyrdom and absolute faith. It was Christians like Tertullian who contributed to the rapid growth of the religion.

However, it can be argued that Tertullian's work is biased towards Christianity, and therefore exaggerates its description of Christians and their devotion to their faith during this period.

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[5] Tertullian, "Apologeticus (197 CE)," in William Reeves and Jeremy Collier, *The Apology of Tertullian* (London: Griffith Farran, 1900), chapter 50.
[6] Ibid.

While Pliny stated in his letter to Trajan that the Christian community was growing, government intervention and condemnation of the religion was also becoming increasingly more frequent. Other accounts like Pliny's, from a Roman perspective, could easily counter Tertullian's work by arguing the benefits behind the Roman pagan religion or by dismissing Christian theologians as incompetent. Depending on the perspective and the context in which they were written, primary source documents can easily refute each other's claims and skew history in their own favor. Tertullian, in this context, was a highly educated Roman citizen who turned to Christianity. Therefore, he had the perspective of both communities on religious worship, making his apology slightly more credible and able to support the topic of Christianity becoming the only legal religion of the Roman Empire.

In addition to the 2nd century accounts of Pliny and Tertullian, the 4th century writings of Eusebius are further resources for primary source material supporting the emerging power of Christianity within the Roman Empire. Eusebius was a Christian historian and a bishop of Caesarea Maritima in the early 4th century CE. He lived through Diocletian's persecution of Christians to witness the transformation of the Roman Empire by Constantine. In his work, *The Life of Constantine*, he describes the story of Constantine's conversion to Christianity. He states that Constantine sought out divine assistance to aid him successfully in his military endeavors for complete power over the empire. Constantine reflected on the failures of emperors before him that came out of worshipping the Roman pantheon of gods, and instead he turned to the one "Supreme God" who gave away manifestations of his own power.[7] According to Eusebius, this "Supreme God" gave Constantine a sign from heaven in a dream, to ride into battle bearing the symbol shown to him. From then on Constantine, as Eusebius writes, inquired whom the God was that spoke to him, and eventually devoted himself to that God's "inspired writings."[8] By observing Eusebius' stories of Constantine's life, it can be assumed that he was a close advisor to the emperor. However, this was not the case. Eusebius lived in

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[7] Eusebius, "The Life of Constantine (337-339 CE)," in *Library of Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*, (New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1990), vol. I.

[8] Ibid.

Caesarea Maritima, in modern Palestine, while Constantine's capital was located in Constantinople, in modern Turkey, therefore it would have been difficult for the bishop to know the emperor so personally if he rarely left Caesarea. Eusebius did have an expansive knowledge of Christin doctrine, however, as he studied under Pamphilius, a devoted disciple to the Christian apologist Origen. It can be determined that the details of Constantine's actual conversion may be fabricated or exaggerated, but the theology behind the Supreme God presented by Eusebius in his story is mostly accurate, albeit undeniably biased toward Christianity, and not other monotheistic religions of the period.

Eusebius' interpretation of the conversion of Constantine is an interesting insight into the emperor's sudden reliance on Christianity within the empire. While it cannot be taken as absolute historical fact, the shift of the Roman Empire from a pagan society to a Christian-dominated one is still evident. Regardless of how it actually happened, Eusebius' account of Constantine's conversion is one of many that describe Constantine's shift toward religious toleration and the practice of Christianity as the official religion of the empire. The document has come a long way when compared to Pliny's letter to Trajan regarding Christian persecution in the 2nd century. Pliny described Christianity as a "wicked" and "excessive" superstition,[9] and now in the 4th century, according to the writings of Eusebius, it has become the religion of the Roman Emperor. This makes Eusebius' work a prime example of Christianity's widespread influence, despite its various flaws.

In addition to his *Life of Constantine*, Eusebius wrote his *Church History*, a compilation of ten books presenting the history of the church, from the apostles to his lifetime. The tenth book highlights Constantine's political commands that different bishops in various cities throughout the empire enact laws that favor Christians. In chapters 5-7, Eusebius uses copies of Constantine's letters to show the emperor's desires to restore goods to Catholic Christians, to grant money to the churches, and to exempt clergy members from civic duty. Eusebius recorded these laws in his *Church History* to show Constantine's favor of the Christian church. Constantine uses language such as "the divinity of the great God preserve thee for many years" and "when they show greatest reverence to the Deity, the greatest benefits accrue to the

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[9] Pliny, "Letters."

state."[10] His reference to one higher deity in his letters supports Eusebius' previous remarks of his conversion to Christianity. While Constantine issued the Edict of Milan, declaring that all religions be tolerated in the Roman Empire, he chose Christianity as the official religion due to his personal encounter with the Christian God. His letter regarding clergy being exempt from civic duties exemplifies his reverence of the religion. He pardons them so that they "may not by any error or sacrilegious negligence be drawn away from the service due to the Deity, but may devote themselves without any hindrance to their own law."[11] Constantine, much like the pagan emperors before him, wishes to appease the Christian God, and he notes that in order to do that the members of the church had to be focused solely on their holy duties.

Eusebius copied Constantine's letters in his work, so they are not his own words, but they are nonetheless important pieces of information to understand the new importance of Christianity in the Roman Empire. The letters steer away from pure religious theology presented previously by Tertullian in his apology; and instead primarily focus on the political organization of religion in the empire. Of course, religion was always intertwined closely with the political workings of Rome, as seen in Pliny's letter and Eusebius' account of Constantine's conversion. Constantine's political letters give an understanding of the effect Christianity had on the Roman Empire. It was no longer a persecuted community, but rather the new religion favored at this point, and it was beginning the journey that would soon lead to it becoming the only recognized legal religion of the empire. While Eusebius is a highly-contested source of accurate historical information, the letters contained in his *Church History* were written by Constantine himself and merely copied by Eusebius, and therefore are a reliable historical insight into the political integrations of Christianity during the 4th century. Not many other sources can counter the writings of the emperor himself in regard to the passing of new laws.

The four primary sources examined in this paper all provide insight into how Christianity became the only legal religion of the empire. Each has their own strengths and

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[10] Eusebius, "Church History (4th Century CE)," in *Library of Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers* (New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1990), vol. I.
[11] Eusebius, "Church History."

weaknesses in regard to the topic. Pliny's letter to Trajan, Tertullian's apology, and Constantine's letters within the work of Eusebius' *Church History* are all reliable first-hand accounts of Christianity in the Roman Empire from the 2nd century to the 4th century CE. Eusebius' interpretation of Constantine's conversion is a less reliable source of accurate information, but nonetheless gives a valuable perspective on how Christian ideals emerged as the leading doctrines of the empire. When compared to each other, all four sources inform about a different aspect of the topic at hand, but are similar in their overlying theme of the progression of Christianity's influence.

Pliny's letter to Trajan is a non-Christian viewpoint on the Christian community in a period of their persecution. The Roman governor questions the justification of punishing the Christians for their beliefs, if those particular beliefs do not interfere with the public worship of Rome's pantheon of gods. This issue is brought to attention repeatedly throughout Tertullian's apology. He describes and compares the specific practices of Christians and Romans, arguing that there is no true reasoning behind the persecutions. It is fair to say that both Pliny and Tertullian wanted to see the law carried out fairly, albeit they had very different motivations. Pliny and Tertullian's works are early sources of Christianity's emergence, both of them highlighting the growth and spreading influence of the religion. Pliny, stating, "The infection of this superstition has spread not only to the cities but even to the villages and country areas"[12] and Tertullian, stating, in reference to influence of the works Roman scholars, that, "…their words do not find so many disciples as Christians do, teachers not by words, but by their deeds."[13] Pliny and Tertullian's words are great introductions into the two sources examined from the 4th century, which exemplify just how dominant Christianity became within the empire.

Contrary to Pliny's belief that the spread of Christianity would be halted by the threat of execution, Eusebius' works favor the hopes of Tertullian; that Christianity would become the religion of the empire and the persecution of its followers would cease to exist. Eusebius' description of Constantine converting to Christianity, although his account is more legend than fact, is able to show that Christians succeeded in their desire to spread their

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[12] Pliny, "Letters."
[13] Tertullian, "Apologeticus."

message and convert the empire to their beliefs. This is further backed up by Eusebius' copying of Constantine's letters, which declared new laws for Christians throughout various cities in the empire. Christianity went from being outlawed to becoming the one official religion of one of the most powerful empires in history.

All four of the sources examined are in their own way vital to understanding how Christianity became the leading religion of the Roman world. They span nearly 200 years of Roman history, give perspectives from both Roman officials and Christian historians, and are, for the most part, reliable resources. It is nearly impossible to have an unbiased firsthand account of history, but providing different outlets of perception for those histories helps to achieve an equal interpretation of events. In addition, it is important to collect primary sources from different points in the progression of a certain topic. In this case, Christianity did not suddenly emerge as an influential religion when Constantine rose to power; rather it existed alongside the pagan religions of Rome for centuries and garnered its own emergent following as time progressed. The four sources presented in this paper support the different stages of the evolution of Christianity that ultimately led to its role as the only legal religion of the empire.

In conclusion, the purpose of this paper's analysis of the chosen sources was to support the impact that the growth and spread of Christianity within the Roman Empire had on changing the Roman worldview from a pagan-centered ideal to a society dominated solely by Christianity. Ranging from the early encounters of Pliny with the then-persecuted Christians and Tertullian's apology against such persecution, to Eusebius' multiple accounts of Constantine's religious conversion and newly introduced Christian laws, the sources examined provide insight into how Christianity evolved over time and became the leading religion of the Roman Empire.

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Author Bio

Amy Stewart is a senior at California State University, San Bernardino and is set to graduate in the fall of 2017. She is majoring in history with a concentration in European studies. In the summer of 2014, she volunteered on an archaeological dig site in Israel, which furthered her passion for ancient and medieval history. After graduation, she hopes to travel to the places in Europe that she learned about during her studies at CSUSB and pursue a Master's degree abroad.

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Charles the Great: An Analysis of Primary Sources Related to the Reign of Charlemagne

By Amelia Sullivan

While the exact date and location of his birth is unknown, scholars believe that Charles the Great – or Charlemagne – was born in 742 CE, in modern-day Belgium, to King Pepin the Short of Francia and Queen Bertrada of Laon.[1] Following his father's death in 768 and his brother's death in 771, Charlemagne rose to power as the sole ruler of Francia.[2] As King, Charlemagne instituted a number of religious and secular reforms meant to consolidate Frankish territories under his power. In addition, Charlemagne waged war in an effort to expand territory and evangelize neighboring populations. Under his rule, the roots of Carolingian culture and power were established. One of the most crucial aspects of a historian's career involves the examination of original sources regarding specific places, events, time periods, or individuals in order to gain a more nuanced understanding of history. This close study of documents allows historians to draw a vivid illustration of civilizations long gone. Close analysis of primary source documents such as the Capitulary of Herstal, one of Charlemagne's letters to King Offa of Mercia, and a letter from the Northumbrian monk Alcuin to Charlemagne, reveal various facets of Carolingian society during Charlemagne's reign.

The Capitulary of Herstal, issued in 779, was amongst the first set of reform documents released by Charlemagne. In the years prior to the Capitulary's creation, Charlemagne led a number of successful military campaigns, expanding the limits of Frankish territories. In 774, at Pope Hadrian I's request, Charlemagne led a successful campaign against Lombardy.[3] By the conflict's end, Charlemagne crowned himself King of the Lombards and destroyed any opposition to his authority. In 777, Charlemagne attempted to further his holdings by launching a military campaign

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[1] Alessandro Barbero, *Charlemagne: Father of a Continent* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004), 12.

[2] Jacques Boussard, *The Civilization of Charlemagne* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1968), 24.

[3] Francois L. Ganshof, "Charlemagne," *Speculum* 24, no. 4 (1949): 520-521, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2854638.

in Spain in an attempt to wrest control of Spanish lands away from Islamic rule.[4] It was a disaster. The Basques were not only able to repel Frankish forces, but nearly decimated Charlemagne's army. Charlemagne's troubles, however, did not end with his military failure in Spain. The territories of Italy and Aquitaine rose in revolt against Charlemagne's rule.[5] In addition, the Saxons began an invasion of Frankish territories.[6] In an effort to consolidate his power, Charlemagne called an assembly of bishops, lords, abbots, and counts to confer on a number of topics related to increasing efficacy of public institutions, providing greater security for the people and their properties, as well as increased organization of the church.[7] The laws and ecclesiastical matters discussed at this assembly were likely recorded by an individual at Charlemagne's court, then reissued to the populations of Frankish territories with the King's approval. This document became known as the Capitulary of Herstal.

The Capitulary starts by stating the year and month of the assembly at Herstal, as well as stating that the decisions were made "in accordance with God's will."[8] The document's first tenants address the power granted to Bishops. In the first point, Charlemagne states that Suffragan Bishops should be placed under the authority of metropolitan bishops according to canon law, and that if any facet of ministry necessitates correction, Bishops "should correct and improve [them] with willing hearts."[9] Charlemagne also addresses the lack of uniformity amongst the consecration, or formal religious dedication of Church authorities. He orders that bishops who are not consecrated must be consecrated immediately. He further grants bishops authority over priests, in accordance with canon law, and grants them power to "impose correction on incestuous people."[10] In addition, Charlemagne commands that monasteries should not stray away from the teachings they have been founded on, nor should

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[4] Ganshof, "Charlemagne," 521.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Charlemagne, "9 Herstal, 779," in *The Reign of Charlemagne: Documents on Carolingian Government and Administration,* ed. H.R. Loyn and John Percival (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1975), 47.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

convents deviate from their holy orders.[11] From these first several edicts, one learns of the current state of the Church within Francia, as well as Charlemagne's efforts to centralize religious practice within his Kingdom.

The "canon law" Charlemagne references throughout the Capitulary's body refers to a specific canonical collection granted to him by Pope Hadrian I. This collection, called the *Dionysio-Hadyriana*, is comprised of texts detailing religious regulations and papal decrees established by a number of synods, popes, and religious authorities over several centuries.[12] References to canon law within the Capitulary establish Charlemagne not only as a Christian King, but as a ruler on good terms with the Church. In addition, Charlemagne's allusion to canon law confirms the importance of religious texts within Carolingian society. Charlemagne's insistence that Bishops be consecrated suggests church practice regarding the ascension of individuals to the office of Bishop was not yet uniform in Frankish territories at the time of the Capitulary's creation.

During the reign of Pepin the Short, the office of Bishop that sometimes laid dormant, was overtaken by a powerful noble, or was sometimes assigned to the abbot of a monastery. By insisting that all Bishops be consecrated, Charlemagne ensured each diocese possessed a genuine Bishop.[13] Furthermore, Charlemagne's call for monasteries established upon certain schools of monastic rule to "live in accordance with that rule"[14] means that monastic practice at the time was either lax or varied throughout Francia. This insistence on uniform monastic practice in combination with the tenant regarding the uniform consecration of Bishops establishes Charlemagne's desire to reform the Church and establish uniformity of practice in all aspects of Christianity.

The second half of the Capitulary addresses secular affairs rather than ecclesiastical ones. This section of the document focuses upon the judgement and treatment of criminals, the raising of armed followings, the establishment of oaths, and the sale of coats of mail. In tenant eight, Charlemagne states that guilty individuals that take refuge in a church "are not to be let off, and

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[11] Charlemagne, "9 Herstal, 779," 47.
[12] Barbero, *Charlemagne: Father of a Continent*, 234.
[13] Ibid., 224.
[14] Charlemagne, "9 Herstal, 779," 47.

no food is to be given to them there."[15] The eighth edict points to the existence of sanctuary law within Carolingian society.

In addition, it also demonstrates the limit of Charlemagne's power over the Church. He does not forbid churches from granting sanctuary to criminals, yet makes it difficult for them to thrive within such an environment by using his authority as King to cut off food supply to guilty parties. Charlemagne again demonstrates this authority in point nine, stating that robbers caught within an area of immunity should be presented "by the justices of that area at the count's court"[16] and that "anyone who fails to outright comply with this is to lose his benefice and his office."[17] Charlemagne, again, does not overstep his secular power by extending his hand into church affairs. He does, however, make it difficult for criminals to thrive in areas of immunity, this time by using his authority as King to order his justices and vassals to apprehend the guilty. In addition to demonstrating the divide between ecclesiastical and secular powers, tenant nine's mention of the duties of justices and vassals points to the existence of an established system of courts and vassalage within Carolingian society. One of the crowning achievements of Charlemagne's reign was the institution of a court system within Frankish territories. He instituted this system by granting his Lords various benefices, or gifts. Along with a gift of land, Charlemagne also granted his vassals judicial authority.[18] The clear instructions for justices and vassals within the document mean that by 779, Charlemagne established both a court and vassalage system within Francia.

In another section within the latter half of the Capitulary, Charlemagne talks about the punishment awaiting an individual committing perjury. In the order, he states that if an individual accuses another of perjury, they must undergo "the ordeal of the cross,"[19] and that if the swearer wins, the accuser must "pay the equivalent of his *wergeld*."[20] Wergeld was an ancient Germanic law where an individual found guilty of murder paid money equivalent to the life of their victim. The mention of wergeld within the Capitulary demonstrates the Germanic roots of the

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[15] Charlemagne, "9 Herstal, 779," 48.

[16] Ibid., 47.

[17] Ibid., 48.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

Carolingian justice system.

Furthermore, not only does Charlemagne reference Germanic custom within the Capitulary, he also utilizes Latin terms such as "centenarius," "vicedominus," and "missus." Each of these terms refers to a given office of authority, such as a minor public official, deputy bishop, or envoy. The use of Latin within the Capitulary means that the Frankish peoples integrated not only old Germanic custom into their society, but also some aspects of Roman culture as well. The Capitulary of Herstal's edicts provide evidence for the poor state of the Church at the time of the document's issue, Charlemagne's relationship with the church, the importance of religious texts within Carolingian society, the clear divide between the power of the King and the power of the church, the establishment of judicial courts and vassalage, the Germanic roots of Carolingian law systems, as well as Carolingian society's adoption of certain aspects of Roman culture, such as Latin. While the document provides the reader knowledge about various facets of Charlemagne's reign, it does not inform the audience of the Capitulary's effectiveness, how the Capitulary might have been distributed, how entrenched aspects of Roman culture were in Carolingian society, or provide an in-depth look at other facets of Carolingian law during Charlemagne's rule.

Scholars estimate that Charlemagne's letter to King Offa of Mercia was written in 796 CE, nearly two decades after the Capitulary of Herstal. During his reign, Charlemagne exchanged letters with a number of foreign officials. Through writing, Charlemagne addressed trade, religious, and governmental issues with foreign powers. Thorough analysis of the letter not only reveals the status of Francia's relationship with Mercia and the protections afforded religious pilgrims within Francia, but further supports the adoption of aspects of Roman tradition into Frankish culture as well as emphasizes the importance of religious text within Francia.

At the letter's start, Charlemagne lists his titles, naming himself "King of the Franks and Lombards and patrician of the Romans."[21] By referring to himself as "patrician of the Romans,"[22]

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[21] Charlemagne, "Charles the Great to Offa, King of Mercia, 796," in *The Reign of Charlemagne: Documents on Carolingian Government and Administration,* ed. H.R. Loyn and John Percival (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1975), 113.
[22] Ibid.

Charlemagne hearkens back to the majesty of the dissolved Roman Empire, aligning himself with the memory of great Roman leaders of old, such as the great Christian ruler Constantine. Just as the use of Latin in the Capitulary of Herstal suggests the adoption of aspects of Roman culture into Frankish society, so too does Charlemagne's adoption of the title "patrician of Rome" demonstrate ties between Francia and the dissolved Roman Empire.

In the letter's second paragraph, Charlemagne extends blessings to Offa, stating that they are joined in "unity of peace"[23] and the "concord of love."[24] This friendly language continues till the end of the paragraph as Charlemagne mentions Offa's "brotherly letters,"[25] and recognizes him as a "devout defender of holy faith."[26] In addition, he also mentions his hope that the treaty established between them will flourish. Charlemagne's use of familiar language toward Offa suggests a closeness between the two leaders, as well as signifies stable relations between Francia and Mercia at the time of the letter's creation. Further, the treaty Charlemagne mentions is likely the reason for cordial conduct between the two Kingdoms.

In the years before Charlemagne penned the letter, he sought to arrange a match between Offa's daughter and his son. When Offa attempted to arrange a reciprocal marriage between his son and one of Charlemagne's daughters, Charlemagne, insulted by Offa's overreach, imposed a trade embargo upon Mercia.[27] Trade relations between Francia and Mercia normalized in the mid-790s after the signing of a mutually beneficial commercial treaty.[28] Charlemagne's remarks on this treaty signify that by 796, conflict between the Franks and Mercians ceased. In the letter's fourth paragraph, Charlemagne extends protection and support to Mercian merchants, promising them that if they face problems within Francia, they can lodge complaints with a court justice or Charlemagne himself.[29] This provision of the letter demonstrates

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[23] Charlemagne, "Charles the Great to Offa, King of Mercia, 796," 113.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Martin J. Ryan and Nicholas J. Higham, "The Mercian Supremacies," in *The Anglo-Saxon World* (Yale University Press, 2013), 189, http://jstor.org/stable/j.ctt32bt51.9.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Charlemagne, "Charles the Great to Offa," 114.

Charlemagne's willingness to support trade and relations between nations.

In the fifth paragraph, Charlemagne informs Offa that a Mercian priest named Odberht sought protection from Offa's justice in Francia.[30] He further states that he sent Odberht to Rome where he and other exiles will be heard and judged.[31] This section demonstrates, similarly to the Capitulary of Herstal's sections on the treatment of the guilty within areas of immunity, the divide in secular and ecclesiastical power within Carolingian society. Rather than offer Odberht to Offa for judgement or rendering judgement himself, he sends Odberht to Rome for religious authorities to judge. He makes this divide in power clear within his letter, stating that one of "apostolic authority should determine a case in which the views of others disagree."[32]

At the end of the letter, Charlemagne states that he has sent gifts to various episcopal sees within Mercia in divine intercession for Pope Hadrian I's soul. He beseeches Offa to make the same intercessions, stating that "blessed Augustine has taught, that intercessions of ecclesiastical piety must be made for all."[33] Charlemagne references the teaching of St. Augustine of Hippo, a bishop from the fifth century. From this, the reader can infer that Charlemagne not only possesses knowledge Augustine, but has either heard of or read Augustine's writings.

During his reign, Charlemagne encouraged the translation, preservation, and reading of various liturgical texts. Some, especially the writings of St. Augustine, became required reading in the Carolingian educational system. References to St. Augustine's teachings, in addition to mentions of canon law within the Capitulary at Herstal, emphasize the importance of religious text within Francia. The letter from Charlemagne to Offa provides evidence of Francia's ties to the dissolved Roman Empire, the status of relations between Francia and Mercia, Charlemagne's foreign policy, the divide between secular authority and ecclesiastical authority within Carolingian society, as well as the translation and preservation of religious literature during Charlemagne's reign. It does not, however, provide a look at Charlemagne's foreign policy with other powers; it offers only

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[30] Charlemagne, "Charles the Great to Offa," 114.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.

Charlemagne's perspective of the alliance between Mercia and Francia, and says little of the preservation of classical literature at Charlemagne's court.

In 796, a monk wrote a letter to Charlemagne offering the King advice regarding the evangelization of populations newly added to the Frankish Kingdom. The letter's author, Alcuin, was a scholar and monk. He hailed from York, located in the Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Northumbria. At a young age, Alcuin was entrusted to the clergy. There, Alcuin became well-read in a number of topics including grammar, religious texts, as well as the classics.[34] While serving as a messenger from Northumbria to Francia, Alcuin was introduced into Charlemagne's company and became the King's close friend, mentor, and advisor.[35] By 796, Alcuin left Charlemagne's court and became Abbot of Tours. Though far from Charlemagne's side, Alcuin continued to provide the King with advice on a variety of topics. By analyzing Alcuin's letter to Charlemagne, one can not only learn about Alcuin and Charlemagne's relationship, but a number of things regarding the reformation of the Church and the importance of religious text within Carolingian society. Alcuin greets Charlemagne, acknowledging his titles of "king of Germany, Gaul and Italy."[36] He spends the first paragraph lavishing praise and blessings upon Charlemagne for having "spread abroad the rule of Christianity" to "numerous peoples far and wide."[37]

The second and third paragraphs reference Charlemagne's efforts to Christianize foreign enemies. Alcuin first states that Charlemagne has attempted to the "unhappy Saxon people"[38] to enlightenment, though many "remain in the squalor of evil custom"[39] and are "damned along with the devil."[40] From Alcuin's words, one can infer that Charlemagne conquered some or part of Saxony by 796, that he made efforts to evangelize the population, and that some Saxons resisted. Saxony proved a threat to Francia

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[34] Douglas Dales, *Alcuin: His Life and Legacy* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 2012), eBook, 67.

[35] Ibid., 29.

[36] Alcuin, "Alcuin to Charles the Great" (796), in *The Reign of Charlemagne: Documents on Carolingian Government and Administration.* ed. H.R. Loyn and John Percival (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1975), 120.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid., 121.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid.

through the rule of several generations of Frankish Kings. Even Charlemagne's father, Pepin, led a number of expeditions to defend his territories from Saxon incursion.[41] Charlemagne, however, took the Saxon threat more seriously. He believed that the Saxons would remain a threat to his Kingdom should they be allowed to remain independent. In addition, as a devout Christian, Charlemagne believed it his duty to spread Christianity. Therefore, it was his God given duty to Christianize the mostly pagan Saxon population. By 785, Charlemagne conquered Saxony as far as the Elbe, incorporated it into Francia, and then divided it into bishoprics.[42]

The Saxons, however, were not easily cowed. They rose in rebellion against the Franks in 794 and were able to retake some territory until Charlemagne recovered Saxony in 797.[43] Alcuin penned his letter in 796, only a year before Charlemagne regained Saxon territories. Alcuin's reference to Saxon resistance provides evidence of Charlemagne's struggle with reconquering and evangelizing Saxony. In addition, it proves there likely existed some form of prejudice against the Saxons amongst the Frankish population, since Alcuin states that Saxons who resisted salvation were "damned along with the devil."[44]

Alcuin continues to praise Charlemagne, stating that God subdued the Huns to His service through Charlemagne's military campaigns. By Alcuin's words, one can draw the conclusion that Frankish forces launched attacks against the Huns and were successful in their venture. The Avars, known as the "Huns" to the Frankish populations, were an Asiatic tribe occupying countries in the middle Danube area.[45] In 791, Charlemagne launched a campaign against them. This attack failed, forcing Charlemagne to regroup. From 795-796, Charlemagne was able to subdue to Avars and claim their territory as a protectorate.[46] Since Alcuin states that the Huns have already been added to God's service, this means that by the time Alcuin wrote his letter to Charlemagne, the King subdued the Avars.

In the letter's fourth paragraph, Alcuin states that it is now

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[41] Ganshof, "Charlemagne," 520.
[42] Ibid., 521.
[43] Ibid., 523.
[44]Alcuin, "Alcuin to Charles the Great," 121.
[45] Ganshof, "Charlemagne," 522.
[46] Ibid., 523.

Charlemagne's duty to send preachers to evangelize the newly subdued populations.[47] Alcuin references the teachings of St. Paul, the Book of Mathew, as well as the teachings of St. Jerome in order to impress upon Charlemagne the importance of sending the educated priests to Christianize the new territories.[48] Like the mention of canon law in the Capitulary of Herstal as well as Charlemagne's mention of St. Augustine's writings in his letter to King Offa of Mercia, Alcuin's quoting of religious texts demonstrates the importance of Christianity in Carolingian society. In addition, Alcuin alluding to a diverse pool of text, like Charlemagne's letter to Offa, supports the idea of the translation and preservation of various works of literature during Charlemagne's reign.

In the following paragraph, Alcuin offers Charlemagne advice regarding whether or not this new population of believers should pay tithes, or payments to the church.[49] He advises Charlemagne to look to the example of the Prophets to find whether or not tithes should be imposed upon "uncultured peoples in the early days of their faith."[50] The advice to look to the example of religious figures in order to find an answer for an issue of both secular and ecclesiastical import displays the deep entrenchment of Christianity into the Frankish Kingdom. Alcuin stresses the importance of the office of preaching and the sacrament of baptism being properly ordered. He again references the letters of St. Paul to the Corinthians and works of St. Jerome to provide an example of the proper order of baptism.[51] Alcuin's insistence on following a uniform method of baptism amongst the new territories hearkens to the Capitulary of Herstal's edict upon the uniform consecration of Bishops within Frankish territories.

Both documents stress the importance of a fixed application of certain religious practices, whether they be the application of sacraments or the granting of religious offices. This demonstrates that after two decades, Charlemagne's reorganization of the Church remained in progress. In the document's final paragraph, Alcuin tells Charlemagne the proper order in which a grown man should be baptized, referencing St. Augustine's "On Catechizing

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[47] Alcuin, "Alcuin to Charles the Great," 121.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid., 121-122.
[50] Ibid., 121.
[51] Ibid., 122.

the Unlettered" as evidence.[52] This mention of St. Augustine, alongside mentions of St. Augustine within Charlemagne's letter to King Offa, provides further evidence for the translation and preservation of literature during Charlemagne's reign. Alcuin's letter to Charlemagne displays the deep bond between mentor and student, provides evidence for the process of the evangelization of pagan territories under Charlemagne, confirms the importance of religious text in the Frankish Kingdoms, demonstrates the deep entrenchment of Christianity within Frankish society, affirms the importance of uniform religious practice in all areas of Francia, and illustrates the importance of translating and preserving literature during Charlemagne's reign. The document, however, fails to establish how much of Saxony Charlemagne conquered at the time of its writing, does not tell much of the availability of certain religious texts within Carolingian society, or why Charlemagne did not immediately established a tithe system within the newly evangelized Saxon territories.

Careful analysis of primary sources allows readers to obtain more information about major historical events, historical figures, or periods of history. Close examination of the Capitulary of Herstal, Charlemagne's letter of King Offa of Mercia, and Alcuin's letter to Charlemagne reveal facets of Carolingian society during Charlemagne's reign, such as the importance of religious texts within Frankish society, the reorganization of the Church, the careful divide between secular power and ecclesiastical power, the translation and preservation of various works of literature, as well as Charlemagne's policy toward foreign entities. Though these sources provide a detailed look into some aspects of Charlemagne's kingdom, however, they are written from a fixed perspective, offer little insight into the lives of ordinary peoples, and provide information regarding only a few facets of Carolingian society. These documents' issues can be solved by the addition of more primary sources, secondary sources, and further analysis. Primary resources are vital to the study and understanding of history. They must be preserved so future generations might access their wisdom and learn from their forefathers' mistakes.

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[52] Alcuin, "Alcuin to Charles the Great," 122.

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Author Bio

Amelia Sullivan is a senior pursuing a Bachelor of Arts in history at California State University, San Bernardino. Amelia discovered her passion for history at a young age thanks to her family's fondness for books. This led her to pursue an Associate of Arts degree in history while attending her local community college. In her free time, Amelia enjoys learning foreign languages, practicing martial arts, and playing Jazz music on the Trumpet and Saxophone.

Reviews

Book Review: *Refuting ISIS*

By Tomi Pulkkinen

Refuting ISIS is a scholarly response to the atrocities committed by the so-called Islamic state in Iraq and Syria, and the misinterpretations of the Islamic texts it uses to justify its horrid acts. In this book, Shaykh Muhammad al-Yaqoubi argues that the organization "is neither Islamic nor a state, but rather a deviant group that is driven by anger, hatred, and a thirst for power, using Islam to reach their goals."[1] The book was first written in early 2015, and published in both Arabic as well as English in that same year. The expanded second edition was published in 2016, with more detailed coverage of such issues as the "prohibition of burning human beings, the abolition of slavery, and Islam's position towards minorities."[2] New subjects, such as "the invalidity of excommunicating Muslim rulers for not applying certain aspects of Shari'ah, Islam's position towards democracy, and the prohibition of destroying pre-Islamic monuments and sacred sites" have also been added to the new edition.[3] The intended audience of the book, according to the author, consists of five groups: (1) young Muslims who might be influenced by ISIS' ideology in the absence of an alternative perspective, (2) Muslims who, being opposed to ISIS, are seeking answers to its theological and legal interpretation, (3) ISIS recruits in order to help them find the legal Islamic justifications to defect from it, (4) the fighters of the Free Syrian Army and others who engage ISIS in combat, and (5) western academics, journalists, politicians, and the general public. Due to the credentials of the author, and his status as a recognized Islamic scholar, the book doubles as a *fatwa* (an Islamic legal opinion) that provides an ideological and religious basis to

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[1] Shaykh Muhammad al-Yaqoubi, *Refuting ISIS: Destroying Its Religious Foundations and Proving It has Strayed from Islam and that Fighting It is an Obligation*, 2nd ed. (Virginia: Sacred Knowledge, 2016), xii.
[2] Ibid., xi.
[3] Ibid., xi.

repudiate the group and negate its claim to be representative of, or belonging to, the Islamic religious tradition.

Shaykh Muhammad al-Yaqoubi is from a scholarly family and a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad. His father was an *Imam* (leader of congregational prayer) at the Grand Umayyad Mosque in Damascus. He is also a master of the Shadhili Sufi Order, and a "spiritual leader to thousands of Muslims" around the world.[4] He was among the first scholars of Islam to speak against the regime of Bashar al-Assad in Syria. His *Refuting ISIS* is a detailed *fatwa* against the renegade sect that calls itself the "Islamic State in Iraq and Syria /the Levant" (ISIS/ISIL) and a refutation of their claim to Islam. The book consists of eleven chapters, along with an introduction, a conclusion, and an interview with the author by Matthew Barber conducted on May 31, 2015, that took place after the publication of his first refutation of ISIS titled *The Obligation to Fight ISIS: A Detailed Fatwa Proving that ISIS Have Strayed from Islam, Opposed Shariah and that Fighting Them is Obligatory*.

In his introduction, the author presents his answers to some of the most pertinent questions that have been asked regarding the group that calls itself the "Islamic State." He argues that (1) the claims of ISIS to a caliphate are "null and void," (2) "attacks against civilians and places of worship in the Muslim world are crimes, and the suicide bombers who commit these crimes are not martyrs," (3) oaths of allegiance to ISIS are "not binding," (4) "joining ISIS is forbidden…and one cannot be a true Muslim and an ISIS member at the same time," (5) the actions of ISIS "are in complete contradiction to the Shariah, and their crimes cannot be justified in Islam," (6) "it is forbidden to kill non-Muslim citizens or visitors," (7) "Muslims living in any non-Muslim country must abide by its laws and regulations," (8) "Slavery is now forbidden due to international treaties, which bind Muslims as well as the rest of the world," (9) "the implementation of Islamic penalties at times of war, and ignorance is impermissible," (10) it is a legal obligation under Islamic law that the Muslims in the region fight ISIS, (11) "ISIS does not represent Sunni Islam, and by their deviant beliefs, they are already outside Islam," and (12) to protect the young Muslims from the ideology of ISIS, moderate Islam should be spread instead of secular ideas.[5]

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[4] Al-Yaqoubi, *Refuting ISIS,* 131.
[5] Ibid., 3-4.

Al-Yaqoubi then goes on to explain the historical context and the prophetic traditions (*hadith*, pl. *ahadith*) used to repudiate the sect of extremist renegades known as the *Khawarij* that first appeared in the 7th century, the first century of Islam, and presents his conclusion that ISIS are the *Khawarij* of today, condemned in harsh words by the Prophet Muhammad himself long before their appearance. Al-Yaqoubi points out that his assessment of the group's ideology and beliefs is based on its own publications, not on what others have said about them. He urges "the media and the educational institutions to spread [his] *fatwa*, to communicate its contents, and to hold seminars to discuss its contents."[6] He also predicts that the defeat of ISIS is imminent and offers his assurances that "whoever dies at the hands of this group is the best of martyrs, and whoever remains patient shall be rewarded and shall witness victory."[7] He makes the point that there are no scholars among the group who are authorities in any of the Islamic sciences, and therefore, they have no business issuing legal verdicts, even going as far as to assert that "ISIS is the worst enemy of Islam."[8]

In chapter one, al-Yaqoubi makes the case for his argument that ISIS are the modern-day *Khawarij*, and provides evidence to support his claim from the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (*hadith*) that predict the emergence of a group whose attributes correspond to those of ISIS. He considers ISIS to be *Khawarij* based on three major areas in which they resemble the description of the group: (1) "revolting against the Muslim community," (2) "accusing the majority of Sunni Muslims to be unbelievers," and (3) "deeming as permissible the spread of injustice and corruption across the land."[9] Among the prophetic traditions (*ahadith*) that al-Yaqoubi mentions are descriptions of the *Khawarij* as "the worst of mankind and animals" and "the worst of those who are killed under the sky," as well as "dogs of hell." According to the Prophet of Islam, "they shall pass out of the religion, just as an arrow passes out of the prey" and "they call to the book of Allah, though they do not belong to it in the slightest." He was also reported to have said that "they will seek the extremities of the religion, so much so that they will eventually leave the religion altogether" and

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[6] Al-Yaqoubi, *Refuting ISIS,* 7.
[7] Ibid., 7.
[8] Ibid., 10.
[9] Ibid., 14.

that they "read the Quran assuming that it is to their benefit, but instead it is to their detriment." "Their belief does not go beyond their throats," and "of all the creatures, they are the most hated by God Most High"[10]

Chapter two, titled "Barbarism and Atrocities," enumerates the myriad of crimes committed by ISIS. Included in the long list are killings of "innocent Iraqi and Syrian Muslims," Christians, foreigners, and prisoners. According to al-Yaqoubi, these killings are prohibited and an affront to Islam, as the Quran states that "whoever kills a person unjustly, it is as though he has killed all mankind. And whoever saves a life, it is as though he had saved all mankind." (5:32).[11] Regarding the treatment of prisoners of war, the Quran states that "thereafter (is the time for) either amnesty or ransom: until the war lays down its burdens" (47:4).[12] Although the enslavement and killing of prisoners of war have in the past been adopted by the major schools of law in Sunni Islam as lawful by inference from the reported practices of the Prophet, al-Yaqoubi rightly opines that such practices are anachronistic since they have been prohibited by "The Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War" that was agreed to in Geneva on 12 August 1949 by "196 countries, including Muslim countries."[13] Al-Yaqoubi maintains that the convention is binding for all Muslims and that following its guidelines is in the best interests of Muslims everywhere. He goes so far as to contend that "abiding by these treaties is a religious obligation for Muslims, so violating them is a sin."[14] For al-Yaqoubi, following the Geneva Convention is not just a legal requirement; it is a religious imperative, common to all Muslims.

Regarding the burning of the Jordanian pilot Mu'adh al-Kasabeh, a particularly egregious violation of the Geneva Convention by ISIS, al-Yaqoubi maintains that this brutal action is absolutely prohibited in Islam. As the Prophet Muhammad is reported to have said: "No one has the right to punish with fire, except the Lord of the fire!"[15] Although the Quran states that "if you punish, then punish with the like of that wherewith you were

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[10] Al-Yaqoubi, *Refuting ISIS,* 15-17.
[11] Ibid., 24.
[12] Ibid., 25.
[13] Ibid., 26.
[14] Ibid., 26.
[15] Ibid., 27.

afflicted" (16:126), al-Yaqoubi reminds the readers that "retributive justice is restricted to what is permitted by the Shariah" and, "while the Muslims are generally allowed to apply retributive justice by fighting back, they are not allowed to employ prohibited means, such as burning, raping, or torturing."[16] He also points out that the application of a penal punishment in Islam "should be suspended in the presence of a doubt, however slight...to err in pardoning is better than to err in punishing," and that in Islam "the jurist must exert himself to the utmost to avert capital punishment from Muslims wherever possible."[17] In addition to random killings and mistreatment of prisoners, ISIS' crimes include assassinations, terrorizing innocent people, wrong implementation of Islamic penalties, lootings and mass expulsion, destruction of historical sites, enslavement of religious minorities, and child abuse. All of which are condemned and refuted by al-Yaqoubi with evidence drawn from the Quran, the *sunna* (practices and sayings of the Prophet Muhammad), and classical Islamic scholars. According to al-Yaqoubi, these "grave transgressions committed by ISIS make it obligatory…for Muslims to fight against them." He asserts that "Muslims are duty bound to shatter its forces, stop its crimes, and to rid humanity of its evil."[18] .

In chapter three, al-Yaqoubi presents the ISIS worldview and interpretation of Islam according to the words of its own propaganda in a manner that leaves no doubt as to the un-Islamic nature of the group and its ideology. He quotes primarily from the group's English-language publication *Dabiq*. There is no need for much refutation of the views expressed in *Dabiq*, due to their obviously outrageous and misguided nature, which is clear to any reader. Al-Yaqoubi asserts that the group's strategy "has no connection whatsoever with the noble character of the Prophet Muhammad" and that "the whole ISIS project is an attempt at hiding selfish political aims under the cover of Islamic ideology."[19]

Chapter four concentrates on the excommunication of Muslims en masse by ISIS. This practice, known as *takfir* in Arabic, is essential to ISIS' ideology, as it is used as a justification for killing other Muslims, an act strictly forbidden in Islam. The Quran warns the believers about the dangers of excommunication:

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[16] Al-Yaqoubi, *Refuting ISIS,* 27-28.
[17] Ibid., 27-28.
[18] Ibid., 45.
[19] Ibid., 56.

> O you who believe! When you go abroad in the cause
> of God, investigate carefully, and say not to anyone
> who offers you a salutation: "You are not a believer!"
> - coveting the perishable goods of this life. With God
> are profits and spoils abundant. Even thus were you
> yourselves before, till God conferred on you His
> favors: Therefore carefully investigate. For God is
> well aware of all that you do (4:94).[20]

The prophetic tradition warns against *takfir* as well; The Prophet
was reported as saying that "accusing a believer of unbelief is
similar to killing him" and "whenever a man says to his brother, 'O
infidel' (*kafir*) the judgement of unbelief falls on one of the two.
Either it is true, or else it comes back to him."[21] The wanton
practice of *takfir* has been warned against by many scholars,
among them the influential 13th century Islamic scholar Ibn
Taymiyyah, who said that "accusation of unbelief is one of the ills
of the innovators. When they differ, scholars accuse each other of
error not of unbelief."[22]

Regarding democracy, which is considered by ISIS to be an
act of heresy, al-Yaqoubi notes that "ISIS' position does not
recognize the various meanings and usages of the word democracy,
nor does it understand how it functions, since democracy does not
interfere with religion or aim at eradicating or replacing it."
Furthermore, he goes on to add that "excommunicating Muslims
due to their adoption of democracy is absolutely wrong and is a
crime against Islam itself, which affords people the right to decide
on the form of their government."[23]

In chapter five, al-Yaqoubi addresses the question of
whether ISIS' followers are to be considered Muslims or not.
According to him, the opinion of the majority of Islamic jurists
have been that the original *Khawarij* sect were to be considered
Muslims, but it was still obligatory to fight against them in order to
stop their transgression. He goes on to point out, however, that "a
number of distinguished jurists of the past and in recent times have

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[20] Al-Yaqoubi, *Refuting ISIS,* 62.
[21] Ibid., 62.
[22] Ibid., 63.
[23] Ibid., 69.

openly declared that the *Khawarij* are not Muslims."[24] Al-Yaqoubi is of the opinion that the claims made by ISIS that the group supports Islam are "refuted by their actions," and he declares that "ISIS' leaders are people of unbelief and misguidance."[25] He also finds an uncanny resemblance of the group in a *hadith* from 'Ali b. Abi Talib, recorded by Nu'aym b. Hammad in the 9th century:

> When you see black flags, stay where you are, and do not move your hand or legs. Then, a group of people shall emerge; they are weak, insignificant, and their hearts are like pieces of iron. They are people of the State. They never fulfill any pact or contract. They call to the truth though they do not belong to it. Their names shall be agnomens and their ascriptions will be after villages. Their hair shall be left down like the hair of women. [They will emerge] until they begin to quarrel amongst themselves. The God will give the truth to whomever He wills.[26]

In chapter six, al-Yaqoubi provides evidence in support of his view that "fighting ISIS is a religious duty."[27] He expresses his opinion, in no uncertain terms, as he explicitly states: "I issue here the *fatwa* that fighting the group known as ISIS is a communal obligation (*fard kifaya*) upon Muslims."[28] He also warns Muslims against joining the group and calls the followers of ISIS to "repent to Almighty God" and defect from the organization.[29] In chapter seven, al-Yaqoubi declares that an oath of allegiance to their so-called caliph Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi is void,[30] and in chapter eight he clarifies that according to the opinion of the majority of Islamic jurists, it is permissible for Muslims to seek the help of non-Muslims when fighting the *Khawarij*.[31] In chapters nine and ten, al-Yaqoubi presents some "legal rulings regarding Muslims in

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[24] Al-Yaqoubi, *Refuting ISIS,* 74.
[25] Ibid., 76.
[26] Ibid., 76-77.
[27] Ibid., 81.
[28] Ibid., 84.
[29] Ibid., 84.
[30] Ibid., 87.
[31] Ibid., 91.

western countries"[32] and "non-Muslims in Muslim countries"[33] to clarify that Muslims in non-Muslim countries are obliged by contract to obey the laws of their countries of residence.[34]

Furthermore, al-Yaqoubi affirms that non-Muslims in Muslim countries are protected by covenant of protection that applies to all Muslims.[35] Regarding Muslims living in Western countries, al-Yaquobi quotes Ibn Nujaym (d.970) who said that "When a Muslim businessman enters the land of non-Muslims under safety, it is forbidden for him to harm them in any way as that would be treachery, and treachery is forbidden," and 'Ala al-Din al-Haskafi al-Hanafi (d.1088) who said that "Any Muslim who enters the land of war (meaning a non-Muslim land even during times of war) under an agreement of safety, it is forbidden for him to kill, loot, or commit fornication, as Muslims stand by their contracts."[36] Regarding non-Muslims in Muslim countries, al-Yaqoubi quotes two hadiths from the collection of al-Bukhari to assert that "Whoever kills a non-Muslim under contract will never smell the scent of Paradise," and "It is a covenant that goes for all Muslims. Anyone who breaches this covenant shall be cursed by God, the angels, and all mankind." Al-Yaqoubi also quotes Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalani who explained, in his commentary on the first hadith, that "It means anyone who has a contract with Muslims, whether by *jizya* (tax), by truce from a sultan, or by protection from a single Muslim, is included."[37]

In chapter eleven, al-Yaqoubi offers his advice to the countries fighting ISIS regarding "changing the conditions which enable the growth of extremism," by making five propositions. First, he exhorts the government of Iraq to "remove oppression from the Sunni population…and to give them their political rights." Second, he demands that the regime of Bashar al-Asad in Syria "cede authority to the Syrian people." Third, he contends that steps should be taken to "resolve the Palestinian issue, and protect the sacred sites of Jerusalem and al-Aqsa Holy Mosque." Fourth, he demands that "the international community must respect the rights of Muslim minorities, especially in countries like Myanmar

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[32] Al-Yaqoubi, *Refuting ISIS,* 97.
[33] Ibid., 101.
[34] Ibid., 100.
[35] Ibid., 101.
[36] Ibid., 99.
[37] Ibid., 101.

(Burma) and the Central African Republic." And finally, while he calls "Muslims to respect Western societies and cultures," he is also of the opinion that "Western countries must also respect Muslim values and sacred figures and re-assess the boundaries of free speech."[38] Finally, in his conclusion, al-Yaqoubi reiterates his position that ISIS "is a group of deviators that do not represent Islam in any form," and that the "followers of ISIS do not want to adhere to Islamic law, rather they desire to twist Islamic law to conform to their fantasies."[39]

Refuting ISIS is a well-argued and convincing *fatwa* from a scholar whose extensive knowledge and expertise lend it considerable clout and credibility within the Islamic world - credibility that ISIS lacks. Shaykh al-Yaqoubi's argument is based on authentic Islamic sources (the Quran, *hadith*, legal opinions of respected scholars) and he offers a wealth of evidence which make the *fatwa* all but impossible to reject. Although al-Yaqoubi is not the only prestigious Islamic scholar to have explicitly condemned ISIS, in fact most scholars have done the same, his *fatwa* is the most detailed and widely distributed (not to mention translated into English) of its kind so far. It is an absolutely indispensable source of information to those who lack knowledge about mainstream Islamic teachings, or have doubts regarding the status of the renegade terrorist organization that unfortunately calls itself the "Islamic State."

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[38] Al-Yaqoubi, *Refuting ISIS,* 107-108.
[39] Ibid., 109-110.

Author Bio

Tomi Pulkkinen is an undergraduate student at California State University, San Bernardino, with two majors in Middle Eastern History and the Arabic language, as well as a minor in Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies. Tomi is a Finnish national, and has resided in the United States since 2010. Tomi wants to pursue a career in academia, and is preparing for graduate studies in the field of history, with an emphasis in Islam and the Middle East.

Book Review: *American History Unbound*

By Brittany Kelley

American history is currently in a phase of revisionism. For centuries there was one narrative; a White Anglo-Saxon Protestant perspective. In recent years however, more diverse narratives have surfaced in academic research. *American History Unbound: Asians and Pacific Islanders*, written in 2015 by Gary Y. Okihiro, tells U.S. history that is not commonly taught in K-12 and college history courses, as Okihiro focuses on Asians and Pacific Islanders – only some of which is familiar. Okihiro is a professor of international and public affairs and the founding director of the center for the Study of Ethnicity and Race at Columbia University. He was recruited to Columbia partially as a result of undergraduate students protesting in 1996. They believed the core-curriculum was one of pro-Western biases and wanted an ethnic studies department to provide a counterbalance. He has written several books and articles on historical methodology and theories of social and historical formations, and the history of racism and racial formation in the U.S.[1] In the introduction to *American History Unbound,* Okihiro states that it "is a work of history and anti-history, a representation and a counter-representation. While history purports to be the past, history as written is the historian's depiction of that past-a representation. While scripting this history of the peoples called Asians and Pacific Islanders in the United States, I write with and against existing historical representations."[2] *American History Unbound* is a counterbalance to pro-Western history texts, as it sheds light on the darker parts of history and gives voices back to those who have been robbed of them.

While the focus of the book is on Asians and Pacific Islanders, it is also a wonderful source of information regarding other marginalized groups such as Native Americans, African Americans and women. K-12 and college history classes generally teach American history in two sections, using 1877 as the dividing line, with Asians and Pacific Islanders not introduced until the

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[1] Gary Okihiro's website: http://www.garyokihiro.com/.

[2] Gary Y. Okihiro, *American History Unbound: Asians and Pacific Islanders*, (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015), 1.

latter. *American History Unbound* begins with what Asians and Pacific Islanders were doing, how they were living and activities they engaged in, during the time frame in which they are excluded. Included in this section are Guam, Hawai'i, and Samoa; places that were settled long before Europeans "discovered" them.

Among the many things Okihiro writes about is the Coolie trade. Slavery is an extensive topic in U.S. history, most people however, associate slavery with African Americans. The term "coolie" was first used by the Portuguese who used the term to mean "Asian laborer," but by the nineteenth century the word usually meant Chinese or Indian indentured workers. These workers went to South America and the Caribbean, replacing enslaved African Americans in sugar plantations. The treatment they were subjected to en route, often by their employers, is eerily reminiscent of how African slaves were treated. Not all coolies agreed to be laborers – while some were paying off a debt, others were kidnapped. The ships were outfitted like prisons, the coolie passengers subjected to floggings and corporal punishment, and the women raped.

At one point, during a ban on Chinese indentured labor, Peru captured Polynesian workers who "were hunted down and captured, martched in chains to waiting ships, thrust into crowded, unsanitary ships' holds, and sold to the highest bidder. Along the way, many died from violence and introduced disease, ranging from 24 percent of one island's total population to 79 percent of another's."[3] Chinese indentures suffered a mortality rate between 12 and 30 percent during the second half of the nineteenth century, "a rate higher than that of the Middle Passage of the African slave trade. In some cases it was as high as 50 percent."[4]

Okihiro introduces Asians and Pacific Islanders as participants in the American Civil War. They had arrived in New Spain around the same time the Jamestown colony was founded, and some were living in the U.S. by the late eighteenth century. In accordance with the Citizenship Act of 1790, they were not considered citizens of the U.S. because citizenship was limited to "free white persons" only. A fact emphasized by the California supreme court case *The People v. George W. Hall* in 1854. George Hall had killed a Chinese miner and was convicted based on the testimony of Chinese witnesses. He then petitioned to have the

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[3] Okihiro, *American History Unbound,* 50-52.
[4] Ibid.*,* 53.

conviction overturned. In *The People v. George W. Hall*, the Chief Judge, Hugh Murray, ruled that "'A free white citizen of this State' had had his rights abridged by having been subjected to a trial contaminated by evidence provided by aliens 'not of white blood.' The 'European white man,' Murray reasoned, must be shielded from the testimony of 'the degraded and demoralized caste.'"[5]

Similar to African Americans, Asians and Pacific Islanders, "earned their claims to equality through the blood they shed on the nation's battlefields during the Civil War. Hawaiians, Chinese, Filipinos, South Asians, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans served in the African American U.S. Colored Troops (USCT), and a few served in white units." Twenty islanders from Guam served, some in the Union Navy, as well as seaman from Tahiti and Hawaii. "About fifty-five Filipinos and nearly eighty South Asians (from India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka)", and others from Indonesia, Turkey, Japan, Malasia, Myanmar, Persia, Samoa, Singapore and Tonga. "Some seventy-four Chinese served both the Union and Confederate causes," and one, John Tommy, died after losing both his arms and legs during the battle of Gettysburg.[6]

The Spanish-American War is not as well-known as the Civil War, and giving the way it played out, there is little reason to wonder why. The war between Spain and the U.S. ended in 1898 with the U.S. acquiring Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Guam. President McKinley, at first troubled over the "'gift' of the Philippines" came to believe that "he should 'take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them.'" The Filipinos did not recognize the transaction however, and continued to fight for their independence, now from the U.S instead of Spain.[7]

The Philippine-American war officially lasted from 1898 to 1902, and "required approximately two hundred thousand U.S. soldiers and resulted in over 4,300 American deaths. Tens of thousands of Filipinos perished; some figures put the number of deaths as high as nearly a million, including those who died of disease and starvation as a result of the fighting." Even though the leader of the Filipino republican army, Emilio Aguinaldo, was captured in March 1901, there was still fighting – mainly in the Muslim islands in the south.

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[5] Okihiro, *American History Unbound*, 73.
[6] Ibid., 88-9.
[7] Ibid.*,* 96.

The Muslim peoples of the island of Mindanao were especially effective in resisting conquest by both the Spaniards and Americans, and the U.S. Army framed its campaign against them as a war between Christianity and Islam. In March 1906, the army trapped some one thousand Taosug Muslims in Bud Dajo, an extinct volcano, on Jolo Island. For four days troops shot, bayoneted, and threw grenades at the men, women, and children, killing them all. A week after the massacre, President Theodore Roosevelt sent a telegram to the U.S. commander, Major General Leonard Wood, to congratulate him and his men "upon the brave feat of arms wherein you and they so well upheld the honor of the American flag."[8]

The same year that the Treaty of Paris relinquished control of Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines to the U.S., Congress voted to annex Hawaii. The annexation process was decades in the making, beginning with foreign trading companies taking control of Hawaii's economy and polity and missionaries who attempted to convert "natives into subjects of the kingdom of capitalism."[9] In 1824, when Kamehameha III became the King of Hawaii at the age of nine, he was instructed by missionary teachers. Relying on their guidance, "he signed the Constitution of 1840, which installed a constitutional monarchy with executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government. From 1842 to 1880, foreigners occupied twenty-eight of the thirty-four cabinet seats and 28 percent of the legislature despite accounting for a mere 7 percent of the population."[10] In 1845, new legislation was passed permitting foreigners to become naturalized Hawaiian citizens. Commoners did not want the king to lease land to foreigners "who will devastate the land like hordes of caterpillars in the fields."[11]

By 1846, "sugar exports rose quickly from 4 tons in 1836 to 180 tons in 1840 and nearly 300 tons in 1847. . . Hawaiian sugar exports ballooned from 702 tons in 1860 to 9,392 tons by 1870. The 1876 Treaty of Reciprocity exempted Hawaiian sugar from

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[8] Okihiro, *American History Unbound,* 99.
[9] Ibid., 102.
[10] Ibid., 102.
[11] Ibid., 103.

U.S. customs duty. That agreement secured the place of King Sugar in the islands. . . it also tied Hawaiʻi to the United States so closely that by 1886, the United States accounted for 90 percent of the kingdom's exports and 80 percent of its imports." In 1886, members of the white elite formed the Hawaiian League, taking the name that had previously only been used for the indigenous people. The king at the time, Kalākaua, was forced to sign a new constitution in 1887. This new constitution was known as the Bayonet Constitution, it "reduced the king's powers, gave the vote to white men, limited the power of the Hawaiian electorate, and excluded all Asians from the franchise."[12] Following the death of Kalākaua in 1891 his sister Liliʻuokalani became queen. An opponent of the 1887 Bayonet Constitution, she was placed under house arrest by the Annexation League (again organized by the white elite) and U.S. marines when she "announced her intention to abrogate the 1887 constitution."[13]

The provisional government which was installed while the queen was under house arrest applied for U.S. annexation. President Grover Cleveland, however, "withdrew the treaty of annexation from the U.S. Senate and directed an investigation into the queen's removal and arrest." Sanford Dole, president of the provisional government, refused to return power to the queen and accused Cleveland of "interfering in 'our domestic affairs,'" (a strange claim from Dole, the son of American missionaries). The queen was finally released in 1896 and traveled to the U.S. "to plead her case and that of her people." Cleveland was no longer president and when he was succeeded by William McKinley "Congress stood ready to embrace a tropical empire."[14] Nearly a month after annexation Queen Liliʻuokalani returned to her . When she "stepped off the boat, 'it was strange because it was so quiet. Nobody cheered. But when the queen raised her hand and said Aloha! A great shout of Aloha came from the crowd. But that was all. Most people were crying.'"[15]

Most people have probably heard stories about immigrants arriving at Ellis Island, but fewer are likely familiar with Angel Island, an immigration station where about half a million immigrants passed through as they either departed or arrived in the

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[12] Okihiro, *American History Unbound,* 105.
[13] Ibid., 106.
[14] Ibid., 106-107.
[15] Ibid., 107.

U.S. through the port of San Francisco. Angel Island Immigration Station was designed primarily for the Chinese, but the detention cells were also used to hold Japanese, South Asians, Koreans and Filipinos. Prior to its opening in 1910, Chinese migrants were held in a facility called "the shed;" of which missionary Ira Condit noted, "merchants, laborers, are all alike penned up, like a flock of sheep, in a wharf-shed, for many days, and often weeks, at their own expense, and are denied all communication with their own people, while the investigation of their cases moves its slow length along. The right of bail is denied. A man is imprisoned as a criminal who has committed no crime, but has merely failed to find a white man to prove his right to be here."[16] At Angel Island Chinese migrants carved their thoughts and feelings into the barracks walls. A partial example is:

> America has power, but not justice / In prison, we were victimized as if we were guilty / Given no opportunity to explain, it was really brutal / I bow my head in reflection but there is nothing I can do. Imprisoned in the wooden building day after day, / My freedom withheld; how can I bear to talk about it? / I look to see who is happy but they only sit quietly. / I look to see who is happy but they only sit quietly. / I am anxious and depressed and cannot fall asleep.[17]

Continuing with rights being infringed on, following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor some "120,000 Japanese-two-thirds of whom were U.S. citizens, and the remainder excluded from citizenship under U.S. law-were summarily removed from their homes and placed in concentration camps for the duration of the war."[18] This is something usually included in history texts, however, this is only part of the story. Another part is the fact that the FBI did not even wait until December 8th to start apprehending Japanese. A gardener from Los Angeles, Ichiro Shimoda, was taken on December 7. In March 1942, he was shot and killed trying to escape from Fort Still.[19] Another part of the story is that Henry

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[16] Okihiro, *American History Unbound,* 269.
[17] Ibid., 270-271.
[18] Ibid., 341.
[19] Ibid., 342.

L. Stimson, Franklin Roosevelt's secretary of war, "announced on January 20, 1944, that the Nisei, formerly classified as 'aliens not acceptable to the armed forces,' would be subject to the draft."[20] The fact that some innocent individuals were not just forcibly removed from their homes, but were also killed, paints this dark chapter even darker. The fact that these innocent individuals had been denied rights of citizenship, but were still expected to fight for the country which had denied them these rights, is also outrageous.

The Civil Rights Movements are predominately associated with African Americans, and to a lesser extent, Chicanos, and Native Americans. The Asian American Movement has often been left out, due to the fact that Asian Americans are often portrayed as "a model minority. . . winning wealth and respect by dint of its own hard work."[21] However, Okihiro writes about the Asian American Movement of the 1960s which was in response to, "the U.S. war in Southeast Asia and the domestic freedom struggles that were. . .intimately tied to imperialism and anticolonialism abroad. . . within the United States, peoples of color shared a history of exclusion and segregation not only with respect to land and labor, but also with respect to the U.S. nation-state and people."[22] Another movement many people are probably unfamiliar with, which Okihiro addresses, is the Hawaiian Movement. The goal of this movement is to achieve sovereignty "based on a rejection of the illegal U.S. overthrow of the kingdom and an affirmation of the right to self-determination," and the movement is still active today.[23]

American History Unbound proves that history is more than just names and dates. It is about people, and in this case, people who have been abused and neglected. Okihiro tells a valuable and insightful side of the story, one everyone should know. To paraphrase former radio newscaster Paul Harvey, once it is read you will feel like "you know the rest of the story."

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[20] Okihiro, *American History Unbound,* 349.

[21] Ibid.*,* 427.

[22] Ibid., 415-416. For more information on the Asian American Movement, see Karen L. Ishizuka's *Serve the People: Making Asian America in the Long Sixties*.

[23] Okihiro, *American History Unbound,* 410.

Author Bio

Brittany Kelley is a graduate student in the Social Sciences and Globalization program. She hopes to have a fulfilling career using her knowledge and love of history to inspire others. She wants to thank Dr. Jones for the opportunity, and Heather Garrett for all of her support and assistance.

Book Review: *How to Be a Tudor: A Dawn-to-Dusk Guide to Tudor Life*

By Lark Winner

To modern sensibilities the past can seem like an alien world. This is especially true when the past is only viewed from the perspective of the top tier of a particular society. When reading biographies and histories of the Tudor period, it is easy to believe that the people lived in a world dominated by child marriages, outrageous pageants, and political intrigue. The lack of modern conveniences and technologies can also make one think that the time was dominated by poor hygiene and health. In *How to Be a Tudor: A Dawn-to-Dusk Guide to Tudor Life*, Ruth Goodman combats these ideas with a detailed look into the daily lives of the people of Tudor England. The author does not limit her scope to just the wealthiest, but includes all levels of society – from the poorest laborers to the peers of the realm. Although at times bogged down in detail that can be difficult to follow, in totality her book does a wonderful job of bringing the reader into the Tudor world and of making the daily lives of its people less alien and more relatable.

The book is organized into sections that are guided by a typical day in Tudor life. For example, it starts with a simple examination of the sorts of beds that different people in society would be waking up on as they begin their day. Goodman then takes the reader through different topics relating to daily life including hygiene, clothes, work, leisure, and food. Within each section the author delves into a plethora of details, backed up with evidence from period writings and illustrations, as well as modern archeological findings and her own personal experiments in recreating the Tudor lifestyle. These personal experiments, such as attempting to wear the undergarments typical of the period, lacing a kirtle, and making malt for ale, are the most compelling because they offer the reader a vivid window into daily life in Tudor England.

Due to the fact that Goodman's subjects are so varied and that she attempts to go into detail about each topic, it can be difficult to follow. The reader goes from a detailed explanation of the construction of a ruff, including seam allowances and stitch

patterns, to the intricacies of different socially-correct postures and gaits within only a few pages. The chapters would benefit from small illustrations of key items that are not necessarily familiar to the modern reader such as kirtles, rushes, or contemporary hair styles.

Goodman excels in her ability to dispel common myths about the living conditions in Tudor England. As so many histories of the period cover the lives of the major political and religious figures of the time, practices like child marriage appear to be commonplace. She refutes this widely-held misconception by revealing that the average ages of men and women at the time of marriage were actually "twenty-four for women and twenty-six for men," which is not terribly dissimilar from modern society.[1] The author also successfully tackles the idea that hygiene during the period was incredibly poor. She employs many examples of how contemporaries highlighted the filth of others as way of showing what the society valued in terms of personal hygiene. If smelling poorly or having lice or fleas was something that society disdained, it would lead one to think that people mostly did whatever they could to remain clean and vermin free. She also backs this assertion up with her own experiment of wearing the contemporary linen undergarments and forgoing modern shower and bathing habits for six months. The author found that with minimal effort and period-correct laundering she remained relatively odor-free and clean. These experiments lend credence to her arguments and make the material easier to engage with.

Goodman's focus on the vital importance of bread in her section on dinner is also illuminating. Modern society has largely demonized bread, but for much of history, bread was a central, and for some sole, source of sustenance. Her descriptions of the varieties of wheats that permeated the country are in complete contradiction to our modern understanding of farming. Simply put, there was no one 'generic' type of bread in Tudor England. Different varieties of wheat lead to tremendous variation in color, texture, and quality of bread. Regardless of the type, bread was a ubiquitous part of Tudor meals and, therefore, Tudor lives. As the author puts it, "bread for breakfast, bread for dinner and bread for

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[1] Ruth Goodman, *How to Be a Tudor: A Dawn-to-Dusk Guide to Tudor Life* (New York: Liveright Publishing, 2016), 120.

supper, day in and day out. Although it was often eaten with other foods, for the poorest it was bread alone."[2]

One of the fascinating aspects of the Tudor time period was the convergence of old medieval practices with the new ideas and innovations of the Renaissance. Throughout the Sixteenth Century, England's population doubled, and it saw great religious and economic changes.[3] Through Goodman's exploration of daily life, the reader can easily see how these two periods were part of a gradual evolution and not radically separate epochs. Instead, she shows how the flow of civilization adapted slowly to emerging industries, trades, and ideas. In one aspect, life remained the same: the need to have a local mill to process grain into flour, which was a trademark of medieval village life. At the same time, England's textile industry was being influenced by the Low Countries, and the different Tudor governments sought to regulate the industry with various sumptuary laws throughout the period.[4] Unbeknownst to those at the time, the growing textile industry would become one of the hallmarks of England's Industrial Revolution.

Goodman includes numerous full color plates in the book, but they are not cohesively organized in a way that allows the reader to reference them at the corresponding moment in the text. This makes their inclusion somewhat confusing and unnecessary. As mentioned previously, it would have served better to include simple illustrations and diagrams throughout each chapter. It is quite difficult to imagine the description of how to properly buckle and secure a garter on a stocking by written description alone. This also raises another point of concern. Many of the descriptions entail too much detail especially considering that the reader is likely not deeply familiar with most, if not all, the subjects the author chooses to expand upon. At times, Goodman launches into tangents about topics that distract the reader from the point being made – such as her section on various oven styles and their differences.

These tangents, however, come from a perspective that is incredibly clear to the reader. Goodman is deeply and unapologetically excited about her topic. There is no other way to account for her zeal in trying so many different ideas, experiences, and methods in order to fully understand the reality of Tudor life.

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[2] Goodman, *How to Be a Tudor*, 125.

[3] Ibid., IX.

[4] Ibid., 51.

This excitement helps carry the reader through parts that might not have any resonance with them personally. Overall, *How to Be a Tudor: A Dawn-to-Dusk Guide to Tudor Life* brings the Tudor period to life in ways that other, more traditional, histories cannot. While not always engaging, the book does its job in making the alien world of the past tangible, human, and accessible.

Author Bio

Lark Winner is a senior at CSUSB. She is majoring in history with a focus in European history, minoring in French and gender and sexuality studies, and working towards a certificate in museum studies. She will be graduating in the spring of 2018. Currently, Lark is an intern for the Anthropology museum on campus with the upcoming InDignity exhibition.

Comparative Film Review: *The Birth of a Nation*

By Hector Lopez and Brittany Kelley

While Hollywood has played a major role in reinventing the past to entertain their audiences, some films are meant to engage viewers in conversation about current and past events. Nate Parker – director, actor, and screen writer – created *The Birth of a Nation*, a film about Nat Turner's Rebellion in 1831. He did so in order to engage his audience in a conversation about the injustices in America, his own experiences in facing injustice, and to portray a historic figure as a hero. The title of the film, also a title of a century-old silent picture, was key to Parker. He made the claim that this title would take back the history that was stolen by D. W. Griffith.[1] However, Parker used his film to do exactly what Griffith did—used history to promote his personal agenda regardless of the truth.

The beginning of the film gives a glimpse into the life of Nat Turner as a child. Like many slave children, Turner is playing with his childhood friend, Samuel Turner (Armie Hammer). In the Antebellum South, it was common for the children of slave owners to play and develop friendships with the slave children. The white children eventually leave the plantation to attend school, serve in the military, or start their own ventures while the slave children remain on the plantation to work the fields, tend the stock, and serve their masters. In every case the white child grows up learning to separate himself from the slave child and takes his place on the social ladder that places the slave below in the white man in stature. The white child learns the norm of treating slaves inhumanly, and slaves start to be beaten by their former playmates and friends.

As Nat and Samuel become adults, their relationship changes. However, it did not change in the way previously mentioned. Parker chose to show how Nat has a voice in the decision making of Samuel when Nat convinces Samuel to purchase Cherry (Aja Naomi King), a woman that Samuel stated he did not need, at slave auction. In including this scene, Parker

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[1] Nate Parker, interviewed by Anderson Cooper, *60 Minutes*, CBS News, October 2, 2016.

reveals that Nat is like no other slave in that he has a voice that is heard by his master. This suggests that Nat is a valued adviser to Samuel, who shows no agitation to Nat's unwanted advice. When Samuel and Nat return to the plantation with Cherry, Samuel expresses to Nat that he needs to remember his place, but there is no anger or aggression in Samuel's voice. This contradicts the relationship between master and slave as slave owners did not see their slaves as educated let alone humans with the ability to think. Scholar Stanley Elkins argued that the institution of slavery in the U.S. paralleled Nazi concentration camps, especially when it came to the "affliction of psychological damage" that reduced slaves to dependency as a "perpetual child."[2] Nat, in his exchange with Samuel, showed no psychological damage nor did he act like a child when presenting what appeared to be a logical argument as to why Samuel should purchase the slave woman.

Parker wanted to establish Nat Turner as a hero in his film. In order to accomplish this aim, the character is frequently portrayed as fearless and strong. During Nat's childhood, his father, Isaac Turner (Dwight Henry), was caught stealing food for his family and escaping after killing a slave hunter. Another slave hunter, Raymond Cobb (Jackie Earl Haley), shows up at Nat's cabin looking for Isaac. When Cobb asked young Nat where his father is, young Nat says nothing, lacks fear, and remains calm. Cobb approaches young Nat, holds on to Nat's chin, and demands to know where Isaac is. Young Nat, looking Cobb in the eye, remains calm and silent and never flinches as Cobb becomes more aggressive and angry. Anyone who has a child knows that children become afraid and show their fear, especially when their parents are fearful themselves. During this scene, Nat's grandmother, Bridget (Esther Scott), and mother, Nancy Turner (Aunjanue Ellis), both fear the slave hunter the moment he enters the cabin. The lack of fear by the young Nat fits into how Parker wanted to present the character. Parker continues to show the strength of Nat as an adult when he attempts to return a toy to a white child. The father of the child is upset that Nat spoke to the child and mother let alone approached them. In retaliation, the father begins to strike Nat with his cane, and Nat does not flinch but rather takes each blow as if it was a short sting. What is interesting is that Nat shows a glimpse of submission when he cannot look the man in the eye,

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[2] David Brion Davis, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 207.

which is something that Nat can only do when he was a child in a more threatening situation.

Parker solidifies his view of Nat Turner as a hero as the rebellion comes to a halt. Nat voluntarily turns himself in, and his hanging was made into a proud spectacle where all the Southampton County residents showed up to celebrate the end of Nat's life and his rebellion. When asked if he had any final words, Nat simply replied, "I'm ready."[3] A slave boy takes center screen and sheds a tear, and as the camera pans out, that boy is now a man fighting in the American Civil War. This ending is problematic if Parker, as he stated in many interviews, wants to bring the conversation about Nat Turner to his audience. First, Nat did not surrender willingly; he was caught and tried before he was hung. Second, the image of the young boy turning into a Civil War soldier leads an audience to believe that Nat Turner's Revolt was the only event that led to the war. It omits other instances that built up the hostilities between the North and South including the Fugitive Slave Act, "Bleeding Kansas," and John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry. Parker's ending also gives the illusion that the Civil War was initially fought to end slavery. However, it was not until 1862 when Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation did the North begin to make attempts to free slaves under Confederate control. Historical accuracy was sacrificed in order to promote Parker's heroic narrative.

Parker also wanted to start a conversation about the injustices taking place today with his film. Gabrielle Union, actress who played Nat Turner's friend and slave woman Esther, commented, "This is perfect timing at a time when this country and the world desperately needs it." Union explained her comments by discussing the killings of young African-American men that have recently emerged in social and news media. Parker, along with the cast, adds to the discussion of dealing historical injustices. Parker wants to contribute not only to the discussion of today's injustices but to the discussion of what is left out of traditional histories.[4]

This conversation begins with the title, which Parker admitted he chose before writing the script in an interview with

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[3] *The Birth of a Nation*, directed by Nate Parker (Century City: 20th Century Fox, 2017), DVD.

[4] Rebecca Ford and Etan Viessing, "After Nate Parker's Controversy, Can 'Birth of a Nation' Be Reborn in Toronto?," *The Hollywood Reporter*, September 9, 2016, http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/birth-a-nation-at-tiff-926835.

Anderson Cooper on *60 Minutes*. He commented, "It'll give us a better understanding of why we're having conversations about diversity now."[5] In 1915, D. W. Griffith released a film also titled *Birth of a Nation*. This silent film told the story of the American Civil War and Reconstruction through the lens of racism to justify the South's implementation of the Jim Crow Laws. Griffith created this film based on a novel written by Thomas Dixon Jr. titled *The Clansman: A Historical Romance of the Klu Klux Klan*. Just as the title suggests, the book and the film both promote the Klan as the good fighting against the evil of the North during the Civil War and Reconstruction. This film was Hollywood's biggest blockbuster of the time and the most controversial as Griffith added to intermission the following statement: "This is an historical presentation of the Civil War and Reconstruction Period, and is not meant to reflect on any race or people of today."[6]

There are many specific examples in the original *The Birth of a Nation* that would have led Parker to appropriate the title. The silent movie focuses on two families, the Camerons from South Carolina and the Stonemans from Pennsylvania, during and after the Civil War. The captions prove beyond a doubt that the movie sides entirely with the Confederacy. When focused on the Southern characters, the captions read: "Piedmont, South Carolina-the home of the Camerons, where life runs in a quaintly way that is to be no more"; "the kindly master of Cameron hall;" "victory or death for our cause is just"; "A mother's gift to the cause-3 sons off to war."[7] At the beginning of the movie, the Stoneman family visits the Cameron plantation. The Camerons take the Stonemans to the slave quarters, and the slaves[8] demonstrate how happy they are by dancing. During the war African American soldiers are shown running wildly around the Cameron's home, shooting people in the street and the Cameron women hiding in their basement in fear. They are saved from potential harm by the Confederate army.

When the war ends, a mulatto named Silas Lynch goes around the South getting African Americans to register to vote and convinces them to stop working in the fields. After they follow him out of the fields, they dance in the streets. Following the first

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[5] Nate Parker, *60 Minutes*.
[6] *The Birth of a Nation*, dir. D. W. Griffith, 1915 (Wellington: Inspired Studios, 1998), DVD.
[7] Griffith, *The Birth of a Nation*.
[8] Portrayed by white actors in black-face.

election in which African Americans vote during the Reconstruction Era, the movie shows its interpretation of "the negro party in control in the State House of Representatives, 101 blacks against 23 whites."[9] The African Americans in the House of Representatives are shown drinking booze, eating fried chicken, and putting their feet on their desks. The film goes on to bewail over the lot of "the helpless white minority" and even goes so far as to show a case in which a white man is tried by an African American magistrate and an all-African American jury.[10] Griffith treats this situation as if it were a horrible thing as if a white man did not have a chance of being found innocent unless he was tried by members of his own race.

Following this scene, a law is passed legalizing marriage between whites and African Americans and is again treated as if this were a horrible thing. African Americans are also shown pushing white people out in the street and abusing African Americans who refuse to register to vote. The film makes it appear that anarchy follows the election of the African American representatives and that whites are only able to regain their lost rights (and power) and protect their women from the apparently lecherous African American men by establishing the Ku Klux Klan. The end of the movie even shows reconciliation between the North and the South in the form of a marriage between a Northern woman and a Southern man, and it indicates that this reconciliation is only possible because African Americans have had their new rights repressed by the Klan and are back in their "proper place." It is historically inaccurate and horribly, infuriatingly insulting.

Seeing a movie like this in 1915 and believing the things it shows would serve to justify the horrible Jim Crow laws in place at that time. It is as if the film is warning the audience about what would happen if African Americans were treated as equals and given positions of power by showing that it had been done before. There was anarchy and chaos and white women were at risk for being violated, and the only way to protect legitimate government and white women was to keep the segregationist laws in place. To make this "warning" even worse, excerpts from Woodrow Wilson's *History of the American People* are shown during the movie and agree with these horrible depictions. These captions read, "In the villages the negroes were the office holders, men who

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[9] Griffith, *The Birth of a Nation*.
[10] Ibid.

knew none of the uses of authority, except its insolences"; "The policy of the congressional leaders wrought…a veritable overthrow of civilization in the South…in their determination to 'put the white South under the heel of the black South'"; "The White men were roused by a mere instinct of self-preservation…until at last there had sprung into existence a great Ku Klux Klan, a veritable empire of the South, to protect the Southern Country."[11] After having this narrative prevalent in society for so long, Parker wants his audience to understand what D. W. Griffith did to Hollywood and take back the history he tainted with his film.[12]

As Parker pieces the events that led up to Turner's Revolt, Parker forgets to include the lives of slave women. None of the women in the film are shown working in the fields or suffering the cruel discipline that slave owners gave their slaves. Women, even when pregnant, worked the fields, but the women in Parker's film were seen working in the master's house, lighting pipes for guests, or mending clothes. No women were present even when Parker showed scenes of slaves retaliating in a hunger strike. It is known that retaliation was common for slaves especially within the master's own home. Cooks would add ingredients to the food making their white owners sick and possibly killing them. The only time Parker showed any injustice toward women slaves was when Cherry was gathering water, and three slave hunters approached her. Though the film cuts the scene as the men grab Cherry, her face is shown brutally beaten as she tells Nat of what happened. In an interview on *60 Minutes*, Parker stated, "How will I use my art to address injustices in my life?"[13] Parker used this scene to address the rape allegations he faced in 1999. He was found innocent while Jean Celestin, his friend, co-script writer, and college roommate, was found guilty. Although the raping of slave women by white males was common in the Antebellum South, Parker's comments take away from the discussion of the injustice of slavery and of black men in America today he wanted to create; Parker instead made the discussion about his own past. Ever since the film debut at the Sundance Festival in January 2016, Parker's

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[11] Griffith, *The Birth of a Nation*.

[12] Ford and Viessing, "After Nate Parker's Controversy, Can 'Birth of a Nation' Be Reborn in Toronto?"

[13] Nate Parker, *60 Minutes*.

rape allegations became center stage and took the focus away from the film itself.

Parker excellently portrays Nat Turner as he sees the historical figure—a hero whose rebellion who sparked the Civil War. Parker wanted to start a conversation about Nat and add to the teaching of slavery in the classroom. Parker also brings the events of Nat to modern issues in the U.S. today. Before Nat turns himself in, he visits his wife in secret and asks her what is going on around Southampton County. Cherry says, "They killing people everywhere for no reason at all, but being black."[14] This line links Parker's film to the injustice of unarmed black men killed by police officers that have gone viral over different social media outlets. Even though Parker showed great artistry and proved he is a force in Hollywood, his film did not get the recognition it deserved as Parker's past out shadowed his work.

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Author Bios

Hector Lopez (left) graduated from California State University, San Bernardino in 2014, with a Bachelor's degree in History. Since graduation, Hector has worked at the Hemet Unified School District in Hemet, California, as a substitute teacher and instructional aide while attending the Social Sciences and Globalization Master's Program at CSUSB, in which he will graduate in the winter of 2017. Following graduation, Hector plans to earn his teaching credential in special education and coach athletics at the high school level.

Brittany Kelley (right) is a graduate student in the Social Sciences and Globalization program. She hopes to have a fulfilling career using her knowledge and love of history to inspire others. She wants to thank Dr. Jones for the opportunity, and Heather Garrett for all of her support and assistance.

Museum Review: Temecula Valley Museum

By Sarah Bliss

View of "Temecula History," Photo by author.

While the city of Temecula is young, it contains a rich history that exemplifies many of the trends of Californian and American history. The first written accounts of Temecula were from Father Juan Norberto de Santiago in 1797, who sought a new mission site. While there is little known about Temecula in the early 1800s, this land was part of a rancho for Mission San Luis Rey. After the 1840s, the land went from ranchos owned by the mission system and Mexican government to individuals. In the early days of California's statehood, stage lines and a post office were established in this area. Then in the late 1800s a railroad was established, which linked Temecula to San Diego and San Bernardino. Until the 1960s and 1970s, Temecula remained a place for cattle ranching and agriculture. While suburbs have replaced much of the rural farmland that Temecula once was, vineyards are now prominent where cattle once grazed. Like in its early days as a

link between stage lines, Temecula is still a hub between San Diego and Los Angeles. Much of this history is stored at the Temecula Valley Museum.

The museum is a two-story building located in Sam Hicks Memorial Park, near the entrance of Old Town Temecula – which is now a popular tourist destination that features historic buildings. The goal of the museum is to accurately portray the stories of Temecula Valley's past and present. It aims to be a destination for Temecula Valley residents and, since it is next to the revitalized Old Town District, many tourists also come to learn about the history of Temecula Valley. The main exhibit "Temecula History" developed over many years. The first artifacts came from the personal collection of Tony Tobin and objects purchased from the former Frontier Historical Center of Temecula. The KACOR Development Company and Overland Bank contributed $20,000 to the acquisition of objects in the Bianchi collection.[1] Additional donations to the collections still are made by the community. Thus, the museum has had constraints on space. It first opened in its Butterfield Square location in 1985. It moved to larger locations from Front Street, Main Street, to Mercedes Street in Temecula. Currently, the Temecula Valley Museum is developing a database of images, documents, and publications that will eventually be online. With exhibits for children and adults, it is a great place to visit and learn about the history of Temecula.

The main exhibit at the Temecula Valley Museum is called "Temecula History." It depicts key periods of Temecula Valley including Luiseño Indians, Mission San Luis Rey Period, the establishment of the ranchos, and transportation influences including the stagecoach and railroads. The overall content of the museum does try to be accurate to the periods it displays. Temecula has had a rich, but controversial history; and, surprisingly, the museum did exhibit more volatile events such as The Mexican War and the "Temecula Massacre." This event, containing one of the bloodiest battles of the Mexican War, took place in a nearby canyon in 1847. During this time of uncertainty and fighting, the Temecula Indians captured Mexican soldiers and executed them. In retaliation, a Mexican contingency was sent, and

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[1] "Creating the Temecula Valley Museum," *Temecula Valley Museum, Inc.,* accessed May 5, 2017, http://www.temeculavalleymuseum.org/about/about-the-museum/.

with the help of Cahuilla Indians, they slaughtered the Temecula Indians.[2]
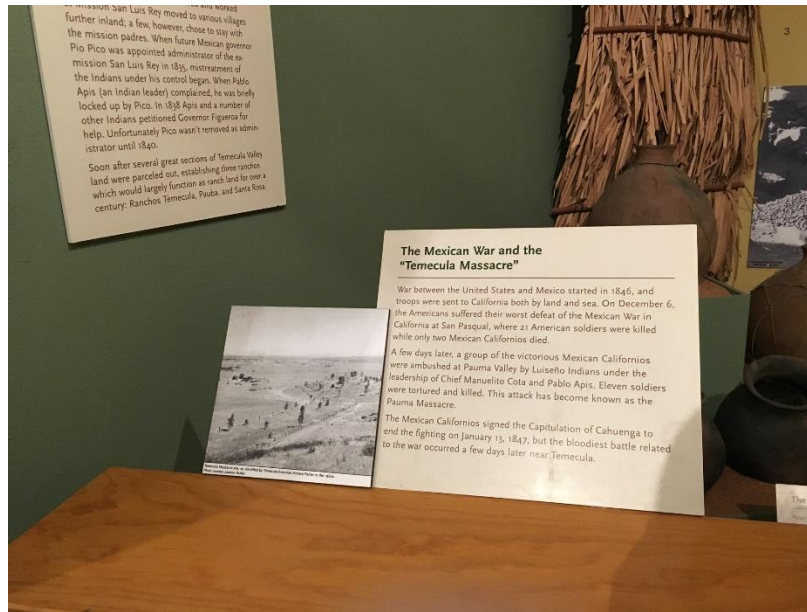
Information about the Mexican War and the "Temecula Massacre," Photo by author.

The main themes of the museum were the different time periods and ended with a section called "They Passed This Way..." There is also an accompanying section upstairs that includes a section for children to interact with objects and themes that they learned about. Each section is named and is accompanied by a combination of artifacts, videos, interactive elements, photos, text, and miniatures. Overall it flows well and allows the visitor to see the different periods of time in a logical way.

The museum has an effective presentation and is successful at showing the various time periods in Temecula's history. In many sections, the layout is a bit cramped; there is a significant amount of text in many of the plaques and it is sometimes hard to focus on a single object because many of them overlap. One of the most compelling presentations was the "They Passed This Way..." section. When you are at the museum's entrance, there is a

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[2] Vanessa Ebbelig, "A Look Back: The Temecula Massacre," *The Press-Enterprise*, February 6, 2010.

monument that seems out of place in the park. It is a large stone with names engraved on it with a little plaque about it.
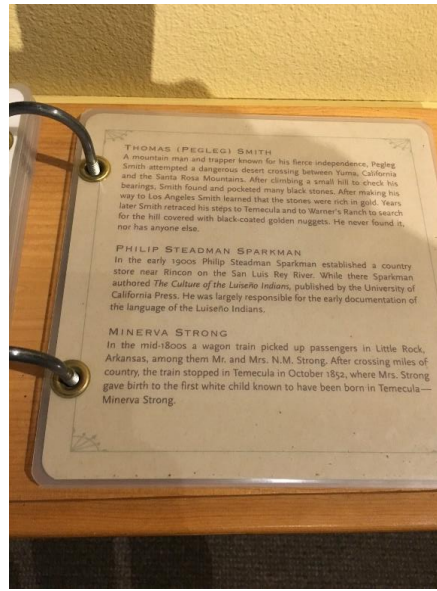
"They Passed This Way" monument and information inside museum, Photo by author.

Inside the museum, after learning the history of the area, they have a video playing with the history of the people and the monument. The monument has names of people who passed through Temecula or prominent figures in Temecula history. Inside the museum, you can see the creation of the monument and the stories of those people. Having a minimalist approach on the outside is intriguing and once you go inside you have more of interest to learn more. They are currently working on a book that tells the stories of the individuals memorized on the "They Passed This Way" monument.

Sign showing interactive area, Photo by author.

Other parts of the museum that enhance the presentation include the section designed to be a children's educational area. Objects that children can touch are placed alongside fragile artifacts to help children interact with and understand history. They can interact in a mercantile store, dress shop, campsite, and learn how to use a grinding stone. These items showcase what life was like in the early days of Temecula. Children get to learn how Native Americans ground acorns, what types of items people used to use, and they get to wear period clothing to immerse themselves in what life was like. Overall, the museum has a mixed variety of presentation strategies to engage museum visitors.

In the "Temecula History" exhibit, the book *Ramona* by Helen Hunt Jackson is showcased. While it focuses on the book and the play that goes along with it, the exhibit shows a more optimistic version of what the book means. It mainly highlights the "Ramona Pageant" which is the play based upon the book. This play takes places in Temecula, Hemet, and other nearby communities. The exhibit mainly focuses on the fame and actors that the play brought to the area. The story, which depicts the racism shown to Native Americans in California, does not seem to reach its full potential in this exhibit. More details should be on Helen Hunt Jackson, who tried to show America's mistreatment of Native Americans. In the book, Helen Hunt Jackson tries to show what life was like for Native Americans who were caught in-between Mexican rule and when American's started to settle in California. With her novels that spoke for the fair treatment of Native Americans, Helen Hunt Jackson may have contributed to Congress passing the Dawes Act in 1887. A more in-depth presentation of the themes of this novel could give viewers a greater understanding of the tensions in California during the 1800s.

In a traditional history presentation, you would not get to see, touch, and interact with artifacts. At the Temecula History Museum, many of the artifacts are not encased. This allows the visitor to see and have a larger connection with the artifacts and with history. There is even a section where visitors are encouraged to "Touch History." There is a monument that sparks interest and makes the viewer ask questions. Just reading and looking at pictures does not have the same level of engagement that this exhibit allows. Overall the exhibit does enhance public knowledge in an engaging way. While there is a fair amount of space dedicated to the Native American's who lived in Temecula, the tensions that were in this region are not fully presented. Perhaps more narrative from local Tribes could help give the story of the tensions that were in this region. The "Milestones of Temecula History" highlight events such as "First Hotel," "Most Notorious Inn," "First Bank/First Bank Robbery," "First Newspaper," and only one highlight the Native American's titled "Year Pechanga Indian Reservation was Established by Presidential Executive Order." When other professionals look at this exhibit they can learn effective ways in which to draw visitors and ways to engage with visitors.

Overall, the museum introduces the City of Temecula, and gives visitors the tools to learn about local history and ask broader historical questions. The museum does present some of the more volatile and controversial topics in local history, such as the Temecula Massacre. This shows that the museum does want to ask and highlight the events that happened in Temecula. While the museum is small, only occupying a small two-story building in Old Town Temecula, it does its best to engage all audience levels. For people wanting general knowledge of Temecula history, the first-floor exhibits as much information as the floor space allows. The second floor offers areas for younger visitors to engage and get a better understanding of history. This floor also exhibits an area for rotating exhibits, giving an opportunity for repeat visitors and changing exhibits. The museum could work on highlight the Native American side to the history of Temecula. While the museum does have a section on some Native American history; this should be expanded showing their influence in the history of Temecula.

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Author Bio

Sarah Bliss is currently a graduate student at California State University, San Bernardino, in the applied archaeology program. She is finishing her thesis on culture contact in the Domenigoni/Diamond Valleys, using the collection housed at the Western Science Center. She has conducted archaeological fieldwork in Colorado, Ireland, Japan, and California. Sarah works for the Twenty-Nine Palms Band of Mission Indians as a Tribal Cultural Specialist. Her special interests include culture contact, historical archaeology, California archaeology, cultural resource management, and geographic information systems.

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